the probability of the natives of India becoming purchasers of English manufactured goods. The prevailing opinion was that expressed by Sir (then Colonel) Thomas Munro, afterwards Governor of Madras, who, taken as a whole, was one of the very best men India has known. On the 12th of April, 1813, he was under examination.

'In the event of a free trade,' he was asked, 'are you of opinion there would be any considerable increased demand for British commodities or manufactures among the natives of Hindostan?'

'I do not think,' he said, 'there would be any considerable increase of the demand for European commodities among the natives of India.' Reasons for this opinion were given. For a cause which, shortly, will be apparent, those reasons may be stated.

'At our principal settlements,' continued Col. Munro, 'where we have been longest established, the natives have adopted none of our habits, and scarcely use any of our commodities, the very domestics of Europeans use none of them; there are a few natives at Madras, and some other places, who sometimes purchase European commodities, and fit up apartments in an European style, to receive their guests, but it is done merely, I believe, in compliment to their European friends, and what is purchased in this way by the father, is very often thrown away by the son; the consumption does not extend, but seems to remain stationary: I think there are other causes of a more permanent nature than the high price, which preclude the extension of the consumption of European articles in India; among those causes, I reckon the influence of the climate, the religious and civil habits of the natives, and more than anything else, I am afraid, the excellence of their own manufactures. In this country, people who know little of India, will naturally suppose, that as the furniture of the house and the table require so much expense, a great demand will likewise be made among the natives of India for the same purposes; but a Hindoo has no table, he eats alone upon the bare ground; the whole of what may be called his table service consists of a brass basin and an earthen plate; his house has no furniture; it is generally a low building, quadrangular, rather a shed than a house, open to the centre, with mud walls and mud floor, which is generally kept bare, and sprinkled every day with water, for coolness; his whole furniture usually consists of a mat or a small carpet, to rest upon; if he had furniture, he has no place to keep it in, it would be necessary to build a house to hold his furniture; he likes this kind of house, he finds it accommodated to

the climate, it is dark and cool, and he prefers it to our large buildings; again, the food of the Indian is simple, and is entirely found in his own country; his clothing is all the manufacture of his own country, we cannot supply him, because while he can get it, not only better, but cheaper, at home, it is impossible that we can enter into competition in the market.'

Again, in regard to woollen manufactures, Colonel Munro said :—

I do not think that there is any great probability of extending the consumption of the woollen manufactures of England in India, because the natives have already coarse woollens of their own, which answer all the purposes for which they require them better than those of England do; there is hardly a native of India who has not already a large piece of woollen, as it comes from the loom, which he uses something as a Highlander does his plaid, he wraps it round him to defend him from the weather, and he sleeps upon it, and it is so much cheaper than anything which can be made in this country, that until we can very greatly reduce the price of our woollens we shall never be able to find a market in India for it. The thermometer in the greater part of India, in the interior, is for many months in the year generally as low as from forty to sixty in the morning, and the cold is as much felt as it is in this country, except during hard frost; the natives require warm clothing, but they have all their own coarse woollens, and many of the richer sort, who do not use those woollens, employ in their room quilted silk and cotton, which is both warm and light.

These descriptions reveal India as a wholly self-contained country, not needing any outside supplies.

It will at once be remarked that this prophet and Sir John Malcolm, and Mr. Rickards, and, practically, all the witnesses of that early period who spake in like manner, have been proved by events to be mistaken in their forecast. 'Look,' it will be said, 'at the continually growing imports into India, and, in them see the natives of India won over to a need of our goods and to the purchase of them.'

Be it so. The import list may, with advantage, be examined. And in its examination, and in the analysis which follows its examination, it should be distinctly borne in mind that European articles are not avoided or discarded because they would not be appreciated. The contrary is palpable to every resident in a Presidency or

large provincial town in India. It was so seventy years ago. In the Inquiry of 1813 Mr. Robert Rickards was asked: 'Have the natives of Bombay, to your knowledge, evinced any antipathy to the consumption of the useful staple commodities of Great Britain, or of any other country?' He answered: 'So far from any antipathy to the use of any European commodities, those articles are very much coveted in every part of India.'

Further asked: 'To what circumstances do you mainly consider it is owing, the slight foreign and internal commerce of India in comparison with the extent and fertility of the country, and the vast population it possesses?' Mr. Rickards answered: 'I ascribe it, and always have done, to the extreme poverty of the great mass of the population, chiefly occasioned by the pressure of our fiscal institutions.'

There is no need to go to distant periods in respect of which it may be urged that the conditions compared with those existing to-day have altered: the last three decades of the nineteenth century will suffice. I submit a table showing the value of all imports in the years 1870, 1880, 1889–90, and 1898–99.[1] It is as follows:—

	1870.	1880.	1889–90.	1898–99.
	£	£	£	£
Apparel	451,230	531,031	864,263	920,324
Arms, Ammunition, and Military Stores	96, 52	58,860	127,727	192,675
Books, Paper, and Stationery	414,912	523,739	569,860	591,629
Coal, Coke, etc.	544,477	1,138,208	672,393	464,150
Cotton Twist, Yarn, etc.	2,715,370	2,745,306	2,321,731	1,687,097
Cotton Manufactures ...	13,555,846	16,915,511	17,594,266	16,454,057
Drugs and Medicines ...	210,167	316,075	260,155	628,610
Dyes	111,499	145,237	343,659	518,055
Fruits and Vegetables ...	345,458	90,802	145,302	75,143
Glass	308,086	329,321	431,418	441,527
Gums and Resins ...	99,817	90,761	81,757	72,913
Hardware, Cutlery, and Plated Ware		431,928	730,794	953,415
Horses	77,206	116,795	154,267	219,587
Ivory	118,022	164,727	152,161	161,187

Compiled from the Statistical Abstracts of British India, Nos. 14 to 34.

	1870.	1880.	1889-90.	1898-99.
	£	£	£	£
Jewelry and Precious Stones	264,808	193,280	154,141	350,291
Liquors: Malt	314,520	254,262	308,073	319,506
Spirits ...	504,378	659,120	448,162	557,354
Wines, Liqueurs, etc.	548,329	395,903	219,521	221,427
Machinery and Mill Work	555,742	616,833	1,526,590	2,023,987
Metals: Iron	1,188,086	1,229,385	1,610,—5	1,539,013
Steel	166,377	84,547	219,160	673,699
Brass ... }	1,753,634	53,848	57,777	36,447
Copper ... }		1,620,155	1,481,569	744,165
Spelter	137,045	144,360	75,975	77,603
Tin	156,377	98,846	191,689	111,148
Lead	44,944	106,296	102,327	91,465
Quicksilver ...	15,510	58,893	36,162	26,659
Unenumerated..	110,426	16,985	42,299	139,233
Total... ...	3,752,399	3,413,265	3,803,991	
Oils	12,391	545,932	1,864,475	2,369,004
Paints, Colours, etc. ...	160,962	202,240	178,244	112,691
Perfumery	34,580	48,271	20,245	
Porcelain and Earthenware	93,351	122,484	149,286	124,900
Provisions	331,186	1,048,832	1,046,310	1,021,111
Railway Plant and Rolling Stock	1,217,334	1,033,049	1,214,226	1,883,210
Salt	750,095	762,532	625,678	440,806
Silk, Raw...	901,117	683,235	701,363	531,771
Silk, Manufactures of ...	466,543	837,890	1,186,401	907,863
Spices	297,381	526,328	601,567	593,708
Sugar, etc.	715,533	1,068,788	1,566,700	3,678,000
Tea	116,522	212,062	142,454	131,296
Tobacco	77,282	66,707	85,144	195,369
Umbrellas	87,174	20 ,951	204,404	162,292
Wood, and Manufactures of	59,045	50,889	106,871	110,971
Wool, Raw	54,018	87,273	71,178	60,998
Wool, Manufactures of...	596,713	927,876	972,157	1,015,821
All other Articles ...	1,890,233	2,162,913	2,243,153	2,692,598
Total value of Merchandise	32,879,643	39,742,166	44,373,414	45,596,894 [1]
Treasure	13,954,807	11,655,395	11,689,667	11,984,409
Totals ...	46,834,450	51,397,561	56,013,081	57,581,303

[1] This total for the first time includes:—

Carriages and Carts ..	317,399	Grain and Pulse ..	81,264
Cotton, Raw	56,319	Instruments .. .. }	
Building and Engineering Materials	202,334	Apparatus .. .. } Appliances .. .. }	341,101
Flax Manufacture ..	136,991	Matches	379,789

Reckoning in everything, including Treasure, save Government Stores, to be immediately dealt with, the totals are :—

1870	...	...	£46,834,450
1880	...	...	51,397,561
1889–90	...	...	56,013,081
1898–99	...	...	57,531,303

						%
1880 shows an increase of			£4,563,111	over	1870, or	10
1889–90	,,	,,	4,615,520	,,	1880, ,,	11
1898–99	,,	,,	1,518,222	,,	1890, ,,	3

Meanwhile, the population in		1870 was	185,537,859
,,	,,	1881 ,,	198,790,853
,,	,,	1891 ,,	221,172,952
,,	,,	1901 ,,	231,085,132

Population, including vast areas newly annexed—over one hundred thousand square miles in extent—and, in spite of most severe famines and plagues, is alleged[1] to

[1] 'Alleged.' In the Bengal Administration Report for 1871–72 the following significant paragraph concerning the under-estimation of population in bygone times appears :—

'Partial computations of the population, not without some value, have here and there been made by individual officers in some districts; but, on the other hand, in other districts, mistakes, clerical errors perpetuated without observation, and other causes, have rendered the estimates much more wide of the mark than those of former days; and the official statements have become more and more discrepant. As an illustration of the extreme point to which want of statistical knowledge of the people had reached in these provinces, the following figures are given, showing the difference between the population of some important districts as given in grave statistical returns by the authority of Government within the last few years, and stated in the Administration Report of 1870 "according to the latest returns," and that now ascertained by census :—

	Population according to Return of 1870.		Population according to Present Census.
"Nuddea (perhaps the most cared-for and most fully-administered metropolitan district in Bengal)	568,712	...	1,812,795
Furrudpore	147,127	...	1,012,589
Pubna	387,679	...	1,211,594
Cuttack	215,835	...	1,449,784
Monghyr	755,389	...	1,842,986
Kamroop or Gowhatty	80,861	...	561,681

have increased by 45,547,273 since 1871. Had there been no famine, and had normal conditions of peace and prosperity prevailed, such as British peace and British administration should surely ensure, such, indeed, as was laid down by the Government of India in 1884 as a reasonable expectation, these would have been the figures of population :—

1901 :	As it should have been ...	282,179,886
,,	As it is	231,085,132
	Minus	51,094,754

To the imports given above must be added Government Stores, as follows :-

GOVERNMENT STORES imported in 1898-99 :—

	£
Apparel, including boots and shoes	27,934
Arms, ammunition, etc.	204,897
Books and printed matter	67,248
Building and engineering materials	17,941
Chemicals	12,783
Coal, coke, and patent fuel...	26,466
Cotton manufactures	16,839
Drugs and medicines	9,029
Instruments and apparatus	21,691
Leather manufactures	5,556
Liquors	463
Machinery and millwork	49,489
Metals and hardware, and cutlery	356,115
Paper, stationery, etc.	30,189
Railway plant and rolling stock	1,367,367
Telegraph materials	47,402

[1] "It will be seen that in these cases the population varied from a third to a seventh of that now ascertained."

[2] Similar results will always happen when popular impressions are submitted to the test of scientific processes. Whether the subject be population, or area, or agriculture, or tenures, or commerce, or other matter of importance, no Government which does not possess statistical knowledge can be said to possess the data on which alone a sound administrative system can be based. . . .

	£
Wool manufactures	66,847
All other articles	152,594
	£2,480,791

In 1898–99—
£2,480,791
In 1889–90—
£1,758,454
In 1880—
£1,423,837
In 1873—
£1,401,536

Including Government Stores, the complete figures for the four decennial periods are:—

1873	48,235,986 [1]
1880	52,821,398
1889–90	57,771,535
1900	60,012,094

First, it must be premised that for the Feudatory States and for Asiatic countries which can only obtain their foreign imports across the British frontier, a deduction must be made. The Feudatory States, 213 in number, cover an area of 595,000 square miles, against British India 964,903 square miles; their population is over 63,000,000. Exactly how much of the imports goes into these States has not been definitely ascertained. All things considered it would not be unfair to take one-fourth, omitting Government Stores, but, for argumentative purposes, I will be content with one-sixth, say £10,000,000 sterling. The Trans-frontier trade is with the following countries:—

Lus Bela	Kandahar and adjoining regions
Khelat, Zhob, and adjoining regions	Kabul

[1] The Government Stores figures for 1873 are taken, being the earliest available.

Tirah and Bajaur	Duffla, Aka, Naga, and Mishmi Hills
Kashmir	Manipur
Ladakh	Hill Tipperah
Nepal	Western China
Sikkim	Shan States
Bhutan	Karrennee
Thibet	Zimmé
Towang	Siam

These countries take of our imports:—

	£
Cotton goods...	984,784
Cotton yarn	270,700
Salt	211,788
Provisions	150,808
Metals (mainly brass, copper, and iron)... ...	142,944
Sugar...	121,884
Spices...	161,060
Tobacco	81,931
Raw cotton	77,434
Silk goods	91,226
Petroleum	53,868
Living animals	53,273
Dyeing materials	52,431
Woollen goods	42,324
	2,945,825
Treasure	432,895
	£3,378,720

Indian Cotton Goods (£267,366) and Indian Yarn (£106,454), with some minor amounts, have been omitted, though strict fairness would have included them.

The imports for 1898–99, therefore, stand thus:—

Total imports as valued...		£57,531,303
Less Feudatory States, estimated	£10,000,000	
Trans-frontier trade as valued	3,378,720	
		13,378,720
		£44,152,593

for the whole of British India, with 16,877 miles of railway needing new rails, new rolling-stock; with ever-new railway extension; with an army of 334,193 officers and men, continually requiring fresh armaments; with public works needing material from England; with articles for personal wear for 168,000 Europeans, as also furniture and food for consumption from over-sea, and with, at the outside, two millions of Europeanised Indians who live more or less after the European fashion, and who require European goods.

