

ANALYSIS OF FARM ACCOUNTS

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Page.	Village.	No. of Acres.	Character of Crop.	Rent, Yield per Acre, and Comments.
52	Mauza Chakeri	88	Juwar, bajra, arhar, cotton, maize, oilseed, hemp, barley, peas, grain, gujaj, chana.	Zemindar, cultivator, money-lender. Nominal rent Rs. 318-8-0. Autumn harvest Rs. 407, Spring Rs. 824: total Rs. 1231. Juwar Rs. 1½, cotton and arhar Rs. 20, maize Rs. 8½, oilseed Rs. 7, wheat Rs. 18, barley and peas Rs. 12, grain Rs. 14½, wheat and grain Rs. 11, gujaj Rs. 10, chana Rs. 4 p. a. Moneylending, cart-hire, etc., produce Rs. 800 per annum.
55	Do.	24	Maize, juwar, cotton, arhar, grain, bejhar, mustard, oil-seeds, gujar, chana.	Rs. 381 from 84 acres, some cropped twice. Rent Rs. 214. Maize Rs. 8, juwar and bejhar Rs. 3, cotton and arhar Rs. 16, wheat Rs. 17½, grain Rs. 6½, bejhar Rs. 10, gujar Rs. 10, chana Rs. 4 per acre. Cart-hire, ghi manufacture, etc., produce Rs. 113. Favourable balance Rs. 25.
59	Do.	13	Maize, cotton and arhar, wheat, barley grain, oilseed.	Rs. 259 both harvests. Rent Rs. 81-15-1 about 82 per cent. of produce. Maize Rs. 10, cotton and arhar Rs. 24, wheat Rs. 19, barley Rs. 12½, grain Rs. 10 per acre. Weighs grain, lets carts on hire, etc. Favourable balance Rs. 48. Owes Rs. 600, and is Rs. 25 behind with rent. Decrease in production of land and family expenses caused debt.
68	Do.	8½	Juwar, cotton, arhar, wheat, barley.	Rent Rs. 47-11-6, nearly Rs. 6 per acre. Value of produce not stated. Annual inc. stated at Rs. 96; expenses same. Last year borrowed grain for sowing.

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65	Mauza Chakeri	1½	Barley, peas, mustard.	Rent Rs. 10. Value produce Rs. 20. Annual expenditure for food alone Rs. 84. Rs. 80 arrears of rent, Rs. 100 debt. Apparent deficit Rs. 64 for food and Rs. 24 for clothes, Rs. 90 in all.
66	Do.	20	Juwar, cotton, arhar, maize, cotton, guar, wheat, gram, barley, peas.	Rent Rs. 107-6-0. Produce Rs. 448-6 0. Juwar Rs. 22, cotton Rs. 5½, juwar, arhar and mung Rs. 26, maize Rs. 8, cotton and arhar Rs. 6. juwar, arhar and mung, and guar Rs. 80, wheat and grain Rs. 20, barley and peas Rs. 22½, wheat Rs. 24 per acre. These relatively large crops probably due to there being no produce from the fields during preceding two years. Rent arrears Rs. 141-10-0; debt Rs. 200. 'In very poor circumstances, and finds it hard to make both ends meet.'
67	Do.	8½	Maize, cotton, and arhar, wheat, barley and peas.	Rent Rs. 47. Produce Rs. 143. Maize Rs. 10, cotton and arhar Rs. 9, wheat Rs. 25 per acre. Annual expenses, food and clothing Rs. 96-8-0, minus Rs. 13½; rent arrears Rs. 108. Debt Rs. 40. Very little yield from fields for three years. Household furniture valued at Rs. 8-8-0.
68	Do.	5	Maize, cotton, and arhar, barley.	Rent Rs. 21-8-0. Total produce Rs. 70. Maize Rs. 8, cotton and arhar Rs. 5½, barley Rs. 18 per acre; average Rs. 14. After paying rent had only Rs. 38½ with which to meet expenditure of Rs. 116. Rent arrears Rs. 21-8-0, debt Rs. 100. Small out-turn preceding year.

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69	Mohauli Khurd	21½ 2½	Juwar, cotton, maize, hemp, wheat, bejhar, barley.	Rent Rs.150 ; 2½ a. rent free. Produce Rs.338. Juwar Rs.8, cotton Rs. 8, maize Rs. 6, hemp Rs. ½, wheat Rs. 24, bejhar Rs. 9, barley Rs. 24 per acre. Expenses Rs. 268, for which, after rent is paid, only Rs. 188 are available. Borrowed Rs. 35 towards rent, afterwards further Rs. 50. Repaid partly by sale of bullock for Rs. 25.
72	Do.	7½	Cotton, juwar, indigo, wheat, barley.	Rent Rs. 25. Produce Rs. 141. Cotton Rs. 12, juwar Rs. 4, indigo Rs. 12, wheat Rs. 30, barley Rs. 17½ per acre. Profits from moneylending business Rs. 190. Favourable balance Rs. 74. Household furniture Rs. 5.
73	Do.	24½	Cotton, juwar, maize, rice, wheat, barley, peas.	Rent Rs. 72-8-0. Produce Rs. 162. Cotton Rs. 5½, juwar Rs. 9, maize Rs. 8, rice Rs. 8, wheat Rs. 26, barley and peas Rs. 18 per acre. Expenses Rs. 162; available, after rent paid, Rs.72-8-0, leaving a deficiency of Rs. 89-8-0. No rent arrears. Debt Rs. 250. Out-turn of land previous year very poor.
76	Mauza Jorsimi	14½	Juwar, cotton, maize, wheat, bejhar, tobacco, carrots.	Rent, 11 ac. Rs. 61-2-6 ; 3½ ac. Rs. 32—Rs. 98. Produce Rs. 183. Juwar Rs. 2½, cotton Rs. 20, maize Rs. 5½, wheat Rs. 24, bejhar Rs. 7, tobacco (at the rate of) Rs. 60, carrots (do.) Rs. 45 per acre. Subletting produced Rs. 18. Income Rs. 201. Expenditure Rs. 228-14-6, minus Rs. 22-14-6. Debt Rs. 800, also grain, and a loan for payment of rent.

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77	Mauza Jorsimi	29	Cotton, maize, indigo, wheat, gujai, dofashi.	Sublet ^d 28½ acres, with a net gain of Rs. 50. Produce for remainder Rs. 79. Cotton (at the rate of) Rs. 16, maize Rs. 7½, indigo Rs. 9, wheat Rs. 11, gujai Rs. 6½ per acre. Moneylending Rs. 850 per year. Annual savings Rs. 102.
79	Do.	4½	Wheat, barley, grain.	Rent Rs. 33-1-9. Produce Rs. 42. Wheat Rs. 12½, barley Rs. 8, wheat and grain Rs. 1 per acre. Expenses not stated. After paying rent only Rs. 9 for family of six. Debt: for rent Rs. 88, sowing Rs. 7, food Rs. 90, clothing Rs. 12 = Rs. 142, and old debts of Rs. 160.
81	Barchua	33	No details.	Rent Rs. 80, land partly out of cultivation through encroachment of river. Rent, one year's arrears and other debts. 'He borrowed Rs. 25 worth of seed grain for this harvest. As long as he remembers he used to borrow his seed grain.' One debt ten years old, to pay for food and discharge rent. Happily, family dying out.
82	Nadarmai	8	Cereals, cotton, millet.	Rent Rs. 60. Reduced circumstances through river encroachment. Rent Rs. 170 in arrears; owes moneylenders Rs. 500, plus Rs. 200, plus Rs. 80—Rs. 760 in all.
88	Pinjri	5½	Bajra, arhar, cotton, wheat, barley, peas, grain, sugar cane, pulse.	Rent Rs. 17½. Total produce Rs. 128. Sugar cane yielded Rs. 20, bajra Rs. 8, wrack Rs. 4, cotton Rs. 2, pulse Rs. 4, wheat, barley, peas and grain Rs. 90. Has Rs. 30 extra income. Total Rs. 120 or Rs. 10 per month for four people. Debt trifling. Wife Rs. 15 of jewelry.