I make, in the analysis which follows, this broad distinction. All towns with populations of not less than five thousand are regarded as centres in which European influence is felt, and where European goods generally, including petroleum oil, sewing-machines, etc., are used. These towns number—

Twenty with populations over	...	...	100,000
Eleven ,,	from ...	...	75,000 to 100,000
Twenty-seven ,,	,, ...	...	50,000 ,, 75,000
Thirty-four ,,	,, ...	...	35,000 ,, 50,000
Eighty ,,	,, ...	...	20,000 ,, 35,000
Three hundred ,,	,, ...	...	10,000 ,, 20,000
Eight hundred ,,	,, ...	...	5,000 ,, 10,000

say 25,000,000 in all. This leaves 206,000,000 un-Europeanised and non-users (save as set out below) of European goods.

To be quite fair I should except the canal and well-irrigated parts of India from what I term the non-Europeanised population. In most cases, for example, in the districts of Godavari, Kistna, Tanjore, in Madras, certain districts in the North-Western Provinces, and others in the Panjab, with some likewise in Sind, there is prosperity, and the people may, to some small extent, purchase European goods other than those I allow for all the Indian people. If I put these at 35,000,000 I go further than I need go. However, the estimate may stand. By this elimination we are left with 171,000,000 people to whom the figures will apply.

From these 171,000,000 people this much of the revenue is obtained:—

	£		£
Total Land Revenue ...	18,306,875;	three-fourths of this	14,230,156
,, Salt	6,066,561;	,, ,,	4,549,921
,, Stamps say (on the Baring - Barbour calculations) one-twelfth	3,328,446;		277,370
,, Excise (the liquor shops in towns being excluded); say one-fiftieth, or for 171,000,000 less than one farthing's worth of liquor per head per annum	4,305,548;	one-fiftieth	86,111
,, Customs	3,201,442;		None
,, Forest	1,239,812;	say nearly the whole	1,000,000
,, Registration ...	294,117;	three-fourths of this	218,088
Total payments to Revenue by Agriculturists named			£20,361,646

The above items comprise, practically, all the taxation (if the land revenue be a tax and not rent, as assuredly it is) levied for imperial purposes. The other items, with the exception of the opium revenue, which is paid by China, payments for Interest, Receipts from Post Office, Telegraph and Mint, Civil Service Departments, Railways, Buildings and Roads, and the Military Department, so far as any element of taxation enters into them, only slightly, if at all, affect the agriculturists, and they may be regarded as outside import trade influences.

It will be useful to take the items in detail:—

Apparel.—Including perhaps £20,000 for second-hand police and military coats and other woollen garments, for coolies on Tea and Coffee Estates, is for European, Eurasian, and Europeanised Indian, consumption.

Arms, Ammunition, etc.—One-tenth of the £192,675

may be for Indian sportsmen and others, apart from the Feudatory States, but they are included in the category named, *i.e.*, the Europeanised Indians.

Books, Paper, and Stationery.—Nothing of these go to the 171,000,000.

Coal, Coke, etc.—Almost entirely for Railway use, and for Cotton Mills, etc.; none for the Agriculturists.

Cotton Twist, Yarn, etc.—Less than one-tenth (£168,709) for the Feudatory States, and six per cent. (£270,700) for the Trans-frontier States.

Cotton Manufactures.—Less than one-fifth (£3,290,811) for the Feudatory States, and one-sixteenth (£984,784) for Trans-frontier States, and one-fourth of the whole (£4,113,514) for the chief towns and irrigated districts.

Drugs and Medicines.—Wholly for the Europeans, Eurasians, and Europeanised Indians.

Dyes.—Mainly employed in the colouring of Cotton and Woollen manufactures for Indian use, and as some village weaving is still done, take one-third = £419,073.

Fruits and Vegetables.—For European and Europeanised consumption.

Glass.—Wholly for ditto and for Feudatory States.

Gums and Resins.—Used mainly for the large workshops run by Europeans for the maintenance and repair of exotic enterprises—railways, mines, etc.

Hardware, Cutlery, and Plated Ware.—A small portion of the two first-mentioned gets into the districts, but not outside the towns of 5,000 inhabitants.

Horses.—None for the districts worth mentioning.

Ivory.—Used only for articles for export or manufacture in the large cities and towns, and for European and Europeanised Indian use.

Jewelry and Precious Stones.—Practically the whole of this for Europeanised residents and Feudatory Princes.

Malt Liquor.—Comparatively none consumed in the districts.

Spirits.—Ditto.

Wines, Liqueurs, etc.—Ditto.

Machinery and Mill Work.—Wholly for European and Europeanised organisations.

Metals.—Iron, steel, brass, copper, spelter, tin, lead, quicksilver, and 'unenumerated.' Of these brass and copper are required, it being a matter of pride in Indian households to obtain brass and copper vessels: the others are mainly consumed in the larger towns. If I allow twenty per cent. for the mass of the population I go beyond the necessities of the case. But take twenty per cent., say £173,931.

Oils.—The increase here is marvellous. The value of all oils imported in 1870 was £12,391. In 1898–91 the value was £2,369,004. Petroleum for heating and illuminating purposes is chiefly accountable for the increase. The requirements of wood for railway consumption, the closing of the forests against fuel collecting, and the decrease of cattle, help to account for this increase. The 25,000,000 of people referred to above, plus the 35,000,000 in the irrigated districts, consumed nine-tenths of the quantity imported, if not indeed the whole, but say nine-tenths; this leaves for all the rest of India £236,900.

Paints, Colours, etc.—Wholly used in towns.

Porcelain and Earthenware.—Ditto. With earthen chatties cheaply procured in well-nigh every village, the poorest labourer takes no European breakables, while the very few people connected with the land who do make some money, purchase copper and brass articles, as mentioned above.

Provisions.—All consumed in the large places.

Railway Plant and Rolling Stock.—Obviously the agriculturist orders none of this, and takes delivery of none.

Salt.—The imported material being of good quality, never by any chance finds its way into the hundreds of thousands of villages in which the 171,000,000 live.

Silk, Raw.—This is consumed in the seven silk mills in the towns, leaving nothing for the districts.

Silk, Manufactures of.—Nothing need be said of this

item. A blank, assuredly, is alone suitable for the man with 13s. 4d. to £1 per annum as income.

Spices.—Again, none of these go beyond the towns save to Trans-frontier States (£160,060 worth) and to the Feudatory States.

Sugar, etc.—Of this probably one-half remains in the Europeanised portions of the Empire, which would, even then, allow for them less than one shilling and sixpence worth per head per annum, £1,839,000.

Tea.—Chiefly consumed within the region of Europeanisation.

Tobacco.—Some portion of the country produce, which is replaced by this importation, may go into the villages, say one-fourth.

Umbrellas.—No appreciable number of these find their way among the agriculturalists, but allow five per cent., £8,114.

Wood, and Manufactures of.—All for European-India; none for the real unchanged India.

Wool, Raw.—None in districts.

Wool, Manufactures of.—Possibly one-tenth in the country districts, say £101,582.

All other Articles.—To be quite on the safe side one-twentieth may be taken, say £134,360.

Treasure.—In 1898-99, it must emphatically be said, no treasure went into the dry-land cultivation villages, but that a great deal from hoards—if there still be any hoards worth referring to—found a way, *viâ* the money-lender and goldsmith, into the chief towns, and thence to London, where rare Indian coins, hidden for centuries, are now (1901) said to be finding a market.[1]

[1] The following paragraph appeared in a large number of the leading provincial papers:—

'The Indian famines have afforded coin collectors many opportunities to acquire rare and old coins, which have lain buried for a great number of years. The native has always shown a very grave suspicion of banks, and has usually preferred to bury coins in what was considered a safe spot. Those hiding-places are revealed by father to son, and the accumulations sometimes go on for generations. In dire extremity the hoard has to be

Taking all these into account we have a total of £12,269,428.

The particulars thus given amount to 1s. 5d. per head. But before this calculation can be employed so as to make it at all comparable with the situation described nearly ninety years ago by Sir Thomas Munro certain deductions have to be made. Then, practically, all the cotton and woollen clothing required by the people was spun and woven by them, and the work was done in India.[1] So, likewise, were dyes, hardware and cutlery, metals, sugar, and tobacco. Take these from the total given above £12,269,428

Cotton yarns, cotton manufactures	9,312,536	
Dyes	628,610	
Hardware, cutlery, etc. ...	47,671	
Metals	173,931	
Sugar	1,839,000	
Tobacco	48,932	
		£12,050,680

The actual trade with *India* un-Europeanised and without the work it could well do for itself being done for it by another country £218,748

trespassed upon; coins which have long since become exceedingly rare are thus brought to light, and are eagerly snapped up by collectors. Many of them are being sold in London at the present time.'

[1] At the time Sir Thomas was testifying, the beginning of the end had come. Seventeen years later (30th of May, 1829) in a Minute, the Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck) noting that one great staple manufacture had been supplanted, asked, 'Is there not reasonable ground to apprehend a failure in the means of affecting the returns without which no profitable trade can exist, *especially in a country tributary to another*, as India is to England?' The Governor-General did not realise how long a great nation takes in becoming exhausted of all its profit beyond bare sustenance and clothing. The point he indicated has now been passed, and the tribute is paid in the sufferings of many millions and in the untimely deaths of other many millions. In the same Minute His Excellency painted a graphic picture of the harm done to indigenous industries. I regret I have not space to spare for its reproduction.

Or, amongst 171,000,000 of people CONSIDERABLY UNDER ONE HALFPENNY PER HEAD PER ANNUM.

It thus appears that the 'prosperity of India,' which is annually chanted in vainglorious strains in the viceregal Council in Calcutta, and in the House of Commons in the city of Westminster, England, is NOT INDIAN PROSPERITY. Actually, that particular brand of prosperity has no existence. Practically—for the exceptions are insignificant—this trade is merely an extension of British trade with Britons who happen to be encamped in another country and with few other than Britons profiting from it. So far as the vast masses of the Indian people are concerned, and to the serious detriment of the great majority of the units in those vast masses, the enterprises which are regarded as indicating and proving the prosperity of India as a whole, have no existence.

The great fleet of superb ships which the P. and O. Company employ in the Indian trade have no relation of good to the average Indian citizen;

The even larger number of ships belonging to the British India Steam Navigation Company, which move from port to port on the immense Indian sea-board in lines like unto the glancing threads in a weaver's shuttle, concern them not one whit;

Even the now almost ubiquitous railway train is not for them, save to bring food in dire times of famine, now almost continual, somewhat within their reach if the Sirkar considers them deserving—a great gain, but, wanting railways (save as they were built out of Indian money to meet native and Indian needs) the people, properly aided by their foreign rulers, might have wanted famines; as for the one hundred and sixty million journeys taken by passengers (including season-ticket holders) in India—remember there are 294,000,000 of people—compare these journeys with those

taken in the United Kingdom with but forty millions of people:—

Number of passengers (including season-ticket holders) conveyed on the several railways in the United Kingdom	475,000,000 [1]
Ditto in India	160,307,568 [2]

The prosperous Tea Gardens and Coffee Plantations, the Jute Fields and Factories, the Indigo Cultivated Area and Soaking Vats—these, none of these, belong to India proper, save in very minor respects. Yet, it is these which require the imports, and not the people who provide the revenue.

The foregoing figures and facts are of striking, nay, of startling, significance. They demonstrate the absolute truth of the testimony of the witnesses of a long distant past, while the analysis already made shows that the import trade is only supported by the Europeans and Europeanised Indians, and by Indians who are compelled to use Lancashire piece goods, seeing these are supplied at prices lower than India itself could furnish them, and Indians have to be particular as to what they pay even to the twenty-fourth part of one penny.

It may be asked, 'Why did not India herself use Hargreaves' spinning jenny and its descendants, and turn to account James Watt's kettle o' steam?' My answer is of a threefold character—

[1] If tram and 'bus passengers were also taken, the three modes of locomotion in England, would, with less than a fifth of the Indian population, run to—

Railway	475,000,000
Tramway	312,464,404
Omnibus	480,000,000
	1,267,464,404

The statistics for the tramways in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Kurrachee, are not available. Were they known, the few millions they record, would not materially alter the respective proportions given above.

1. The Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, when these improvements were ready for use, had been drained of their resources, which resources had gone to England, and, therefore, their people had no money with which to profit by Hargreaves' ingenuity and Watt's genius;

2. The British Government, most lamentably, as it has proved, did not conceive the paternal duty which it had assumed towards India,—without the leave of the people being sought, though the aid of the people was relied upon to make the necessary military conquests,—called upon it to help the people in this direction. On the contrary, it deliberately strangled Indian manufactured exports and thereby gave English mercantile enterprise an opportunity to obtain a footing which, once obtained, has led to the whole country being covered with the product of English looms; and

3. The drain, begun in Bengal and openly recognised as consisting of ill-gotten gains, was, in later times, decently veiled under the guise of trade necessities and public works' improvements out of capital from a foreign country and with foreigners as controllers of such work alike in construction and management, and was continued in ever-increasing volume, until there is now no capital left in the country for investment, nor even enough for the common needs of decent folk.

These are among the reasons why the Indian people do not themselves 'develop' their own country.

Put as broadly and as graphically as I am able, the position at the beginning of the last century, as presented to the British public, was this:—

In India we have a region of vast extent and of almost unlimited resources. It has not, however, been developed to any great extent. Its people are marvellously skilful in all that makes for industrial manipulation and commercial progress, and particularly in the acquirement of languages which is so great an aid to success.[1] Indian

[1] 'One of the greatest improvements, however, of which the mind of man is susceptible has been made by natives from their own exclusive exertions.

muslins, chintzes, and cottons were so largely imported into England in the seventeenth century, that, in 1700, an Act of Parliament was passed, prohibiting their introduction. The country produces all that the people require, but, like humanity in general, their wants and desires increase according to the opportunities afforded to them to satisfy those wants and desires. But the means for satisfaction are wanting. Its taxation is declared to be as near perfection as it can be. 'Nine-tenths probably of our revenue is derived from the rent of land, never appropriated to individuals, and always considered to be the property of government; that appears to be one of the most fortunate circumstances that can occur in any country; because in consequence of this the wants of the State are supplied really and truly without taxation. As far as this source goes, the people of the country remain untaxed. The wants of government are supplied without any drain either upon the product of any man's labour, or the produce of any man's capital.' [1]

[This, in the presence of the facts of to-day, is like that political economy of Saturn with which Mr. Gladstone was once taunted, or as some topsy-turveydom from a fairy tale, so utterly out of touch is it with the things which exist. However, to continue the soliloquy:]

Mainly, India is an agricultural country. Already—I am specially referring to the Inquiry of 1831, by which date we ought as despotic rulers and paternal guardians to have come to our senses in regard to our duty to India — the era of steam machinery has established itself. In England, thanks largely to the wealth obtained from India, a great development has taken place, and Indian special manufactures, of the old handloom kind,

Their acquirement of knowledge, and particularly of the English language and English literature, of which there are many examples in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay at the present moment is quite astonishing. It may even be questioned whether so great progress in the attainment of knowledge has ever been made under like circumstances in any of the countries of Europe.'—Robert Rickards, *Qn.* 2807, *Inquiry* 1831.

Qn. 3134, Evidence of James Mill, *Inquiry*, 1831.

known for their excellence the world over, have already been destroyed; the common goods are now threatened with destruction. To the end of the eighteenth century, and for some years in the nineteenth, India exported cotton manufactures, now, she imports large quantities of such goods.

What shall we do?

Shall we develop India from within? Shall we regard the interests of India from the point of view of the Indian people and, therefore, shut out English and other manufactures, and by so doing stop the growth of *our* British home industries? Shall we concentrate our attention upon what India can produce for her own consumption, and even for export, and so enable her to become wealthy enough to voluntarily purchase what England may produce of things which she requires? Or, shall we take care, first of all, to find a market for English goods and leave the rest to what may happen? Of course, if we adopt the last-named policy our home country will benefit and India must be content with the incidental advantages of our rule.

Such the position in which we stood. Such the questions, in effect if not in so many words, we asked ourselves.

The answer was given. Not, of course, in so many words. The days of Thackerayan perfect plainness of speech had passed. No wise statesmanship or liberal forethought looked ahead and decided that the good of India should be the first consideration as well as the last consideration in determining the policy of our rule of India.

The answer was given. Not by the Court of Directors in so many words; not by the Board of Control in instructions to the Court of Directors; not by the Imperial Parliament, whose word was final in all respects.

The answer was given. It was given by Commercial Considerations. 'Money talks' is an expression imported

from the United States; it was true and was acted upon long before Yankee 'cuteness coined the expression. The need of a dividend for the shareholders and stock-brokers in the East India Company; of pay for the British soldiers employed in India; of a market for British manufactured goods—these factors supplied the answer, an answer was against India being considered as aught else than, primarily, a land for British exploitation. Court of Directors, Board of Control, Imperial Parliament, the British Public, took a short view of the future, saw there was money in 'carrying on as before,' and altogether avoided the long and broad view which, at a slight immediate loss of customers, would have procured greater and yet greater trade prosperity obtained in a legitimate way. More than that, we had tasted the sweets of despotic power with but few of its disadvantages. We had worked ourselves into the belief that if we did not hold the reins of power entirely in our own English hands chaos and ruin would inevitably ensue. Therefore, a few high-sounding words in an Act of Parliament to salve our consciences, and things were to go on as before. What was determined upon in 1833, that fateful year for India, was regarded as the highest wisdom. Macaulay, in the House of Commons, blessed it with eloquent words. James Mill, expert Indian Administrator and Philosopher, saw in it 'a continuance of that which had been occasion for high commendation.' 'The great concern of the people of India is,' he said in a lofty strain, which, in the light of existing facts, sounds painfully ludicrous, 'that the business of government should be well and cheaply performed, but it is of little consequence who are the people that perform it.[1] The idea generally entertained is, that you would elevate the

[1] The Earl of Ellenborough did not share the opinion that it was 'of little consequence who are the people' who administer Indian affairs. In the next (and last) of the great inquiries which preceded the re-grant of the

people of India by giving them a greater share in their own government; but I think that to encourage any people in a train of believing that the grand source of elevation is in being an *employé* of Government, is anything but desirable. The right thing in my opinion, is, to teach people' [*Indian* people only are meant] 'to look for their elevation to their own resources, their own industry and economy.' [This doctrine applied to home conditions would not have made Mr. James Mill Examiner of Correspondence to an imperial governing corporation.] 'Let the means of accumulation be afforded to our Indian subjects; let them grow rich as cultivators, merchants, manufacturers; and not accustom themselves to look for wealth and dignity to successful intriguing for places under government; the benefit from which, whatever it may be, can never extend beyond a very insignificant portion of the whole population.' Mr. John Stuart Mill, the great son of one who was himself

Charter to the East India Company, on the 23rd of June, 1853, the Earl asked Sir Charles Trevelyan, K.C.B., who was a witness—

'Do you estimate as of no value the maintenance out of the revenues of India of six thousand English gentlemen in situations of trust and great importance, and the maintenance of some fifteen hundred more in this country upon the fruits of their service in the East; should we not lose all that if India were separated from us, besides the maintenance of about forty thousand of our troops employed in that service?'

Sir Charles Trevelyan's reply is bright with a luminous exposition of policy which, had it been carried out to the full, would have made India prosperous from the interior to the boundaries of the Empire instead of, as is now the case, prosperous only in patches, and that prosperity of a dubious character. He said—

'I estimate those advantages as of considerable value; but I can conceive they are not to be compared with the immense trade which would be carried on with India if it were highly cultivated and improved, and the natives were possessed with the means of purchasing our manufactures, even in a much smaller degree than is the case in most of our colonies.'

In reply to the next question asked of him, Sir Charles Trevelyan said: 'I conceive that not only the improvement of India, but our tenure of India, depends on our doing justice to the natives, and gradually opening the advantages of their own country to them.' This answer limps, but its inner teaching is unimpeachable.

a notable person, possibly had this haughty comment in mind when he said: 'The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality; but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants.' And on the top of all this: when the 'human cattle farm' was in full working order and some of the cattle were manifestly insufficiently nourished, the Marquis of Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, could only utter platitudes to the effect that as India must be bled the lancet should be applied to the congested parts, and conclude with an eulogy of letting things slide, for, as he then said, I see no terror in a policy of drifting.'

As it was in the beginning of our connection with India—

> The primary object of Great Britain, let it be acknowledged, was rather to discover what could be obtained from her Asiatic subjects, than how they could be benefited,'[1]—

so it is now, and bids fair to continue so long as the present system of administration remains unchanged. Fair words, in multitude no man can number, suggest the contrary; stubborn facts, revealing the course of every-day administration, accord with the truth of the most censorious observation conceivable, and render any other statement impossible.

The decisive step which was to deny a fair field to the people of India for their abilities in their own country, and the determination to keep the land in a state of com-

[1] 'Observations on the State of Society among *Asiatic* Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the means of improving it. P. 20,' written chiefly in the year 1792. East India House, August 16, 1797.

plete subjection to Britain, was taken in 1833, under the dominant but unacknowledged influence of the necessity to pay a dividend to East India proprietors, and to find England (as it was supposed) a vast market unhindered by the competition of other countries. The year before England herself had come into possession of political emancipation. One of the first things the Reformed Parliament did was to bind India in chains.

INDIA'S EXPORTS: WHOSE ARE THEY?

One side of the Indian trade statistics have been considered. So far as the imports are concerned, it has, on analysis, been found that the vast majority of the people, three-fourths of them—are, on the average, customers of England to the extent of one shilling and sixpence per head per annum. Of that one shilling and sixpence India is to the extent of more than one shilling undersold by Lancashire in the production of goods which she could herself supply had she the capital to enable her to set up in business. On the principles we, as India's rulers, have repeatedly laid down,[1] on high authority, we have taken care she shall not find the necessary capital from her own resources. These resources are to be kept down. Napoleon's 'nation of shopkeepers' does not take kindly to business rivalry on the part of a people who, they are told, in season and out of season, are much their inferiors, as morally bad as they are intellectually weak. English religious zeal will send the misguided ones missionaries, but English justice, though it be prated *ad nauseam* as the one distinguishing feature of our rule,[2] will not permit them to grow rich in their own land.

An analytical examination of imports showed those imports were taken to India for the European population and for certain millions of Indians brought into relationship with them. In a word, they were for Anglostan and not for Hindustan. For whose benefit and in whose behalf are the exports put on board ship and sent, the greater portion to England, much to European countries, some to the Commonwealth of Australia, and the remainder to Ceylon and the countries immediately east and west of India?

A statement of the exports from India and their value for the respective years of 1870 and 1898–99 is as follows:—

[1] See Mr. Thackeray's views, endorsed by Lord William Bentinck, in 1812, and Mr. James Mill's opinions, accepted by a Parliamentary Committee in 1831, pp. 38–42 and 264–266.

[2] All official speeches on India, *passim*, and particularly the speech delivered by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 16th of August, 1901.

EXPORTS AND THEIR VALUE, 1870 AND 1898–99.

	1870.	1898-99.
	£	£
Animals, living	—	117,280
Apparel	—	194,005
Coal, Coke, etc.	—	223,520
Coffee	870,179	1,190,345
Coir, and manufactures of	151,401	225,317
Cotton, raw	19,079,138	7,460,085
,, twist and yarns	122,619	4,456,871
,, manufactures	1,176,138	1,096,084
Drugs and Medicines...	48,415	97,377
Dyes: Indigo...	3,178,045	1,980,319
,, Other sorts	164,640	353,369
Grain: Rice	3,020,276	10,543,467
,, Wheat	32,924	6,479,792
,, Juwar and Bajri	—	436,804
,, Wheat-flour	—	333,054
,, Other sorts	168,254	243,151
Gums and Resins	210,407	82,825
Hemp, and manufactures of ...	61,872	145,467
Hides and Skins	1,691,330	4,967,089
Horns	76,654	107,529
Ivory, and manufactures of... ...	108,289	42,395
Jewelry and Precious Stones ...	37,779	88,151
Jute, raw	1,984,495	4,627,507
,, manufactures of	205,923	3,865,682
Lac (of all sorts)	253,800	580,929
Manures (bones)	—	272,268
Metals	—	159,403
Oilcake...	—	102,037
Oils	325,000	544,682
Opium	11,693,330	4,750,677
Provisions	—	488,508
Rice-bran	—	162,778
Saltpetre	394,870	232,896
Seeds	2,308,942	7,901,842
Silk, raw	1,501,512	317,862
,, manufactures of	142,062	110,935
Spices	174,635	426,226
Sugar	327,325	255,505
Tea	1,080,515	5,460,744
Tobacco	60,980	145,709
Wood, and manufactures of ...	156,123	726,699
Wool, raw	472,614	1,149,916
,, manufactures of	255,395	169,664
All other articles	877,955	1,185,187
Indian produce or manufactures ...	50,679,545	72,900,185
Ditto (re-exports)	1,791,831	2,247,464
	52,471,376	75,147,649
Treasure	[1] 1,025,386	4,988,798
	£53,496,762	£80,086,447

[1] Raw hemp only.

The fluctuations in the comparison are of interest and significance. Ten new items appear in the later list which were not in the former:—

Animals,	Juwar and Bajri,	Metals,	Ricebran.
Apparel,	Wheat flour,	Oilcake,	
Coal and Coke,	Bones for manure,	Provisions,	

The additions are of a varied character. Coal and coke (£223,520), metals (£159,043), represent mineral wealth, though the metals are re-exports of foreign productions chiefly to Central Asian countries. Apparel, too, is a re-export, as also are provisions. The remainder come from the fields and animals of India. The living animals seem to be re-exports also, seeing India imported over £322,000 worth, while the total number exported were valued at £170,845. Breeding animals for export—horses, for example—is a business yet in its infancy, although there are localities in India unsurpassed for horse-breeding.

		£
Coffee.—An increase of 27 per cent. (£320,166) in which, at the most, Indians share to the extent of one-twentieth ...	+	16,000
Coir, and Manufactures of.—An increase of 77 per cent.; mainly, the trade is in the hands of Indian merchants on the Western Coast. All this may be credited to net Indian export; the merchants carrying it on are among the few prosperous classes in India	+	225,317
Cotton, Raw.—A decrease of £12,619,053, or 66⅔ per cent. The latest figures are fully up to the average of the preceding seven years, and may be taken partly to represent the decreased production of cotton from want of manure for the soil and other causes. Four-fifths of the cotton thus exported is from the Feudatory States.		