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84	Pinjri	10	Maize, cotton, sugar cane, wheat, barley, peas.	Rent Rs. 18. Total produce Rs. 90. Six acres wheat and barley yielded Rs. 50, the average being Rs. 9 per acre. Borrowed half of second marriage expenses (whole cost Rs. 100) which he has paid.
84	Do.	4½	Pulse, rice, hemp.	Rent Rs. 28. Total produce Rs. 23, thus absorbing everything. Earns wages as water-drawer to two families, also get Rs. 3 per month for ghi from three cattle. Owes Rs. 18. Daughter married four years ago, cost Rs. 50, of which his brother found Rs. 40. Women have no blanket or quilt; they have to manage with their day clothes as best they can; they spend most of the cold nights cowering over a fire of rubbish in the enclosure. Five in family.
85	Nadralla	5½	No details.	No details. 'Says he could eat twenty-five per cent. more nowadays if he got it.' Not in debt. Described as a 'broken-down small proprietor; comes of a lazy, indolent lot. The Kachchis in the village grow opium and vegetables, but this fellow is above it, and his fields are badly cultivated and unproductive.'
86	Do.	2½	Do.	Rent Rs. 9½. Eight in family. Buys grain at 28 lbs. per rupee; 'He finds that maize makes his children's bellies swell, so he eats muth pulse in preference.' 'The women and boys have no bedding.' No debt.

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86	Mandpura	4½	Cotton, juwar, wheat and barley, maize, sugar cane, carrots, opium.	Rent Rs. 59. Total produce Rs. 9½, divided thus: cotton Rs. 15, juwar Rs. 2, maize Rs. 8, remainder estimated,—wheat and barley Rs. 20, barley Rs. 9, sugar cane Rs. 22, fenugreek Rs. 2, carrots Rs. 2, opium Rs. 5, tobacco Rs. 12. Joint family 11, one of whom earns Rs. 5 per month as gardener to Raja of Awa. Debt: Rs. 250, deficiency in rent, clothing, marriage expenses. In past ten years spent Rs. 42 in funerals. 'Every month spends 8 annas (8d.) in worship to the small goddess and the local ghost. If he did not do this he does not know what would become of his crops.' [This is the first record in the Inquiry of anything whatsoever being paid on account of religion or worship.]
88	Pahloi	15	Cotton, bajra, maize, ghaya, wheat, barley, opium, cucumber, grain.	Rent Rs. 57-2-6. Total produce Rs. 153-12-9. Fraighi and home-made cotton thread receives Rs. 7 and Rs. 8. Income Rs. 168-12-9; expenditure Rs. 155-2-6; balance Rs. 13-10-3. No arrears of rent. Three in family.
92	Do.	8	Maize, cotton, bajra, juwar, barley, wheat, tobacco, assorted pulses.	Rent Rs. 8-10-6. Produce averages Rs. 11½ per acre; Autumn harvest Rs. 28, Spring do. Rs. 63-5-0. Total Rs. 91-12-0. Expenses Rs. 89-12-0, balance Rs. 2. Family, 8, no children, man aged 30. No arrears of rent; no debt.

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95	Pahloi	7½	Bajra, cotton, maize, barley, grain, arhar, oilseeds.	Rent Rs. 10-0-9. Produce Rs. 82-3-0, income as carpenter Rs. 60—Rs. 92-3-0. Expenses Rs. 99-8-9. Deficiency Rs. 7-5-9. Family 6. Debt Rs. 80 for daughter's marriage. During year spent 1s. 4d. for sugar, 1s. 10½d. for salt, spices 1s., ghi 2s. 8d., oil 1s. 10½d. The salt expenditure provided 8 lbs. per head; in same Provinces, when means permit, 20 lbs. each are consumed (p. 17).
97	Do.	10½	Cotton, bajra, juwar, maura, ghaya, wheat, barley, arhar, poppy, tobacco, carrots, mustard.	Rent Rs. 29. Produce Rs. 154-11-0, other income Rs. 27—Rs. 181-11-0. Expenses Rs. 171-1-0; there appears a saving of Rs. 10-10-0 per annum. No arrears. 7 children, 4 married, 3 to be married. (First instance of more than 3 or 4 children.) Marriage costs Rs. 50.
109	Mathena Zabti	10½	Mung, dhan, wheat, grain.	Rent Rs. 19. 'Produce might be worth Rs. 108.' Income Rs. 84. 3 in family. 'No jewelry, no cart; we rarely use milk.'
109	Do.	20½	Mung, dhan, kodon, wheat, barley, grain.	Rent Rs. 32. 'Value of crops perhaps Rs. 130.' Profit Rs. 92. Eight in family. 'I have 10 maunds of grain (822 lbs.) in the house. Have Rs. 20 worth of jewels.'
110	Do.	25	Do.	Rent Rs. 46. Produce Rs. 181. Average yield Rs. 7 per acre. Owe Rs. 6. 'I have 15 maunds of grain (1231 lbs.) in the house.' Family 7. 'Rs. 20 of jewelry.'
110	Do.	12½	Mung, dhan, kodon, wheat.	Rent Rs. 25. Produce Rs. 95. Income Rs. 70. Average yield Rs. 8 per annum. 410 lbs. of grain. 'Live absolutely by myself; no wife or children.'

Page.	Village.	No. of Acres.	Character of Crop.	Rent, Yield per Acre, and Comments.
110	Mathena Zabti	$\frac{3}{4}$	Gram.	Rent 10 annas. Produce Rs. 2. Hand cultivation. Day-labourer—1d. per day, £1 12s. 0d. per year. 'Live alone; no wife or child, no jewelry. . . sometimes not enough to eat.'
110	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$	Do.	Very much same as preceding.
110	Do.	33	Mung, dhan, wheat, kodon, sugar cane.	Rent Rs. 36. * Produce Rs. 189. Average yield Rs. 8 per annum. 330 lbs of grain. No debt. Six in family. 'Rs. 10 of jewels, enough clothes, ordinary food.'
111	Do.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dhan, wheat.	Rent Rs. 8. Produce Rs. 19. Average yield Rs. 4 per acre. No grain in stock. Five in family. 'Am often ill with spleen disease.' 'No jewels.'
111	Do.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Mung, dhan, wheat.	Rent Rs. 7. Produce Rs. 25. Yield Rs. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per acre. 164 lbs. grain. 'Will have to borrow seed for next harvest. Not at present in debt. Have a silver necklet worth 2s. 8d.'
111	Do.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dhan, wheat.	Rent Rs. 2-12-0. Produce Rs. 5-8-0. Yield Rs. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per acre. Have a little grain. Wife, no children; daily labourer, 1d. per day.
111	Do.	$\frac{3}{4}$	Dhan.	Rent Rs. 1-5-0. Produce Rs. 8. Surplus Rs. 1-11-0. No plough, no children; earns Rs. 24 per annum for day-labour. 'Wife has a Rs. 5 silver armlet.'
111	Do.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dhan, kodon, wheat.	Rent Rs. 4-3-0. Produce Rs. 10. Surplus Rs. 5-18-0. Three cattle, 164 lbs. grain. Not in debt. Wife and four children. Village and zemindar's servant. No jewels.

Page.	Village.	No. of Acres.	Character of Crop.	Rent, Yield per Acre, and Comments.
111	Mathena Zabti	5	Mung, dhan, wheat.	Rent Rs. 6½. Produce Rs. 22. Average yield Rs. 4½. Owes Rs. 20. Borrows seed at 25 per cent. interest. Family 7; self, three women, three children. Rs. 24 of ornaments.
112	Do.	4	Mung, dhan, barley, grain.	Rent Rs. 5-4-0. Produce Rs. 25. Average yield Rs. 6-2-12. 164 lbs. of grain. 'Must borrow seed for next harvest.' Rs. 25 of jewelry.
112	Do.	3½	Mung, dhan, grain.	Rent Rs. 4-11-0. Produce Rs. 26. Average yield Rs. 8 per annum. Family: self, wife, four children. 'Not in debt. No jewels. Will have to borrow for next sowings.'
112	Do.	4½	Mung, dhan, wheat, grain.	Rent Rs. 6-9-6. Produce Rs. 18-8-0. Average yield Rs. 3-12-0 per acre. Borrowed 656 lbs. of grain for food, repayable with thirty-three per cent. interest.
112	Do.	1	Dhan, wheat.	Rent Rs. 1-9-0. Produce Rs. 70. In service, one penny per day wages. 'No wife nor family. Not in debt. Sufficient food and the clothes I have on.'

The above are samples of the Mathena Zabti, Parapur. It is melancholy enough. But, take the village as a whole, as officially summarised, and the melancholy deepens, while the wonder grows as to how life can be sustained. Particulars which follow will show that fifty per cent. of the gross produce (Government take half of that fifty per cent. as revenue) was taken for rent. The yield from the soil, after rent has been paid, gives Rs. 4 1a. 6p. (5s. 5½d.) per head per annum towards maintenance, clothing, etc. The cattle apparently save the people, but of these, in

1888, there were only 1,055 against 3,000 'some time ago.' A detailed consideration of the following particulars concerning this village, 'which is a typical one in this district,' will well repay the time it takes:—

MATHENA ZABTI—266 HOLDINGS.

					Cultivated Bighas pucks (equals five-eighths of an acre).					
					Rent. Rs.					
166	Pahikasht	...	...	...	744	876	
100	Resident	...	...	...	1,000	1,064	
Rent					Rs.					
					...	1,744				
Cultivated area...					B.p.					
					...	1,740				
					Produce.					
					B.p.	M.k.				
					Rs.					
Kharif	...	766	...	Pahikasht	...	766	...	752	...	752
				Resident	...	400	...	800	...	800
Total					1,552			
					B.p.	M.k.				
					Rs.					
Rabi				...	964	...	Pahikasht	...	300	...	600	...	600
	Resident	...	664				...	1,328	...	1,328
Total							1,928	

(Of this 52 biswas is do-fasli.) Total value of crops, 3,480.¹
Census of residents:—145 men, 140 women, 71 boys, 69 girls.

CATTLE OF RESIDENTS.

Bullocks	241	Patwari states that some time ago there were as many as 3,000 cattle in the village. They have been reduced partly by disease and partly by extension of cultivation.
Buffaloes (male)	...	...	20
Cows and calves	...	...	731
Buffaloes (female)	...	...	52
Pony	...	...	1
Goats...	10	

¹ 'According to this the value of the crop is about double the rent. The estimated out-turn seems low, as it averages about two kutchma maunds the pucka bigha, or about 153 lbs. the acre.' [Lord Curzon's average is 740 lbs. the acre.] 'But the soil is very light. There is no irrigation, and the crops are much eaten by wild animals from the neighbouring forest. There is a great deal of waste land, which gives fairly good grazing, and most of the cultivators make something out of cattle breeding. The cattle are a poor breed, and give very little milk. They do not, however, cost anything to rear.' THE AVERAGE INCOME FROM THE LAND HERE WORKS OUT AT Rs. 4 la. 6p. (5s. 5½d.) PER HEAD PER ANNUM!!

Free grazing in Government forests and in village waste. Free wood and thatching grass.'

Mr. E. B. Alexander, Collector of Etawah, sums up the information furnished by the Tahsildars under the directions issued by his predecessor, Mr. Whiteway. In the course of his remarks Mr. Alexander says:—

'On one point the statistics furnished do throw light, and that is the extent to which the cultivators fall in debt in anything like a bad year and the utter absence of any savings laid up in good years beyond a small amount of jewelry and occasionally a few surplus head of cattle. I am not sure that I am not leaving the point of the present inquiry when entering on this subject; but both are so closely connected that I think it is worth while going into this in some detail. The question whether the ordinary cultivator suffers from want of food may, I think, be said to depend entirely upon two factors—the general state of the loan market and his own credit, both of which are, of course, dependent in a great measure upon the seasons.

'In Muttra, for instance, the number of bad debts which money-lenders had made between 1877 and 1883 had caused the money market to be very unfavourable for borrowers; and even men who were known to be honest, and not overwhelmed with debt, had great difficulty in raising money to live on during the two months before each harvest, when nine cultivators out of ten look to their bohra to make them subsistence advances.

'In Mainpuri, on the other hand, the market was favourable, whilst I was there in 1885, and it was only men whose individual credit was bad that had any difficulty in raising such advances.

'In all ordinary years I should say that the cultivators live for at least one-third of the year on such advances, and in unfavourable years they have either to increase the amount of their debt to the bohra, or have to sell off jewelry, cattle, or anything else which can possibly be spared.

'One bad year they can generally weather by sacrifices of this kind and by a comparatively unimportant increase to the debit side of their account. But when there is a succession of unfavourable years, or even a succession of slightly below average years following a bad one, their circumstances rapidly deteriorate. They have no capital to fall back on. The bohra is averse to increasing his already heavy claim by making further advances; and then, no doubt, the average cultivator suffers severely from insufficiency of food.

'There can be no doubt but that in Muttra such deficiency drove a

* 'Econ. Inq., N.W.P.,' pp. 112-13. Since then, in all probability, the free grazing, free wood, and free thatching, have been taken away.

large number of cultivators between 1878 and 1888 A.D. to abandon their homes and remove to other parts of the country, where they could get a living by day work, or had friends to support them. Muttra, however, was exceptionally unlucky. For about eight years there were not two really good harvests running, whilst there were twice three bad ones running, and nearly all the rest were below average, or almost only average.¹

'This district (Etawah) has, I understood, been through a rather bad time prior to the rabi just harvested (which has been a good crop); and I certainly saw a good many people when I first came here (early in March) whose appearance showed distinctly that they were suffering from insufficiency of food.

'At the present moment I do not suppose that, except absolute paupers who are dependent on alms, any class of the population here is suffering from insufficiency of food.

'I do not, however, on the other hand, think that it is at all probable that most of the persons who borrowed money during 1294 or during the first six months of 1295 have paid off their debts. They have probably paid up enough to meet the interest and to restore their credit, and in many cases have probably redeemed articles which they had pawned; but the bulk of the harvest has gone in meeting arrears of rent, the rent for the rabi, and interest on debt; and if we are to have another bad kharif there would, I am sure, be a great increase of indebtedness which, if accompanied or followed by any great rise in prices, must render it impossible for a large part of the population to obtain sufficient food during the first three months preceding the next rabi.

'The village Marhapur stands on the Jumna ravines, and did not suffer seriously from flooding. There are eighty-seven families, of whom fifty-five are cultivators, about twenty day-labourers, and the other twelve bantias or artisans. The fifty-five cultivating households were all in debt at the close of the year for sums varying from Rs.800 to Rs.10, and the day-labourers for sums varying from Rs.18 to Rs.2. Most of the farmers, also, were obliged to part with jewelry or cattle.

'The largest sum actually borrowed in the year was Rs.428 by Chabnath Thakur, a man with a large household of twenty-two persons, six of whom are children under three years old, four children between three and ten, and the other twelve grown up. He cultivates twenty-three and a half acres, and keeps several cattle for use in carts and for milking. He paid his creditor Rs.388 during the year at various times; but as his debt was actually increased by

¹ Was Muttra so 'exceptionally unlucky'? My examination of Bombay and Madras records show that such experiences are not at all unusual. There are few unirrigated districts in India of which it can be said that there are more good years than bad.—W. D.