	£
The decrease, however, is not all due to diminished yield; a considerable portion is absorbed in India itself in the manufacture of twist and yarn. As, however, that is an increase to be immediately reckoned, the difference between 1870 and 1898–99 may be put as a loss	– 12,619,053
Cotton Twist and Yarn.—A new trade, practically, the £122,169 of 1870 being a negligible quantity. The whole of this is the product of the Bombay, and the Central and Northern India mills, the capital in them is almost entirely Indian. The advantage, therefore, is	+ 4,334,702
Cotton Manufactures.—This is an Indian loss	– 80,054
Drugs and Medicines.—In European hands chiefly.	
Indigo.—A falling off of £1,197,726, chiefly under European control, say 10 per cent. Indian, and minus	– 119,772
Other Dyes.—Increase, £188,729, or 118 per cent. Indians' share, say, one-tenth of total	+ 35,336
Grain: Rice.—Increase, 250 per cent. The gain in pounds sterling is £7,523,371, divided between Bengal and Burma—the first a fairly prosperous portion of the Empire, the latter a very prosperous province. The latter province has increased its trade during the past ten years by £3,743,527, wholly in this article, while Bengal's increase is in much smaller proportion, and is divided between a number of articles	+ 7,523,371
Grain: Wheat.—Here, again, a new article for export has revealed itself during	

	£
the past thirty years; in 1870 £33,000 worth, in 1898–99 £6,500,000. In the preceding year (1897–98) the value was only £894,101, and the year before much less. The total for 1898–99 (£6,479,792) has only once been beaten. And 1898–99 was the year after a great famine! This article of export, being grown entirely by Indians, must be credited to them, though the manner in which it is purchased by middlemen for export, and held by the sowkar, does not leave much, if any, profit to the grower	+ 6,479,792
Grain: Juwar and Bajri.—Another new item in the list. These are millets, much eaten in India, and all needed to fill British-Indian hungry bellies	+ 436,804
Grain: Wheat-flour.—Also new. First appears in 1888–89	+ 333,054
Grain: Other sorts	+ 243,151
Gums and Resins.—These have decreased by £127,582 since 1870	− 127,582
Hemp, and Manufactures of.—An increase of 140 per cent. (from £61,372 to £145,467). To be credited to European production chiefly.	
Hides and Skins.—In the totals now given dressed and tanned hides are included. This business is mostly in the hands of Indians, and the increase since 1870 shows	+ 3,275,759
Horns.—This branch of export, naturally, increases with the growth of the hide and skin trade, and is, with that trade, fostered by droughts and cattle mortality. Increase in twenty-nine years	+ 30,975
Ivory, and Manufactures of.—A decrease	

		£
meaning decay in an Indian industry of 157 per cent., and, so far, matter for regret, as the dismissed workmen, if they were to continue in existence, could only crowd the already overcrowded soil	—	65,894
Jewelry and Precious Stones.—An increase of 36 per cent.—a mainly Indian trade, say three-fourths of the gain to be credited to Indians	+	37,778
Jute, Raw.—An increase of £2,643,012, or 139 per cent. In European hands	—	
Jute, Manufactures of.—A new industry which has grown at a phenomenal rate. There are now thirty-three mills in Bengal, with a capital of about £2,000,000 ; over 1870, the increase is 1,785½ per cent. This is wholly European gain, largely Scottish, and represents £3,660,389	—	
Lac (of all sorts).—The growth here is, by percentage, considerable, £580,929 instead of £253,800—130 per cent. increase, meaning	+	327,129
Manures (animal bones).—A new industry, like those of hides, skins, and horns, most prosperous in famine times, wholly Indian	+	272,268
Metals.—First noted in 1888–89. Mainly re-exports of material from Europe, say two-thirds Indian	+	106,269
Oilcake.—First noted in 1891–92. Chiefly Indian	+	102,037
Oils.—An increase of 69 per cent. Probably cocoa-nut oil to a great extent. If so, the increase to be credited to Indians of South-Western Coast	+	219,682
Opium.—A portentous decrease in twenty-nine years—from £11,693,330 to		

		£
£4,750,667, or 148 per cent. This is a Government monopoly. The reduction in the area cultivated has provided land for increased grain and non-food cultivation; the benefits derived by the Indians are, therefore, elsewhere accounted for ...		—
Provisions.—A new item in the list. The exports are to Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, the Western Coast of Africa, and the Persian Gulf. Probably half Indian	+	244,254
Rice-bran.—Another new item, probably from Bengal and Burma, therefore to be credited	+	162,778
Saltpetre.—The decrease is 70 per cent., being a reduction from £394,870 to £232,896, a minus amount of	—	161,974
Seeds.—In oil seeds, which include a number of articles, there has been a great increase—no less than 243 per cent. This expansion of export corresponds for Southern and Eastern and part of Central India to the great growth of wheat export in the North. The increase represents a value almost wholly Indian, as the cultivation is in Indian hands ...	+	5,592,400
Silk, Raw.—A most melancholy retrospect. The production of raw silk, an eminently Indian business, is now only a fifth of what it was less than thirty years ago—401 per cent. decline. This is a serious loss in directions where variety of occupation means life,—its absence, death. The decrease since 1870 is...	—	1,243,650
Silk, Manufactures of.—A thirty per cent. decline. There are seven silk mills in all India, by whom owned I have not found		

		£
out. The old hand-weaving is dying out, in common with other Indian industries. As throwing light on Indian economic conditions, I ask the reader's perusal of the appendix to this chapter entitled 'Condition of Silk-Weaving Industry in Madras.'[1] Loss since 1870	—	31,127
Spices.—An increase of 148 per cent., from £174,635 to £426,226; difference being £251,291, probably wholly Indian growth	+	251,291
Sugar.—A decrease of 29 per cent., value from £327,325 to £255,505. Why this should be is hard to say in view of India's unrivalled means for growing sugar, especially on irrigated land, and the (occasional) large profits obtained from its cultivation. However, there is a loss of...	—	71,820
Tea.—A big jump upwards—438 per cent. increase. There are now 138 Limited Liability Tea Estate Companies with a capital of £2,141,474. All the shares in these companies are held by Europeans—with an infinitesimal exception. Of the cultivation as a whole, however, it is stated in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, of Calcutta, that one-twelfth of the growth is in Indian hands	+	682,509
Tobacco.—An increase is noted, which is largely due to the enterprise of a South Indian mercantile firm, whose Indian cigars are now well known throughout the United Kingdom. Probably one-half of the increase may be credited to purely		

[1] Extracted, by permission, from the Appendices to 'Progress in the Madras Presidency during the Past Forty Years,' by M. R. Ry. Srinavasa Raghava Ivengar, Dewan of Baroda. Government Press, Madras, 1893.

		£
Indian cultivation. The increase has been at the rate of 141 per cent., and the amount to be recorded is...	+	42,364
Wood, and Manufactures of.—The growth is again great, being 340 per cent. increase—£156,123 to £726,699. The 'manufactures of' scarcely count; most of the export is teak, of which six-sevenths of the whole are supplied to the United Kingdom. This business is mainly in European hands		—
Wool, Raw.—Increase, 144 per cent.—from £472,614 to £1,149,916. Mainly Indian	+	676,502
Wool, Manufactures of.—Another disquieting item, inasmuch as a decrease of 53 per cent. in manufacture of wool is shown. Yorkshire woollens evidently, like Lancashire cottons, can still beat Indian manufactures out of the field. Decrease in £ sterling	—	85,731
All other Articles.—35½ per cent. increase. As it is impossible to say how much of this is or is not Indian, half of the increase may be credited, say... ...	+	153,616
Treasure.—The growth here again is large—391 per cent. increase. But nothing must be put against Indian production in this regard. The gold, amounting to £1,557,764 is partly the product of British gold mines capitalised at, say, £3,000,000 to £4,000,000, and silver (not produced in India and, therefore, a re-exportation of what has been imported) £3,381,024; together £4,938,788.		

Total Trade Results, as affecting purely Indian Cultivators, 1870 to 1898–99.		£
Increases shown by + mark		31,805,136
Decreases ,, — ,, ...		14,606,657
Net increase in twenty-nine years ...		17,198,479
From the above has to be deducted :—		
Exports to Asiatic countries, on western, northern, and eastern borders, not reckoning treasure, say one-fourth goes out of India...	£774,497	
From the Feudatory States, one-fifth has to be accounted for	6,361,433	7,135,930
		£10,062,549

That is to say, at the end of twenty-nine years, the increased export of distinctly Indian produce, that is, produce coming from the Indian agriculturist grown from his own means, and not benefited directly by foreign capital, is £10,062,549. During this period Burma alone has increased her exports by £6,148,999 in 1898–99 as compared with 1870, leaving only £3,913,550 for all the rest of India.

This, however, is not all. No argument is more frequently employed or more strongly expressed than that the increase of public works in India would be a benefit to the Indian agriculturist in enabling him to export more and more largely. How does this dogma—it is not an assertion, it is, on Anglo-Indian lips, a dogma—square with the facts? Since 1873–74[1]—the figures are not available in satisfactory form for an earlier date—capital has been raised—

		£
For railway expenditure ...	...	129,730,000
For irrigation works ...	...	21,680,000
		£151,410,000

[1] Statistical Abstract, British India, No. 34, p. 324.

In addition to this a large annual expenditure has been incurred on roads. Since 1873–74 over nineteen thousand miles of railways have been opened, and many millions of acres of land brought under irrigation by canals and wells.

It may be asked, 'How then is it that India presents such a satisfactory appearance of prosperity?' To which the answer is that, except to the superficial eye, or to the pen and tongue of a defender of the system whose whole life and career are involved in the success, or, what comes to the same thing, a belief in the success, of the present policy, THERE IS NO APPEARANCE OF PROSPERITY EVEN, save in certain favoured irrigated or perennially rain-fed tracts. Elsewhere there is exactly what the figures given above indicate. Let the reader turn to the description of the Deccan upland districts (pp. 349–353), and let him bear in mind that famine is now chronic in many parts of India, and that a friendly critic in the first of medical journals [1] has deduced from the Census returns the ominous and terrible fact that nineteen millions of people died from famine in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Nearly two million deaths per annum from privation and diseases induced by privation are a part only of the evidence which indicates to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear the entire absence of prosperity in 'India.' That is a broad effect, sketched by a competent hand. Let some of the details be worked into the delineation concerning a particular portion of the Indian dominions; the Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces in question, the Upper Provinces of Bengal, prides himself on having successfully combated a famine in 1897–98.[2] For a time he could maintain the fiction.

[1] *The Lancet*, May, 1901. See preceding notes for details.

[2] I refer to the North-Western Provinces, and to that very capable civilian, Sir Antony Macdonnell. It was not judicious on the part of one civilian who had the temerity to maintain the contrary to his superior's known opinion, to assert that there had been serious mortality during this time of famine; he found, to his cost, it was not judicious. As for an official who reported that 'one thick-headed village had disappeared for want of food,' he, too, had occasion to repent his frankness and to deplore his recklessness. A legend has grown up about the North-Western Provinces famine of 1897–98 which even Indian-edited newspapers have accepted as gospel truth.

The Census returns have revealed exactly what, from the annual death returns, was apparent to all who wished to see things in a clear, unprejudiced, light; they must be very bad, and they must make viceregal and other official speeches, as to little or no famine mortality, absurd. This result was, by those who wish to see things as they are, and not as limned in an atmosphere and environment to suit preconceived ideas as to what the fruits of British rule must necessarily be, long ago anticipated. For British rule could not, intentionally, or incidentally, or accidentally, or any other 'entally,'—be any other than beneficent rule. But those who thus saw were openly contemned as enemies to the commonwealth.

Here are the figures of the population in the Allahabad, Benares, and Gorakhpur, divisions, by districts, as shown in the official table published in March, 1901:—

District.	1891	1901.	Increase and Decrease. Per cent.
Cawnpore	1,209,695	1,259,243	+ 4·1
Fatehpur	699,157	686,411	— 1·82
Banda	705,832	631,337	— 10·55
Hamirpur	513,720	458,645	— 10·72
Allahabad	1,548,737	1,487,904	— 3·93
Jhansi	683,619	611,644	— 10·53
Jalaun	396,361	400,619	+ 1·07
Allahabad Division	5,757,121	5,535,803	—
Benares	921,943	882,972	— 4·22
Mirzapur	1,161,508	1,082,903	— 6·77
Caunpur	1,264,949	1,202,710	— 4·93
Ghazipur	1,077,909	914,148	— 15·19
Ballia	942,465	949,966	+ ·8
Benares Division	5,368,774	5,032,699	—
Gorakhpur	2,994,057	2,955,543	— 1·29
Basti	1,785,844	1,845,758	+ 3·36
Azamgarh	1,728,625	1,530,555	— 11·46
Gorakhpur Division	6,508,526	6,331,856	—

Thus, while the normal increase of the population should be at least ten per cent.—and fifteen per cent. if the official ideal be reached—in the three divisions named there were increases in only four districts, and decreases in eleven, amounting in one case to over fifteen per cent. Allowing only one per cent. per annum increase, and not one and a half which the Indian authorities have laid down as the normal annual increase in a properly-governed region, in these three divisions alone, the population at the beginning of the new century as compared with ten years previously was less than it ought to have been,

In Allahabad division	by	797,030	souls.
,, Benares ,,	,,	872,292	,,
,, Gorakhpur ,,	,,	828,022	,,
In the three	by	2,497,344	

Decreases also occurred in the following districts (excluding Almora, where a change of boundaries with Naini Tal has occurred) :—Bijnor, 1·85; Pilibhit, 3·02; Rae Bareli, 0·25; Hardoi, 1·8; Gonda, 3·9; Partabgarh, 2·17; making decreases in sixteen districts out of forty-eight. The net increase for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh is 1·68 only, although plague has had no appreciable effect, and there has only been one famine, which, as has been stated, Sir Antony Macdonnell regards as having been very successfully administered. The figures quoted tell a different tale: so would most North-Western Province civilians who were free to speak of the facts as they saw them.

For the whole of his Province, on the counting being completed, and taking the lower percentage of proper increase, Sir Antony Macdonnell had 3,899,269 fewer subjects to paternally rule than he should have had. Allowing for 'normal' increase he was short of his people by 6,244,285! And yet, since Lord Northbrook's campaign in Behar in 1873, the only really successful famine campaign known in British India, this particular

fight with famine, resulting in a missing number of over six millions of people, is regarded as a triumph of administration and humanity!

APPENDIX

CONDITION OF THE SILK-WEAVING INDUSTRY IN MADURA, SOUTHERN INDIA.[1]

Number of Silk-weavers in the Town.—The silk-weavers as a class are a very prolific people. They are said to multiply more rapidly than the other classes. Fixing, therefore, the inmates of each house to be from four to five, the silk-weavers' population of the town of Madura may be roughly estimated to be between 20,000 to 25,000, including females and children. Of these about 10,000, including females, may be said to belong to the actual coolie class, who earn their living by daily wages. Next to these come the petty traders, who number from 400 to 500 families. Some of these sell threads, having purchased them in retail from the bigger merchants; some again sell lace in retail; some advance small sums of money to the holders of looms and order a small supply of cloths and sell them to the richer merchants. Some are brokers who collect cloths manufactured in the town and sell them either to the merchants in the town or to those abroad, and very few are capitalists who have any very large trading concerns. The last class may also be counted on one's fingers, and it is said they are likely to be only between ten and twenty on the whole. It is the brokers who form a comparatively large number. Some of the silk-weavers have become agriculturists, finding that the profession of weaving does not pay. Their holdings are small, and they only eke out their maintenance from the results of the agricultural labour. Some are said to keep carts and bulls, and to be employed in collecting sand from the river for building purposes.

Their Average Income.—Of the class of merchants, those who get profit of about Rs.100 and more per month, are only five or six; about twenty or thirty get from Rs.50 to Rs.100, and those who get from Rs.5 to Rs.23 are about 400 or 500. The profession of broker is not very remunerative. A broker makes a profit of one anna on every rupee, but to earn a profit of 30 or 40 rupees in a month he has to employ two agents—one to go about the town and watch the progress of the cloths entrusted to the labourers and another to keep accounts. Very often he has to borrow money to pay the weavers in advance.

The average income of a coolie family is Rs.5 a month, and it never goes higher than Rs.10 a month. Females also work; some are

[1] Memorandum on the Progress of Madras Presidency during the last Forty Years of British Administration, p. ccxv.

employed in preparing the threads for weaving, some in the dyeing of cloths, and others in the marking of spots, or what is called sundadis. Boys of twelve years and more also earn wages, and generally get from one rupee upwards.

Rs.500 is the highest value of a cloth which has ever been made in Madura. Merchants of their own accord do not order cloths of value of more than Rs.80 to Rs.100. The cloths made ordinarily range from Rs.6 to Rs.10 only in value.

The introduction of cotton twist from England, of lace from France, as well as of even the dyeing stuff from Bombay, has considerably affected the value of the cloths made in the town, and necessarily the wages to the coolies and profits to the merchants. Of the 14,000 cloths above mentioned as being made in a month in the town, for 7,000 to 10,000 cloths the inferior brass lace is used, and the value of these does not go over Rs.6 at the utmost. Their average price may be fixed at Rs.2½ per cloth; this gives the sum total of Rs.17,500 to Rs.25,000. The average value of an ordinary cloth with good lace may be fixed at Rs.7, and supposing that good lace is used for the remaining 4,000 cloths, their approximate value amounts to Rs.28,000. Thus the total value of cloths made in the town in a month may be fixed at Rs.50,000 to Rs.60,000.

To get an impression of how much this sum of Rs.60,000 actually benefits the townsmen and how much goes to other countries and places, what the component parts of a Madura cloth are must be examined. Let us take for illustration an ordinary white cloth which is sold in the town for Rs.10. The different items which go to make this sum of Rs.10 may be described as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Value of the thread	1	0	0
Cost of preparing the same for weaving ...	0	2	0
Profit earned by the merchant who sells the thread	0	1	0
Cost of fastening the thread to the loom ...	0	1	0
Wages for weaving thread into a cloth	1	4	0
Value of the lace	6	0	0
	8	8	0
Merchants' profit, including brokerage	1	8	0
Total	10	0	0

When the cloth is dyed the excess charge is as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
For the first and rough colouring	0	12	0
For the making of spots	0	12	0
For dyeing them over again	0	12	0
Miscellaneous	0	4	0
Total	2	8	0

Thus the great portion of the value of a cloth goes for the lace which is manufactured in France. Then by the cotton twist used, it is the English merchants who are benefited. The dye is also prepared abroad and the greater portion of Rs.1 12a. spent for dyeing goes also to other hands. The portion of Rs.12 8a. which actually circulates among the townsmen may be taken at the highest to be from Rs.4 to Rs.5, or one-third of the value of the cloth. This calculated with reference to the Rs.60,000 worth of cloth yields a total amount of Rs.24,000 to Rs.30,000, and this amount may roughly be fixed to be the sum earned from the industry by coolie upwards to the richest merchant. Deducting again Rs.5,000 or so as being the profits earned by merchants, there remains Rs.25,000 to be distributed amongst 5,000 families, giving an average of Rs.5 per family, the amount mentioned above, as being the average income of a family. Generally speaking, the industry is becoming day by day less profitable to the actual working classes. The causes thereof are not far to seek. Prior to the importation of cotton twist, some fifty years ago, it would appear there were in the town of Madura 2,000 to 3,000 families employed in spinning out threads. This vocation has entirely ceased now. Again, prior to the importation of lace, there were 500 Mussulman families engaged in making lace, and in their place there are, it would appear, only ten families employed in making country lace. The preparation of colouring materials was at least done locally till a year or two ago, but this, too, has been superseded by the Bombay article. As a necessary result of the cessation of all these vocations, the labour is now directed entirely in one direction towards weaving, and it is in consequence very cheap. What used to be paid for at Rs.2 in former years is now remunerated by one rupee only.

Even as regards the merchant class, the general complaint is that the trade does not pay. It may be that a larger number of cloths are now made than before, but what merchants make as profit by reason of the cheapness of the commodity and keenness of competition seems to be considerably less than what it was in former years. A cloth which was sold for Rs.60 is now sold for only Rs.30.

As a curious illustration of how the importation of the English-made goods has affected the local weaving industry, it may be mentioned that the weavers themselves of the town of Madura do hardly use the cloths woven by them. Mulls and piece goods have taken the place of the home-made articles, and if the richer class should seek for some country cloths, it is the Conjeveram cloths that are made use of. The females likewise use the *Thombu*, and if they seek for some better country-made cloths they purchase the Koranadu cloths. Thus it happens that one or two per cent. of the town-made articles are sold in the town itself, and the rest are sent abroad.

The Habits and Manners of the Silk-weavers as a Class.—Silk-weavers as a class lead a simple life. Their food is simple and consists of cholum, cumbu, and other dry grains. Rice is used by

comparatively few persons only. Their clothing is simple. The females wear a cloth of Rs.2-worth only, except on festive occasions, when they wear the Koranadu cloths. House accommodation is necessary for their profession, and each endeavours, therefore, first, to secure a house for himself. They are not also without a desire for ornaments. Even the poorest household are mentioned to have some gold jewels. A silk-weaver's property consists generally of his house and ornaments. Marriage is costly with them. About Rs. 68 must be paid to the bride even by the poorest man. To meet this item of expenditure almost every coolie before he enters on his profession begins to subscribe to some chit transaction or other, and to save out of his hard-earned wages one rupee or so to be paid monthly for a series of years extending from five to seven. Before he earns his prize in his turn, necessity, however, often compels him to borrow, mortgaging his chit and the house owned by him. It is such documents that are registered in large numbers in the town offices of Madura. There is another peculiarity about these silk-weavers. They seldom borrow from others than their caste-men. In case of loans of large sums, probably they may resort to the Nattukkottai chetti, but all ordinary loans are contracted from one of their own community.

CHAPTER IX

IS INDIA DISTRESSED? WE SEE NO DISTRESS. IF INDIA BE DISTRESSED AND NON-PROSPEROUS, WHY DO WE NOT SEE THE DISTRESS?'

Impression of Visitors that India is a Land of Great Prosperity Arises from their Never Visiting the Real India: They see Anglo-Indian Colonies on the Continent of India only.

Anglostan and Hindustan—Two Countries Included in the Indian Empire of Britain.

Eulogies of Moral and Material Welfare Blue Books apply only to Anglostan.

What is Really Going On in Hindustan? The Public Not Permitted to Know.

The Veil Partly Drawn Aside in. 1867, 1877, 1879–80, 1888, 1896, and 1897–8.

The Panjab:

Mr. Thorburn's Inquiry as to Agriculturists' Indebtedness

Fixity of Land Revenue Cause of Much Indebtedness.

Government's Duty to so Adjust its Revenue as to Obviate Unnecessary Borrowings.

Why the Sowkar is Preferred to Government when a Loan for Cattle or Seed is Required.

Results of the Indebtedness Inquiry—Widespread Ruin Revealed.

Five 'Beginnings' of Indebtedness.

Legislation and Administration Need Adaptation to Indian Requirements.

North-Western Provinces and Oudh:

Lord Dufferin's Conscience and Sir W. W. Hunter's Exposure.

'The Greater Proportion of the Population Suffer from an Insufficiency of Food.'

The Inquiry of 1887–88.

How a Summary of Evidence should Not be Prepared.

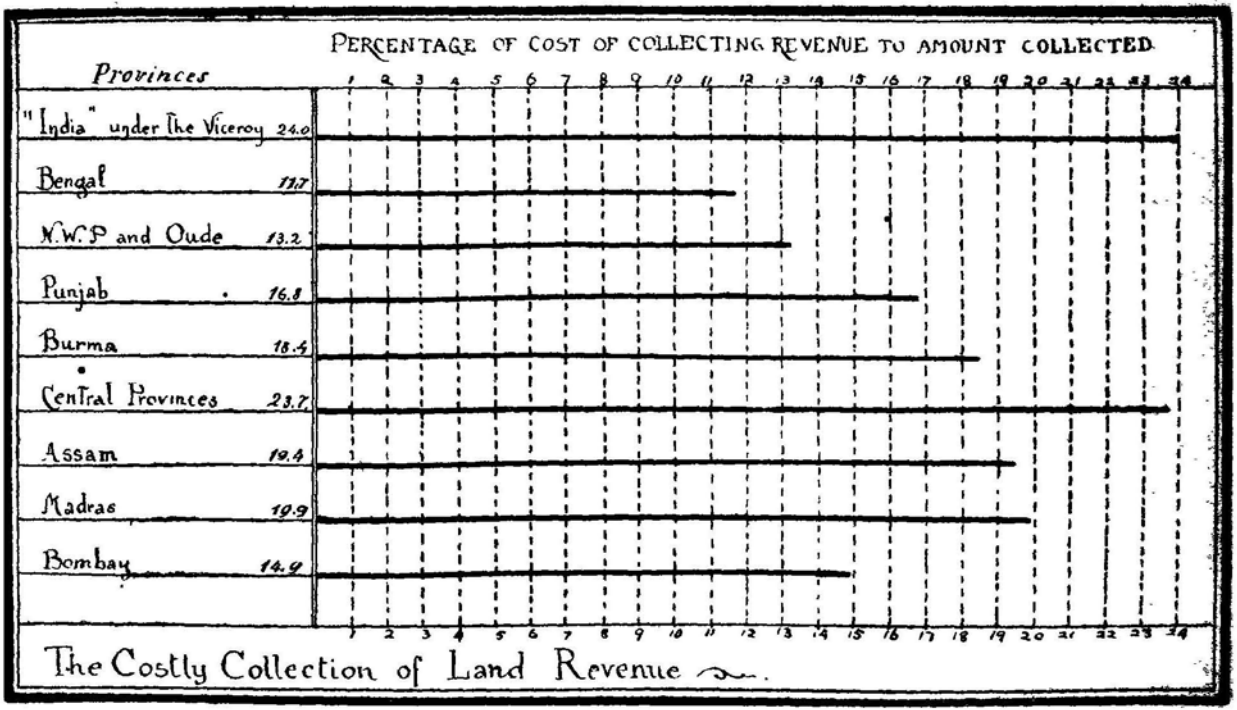
Mr. Crooke's Facts in a 'Covering Letter' and the Facts Themselves—Two Very Different Things.

Farmers, with a Well and Two Bullocks, in Good Years, Steadily Submerged.

Ninety-Nine per Cent. of Gross Produce Taken for Rent by Landlord who Pays Half to the British Government.

Farmers (If They have No Children) 'Can Afford a Blanket.'

INCREDULITY, annoyance—for a moment or two anger—exhibit themselves in the average Briton when, in his presence, it is asserted that India is in a


PERCENTAGE OF COST OF COLLECTING REVENUE TO AMOUNT COLLECTED
Provinces
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
"India" under the Viceroy 24.0
Bengal 11.7
N.W.P and Oude 13.2
Punjab 16.8
Burma 18.4
Central Provinces 23.7
Assam 19.4
Madras 19.9
Bombay 14.9
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
The Costly Collection of Land Revenue

distressful condition. Unhappily the feeling aroused is excited against the expounder of facts, not against the facts themselves and all that they reveal. The look of pitying contempt with which the asserter of such a statement is favoured is intended to be withering in its intensity. This is especially the case with the cold-weather tourist, who, in proportion to the shortness of his visit and the time he spent in cantonments, holds the most positive of opinions. As the recipient of much incredulity, and more pitying contempt than I care to remember, I have become a connossieur of the manner in which, and of the extent to which, India strikes a stranger. Ninety-nine visitors to India out of one hundred, if not indeed nine hundred and ninety-nine out of one thousand, leave that country with an impression that they have been visiting a land of great prosperity and a people fairly well-to-do and generally content.

And they are perfectly right in the impression they have formed.

What they have seen fully justifies them in coming to a conclusion calculated to gratify them as Britons and to satisfy them as to the great part which their country and their countrymen have played in bringing India to so advanced a position. The route taken by the ordinary traveller in India—unless he or she be the most difficult to please among mortals—can leave but one impression on the mind. More than seventy years ago Bishop Heber was constrained to write—

> 'Thy towers, Bombay, gleam fair, they say,
> Across the dark blue sea.'

A like feeling of admiration takes possession of the traveller before he sets foot on the Apollo Bunder. So far as the unaccustomed heat and ever-attentive mosquito will permit, the feeling is intensified as he passes along the broad avenues with their green umbrageous foliage partly concealing, and in so doing adding to the effect

produced by, the magnificent buildings on every side. The effect is perhaps greatest when the most magnificent railway station in the world is visited—the Victoria Station, designed by the late Mr. Stevens. A journey to that part of the city occupied by the native inhabitants, with its crowded streets, its busy life, its varied animation, and its general activity brings a new phase of thought. 'All this busy scene is of our creation. This is our work, our work, our work. . What *do* these people not owe to us!' No longer can it be asked as a question involving an impossibility: 'Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit to his stature?' Mentally, racially, and patriotically, practically every Englishman who goes to India through its western gate adds not one but many cubits to his stature before he really starts on his journeyings in India. An evening in a bungalow on Malabar Hill, or even an afternoon visit to the Botanical Gardens overlooking Back Bay and the many-towered city, puts the top-stone on an edifice then completely erected in the visitor's mind.

It is thus mentally equipped that the 'grand tour' through India is begun. Can there be any wonder if the frame of mind thus induced should become almost ecstatic over the many proud evidences of the great good of British rule? For pretty well all the visitor saw in Bombay *was* the creation and consequence of British rule. As I have said, everything that is seen justifies the strongest feelings of complacency which are certain to be aroused in the stranger's mind. He proceeds on his tour. Everywhere he sees similar proofs of British success. Crossing the great plains of India he may, as he gazes from the railway carriage window, wonder where the agricultural people are to be found. He has been told that India is a land of villages and that eighty-six per cent. of the inhabitants are agriculturists. Where, then, are the villages? And, where the people? It is true he sees here and there a collection of mud-huts with little or no sign of life about them, and

concludes that those are ruined villages of which he has read.