Rs.420 principal, and there was a considerable sum due for interest, he found himself about Rs.150 deeper in debt at the close of the year than he was at the beginning, and heads the list with liabilities amounting to Rs.800. I am afraid that the poor kharif of 1295 fasli and the high prices must have told severely on him this year; but do not think that he has reached the stage at which actual want of food begins to make itself felt. He is still one of the well-to-do class of cultivators, and it is only after a succession of bad years that men of this class come to actual want.

'Ganga Mallah, with a smaller holding of only fourteen acres, and with a much smaller household of eleven persons, of whom all but three are grown up, borrowed Rs.257 12s. 9p., and repaid Rs.172 8s. At the end of the year he was about Rs.800 in debt; but as he was obliged to incur extraordinary expenditure of about Rs.100 on account of the marriage of two granddaughters, his debt need not be considered as proof of severe pressure, and he certainly did not suffer from any want of food.

'Mani Ahir, with no family except a wife, and cultivating a little over two acres as a shikma tenant, borrowed Rs.15 and only repaid Rs.3. He was in debt, therefore, at the end of the year to the amount of Rs.17, including interest, and was also in arrears with half his rent, in consequence of which he resigned his holding. He was enabled to support life by the sale of a kaddu crop and of a bullock, but had a hard time of it, and undoubtedly towards the end of the year suffered from want of food. He must have suffered severely during the first six months of the present year, though he has been able to eke out a living by day work and the produce of two cows which he keeps.

'Ajudhya Mallah, another small tenant with a family of four persons, borrowed Rs.11, which he failed to pay back. At the end of the year he was about Rs.50 in debt, and probably in the current year, has found it difficult to raise a loan, and has therefore suffered from insufficiency of food between December and the end of March.

'Generally, it may be said of this village that the day-labourers and the petty cultivators, owing to high prices and poor harvests, have suffered more or less severely during the months of January, February, and part of March, 1888 A.D.; but that they did not suffer in 1294 fasli itself, and would not have suffered this year had not a bad kharif followed on a year below the average, and had not the prices gone up to an abnormal standard.

'In the Paphund tahsil the village selected was Mahinpur. It is a small village in which there are only thirty-five houses, about half of which are occupied by cultivators, and the rest by day-labourers, one dhobi, and one hajjam.

'The tahsildar selected Balgobind Chanbe and Debia Gararia for special inquiry. The former is a middle-class cultivator holding about twelve acres at a rent of Rs.68, and having a family of five, of

whom one is under ten and the others adults. His kharif cultivation was very unfortunate, and in order to live from October onwards up to March he had to sell cattle worth Rs.56. The rabi was poor, though not so bad as the kharif, and in order to meet his rent he had to borrow Rs.54. At the end of the year he was about Rs.70 in debt, but had not reached the stage at which actual want begins to make itself felt.'*

The class immediately above the landless day-labourer supports itself partly by cultivation and partly by day-labour. The holding in such cases is generally from six to twelve kutchas bighas, or from one to two acres, and the occupant is either without any plough-animals at all, or else is possessed of only one, or at most two, miserable bullocks or buffaloes. In the former case he makes the spade do the work of a plough; in the latter case his plough often requires the loan of a neighbour's cattle. His holding grows enough, after payment of the rent and after providing for seed-grain, to keep the family in food for two or three months, and he supplements his income by working as a day-labourer whenever his own land does not require his care. He is slightly better off than the landless labourer; but it cannot be said of him that he always has enough to eat or sufficiently warm clothes. He is generally a little in debt, and he would be more in debt were the moneylender not very cautious as to the amount of his advances. Mr. Alexander continued:—

'The condition of the agricultural classes proper, by which I mean the very numerous body of rent-paying tenants whose holdings are large enough to employ and support them throughout the year, is with difficulty described in general terms. Taking the three tahsils of the district separately, the Purnapur tenant may be described as a careless agriculturist, who can obtain at any time as much land as he likes in his own or in any neighbouring village at low rates of rent, varying from Re. 1-8-0 to Re. 1-4-0 an acre, and who finds ample grazing in the tracts of waste or in the surrounding Government forest for as many head of cattle as he can collect. The soil, however, is too light and sandy to yield heavy crops, and the unhealthiness of

* 'Econ. Inq., North-Western Provinces,' pp. 101-3.

the climate and the depredations of wild animals are serious drawbacks. The Puranpur tenant on the whole enjoys, I am inclined to think, a greater degree of rude prosperity than his untidy surroundings and his unsubstantial dwelling appear to indicate. His indebtedness is not generally of a serious nature; and in a great many instances he is not only free from debt but has a little money or grain out at interest.

‘The Pilibhit tenant differs from his Puranpur neighbour in depending less on cattle breeding and more on sugar cane and rice cultivation. The amount of labour employed in the former industry, from the preparation of the ground for the seed to the final stage of sugar-refining, is very great. There are few weeks in the year in which a day-labourer cannot find employment in some branch of this industry. In November cutting and crushing commence, and go on till March. In every village behea sugar-mills are at work, and every bullock and spare hand are put on to the task of making the produce marketable. The village boiling establishments (or *bela*) create a fresh demand for labour, and after the juice has been boiled down to *rab* or *gur* all the carts in the district find remunerative occupation in carting the unrefined sugar to towns where sugar refineries are established. This goes on throughout April. In the town of Pilibhit, where there are so many sugar-refining houses, several hundreds of labourers earn from Rs.3 to Rs.4 a month in bringing in a sort of fresh-water weed called *siwar* from ponds and marshes, which is used to give whiteness to the sugar. Meanwhile the next year’s crop is equally exacting of labour. Ploughing, manuring, and harrowing are incessant from January to the end of February. Planting begins with the expiry of the fires of the Holi festival; and from March till the setting in of the rains the young cane requires constant hoeings, weedings, and waterings, all of which mean employment to the landless day-labourer.’

Of Shahjehanpur it is stated:—

‘The landless labourer’s condition must still be regarded as by no means all that could be desired. The united earnings of a man, his wife, and two children cannot be put at more than Rs.3 a month. *When prices of food grains are low or moderate, work regular, and the health of the household good, this income will enable the family to have one fairly good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their heads, and to buy cheap clothing, and occasionally a thin blanket.*’

‘Econ. Inq., North-Western Provinces,’ pp. 107-8.

² The italics are mine. The reader may profitably pause and spend a few moments in realising, so far as his own happy position will admit, what the italicised lines really mean.—W. D.

Cold and rain undoubtedly entail considerable suffering to such householders, as the members are insufficiently clothed and cannot afford fires. A few twigs or dried sticks constitute the height of their ambition; and these, owing to the increasing value and scarcity of wood, are more and more difficult for the poor man to obtain.'

The 'Inquirer' continues:—

'I have dwelt on the cane industry because throughout two-thirds of this district it is the key to the agricultural position. If the lowest and poorest class in the towns and villages are better off, as I believe they are, than they were, if they find more constant and better paid employment, the extension of the sugar-cane cultivation has had a good deal to say to this. The economic effect, however, on the tenant agriculturist is not always good. The sure test of the prosperity of the sugar cultivator is his making *gur* himself from his sugar-cane juice, and the absence of a bania's sugar-boiling vat (*bel*) from the village. These conditions prevail throughout the greater part of the Jahanabad pargana. I have recorded the statements made by the cultivators of mauza Sudderpur, and that village is a fair type of many others in the pargana. I attribute the comparative prosperity of the cultivator partly to the canal, and partly to the practice of kind rents which here prevails. In the Pilibhit pargana the *bel* system has established itself in most of the villages, and the cultivators know to their cost that, once in the sugar-boilers' books, there is very little chance of escape. The crop is usually sold to the bania during the rains, a portion of the purchase money being paid down, and the balance doled out in subsequent months. The tenant agrees to deliver so many measures of sugar juice when the crop is ready. In order to acquire a secure footing in the village, the bania, the first year of operations, intentionally agrees to advances in excess of the value of the standing cane-crop. In April, when delivery has been taken of the cane-juice and the accounts are made up, the tenant finds himself deep in the sugar-boiler's debt for undelivered sugar. To cover this, the next year's crop has to be sold in advance. The sweating system is thus established, and the tenant becomes the bond slave of the bania. His only chance of extrication lies in his landlord, and instances are not uncommon of landlords rescuing their tenants by paying off the moneylender and recovering the advance by easy instalments from the debtor. Other motives besides generosity prompt such intervention. Sometimes the landlord fears that his bankrupt tenantry may abscond to the Tarai, and leave the village uninhabited. At other times he wishes to step into the place of the bania, and add the profits of sugar-boiling to his *zemindari* income.

In the latter case he is less liberal in his advances, as he both knows the circumstances of each cultivator more intimately than the moneylender, and, unlike the latter, he is alive to the imprudence of utterly ruining the borrower. The landlord is not unfrequently the tenant's sugar merchant and banker. At other times he buys the crop in advance from the tenant in order to sell it at a higher price several months later to a sugar-boiler. The *bel* system thus takes various forms, though they are all alike in this—that they rest on the indebtedness of the agriculturist, and are designed to keep him needy and dependent. Agriculture carried on under such conditions can never be very profitable to the tenant. I find no evidence, however, that the average cultivator is generally worse off than he was eight or ten years ago, or that his debts have increased. In the Jahanabad pargana and in parts of the Pilibhit pargana the circumstances of the cultivator have probably improved. In the southern part of the Bisalpur tahsil the worst effects of the *bel* system are seen. Bad seasons and bad landlords have combined with the sugar-boiler against the cultivator. His condition in the group of villages lying between Bamrauli and the borders of Shahjehanpur district has undoubtedly deteriorated of recent years. The ploughs and the population appear to have decreased since settlement, and a good many tenants have migrated to more prosperous tracts, and in some villages the land revenue is realised with difficulty.¹

The detailed inquiry into the actual yield of the fields and the condition of the people may be continued over the next four pages. I abstract and collate pp. 113-117 as follows:—

¹ 'Econ. Inq.', p. 108. Sir T. W. Holderness, K.C.S.I., then Collector of Pilibhit, now Secretary of the Revenue and Statistics Department, India Office.

Page.	Village.	No. of Acres.	Character of Crop.	Rent, Yield per Acre, and Comments.
113	Sirsa Sardar	23½	Dhan, kodon, wheat, grain, linseed, cotton, sugar cane	Headman of village. Rent Rs. 55-5-3. Produce Rs. 148. For sugar cane rent cash paid, others in kind. 'For some fields I paid one-third of the produce, for others one-fourth.' Owes Rs. 55 (twelve per cent. per annum). No fees or profits as headman. Rs. 10 jewelry. Household: self, three women, three children. Has bedsteads (charpai) but no other furniture.
113	Do.	18½	Dhan, kodon, wheat, barley, grain, mustard, sugar cane	Rent Rs. 55-8-0. Produce Rs. 201. Sugar cane made in gur-cakes realised Rs. 45; 17½ acres realised Rs. 156, or Rs. 9 per acre. 'Owe my zemindar Rs. 60 (twelve per cent. int). Have just repaid Rs. 6; whenever I want money get it from him at that rate. Household: self, brother, six women, four children = 12. No grain in stock. Rs. 15 of jewels. No household effects save bedsteads. I save nothing; keep on borrowing and paying back.'
114	Do.	11	Sycamore, dhan, kodon, wheat, barley, alsi, urd	Rent Rs. 37. Produce (gur-cakes Rs. 60) Rs. 180. Average yield, omitting sugar, nearly Rs. 7 per acre. 'Owe Rs. 40; will repay and borrow again. Household: self, brother, four women, and seven children. Rs. 10 jewelry. Deer and pig eat crops. Forest-wood and grazing formerly free; now dues paid.'

¹ 'Charpay. (Corruption of the Hindu *charpai*, from *char*, "four," and *pai*, "a foot.") A bedstead consisting of a plain frame of wood set on four short legs; broad tapes are folded along and across the frame to form the bed' (Whitworth's Anglo-Indian Dictionary).

Page.	Village.	No. of Acres.	Character of Crop.	Rent, Yield per Acre, and Comments.
114	Sirsa Sardar	4½	Dhan, kodon	Rent Rs. 8-1-0. Produce Rs. 25-12-0. 'Most of my rent paid in kind, one-third or one-fourth of produce. Owe zemindar Rs. 25 (12½ per cent. interest).' Household: self, three brothers, one woman, three children. Brothers as labourers earn Rs. 25 per year (1d. per day). Generally have one meal a day. Have not enough clothes. Am very poor.'
114	Manderiya	24	Dhan, kodon, wheat, grain, mustard, linseed, cotton, sugar cane	Rent Rs. 55-7-0. Produce (sugar-cane juice Rs. 80) Rs. 232. Average yield, omitting sugar, Rs. 7 per acre. Owe lessee of village (a Hindu) Rs. 50 (twelve per cent. per annum); to two sugar-boilers, Rs. 80 and Rs. 40, same rate. 'As headman (mokaddam) they let me off interest in lieu of commission.' Household: self, two women, three boys, four girls = 10. 'About Rs. 17 of jewels.' 820 lbs. of grain. 'will have to go on borrowing before next harvest.'
115	Do.	5½	Dhan, kodon, wheat, linseed, barley, cotton, sugar cane	Rent Rs. 15-3-0. Produce (sugar-cane juice Rs. 25) Rs. 53. Average yield, omitting sugar, Rs. 6½ per acre. Household: self, wife, two children. Earn in village 1d. per day. Borrow for next harvest. Rs. 12 jewels; bedsteads, etc., worth Rs. 2 (2s. 8d.). 'Sometimes eat once, sometimes twice a day.'

* 'This rate is exceptionally low: but the zemindar, who is a well-to-do and liberal Muhammadan, makes advances to his tenants at what a money-lender would regard as nominal rates. The advances are not considered moneylending, as the zemindar regards money usury as morally wrong.'

Page.	Village.	No. of Acres.	Character of Crop.	Rent, Yield per Acre, and Comments.
115	Manderiya	4½	Urd, dhan, kodon, wheat, grain, barley, linseed	Rent Rs.3. Produce Rs.11-4-0. Average yield, less than Rs. 3 per acre. Owe Rs. 25 to moneylender at twelve per cent. per annum. 86 lbs. of grain. No family. No jewels. 'I bought a buffalo with borrowed money; it died; had it lived I could have been able to plough better, and so have made more by my holding.'
115	Do.	6	Urd, dhan, barley, wheat, kodon, grain, sugar cane	Rent Rs. 18-7-0. Produce (sugar-cane juice Rs. 17½) Rs. 37-8-0. Average yield, omitting sugar, 1 a., Rs. 5. Owe Rs. 46 to village lessee. Borrow next harvest seed. Household: three men, one woman, three children. Add to income a few rupees by making and mending ploughs. No jewels.
116	Do.	6½	Sugar cane, linseed, dhan, kodon, mustard, wheat, barley	Rent Rs. 12-10-0. Produce (sugar-cane juice Rs. 2-11-0) Rs. 83-11-0. Owe Rs. 25 to sugar-boiler—over-estimated my yield. Average yield Rs. 12-6-0 per acre. Household: self, wife, 4 children. 'Have seven vessels and Re.1 other household effects. Generally have only one meal a day.'
116	Do.	5½	Dhan, kodon, wheat, barley, linseed, mustard	Rent Rs. 16-14-0. Produce Rs. 40. Average yield, Rs. 8 per annum. Owe Rs. 21 (twelve per cent. interest) to sugar-boiler. Also borrowed Rs. 9 in village for food. Self, wife, two children. 'Will have to borrow for sowings.' As village shoemaker, get about Rs. 20 a year. 'Two vessels, two bedsteads worth 4d. each, no jewels, no grain in store. Generally two meals a day, but sometimes can afford only one.'