Allahabad, Calcutta, Darjeeling, the Northern Indian cities, with perhaps a glance at Madras, and, maybe, Rangoon, are included in the visitor's round. Soon the new impression of our greatness and success wears off. It has solidified into an article of belief, has become a part of irremovable indentation in the grey matter of the brain; an abiding addition is made to the mental equipment of the individual. So it comes about that the stoutest defenders of British rule in India are those persons who have visited that country for a short time. An example of the impression made on the average visitor comes to me whilst this chapter is in preparation.

An English gentleman, who was a Parliamentary representative for some years, who is related to the greatest Parliamentary champion India has known since the days of Burke, visited India during the winter of 1900–1901. He was in that country during the aftermath of what Lord Curzon has called 'the most terrible famine which has ever visited India.' I forwarded to him a copy of my Open Letter to the Viceroy on the Condition of India and its people. On June 24, 1901, this reply reached me :—

'I have been a long time in acknowledging the receipt of the paper you were kind enough to send me. Of course I have not the knowledge of the subject to enable me to judge of the question in dispute, but I imagine that those in power are always likely to make out the best case for themselves and the results of their rule. I went to India on a short trip last winter. I spent a few days in Bombay and Calcutta, and visited Darjeeling, Benares, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Agra, Delhi, and Jeypore. I was much interested with the people and very favourably impressed with them. I did not come across any signs of poverty or starvation, and perhaps that was not to be expected in so short a trip. In the native quarters of the cities the people seemed to be industrious and cheerful, and the children seemed plump and happy. I did not notice anything in the villages near the railway line, or in the appearance of the people who were in the fields, to lead me to think that they were in great distress, though, of course, every one could see that they are poor. I was much surprised to see the immense amount of travelling by rail which they do. Whenever I went by an ordinary train the stations were crowded with natives—

one would think that they must have some spare money to pay for this. I did not see any of the great men in India except the Chief Justice of Calcutta, whom I knew here. The military power which holds the country seemed to be very little in evidence. I should like to go again, but probably never shall.'

For an unpremeditated expression of opinion, not written with an eye to publication, the foregoing is a valuable document. Its chief value lies in its absolute accuracy. What is described is true to the life and to the letter. Personally, I should subscribe my agreement with all that is set forth.

But the evidence is valueless; the impression obtained is so misleading as to be wholly false. The writer of this letter—the ordinary visitor to the land called India, following the route described above—did not visit India. The places at which he stopped were British Colonies in India. They were not India itself. There are two Indias; the India of the Presidency and chief provincial cities, of the railway system, of the hill stations, in all of which Britain is as supreme as she is in the chief places of the United Kingdom. This is the India where the people, taken all round and allowing for the circumstances of the respective cases, are as prosperous and nearly as well content as are their brother British subjects in London, Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bristol, and Southampton—with this difference, the really rich men in all the Indian cities do not number two hundred, and that, with a trifling exception, all the big salaries earned in the administration—the biggest salaries for like work in all the world—are received by Englishmen, by foreigners. This India, at the outside, cannot affect more than fifteen per cent. of the people. Those people are not seen as Indian people, but as British Indian subjects whose daily bread comes from the political structure made in Britain according to British ideas, and is not an outgrowth of the country's needs or the people's wishes.

There are two countries situated between the mountains which constitute the roof of the world and the eighth degree north of the equator and bounded east and west by Chinese territory and the Afghan kingdom. They may be named respectively—

ANGLOSTAN, the land specially ruled by the English, in which English investments have been made, and by which a fair show and reality of prosperity are ensured;

HINDUSTAN, practically all India[1] fifty miles from each side of the railway lines, except the tea, coffee, indigo, and jute, plantations, and not including the Feudatory States.

ANGLOSTAN is the region to which the roseate statements in the Viceregal and State Secretary's speeches refer. All that is eulogistic in Indian Moral and Material Welfare Blue Books apply only to Anglostan. If only there were agreement as to this real delimitation between the two Indias, there would not be the conflict of opinion that now puzzles the outsider as he hears directly opposing statements made concerning the Indo-British Empire in the East. As a matter of fact, if the ground were but properly defined there is no real difference between the official apologists and the outside critics. The mischief in regard to the former is that while they deal with all-sufficient detail in connection with everything concerning Anglostan, of Hindustan they produce naught but glittering generalities, which dazzle but do not inform. If by any chance such evidence as will be summarised shortly—I refer to the inquiry con-

[1] Let no critic divert attention from the argument by reminding his reader that Hindustan, properly so-called, was not co-extensive with the British Dominions called India, which embrace Beluchis in the West and Shans in the East, Kashmiris, Dogras, and Afghans in the North, and Tamils in the South. It meant little more than India north of the Nerbudda. I know this, but the expression can be fairly used (with this explanation) for my purpose, and need not be regarded as in any degree misleading.

cerning the economic condition of the Indian people made in 1888—be forthcoming, it is immediately 'dressed' (with more than a shopkeeper's art for his best window), out of all recognition, even to the extent of being a misrepresentation of what it professes to summarise. The 'leading case' in my mind as I write is the covering letter of the Secretariat of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh on the inquiry which I have mentioned. That summary, which gave an inaccurate representation of the facts ascertained, was published. The evidence on which it was professedly based has, on several occasions, been refused when requests for its publication have been made in the House of Commons. Of that evidence more later; meanwhile the Parliamentary incident is narrated here as being part of a settled policy in the India Office, namely, that only such statements concerning administration as the Secretary of State and his Council think proper shall reach the hands of an interested public.

As I have said, ANGLOSTAN, with its railways, roads, and public works generally, its prosperous and prospering cities, its civil and criminal codes, its famine code, its high courts of justice, constitutes a Marvel of Governing Skill and Ability. Were these all, then, so far as mere administration goes, and, assuming it to be fitting that self-praise and egoistic eulogy at any time can be appropriate—then too much has not been said in praise of the British rule of India;—and, again, assuming also that the higher ethics of humanity will permit of even a perfect system of rule being continued—as the British Indian rule is continued—by a menace of force and without the assistance throughout and the secured consent of the governed.

Good as is British administration in the regions and to the extent described, when the price to be paid for it is the once-gradual, but now-rapid demoralisation of eighty-five per cent. of the people, and the equally rapid denudation of the country's resources to the enrichment of the foreign rulers, all this brave display becomes a mockery and a curse.

What is there behind the screen? What is really going on in HINDUSTAN?

As a rule the public are not allowed to know. We scarcely deserve the compliment paid to us in the Indian portion of the record of the tour round the world made by the Czar of Russia when he was Czarewitch; it is there said: 'Yes, the English, to do them justice, do not hide the bitter truth from themselves that India is an unfortunate country.' It is true we use the phrase, 'India is a poor land,' as did Sir Mackenzie Wallace, and so called forth compliment to our honesty. But we never get far beyond the phraseology. We say India is a poor land, and go on ruling it as if it were a veritable mine of wealth. Glimpses behind the screen are occasionally permissible. Now and then the veil is drawn aside, and one sees what is really happening. This has occurred on the following occasions—to take recent incidents only:—

The Orissa Famine Commission, 1867;

The Deccan Riots Commission, 1877;

The Famine Commission of 1879–80;

The Inquiry into the Economic Condition of the Agricultural and Labouring Classes, 1888;

The Inquiry into Peasant Indebtedness and Land Alienation in parts of the Rawalpindi Division, Panjab, 1896;

The Famine Commission of 1897–8.

I will take two Provinces and one Presidency, and when these have been delineated according to the official evidence recorded, will then take India as a whole and indicate the terrible condition into which the Empire has been allowed to fall. The two Provinces are the Panjab and the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, generally considered to be the most prosperous parts of India outside the permanently-settled Lower Provinces of Bengal. The Presidency is Bombay. The language employed, as far as possible, will always be official, even if it be not contained within quotation marks.

THE PANJAB.

One man in Northern India has had the courage alike to inquire and to recommend. From his efforts has resulted the Land Alienation Act for the Panjab. That measure, which was passed in October, 1900, took from the owners of the land many of their proprietary rights. Its provisions summarised by Mr. S. S. Thorburn, retired Panjab civilian, whose report—to be immediately alluded to—produced the measure, and who is the man to whom I refer, are as follows:—

1. Prohibited the permanent alienation of agricultural land, except to defined agriculturists;

2. Only permitted certain forms of temporary alienations to non-agriculturists up to a limit of twenty years, the land then returning unencumbered to the family of the alienor;

3. Disabled alienors from making any further disposition during the currency of the temporary transfer;

4. Declared the hypothecation of agricultural produce for more than one year to be illegal;

5. Prohibited the execution-sale of agricultural lands; and

6. Confined jurisdiction under the Bill to Revenue officers only.[1]

The genesis of this measure, as told by its author, is most interesting. It will be found at the foot of this page.[2] Having received authority, Mr. Thorburn chose four tracts, two of them 'well' circles near Lahore, a

[1] 'Agricola Redivivus,' art., *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1901, page 77.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 65–66. Mr. Thorburn says:—'I was almost despondent, when, in 1892, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. Though his experience had been almost wholly in the Secretariat, and his bias of mind was legal, he was known to be able, thorough, and independent. He at once read all the official literature on the subject of land-reform, and in his frank, incisive way said to me, "Half measures won't do. It is the whole hog or nothing." Soon after, per-

third one hundred miles westwards, and a fourth still farther west in the Salt Range. 'The first three were known to be depressed. The latter was supposed to be better circumstanced, though it was a densely populated rain country.' 'The four tracts or circles covered an area of about one thousand square miles, and supported an agricultural population of three hundred thousand souls scattered throughout five hundred and thirty-five villages and hamlets.' Evidence was readily available and was trustworthy.[1] The collection and sifting of facts occupied

ceiving that the statistics of land-transfers were faulty and unreliable, he initiated measures for their improvement. In the cold weather of 1894–95 he marched through my division—I was the Commissioner of Rawalpindi—and in his tour halted in the heart of a country which was sometimes a granary and sometimes a desert. As he approached his camp a great mob of excited peasants, earnest greybeards most of them, surrounded his horse, some even thrusting horny hands upon the bridle, and kept on shouting at him, "We are ruined, Lord Sahib. The Kirars (Hindu usurers) and compound interest have robbed us of our lands." He tried to get more precise information, but it was useless. The formula was taken up and repeated by an ever-enlarging circle Recognising that they had convictions, but small powers of exposition, he rode on through them to his tents. Strolling that evening with me, he pointed out that economic problems could only be solved by evidence and reason, in which sentiment had no place, to smash a working system of old standing, except on clear proof that through it the people were being pauperised and expropriated, was impossible.

'"You have the evidence, sir," I suggested, "in all the settlement reports and the annual returns of land-transfers."

'"But the figures are worth little. For instance, they don't show redemptions; the same land may be mortgaged and redeemed half a dozen times for aught I know."

'"If you must have positive proof," I replied, "you can easily obtain it in the way proposed by me ten years ago. If you will select tracts for general statistics, and then take typical villages in them, and have each original peasant-proprietor's debt and mortgage history worked out before the whole village for the last twenty-five years or so, you will get the facts in a few months, which the superficial inquiries of the last dozen years have failed to bring out."

'Next morning His Honour told me that he had been reading "Musalmans and Moneylenders," and was willing to receive a proposal from me for carrying out an inquiry of the kind therein suggested.'

[1] 'The publicity of all proceedings protected us from the fabrication of evidence—a practice which makes the administration of justice conducted in court-rooms such groping in the dark in India. Men lie with impunity in a court-house at a distance from their homes, but not when sitting in the midst of hundreds who know the truth.'—'Agric. Red.' p. 67.

six months, after which two months more were spent in preparing a report on the whole case. Then came the Report. From a manuscript copy with which I have been favoured,[1] I make some citations which are valuable from the facts stated, and interesting because of the side-lights they throw upon the condition of the peasant farmers of the far North-West of India.

The principle of fixity of land-revenue preferred by Government to elasticity.

'Ever since, as Settlement Collector of the Bannu district (1872–79),' says Mr. Thorburn, in the sixty-seventh paragraph of his report, 'I learnt something of the actual difficulties of peasant life, I have always held that our system of fixity of land revenue is unsuitable for peasant owners, because after short harvests fixity compels many of them to borrow from lenders in order to pay their quota of the assessment. I have, consequently, whenever practicable, advocated elasticity, and I have been instrumental in introducing that principle to some, though I think very insufficient, extent in riverain tracts on the Indus, Jhelum, and Chenáb. If some degree of elasticity, which in its fullest measure is the establishment of a ratio between each harvest's out-turn converted into rupees, and the revenue demanded for that harvest, is desirable for river-flooded areas, it is often equally and sometimes more desirable for rain-dependent tracts. The reason is that, cases of avulsion and erosion excepted, the yields on river lands are on the whole more certain and more equal than on rain lands. The rainfall is so varying in quantity and time of fall, that in most rain tracts, over thirty miles south of the Himalayas, the fluctuations of out-turn from harvest to harvest are immense, ranging from *nil* plus loss of seed and absence of fodder to a hundred-fold plus practically unlimited fodder. However, as yet fixed assessments and distribution according to soils are the rule in all districts in which I have served, except in certain sub-montane strips of Dera Ismail Khan. This principle of fixity is continued on revisions of assessment, although Government loses thereby potential revenue. Loss is incurred, because the extraordinary uncertainty of the yields, coupled with the poverty of agriculturists, constrain Government to pitch the assessment considerably below the half assets standard. Whether I am right or not, the practical difficulties of extending elasticity are believed by Government—a belief not shared by myself—to be insurmountable, and the people are accustomed to fixity and prefer the ills they know of to ills unknown, so I suppose the present system will be continued.

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[1] The Secretary of State, I believe, has consented to the publication of the Report, and it may appear before the present century ends.