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Page.	Village.	No. of Acres.	Character of Crop.	Rent, Yield per Acre, and Comments.
116	Kalianpur	80	Muth, dhan, kodon, wheat, grain, linseed, barley, urd, sugar cane	Headman. Rent Rs. 120-15-0. Nearly 3 acres under sugar cane. Contracted deliver 1,100 maunds (91,200 lbs.), but actually realised Rs. 804. Other produce worth Rs. 887 =Rs. 691. Average yield, omitting sugar cane, Rs. 5 per acre. Owe sugar-boiler Rs. 400, mostly twelve per cent. Just paid Rs. 100 ; debt due to delivering less than agreed of sugar-juice. Household: five men, five women, four children. Rs.25 jewelry.
117	Do.	13	Dhan, kodon, wheat, grain, urd, sugar cane	Rent 'Rs. 49, mostly in kind.' Produce (sugar cane 1 acre, Rs. 16-5-0) Rs. 88-5-0. Owe Rs.100 at eighteen per cent. Lately repaid Rs. 80. No grain in house. Borrow for harvest. Household: self, three women, three children. Rs. 4 of jewels. 'My debts cripple me.'
117	Do.	19½	Sugar cane, muth, dhan, wheat, barley, grain, linseed, mustard	Rent 'Rs. 102-13-0, most of it in kind.' Produce (sugar cane nearly 3 acres, crop failure,—as cakes Rs. 11½) Rs. 152½. Average yield, omitting sugar, under Rs. 8 per acre. Owes Rs. 250 at 24 per cent. Lately repaid nothing. 520 lbs. grain in house. Wife and two children. Rs. 20 jewels.
117	Do.	6	Sugar cane, kodon, wheat, barley, grain, linseed, urd	Rent 'Rs. 76, mostly kind rents.' Produce (sugar cane ¾ acre, Rs. 39½) Rs. 188½. Average yield, omitting sugar, Rs. 20. Owe Rs. 250 at twelve per cent. Wife, five children. 'No jewels, no other property. My debts heavy. Sugar yield bad. Last year's dhan also poor.

Result of questions to women and boys gathering fuel in Government forests. (P. 117.)

Mostly widows of low castes. 'Pay 1½d. for permits to gather fuel. One large bundle per day. Take eight miles and sell for 3d. or 4d. We thus clear 2½d. in two days. We can just live on this. We have one meal a day in the evening; . . . we don't always get enough to eat, and sometimes we don't have a full meal in the twenty-four hours. Prices are so high now that it is hard to live.'

Result of Questions to Cultivators in Mauza Sudder-pur, 'where a good deal of sugar cane is grown and canal irrigation is general' (p. 117).

'We grow sugar cane without advances from moneylenders, and turn juice into cakes.

'Our zemindars have tried to induce us to sell our sugar-cane juice in advance to a sugar-boiling bania (moneylender) as the bania would give the zemindars a commission on his profits. But we have refused, as it is more profitable to make gur (cakes) for ourselves; and if the bania should once by advances get hold of us we should never get out of his power.

'We pay "kind" rents on all crops except sugar. The general rate is one-half the out-turn of grain, but for outlying fields one-third.'

From landlord 'we borrow seed and food.'

Rate for daily labour for all who have no land is one anna (1d.) per day.

'We eat the grain produce of our fields after the landlord has taken his share; and we clothe ourselves and buy what other things we want from our sugar cane. We rarely sell our grain crops.'

Statement by cultivator within a mile of Pilibhit town :—

'I rent 2½ acres, paying Rs.10 rent.

'I grow spring crops, on lowlying bits melons and cucumbers.

'I work entirely with a spade.

'Occasionally cut thatch grass, and earn 2½d. per day, or I do other job work.

'I have a wife and two little children. We have one meal a day, in the evening. We have just enough to eat, being careful, and enough clothes, except in the very cold weather. Then one blanket each is not enough and we cannot afford to buy wood for fires.

'I am a little in debt to the bania; I shall pay him when the spring harvest is out and then will have to borrow again.'

Statement by cultivators in Mirpur :—

'We sold all the sugar-crop during the rains to a Bilsanda sugar merchant. We registered the instrument. In it we agree to deliver so many kuteha maunds of juice (*rab*) for the money advanced to us, and in default to pay interest on the advance. We are never out of debt. We have only one English sugar-mill. The others are the old native *kolhu*. We have not been able to afford others. We are very badly off. Have not always enough to eat, and find it difficult to pay rent. The crops have been bad for two years. Last kharif there was no rice crop at all. First it did not rain, and then it rained too much' (p. 119).

'We make our own *gur*, and do not sell it in advance. We are not now in debt to any bania. Eight or nine years ago we were very much in debt, as a bania of Pilibhit had established a *bel*, and we were all in his books. Our zemindar, who happens to be a retired Deputy Collector, freed us from the bania by paying up our debts and settling instalments for us. The tenants were beginning to run away as they were almost ruined, and he freed us to save the village. Now we are pretty well off, though the rice crop was bad last kharif' (p. 119).

Inquiry in Mauza Mauraui, a village which immediately adjoins Rupur.

'The *bel* which you see belongs to a Kurmi of Pilibhit. We wish our debts could be freed as they have been in Rupur. We have always trouble when the year's accounts are made up in April, after all the cane has been crushed. The bania gives us credit for fewer measures of *rab* than we really delivered. His *karinda* cheats us. He always makes out that we are in his debt. There would be no good in our zemindar freeing us, as our zemindar would oust the bania merely in order to set up a *bel* for himself, and he would make us sell him our *rab*. We should then be even worse off than we are at present, as the bania has less power to oppress us than the landlord would have' (p. 120).

Mr. A. J. Lawrence, C.I.E., then Commissioner, Allahabad Division, who retired in 1891, in forwarding two reports from subordinates, says of Banda and Hamirpur, 'I believe there is here very little between the poorer classes of the people and semi-starvation; but what is the remedy?' Mr. Lawrence himself, in spite of his (then) twenty-eight years of experience, does not attempt to propound any remedy.

Mr. White, Collector and Magistrate, writing from Banda, says :—

'The poor Oudh peasant is an industrious man; he has to work hard, and he does work hard. The true statistics of spade tilth in Oudh should certainly be ascertained. I think the Government would be astonished to find how many Oudh peasants cultivate land without any bullocks at all.'

He proceeds : --

'If I am asked "whether it be true that the greater portion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food," I should say that the question is a vague one, and that I should first wish to know what is a sufficiency of food. No answer can be given but this, that a very large number of the lower classes of the population clearly demonstrate by the poorness of their physique that either they are habitually half-starved, or have been in early years exposed to the severities and trials of a famine. And it will be remembered that if any young creature be starved while growing, no amount of subsequent fattening of the adult will make up for the injury to growth. As to remedial measures, none can be suggested but those already undertaken, the development of communications, and the consequent prevention of oscillations in prices, and the consequent settling of a regular standard of living and work and diet and marriage among all classes.

'I subjoin some typical cases which I have collected while in camp through my sarishtadar, Munshi Amir Husain, who has managed to elicit the information without letting it be known that it was required officially. The cases have not been in any way selected, but were taken as they came.

'Mathenjau, Kumhar, of Mau Manpur, a small village in the ravines of the Ken river, near the ruined fort of Ramgarh.

'I live with an old mother and a married elder sister, who is visiting us. I don't cultivate. I have two swine and four little pigs: my brother-in-law gave them to me on condition that I should give him half the increase. I live by making pots for sale: sometimes sell for kind, otherwise for the rate of two *gharas* for a pice. I get three or four seers of grain every day. I eat once in twenty-four hours, rarely twice. When my pots do not sell, I get grain given to me by my clients. To-day I had gram bread and dal of arhar. I collect cow-dung and fuel for my furnace, and am charged nothing. My *pagri* is worth five annas: I bought it a year ago. My *chaddar* was given me by a zemindar when his married daughter was going away. Some relatives gave me my *dhoti*, which they bought for four annas, two or three years ago. I wear only one *dhoti* during the year. I am not in debt.'

Madho, Kahar, of Naseni, near the high road from Pangarra to Kartal, aged twenty-two years.

'Ours is the only family of Kahars in the village. I have father,

mother, two brothers, two sisters, grandmother, maternal uncle, and his son. I cultivate 25 bighas with two ploughs, paying rent at Rs. 2 a bigha. Have sown 12 bighas with wheat. I eat bread twice daily of barley, gram, or juwar. The family expenditure is five or six seers daily. I never eat wheat. I sell my wheat to pay my rent. I get Re. 1 a month for supplying water to certain villages. I sometimes work as a palki-bearer, getting half anna a kos. I also make something at weddings. I borrow seed at *sawai* rates; have not yet paid anything. I eat mung, masur, mash dals—anything that I can get. I cannot save anything. I have just enough to get on with. My clothing consist of a *pagri*, a *dhoti*, and a body-cloth. I am not a fisherman. My father is not in service: he carries the zemindar's palki as a *begari*: he gets no pay for this, but something in kind. I do not make nets. I do not sow *singhara*. My womenkind do not serve the zemindar's family. They help in agriculture, and do the house work. I have two bullocks and one cow. I have not yet paid my rent, but have set off the claim for work done in carrying the zemindar's palki. If a Kahar goes on a long trip, he is paid hal anna a kos' (one halfpenny for 1½ miles).

Chumka, Bhat, of Barsenda Munpur, on the Ken river.

'Ours is the only Bhat family in the village. I have a mother and two brothers. I have cultivated land on Rs. 60 rent. Don't know how much land. I sowed juwar, and til, but the juwar came to nothing, and I only got five *panseries* of til: I have now sown about eighteen bighas with barley. My elder brother is in service at Lahureta on Rs. 18 a year, with food and clothing extra. We have three bullocks, one cow, four she-buffaloes. We do not sell milk: we make it into ghi and curds: we sell the ghi and eat the curds. This morning I have eaten gram bread with *mattha*. Wheat? Why! the *deotas* in our village don't even get wheat. In the evening I eat juwar cooked in curds. Our mother grinds the grain and cooks the dinner. We have not kept any of our own grain to eat, but buy it daily. None of us sing ballads, or keep genealogies. We get our daily food from the sale of the ghi or by borrowing from the mahajan, to whom I now owe Rs. 82.'

Guthna, Domar, of Nayagaon in the extreme south of the Banda district of Ajaigarh.

'Have a wife and one small daughter. Do not cultivate land: make bamboo baskets: make one or two daily, which I sell for six pice or one anna each. Also play the drum when there is a marriage in the village: when I am paid four annas. I cut my bamboos off the hill, for which I pay the zemindar eight annas a year. I do not clear out the house latrines: there are no such things in our village. I have three sows, but I live chiefly by basket-making. My wife helps in the work. I also keep fowls but no one in the village, wants eggs. I eat generally jau, arhar, and gram. My wife gets old

clothing from the villagers. I borrowed Rs. 2 from the villagers when my daughter was born, and I gave a feast to the other Domars of the village.'

Bihari, Teli, of Nayagaon.

'Have a wife and child. Have three bighas of land, Rs.8 rent. One bullock for the oil-press, and I have another bullock during the cultivating season. I press til, sarson, mahua. Don't generally sell oil, but press it for villagers, making about three pice (three farthings) a day. My family lives on the produce of my fields, making up the deficiency from daily earnings. I borrow seed at *sawai* rates. I do not till myself, but have ploughmen at 8 annas a day in Asar and 6 annas in Kuar. I make my clothing from my own cotton. I have paid Rs.6 out of my rent. I spent about Rs.50 on my son's marriage, of which I had to borrow Rs.25. I ate arhar dal, khichri, and juwar to-day, with some oil instead of ghi. I sometimes eat once a day, and sometimes twice.'

Laina, Chamar, of Lahurra, near Kalinjar.

'There is only myself and my old mother: have been married, but *gauna* has not taken place. I work as an agricultural labourer, getting about Rs.2 a month as wages. My father died some Rs.20 in debt, and I have had to work it off. I cut grass for the zemindar's cows, and so on. Just now zemindar gives me one anna a day. I ate masur bread last night with salt. In crop time I get wheat, or gram bread: generally have to eat arhar, masur, rice, and juwar. Have been married five or six years, but cannot get my wife to live with me yet for want of money: my mother also works for the zemindar and gets wages: but she is very old and feeble. I get my clothing from my share of the cotton picking. For every five seers of cotton picked the labourer gets half a seer. Then I get the Koeri to weave it up into *dhotis*. I pay the Koeri four annas for one *dhoti*.'

Debi, Kurmi, of Purani, pargana Girwan.

'Brother and self hold one and a half anna of the village (equaling one-eleventh of the area); cultivate 30 or 40 bighas sir land. I also hold 80 bighas exproprietary tenure. Am not in debt at all. Have not got any wife or children. Have a nephew and a niece living with me. Have four bullocks, two ploughs, one cart, one buffalo, and five cows. I eat kodon, kakun, juwar, gram, or wheat. I generally make my own clothes from my own cotton. I never save anything. Any surplus I have is spent in *neotas*, etc. Spent Rs.7 in the case of the marriage from which I have just returned.'

Jai Ram, Kalwar of Pokhri.

'Have a father, uncle, and three brothers. I hold the liquor licence here at Godha and at Pokhri, and have four shops in native territory. Whole family engaged in distilling liquor. I pay 4 annas a day for

this shop, and I sell 4 or 5 annas worth daily. Mahua is purchased at 7 panseries a rupee. From this I make 8 gharas of liquor of ten bottles each, which I sell at 1 anna a bottle. My profit is perhaps Rs.6 or 7 a month. I eat barley or gram bread, and my grandmother cooks for me. My wife is at Pokhri. Have eaten *birra* bread to-day. I do not drink myself, not even at Holi.' (P. 122-3-4.)