'Now in this Inquiry it has been established that in widely separated tracts inhabited by widely differing tribes of peasant owners on well-lands as on rain lands, indebted owners borrow, even after good or average harvests, food grain in winter and spring and seed at sowing times, because their creditors appropriate a large part of their crops from the threshing-floor in full or part payment of debts previously incurred, or of interest due on such debts. The loss of part of the yield compels many of these owners to pay their revenue a month or so afterwards by further borrowing. If this is the case in good seasons with already indebted owners, it is also the case in bad seasons with some hitherto debt-free owners.'

Mr. Thorburn continues :—

Borrowing to pay land revenue.

'The problem then is, how can the State, without a change in its land-revenue system, reduce borrowing from money-lenders? The question of restricting unnecessary borrowing by contracting credit will be dealt with presently. Here I am considering what may loosely be called necessary borrowing. It is, of course, outside the power of Government to feed hungry peasants whenever harvests are below average or fail entirely. All that Government can do is, when drought produces famine, to find life-sustaining work near their homes for the able-bodied starving, and to gratuitously feed those physically incapable of labour. That the State is already pledged to do, and does. But with respect to borrowing to pay land revenue, to supply seed grain, and to replace plough cattle, the State can, and ought to, I think, do much more than it now does. I offer some remarks on each of these subjects, and shall first deal with borrowing to pay land revenue.

'That is a class of debt which the State, by its deliberate preference for fixity over elasticity, has to some extent driven the peasantry to incur. It is idle to say that zemindars are thriftless, quarrelsome, or extravagant, and have themselves to blame for their indebtedness. The evidence in this Inquiry brings home none of these charges, except to some small extent thriftlessness, and even if all of them were deserved, we have to deal with human nature as it is, and the obligation would still lie on the Government to so adjust its land-revenue system as to obviate all reason for unnecessary borrowing from usurers. I say "unnecessary borrowing," for do what we will the sáhúkár will always be a necessity to small farmers. He existed before annexation in the villages of the Panjab; he was found in the Kurram valley, when we recently annexed it; he was found last year in Swát, and in fact we know that he is a necessity wherever there are settled populations, and continuous farming all the world over, even throughout Afghánistán. But before our time in the Panjab

the village lender was, and in the other countries named he is still, a dependant, a servant of the rural community, and never what our system is making him in the Panjab villages—that community's master. Then, as regards fixity of land revenue and borrowing to pay it in short seasons, it is idle to contend that the rules for granting suspensions and remissions of land revenue demand supply the required amount of elasticity. The answer to such an assertion is found in the revenue and agricultural histories of thousands of villages in this or in probably any other Division of the Panjab, and in the detailed debt and alienation histories of the 742 holdings specially attested in this Inquiry. Prices-current, rain statistics, and the annual Revenue Reports of districts show that fodder and grain scarcities are of frequent recurrence, and the village note-books and revenue statistics generally prove that suspensions are rare and remissions still rarer. It may be said that recent rules are more liberal, giving Collectors and Commissioners more latitude than formerly. Even so it is only here and there that an exceptionally strong, energetic, and sympathetic, Collector, helped by exceptionally good Tahsíldárs may, by comprehensive suspensions, followed by considerate remissions, save an appreciable percentage of their indebted peasants from having to borrow privately to pay the revenue. But such Collectors and Tahsíldárs are exceptional, laws and rules have to be made for and worked by average officials, and all officials have multifarious unavoidable duties which must be done. Thus from want of forethought, positive ignorance of facts, want of time, or perhaps even a disinclination to do more than the minimum obligatory, Collectors often will not or do not arrange suspensions in time, or work out remission cases with that amplitude and exactness which superior authority requires. All such work throws much additional labour on the already burdened district staff, and is naturally distasteful to average minds. Then, too, the State must have its land revenue, and is reasonably averse to suspensions and remissions, which upset budget arrangements and reduce revenue. Since I have been Commissioner of this Division, the Siálkot district, during Colonel Montgomery's *régime* (1888–94), had a Collector and several Tahsíldárs possessed of all the exceptional qualifications noted above, and yet in those years I cannot discover that any revenue was suspended or remitted. In fact, for the whole district, the revenue of which is now fifteen lakhs, I make out that in the last thirty years only Rs.6,450 have been suspended, and Rs.1,694 remitted, all on account of damage done by hail. In that period there have been several prolonged fodder famines and quite a dozen poor harvests.'

Later, in the same report, he goes on to indicate why zemindars prefer the saukars to Government when borrowing to replace cattle, and says:—

'Next as to borrowing for seed grain and to replace cattle:—Act XII. of 1884 was passed to enable agriculturists to so borrow from Government and an allotment is annually made to each district for that purpose. In few districts, I believe, is the small allotment made fully utilised, and practically, so far as my experience goes, peasants prefer to obtain money for cattle from private lenders rather than from the State. They prefer to do this in the teeth of the fact that Government takes 6¼ per cent. interest a year on such loans, counting the interest from the harvest succeeding that in which loan was made, whereas sáhúkárs take from 25 per cent. to 37·8 per cent. or more a year, either charge interest at a daily rate from date on which loan was made, or at a monthly or annual rate—broken periods being treated as full periods—and also deduct from the sum lent one anna in the rupee as discount. The explanation is that to borrow, say, Rs.50 from Government for a yoke of oxen, involves personal inconvenience, uncertainty of result of application, considerable delay, and generally the necessity of conciliating various ministerial servants of Government, first at the Tahsíl, then in the village, and sometimes at District headquarters as well. Then repayment is exacted at fixed amounts and times. Further, average Collectors and Tahsíldárs do not encourage loans for cattle and seed, because each case gives much trouble, and the security is not always good—for tenants as well as owners are eligible for such loans—and none but the neediest men require them. In such circumstances the borrower naturally prefers his own sáhúkár, who lives in or near his village and lends him what he wants in one short interview, whereas did he borrow from Government he might be kept moving between home and the Tahsíl or perhaps even District headquarters as well, for two or three months, and eventually be refused a loan. The same may be said of loans for seed, but as Rs.5 or Rs.10 should meet a small holder's seed requirements seed-borrowing from a sáhúkár has comparatively insignificant consequences for the debtor. The instructions and rules under the Agriculturists' Loan Act, 1884, Revenue Circular 55, paragraphs 12–14, and in Appendix III. to the Circular are fairly liberal except that unnecessary delay is caused by the obligation laid on the Tahsíldár to refer each application to the Collector for orders (Rule 8), but even were Tahsíldárs empowered to grant loans without such reference few would, without strong encouragement, take action. Whatever the reason, it is a fact that Acts and Rules are almost a dead letter. If paragraph 18 of Report and Appendix XIV. be compared it will be seen that loans for cattle by sáhúkárs aggregate Rs.63,449 for twelve villages against Rs.8,646 by Government for five hundred and thirty-five villages.'

We now come to the results of Mr. Thorburn's inquiry:—

In 474[1] villages in widely distant and differing tracts held by widely different tribes and clans are to be found the following results :—

'(*a*) Two hundred and ninety-seven villages out of four hundred and seventy-four were prosperous, or at least free from debt or alienations at time of Regular Settlement preceding late revisions.

'(*b*) Dividing the four hundred and seventy-four villages into three groups, those hopelessly, seriously, and slightly involved, moneylenders and traders held the following percentages of cultivated and of immediately alienable area (paragraphs 40 and 41 of Report) :—

Number of villages in each group, viz. A, B, and C (hopelessly, seriously, and slightly involved).	Area with Percentage.	
	Total cultivated.	Of which held by moneylenders.
A 126	64,094	27,765
	100	43
B 210	143,149	29,672
	100	20
C 138	94,676	5,456
	100	6
Total ... 474	301,919	62,893
	100	20
Add—		
(*a*) Mortgaged without possession to moneylenders.	...	2,826
(*b*) Alienated to "traders not also practising moneylending" who cultivate through tenants	...	1,759
Grand Total	301,919	67,478
		22
Compare percentage on area admitted	271,518	67,478
		25

'(*c*) The present indebtedness to moneylenders of these three groups of villages is approximately as follows :—

	Rs.
Group A estimated amount of unsecured debts ...	6,84,398
,, B ,, ,, ,, ,, ...	10,77,105
,, C ,, ,, ,, ,, ...	2,16,500
[2]Total	Rs. 19,78,003

[1] 'Five hundred and thirty-five villages were inquired into, but here I am excluding the sixty-one referred to in para. 37 of Report.'—S. S. T.

Add—		
Debt secured on mortgages with possession	...	18,75,086
Debt secured on simple mortgages now existing	...	1,18,673
Total Indebtedness	...	39,66,762
Add purchase-money of lands sold to moneylenders	...	7,61,136
Grand Total	...	Rs. 47,27,898

'(*d*) The information given above under (*b*) and (*c*) for the Circles is as follows for the twelve involved villages attested holding by holding:—

Total cultivated area in acres	...	13,771
Of which alienated (with percentage) to ... Moneylenders	... ...	4,890 86
New Agriculturists	...	535 4
Old Agriculturists	... ...	1,804 3
Total alienations in acres	...	7,229 53
Total cost of acquisition	...	Rs. 2,98,097
Unsecured debt still owed	...	1,01,229
Total debts incurred	...	Rs. 3,99,326

'(*e*) In the above twelve villages out of 742 families 566 are now practically ruined or heavily involved — the beginnings of both conditions usually dating from after 1871 — and out of the whole number of families who were at any time indebted (650) only 18, or two per cent., have succeeded in extricating themselves—in three of these cases release was due to external causes; as regards the other ten there is no evidence.'

Mr. Thorburn's conclusions on the origins of the indebtedness are thus set forth:—

'If it be possible to generalise from the results obtained from the detailed Inquiry into seven hundred and forty-two holdings, the conclusions are that, given a holding large enough to support an average family (say, three adults and two children) in an average year the ordinary beginnings of debt are:—

'(*a*) By borrowing food grain after a short harvest and failing to repay the debt with all interest due to the next Rabi harvest, either because that crop was short or debtor careless and creditor calculatingly unexacting, or because creditor's terms were exceptionally hard.

(*b*) By raising money to meet a misfortune, usually death of cattle, and failing to repay the debt as in case (*a*).

'(*c*) By causing Sáhúkár to pay the revenue demand, this being a subsidiary and contributory cause commonly incident to an owner already indebted, and consequent on the creditor acting as if he had a first lien on the crop.

'(*d*) Serious debt being incurred, the loss of status and pauperisation which often follow are generally due to hard terms imposed by creditors, their severity being a consequence of our present system of civil justice as administered.

'(*e*) In the case of landlord-holders or yeomen, partly self-cultivating and partly cultivating through tenants, the course of this decline and fall is much the same, the beginnings of debt arising from their practice of living up to their incomes in good or average years, and continuing to live in much the same style by borrowing in short years.'

Remedial measures — both urgent and minor — were suggested, and upon them the Act was framed. In commending these remedies, Mr. Thorburn makes a statement which is pathetic in its revelation of the difficulties encountered by a humane and earnest official if he desires to reform abuses. Our system has made no provision for such men. Systems which are regarded by their authors as all-sufficing in themselves and Holy-of-Holies in character, necessarily have no place in them for the Thorburns of the Panjab, and can only just endure the Cottons of Assam. 'In the last thirty-nine paragraphs,' says Mr. Thorburn:—

'I have in places exceeded my brief by suggesting relief measures. To do so was almost unavoidable, the disease sometimes indicating the remedy. My real reason was, however, different. With thirty-one years of service behind me, during the last twelve of which I had made ineffectual efforts to induce Government to face and decide the agrarian problem, I felt that if this attempt should fail, my Indian career itself would be a failure, and that, if so, I might regard the case as hopeless and retire disappointed. So feeling and believing that I had some claim to speak with authority — having passed all my service in constant intercourse with the people and in attempts to better their circumstances — I have ventured, in addition to answering His Honour's questions, to put forward some of the remedial or relief measures, which stand out as most urgent from amongst those suggested by the facts established or the evidence collected in this Inquiry.

'For many years now I have been representing in official papers and private publications—probably to my own disadvantage as a servant of Government—that persistence in inaction is an injustice to the people and a danger for ourselves. I have urged that the annually increasing indebtedness of "old agriculturists" and the continuous passing of their fields to moneylenders sufficed to prove *per se* that laws producing or permitting such evils are unsuitable laws for those whom they are meant to benefit, but in effect injure. Our civil legislation is in fact based on the assumption that the large majority of men are thrifty, intelligent, and business-minded—a nation of Khatrís, as it were—whereas the converse is the truth. The many are improvident, stupid, and incapable of comprehending figures or the consequences or even meaning of any but the simplest contracts carrying immediate material results. The few are men of business, inheritors for generations of the commercial instinct, to whom gain is the great object of life. Naturally, then, our system operates not only in this Division, but all over British India,—wherever special laws do not exist,—exactly as this Inquiry shows that the system has been operating in this Division. That system facilitates the passing of the property of the ignorant many to the astute few, fosters usury, punishes ignorance and stupidity, and rewards business qualifications and education—now a costly thing rarely within the reach of peasants.

'I think that this Inquiry, so far as it has gone, proves that we must forthwith amend our system so far as zemindars are concerned. We must, in fact, legislate and administer *down* to their needs and capacities.

'In the four selected Circles quite half the "old agriculturists" are already ruined beyond redemption in one hundred and twenty-six villages, but the other owners can still be saved, and communities still fairly free from debt and degradation can be kept free. The same is probably the case elsewhere in the Panjab. Government cannot afford to let our peasantry sink to a condition analogous to that of the Russian mughiks—analogous, but with this great difference, that in Russia landlords, creditors, and Government are all Russians, whereas in India a handful of foreigners rule the tens of millions, and through the action of these foreigners the peasant masses are now largely dependants of moneylenders, their former servants, who are generally alien to them by caste or tribe and for nearly half the Panjab by religion as well.'

I put this record of ill-doing in the forefront of my selected examples as it is the only one I know of where remedy—if what is done should prove to be a remedy—has been applied on the initiative of a single officer, and without an insurrection. The last-quoted paragraph will

show that, comparatively prompt as was the application of the remedy when the disease had been fully diagnosed, it was not in time to save many of the sufferers. 'In the four selected Circles quite half the "old agriculturists" are already ruined beyond redemption in one hundred and twenty-six villages.'

THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

As Lord Dufferin's period of rule was drawing to a close, his British conscience began to trouble him concerning the condition of the people under his governance. Sir William Hunter's forty millions of starving folk, Sir Charles Elliott's statement respecting the never-ceasing hunger of half the agricultural population, and other observations of a like kind, combined with the political fervour which the National Congress was causing, made Lord Dufferin uncomfortable. Just before his last year of office began—that is, on August 17, 1887—the Viceroy issued a circular in which he said: 'The attention of the Government of India having been called to the frequency with which the assertion has been repeated that the greater proportion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food, it is considered desirable to ascertain whether this impression is wholly untrue or partially true; and in the latter case, to attain some idea of the extent to which it is so, and how far any remedial measures can be suggested.' So far as can be ascertained at the time when the above sentence was written, nobody has said that 'the greater proportion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food'—that is to say over one hundred millions were daily hungry and unfed the year through: now, however, this is being said, and said, too, with a good show of authority. Lord Dufferin ordered that 'an inquiry should be quietly and confidentially instituted by the Department of Land Records and Agriculture in communication with selected officials of experience and judgment, care being taken that whatever evidence is brought forward should be of a positive and trustworthy character.'

The inquiry was made. In October, 1888, fifteen months after the instructions were given, and two months before Lord Dufferin left India, a Resolution was published. While not denying there was suffering, the Resolution declared there was no occasion for undue alarm. I am not, however, concerned here with the Resolution, but with Appendix A, which professes to consist of a '*Précis* of the Reports received on the inquiry made into the condition of the lower classes of the population.' The Reports themselves have never been published. They are marked 'Confidential.' In response to a request made by the late Mr. Bradlaugh for their publication, the Secretary of State for India laid the volumes (or some of them —the Madras volume, for example, is not included) on the Table of the House of Commons, and they can, I believe, be consulted in the Library of the Legislature. On p. 80, Appendix A, the following paragraph respecting the district of Etah in the North-Western Provinces appears: 'Mr. Crooke, Collector of Etah (area 1,739 square miles; population 756,528), whose peculiar knowledge of agricultural life lends a great value to his remarks, considers the peasantry to be a robust, apparently well-fed, population, and dressed in a manner which quite comes up to their traditional ideas of comfort. In spite of the abnormally high price of food-grains, there has been no sudden increase of offences against poverty [*sic*, ? property], nor did the number of beggars seem unusually great. Mr. Crooke does not believe that anything like a large percentage of the people in Etah, or in any other district of the Provinces, is habitually under-fed. There are times, of course, when the small cultivator and field labourer do suffer privation; but this is a very different thing from habitual privation. Indebtedness is prevalent, but the fact seems to be that with the agricultural classes a normal state of indebtedness is quite consistent with the possibility of passing a life of comparative comfort.' This is what the Government of India wishes the public interested in the condition of the people to believe Mr.

Crooke,' 'whose peculiar knowledge of agricultural life lends a great value to his remarks,' said, and that it is a fair summary of his views. The reader shall judge. Mr. Crooke, it is true, did use the expressions abstracted in the summary quoted, but he said a great deal more, and gave illustrations which wholly remove the impression his comments (as given) are intended to create. I quote from Mr. Crooke exactly in the order in which his remarks appear in the Report from the North-Western Provinces.

A FEW OF MR. CROOKE'S FACTS.

1. (P 21) 'The following estimate is the result of a recent meeting of the most experienced cultivators and agents of the Raja of Awa [the estate of a great landowner managed by the North-Western Government]. I collected them together and asked them to make an estimate of the income and expenditure of a man—owner of one pair of oxen, and a single plough, and cultivating a patch of average land irrigated from a well. The following was the result. The holding of such a tenant would be ten *pucka* bighas, or about 5½ acres. This would be cropped half in the rabi (spring), and half in the kharif (autumn). The crops grown, out-turn, and value of the produce, of such a holding would be approximately as follows:—

Income.	Rs.	a.	p.	*Expenditure.*	Rs.	a.	p.
Kharif Harvest ...	129	8	0	Rent	75	0	0
Rabi Harvest ...	84	8	0	Seed-grain	13	8	0
				Other Expenses ...	79	10	0
				Balance	45	14	0
Total ...	Rs.214	0	0	Total ...	Rs.214	0	0

Mr. Crooke then, unfairly, proceeds to suppose that a family of four only (five is the lowest average which should be taken) have to subsist on this Rs.45 14a. per annum—that is Rs.11½ each (or, in English money,

seventeen shillings per head for a whole year), and adds: The family 'would consume three seers of grain per diem, which, at an average cost of 25 seers per rupee, would be Rs.43 per annum.' At the time Mr. Crooke reports, however, grain was only 17 seers per rupee! He adds: 'Clothes for the family would cost Rs.8.' The cultivator's 'expenditure thus on the absolute necessaries of life would be about Rs.51 per annum; thus resulting in

AN ANNUAL DEFICIT OF ABOUT Rs.5.'

But, in that year, the deficit was—judging from food-prices—nearly Rs.20, and, let the reader carefully remark, no provision is made for salt (at least five annas per head per annum should be expended), ghi, or condiments, or relishes of any kind with which to flavour an exclusively vegetable and tasteless diet. It is true Mr. Crooke proceeds to speak of the products which might be obtained from a buffalo, but, in his detailed estimate, he makes no allowance for the purchase or keep of a buffalo; he also alludes to the vegetables with which the food mentioned may be eked out. Nothing is here for chatties, bedding, clothes, medicine in times of sickness, well-ropes, expenses for religion, marriages, funerals. Yet were the officials (English officials) content.

The careful inquiry respecting these small landholders, each with a well and a pair of bullocks, and each cultivating five-and-a-half acres of land, shows that even in a good year they

ARE STEADILY SUBMERGED, HAVING NOT ENOUGH FOR FOOD AND WARM CLOTHING.

In a bad year, their condition must be most terrible. Yet with these facts in the very forefront of his report, Mr. Crooke is quoted as fully satisfied with the condition of the people! In such fashion are statements prepared when the parties responsible for the things described are themselves the reporters, and when there is no public opinion, or any one with power to call them to account.

2. (P. 22.) 'Comparing the periods before and after the Mutiny, there has been a rise of 45 per cent. in grain, 52 per cent. in bejhar (barley and peas), and 38 per cent. in jaur.' Of course, if all the grain, or a large portion, were grown for export, prosperity would seem to have marked out the cultivator for its own. But very, very, little is exported; the grain is grown for home consumption and to pay the heavy Government rent, or, rather, to be exact, to pay the Government rent, and *then* to go towards maintaining the lives of the cultivator and his family. The grain does not go farther in payment of rent now than it did forty years ago, owing to 'the considerable enhancements of rents which followed the current settlements in this and neighbouring districts.' That is to say, if any benefit accrued from increasing prices the Government took it.

3. (P. 23.) '. . . the assertion which is universally believed by natives, that

THE CULTIVATOR IS NOT SO WELL OFF NOWADAYS

as at the time of the Mutiny.' No doubt many causes are at work. '(1) The action of the Civil Courts; (2) the weakening of the soil by over-cropping under the stimulus of canal irrigation; (3) the excessive growth of the population under our rule of peace; and (4) the rise in rents, combined with the breaking up of inferior lands, may be all factors in the problem.' Nos. 1 and 2 are distinctly faults of administration; as to No. 3, for thirteen years prior to 1881 (latest Census figures available), there was no increase of population; the fourth reason is one which the Government might have obviated if they had paid due regard to Indian industries, and had not thrown all but an infinitesimal proportion of the people on the soil.

4. (P. 28.) As to clothes, 'the women and children are much worse off than the men.

IT IS UNUSUAL TO FIND A VILLAGE WOMAN WHO HAS ANY WRAPS AT ALL.

Most of them have to pass the night as best they can in their day clothes—a cotton petticoat, wrapper, and bodice. As a rule they and their children sleep, in the cold weather, during the warm afternoons and the early hours of the night, and

FROM MIDNIGHT TO DAWN COWER OVER A FIRE OF RUBBISH

in the yard of the dwelling-house.'

5. (P. 29.) 'It would be foolish optimism to deny that there are times and seasons when the small cultivator and field labourer suffer privation. This has been only too common recently.'

6. *Prevalence of Fever due to bad construction of canals and defective drainage and to insufficient and unsuitable food* (p. 31). 'This prevalence of fever and other diseases which originate in malaria, implies a considerable prevalence of sickness and low health, with disability to perform agricultural work. It is hardly too much to say that

A GREAT MAJORITY OF THE RURAL POPULATION PASS THROUGH AT LEAST ONE OR TWO ATTACKS OF FEVER DURING THE YEAR:

in fact in many cases the disease has a tendency to become chronic or constitutional. In many villages in the most malarious tracts the interruption to work produced by these causes is very serious. There is also evidence that

THIS PREVALENCE OF MALARIA IS OF RECENT GROWTH,

and is coincident with the development of canal irrigation followed by a rise of the water-level in the subsoil. This can only be remedied by large and costly works of drainage—a subject which is yearly becoming more

pressing. It is obvious that the general question of the general health of the population is closely connected with the special question now under consideration. The prevalence of disease and ill-health may, it is true, be attributed more to defective sanitation and water-logging of the subsoil than to deficient nutrition; but it is obvious that food which, in nature and quantity, may be perfectly suitable to a man in vigorous health, may be the very reverse to a person who is exposed to periodical attacks of fever and ague, and the *malaise* and lowness of health and spirits which are the usual concomitants of disease. Thus, for instance, bread made of barley or bejhar, is, on the high authority of Dr. Parkes, "either from its laxative qualities or from the imperfect separation of the sharp husks, particularly unsuited to dysenteric cases," which is in this district one of the common sequelæ of fever.'

SAMPLE CULTIVATORS WITH THEIR RECORD OF RACK-RENTING.

7. (Pp. 31, 32.) Rup Ram, Brahmin, aged sixty years, cultivates seventeen acres.

Balance Sheet for 1887–8.

Receipts.	Rs.	a.	p.	*Expenditure.*	Rs.	a.	p.
Kharif Harvest ...	175	0	0	Rent	306	0	0
Rabi Harvest ...	146	9	0	Seed-grain ...	50	0	0
Sale of ghi	20	0	0				
Total ..	Rs.341	9	0	Total ...	Rs.356	0	0
Or, £20 0s. 9d.				Or, £21 0s. 0½d.			

There is thus an adverse balance of 19s. 3d. before a single mouthful of grain is provided for food! See the terrible rack-rent which the man had to pay, *and did pay*. After making allowance for bare food (without condiments) and clothing, Mr. Crooke says: 'Thus their expenditure exceeded their income by Rs.138 9a., to recoup which they have to borrow, or sell their ornaments.' Sir John Gorst, when Under-Secretary of State

for India, said the Indian Government never rack-rent their tenants. What explanation has he to offer of this sweeping away of ninety-five per cent. of the yield for rent? The Government took half of what was levied. Sir James Fergusson, replying to a question in the House of Commons, thought this case was all right because the rent was paid. How the money or grain was obtained to keep the cultivator and his family alive, or whether they were kept alive, was, apparently, a matter of no concern to—

(1) The Collector of Etah,
(2) Sir Auckland Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces,
(3) The Government of India,
(4) The India Office,
(5) The House of Commons.

All of them are seemingly callous and certainly heedless.

In this family, it is to be noted, there is only one little child, the household consisting of three men, two women, and one girl. In the further instances to be quoted this same feature will be observed,—small families or no families at all.

8. (Pp. 33, 34.) BAKHSHA, Chamar, aged forty-five, cultivates seven acres.

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1887–88.

Income.	Rs.	a.	p.	*Expenditure.*	Rs.	a.	p.
Kharif Harvest ...	12	0	0	Diet expenses ...	50	0	0
Rabi Harvest ...	73	0	0	Rent	40	0	0
Sale of ghi	15	0	0	Seed-grain	15	0	0
Sale of cow-dung ...	2	0	0	Food for animals ...	5	0	0
				Agricultural implements	3	0	0
				Household Furniture	2	0	0
				Marriage and funeral expenses	2	0	0
				Clothing	7	0	0
Total ...	Rs.102	0	0	Total ...	Rs.124	0	0
Or, £6 7s. 6d.				Or, £8 3s. 4d.			

'Thus their expenditure exceeds their income by £1 15s. 10d. *which they have to recoup by incurring debts.*' It may be that the oxen which treadeth out the corn shall not be muzzled, but it is quite clear that the Indian cultivators shall not keep soul and body together out of the land they cultivate. If, as Regulations and Resolutions declare shall be done, the State landlord had, in this case, remitted half or two-thirds of the rent, the cultivators could, without falling into the clutches of the moneylender, have at least had food enough to eat. The family consists of one adult, one minor, two women, and one girl. The girl is of marriageable age, and, possibly, Rs.20 will be spent on her marriage.

9. (Pp. 35, 36.) Of the family of CHETA, aged thirty-five, who are cultivators and labourers, it is declared their earnings are Rs.50 per year (four in family—Rs.12½ per head), their household furniture worth less than two shillings, and when wheat is produced in their fields they do not eat it, but 'sell it for purchasing for their food grain of lower quality, and for payment of their rent.'

10. (Pp. 36, 37.) ASA, aged fifty, a weaver, five in family, two men, two women, one girl.

Income.	Rs.	a.	p.	*Expenditure.*	Rs.	a.	p.
Average income from weaving cloth ...	48	0	0	Food	40	0	0
				Repayment of loan...	4	0	0
				Clothing	5	0	0
Total ...	Rs.48	0	0	Total ...	Rs.49	0	0
Or, £2 12s. 4d.				Or, £2 13s. 8d.			

Here, again, there is actually less than 13s. 4d. per head per annum for all purposes.

11. (Pp. 50, 51.) PARSI, Lodha, aged sixty-two, labourer, earns Rs.16 per annum, his daughter for grinding grain earns Rs.11 4a. The joint income is Rs.27 4a., which is just enough to buy two seers of grain a day, *and leaves nothing for any other purpose.* 'No children are to be married: he had one son and four daughters, who