Mr. E. Rose, Collector of Ghazipur, in dealing with another portion of these Provinces, writes a discriminating report, in which he depreciates much of the information given by the people of their own condition. His inquiries extended to about twenty villages. 'But,' he says, 'I gained more satisfactory information in the villages which were under my superintendence in the Court of Wards than elsewhere? Food prices at this time were abnormally high owing to local harvests being destroyed by excessive and untimely rains. This, however, with insect plagues and the like, is a contingency which occurs at regular intervals of years and must be allowed for.' In paragraph eight he remarks :—

'With reference to the first of the two classes : ' I have found, as a result of my investigation, that where the holding is of average size, and the tenant unencumbered with debt; when his rent is not excessive, and there is an average out-turn of produce; when, in fact, the conditions are favourable, the position of the agriculturist, whether as small proprietor or otherwise, is upon the whole a fairly comfortable one. He and his family are well clothed and fed; the women of his household have a little jewelry, and litigation in the courts is not an impossible luxury. When it is considered that seventy-eight per cent. of the tenants in this district are tenants who have occupancy rights (ex-proprietary, fixed rate, or otherwise) and that thirty-one per cent. of the total cultivated area is recorded as proprietary sir, it follows that unless there is some disturbing element, some variation of the conditions to which I have referred, the major portion of the agriculturist population is not in that condition to which reference is made in the Resolution of the Government of India, as one in which there is a daily insufficiency of food. But, unfortunately, these conditions do not always exist. The holding is too small for the number of persons depending upon it, the tenant is in debt, his rent is unduly high, and now and again there comes the inevitable

¹ (a) Small proprietors and cultivators of land, and (b) Day-labourers, servants, and artisans.

failure or partial failure of the crops, the consequence of floods, storms, or drought. As a rule, a very large proportion of the agriculturists in a village are in debt. Sometimes the debt is one which has recently been contracted for a marriage ceremony or a lawsuit, but almost always, so far as the debtor is concerned, an indeterminate quantity; he has seldom an account of it, and only knows what he paid off at the last harvest or when the last payment was made.' (P. 182.)

Mr. F. B. Mulock, officiating Collector and Magistrate of Ballia, gives particulars (pp. 139-142) of a searching character. They need not, however, be cited, as the history of this district shows that 'a scarcity in the real sense of the word, much less a famine, has never occurred in Ballia.' The district is situated between the rivers Ganges and Goghra, which render it to a great extent independent of the seasons. If the rains fail, filtration provides moisture sufficient for the growing crops; in addition the soil is exceptionally fertile, while the revenue rates are very low, and, most important of all facts, it is permanently settled.¹ Even in this prosperous district, however, 'as in the west of India, weaving, once an important industry, is dying out.' There are no industries apart from agriculture. Many of the people emigrate and enter service in other parts of India remitting from their earnings to those left behind. In 1881-82 so much as £18,200 was thus sent by money orders through the post office.

Of the Jhansi Division, the Commissioner, Mr. Ward, says:—

'It will be seen that both Mr. Hardy and Babu Sanwal Das were led by their inquiries to the conclusion that a very small proportion of the population in this Division are habitually underfed. This conclusion entirely agrees with my own observations during the last four years. But it must be remembered that they have been years of prosperity. Food has been fairly cheap and wages high, and a

¹ One reporter, Mr. D. T. Roberts, remarks: 'It is not the permanence of the settlement but the lightness of the assessment which has conferred the benefit.' As a matter of fact it is both. By the permanence of the settlement the advantages derived from a low assessment are the longer appreciated.

very large sum of money has been poured into the Division. The standard of living among the poorer classes, however, is, I think, higher than in other parts of India; it certainly is higher than in the eastern districts of the Provinces. Like everything else in India, the style of living is much governed by tradition. The people of these parts, though necessarily poor from the barren nature of the country, have always maintained a rude independence. In lieu of starving, they would rather prefer to rob than to beg; but they would not stay at home and die without a murmur. They are, indeed, too little disposed to rely on their own exertions, and in times of difficulty expect to be provided for by the State or by the bania. But there are signs that this apathy has been shaken off. In Lalitpur the agriculturists are fairly free from debt, and the zemindars are beginning to appreciate the value of their land. In Jhansi, Act XVI. of 1882 has effected a noticeable reform. But in Jalaun the burden of indebtedness is very heavy, and I cannot but think that agriculture is declining from want of capital and from too continuous cultivation of the same land for the same crops. The Betwa Canal, however, has probably rendered the whole tract of Jalaun secure from famine. It has hitherto been little used, its chief object being to supply the want of the October and December rains, and since its construction there has been a sufficiency of rain either in October or December. Jhansi and Lalitpur are, in my opinion, secured by the railway from a dearth of food; but they are by no means as yet secured from a calamity more lasting in its effects—a dearth of water. However cheap grain may be, if the people are driven from their homesteads by want of water, and if the cattle die from the same cause, all the effects of the famine are produced, and the deserted villages are not easily brought under cultivation again when the calamity is passed. I have pointed out that the most promising method of increasing the water supply would be in all probability exceedingly remunerative to Government. This method is to gradually arrest the surface drainage by a system of small dams extending from the very commencement of every ravine or water channel as far down its course as it is practicable to construct them without recourse to the professional skill of an engineer. It may be confidently predicted that by a measure of this kind, the barren rocky high lands in both districts might be gradually converted into magnificent forests, while the spring-level in the lower lands would be raised by percolation. The Government possesses in Lalitpur 92,269 acres, and in Jhansi 23,580 acres of forest land. But it is only by courtesy that the word forest can be used to denote them. They might be forests if water and soil were provided for them, and the operation would be neither difficult nor costly. It is the simplicity and cheapness of the scheme which condemns it in an age of extreme centralisation. Had a small part of the capital expended on the Betwa Canal been devoted to the humble measure of damming the ravines that feed the Betwa or its

tributaries far away from the bed of the stream, the same amount of water might have been intercepted, and the Government would now probably be drawing ten per cent. instead of one per cent. on its outlay. But it is only grand and expensive works that engage the attention or deserve the skill of a big Department; and except big Departments no one now has the power of spending public money.'

Mr. Hardy gives the following interesting particulars:—

'Sultanpur, Pargana Moth.

'A village tenanted chiefly by a Lodh brotherhood of petty sharers. Area about 700 acres, cultivated area 450 acres, revenue Rs.724, rental Rs.1,400. An average village, with fair land a mile off the main road, with a population of 518, composed of 83 households. I should divide these households into the following classes:—

- (i.) Well off from the agricultural standpoint. Four families only, comprising 38 persons, would fall under this category. They are the three lambardars and the patwaris' families.
- (ii.) Persons who are comfortably off, *i.e.*, who have a sufficiency of food all the year round, and are well clad. Forty-four families, with a population of 84 men, 75 women, 71 boys 65 girls; total, 295.

Of these families 17 are sharers or ex-sharers.

„	„	24 are cultivators.
„	„	2 are carpenters.
„	„	1 is a barber.

- (iii.) Persons who, though in ordinary years are fairly well off, suffer from insufficiency of food when prices are high, abnormally high. Twenty-five families: 36 men, 34 women, 28 boys, 29 girls: total 127.

One of these families is that of a sharer.

Seventeen	„	are cultivators.
Four	„	are labourers.
One	„	is a chaukidar.
One	„	is a bania (petty).

- (iv.) Persons who, except at harvest time, are habitually underfed. Ten families: 16 men, 12 women, 13 boys, 17 girls; total 58. 'Six are labourers, mostly with large families.'

Details of another village are also set forth in some detail.

Babu Sanwal Das, Deputy Collector of Kalpi, comes to the conclusion that in this district, the lower classes do not suffer from daily insufficiency of food, that, when

food cannot be obtained at 32 lbs. per rupee, between five and ten per cent., 'do not have full meals'; 'the petty proprietors and agriculturists are generally more or less in debt.'

Mr. H. S. Boys, officiating Commissioner, Sitapur Division, records particulars obtained from twenty families taken at random in several villages, and shows that the returns give as near as possible

Rs.14 8a. (19s. 2d.) per annum for each adult, and

7 2a. (9s. 6d.) „ „ „ „ child.

Now our gaol returns, he says, 'show that we can keep our convicts in first-rate health and send them out in a fairer condition than when they came in on a still smaller allowance than this.' The comparison is not a very nice one, but Mr. Boys does not give particulars. Such as are before me show for the North-Western Provinces central gaol;—diet: Rs.18 1a.8½p.; divisional gaols Rs.24 6a.10¼p.; district gaols, Rs.15 8a. 11½p. This was in 1867-68, when an average food grain like bajri was sold at 50 lbs. to the rupee, whereas in 1882 when he wrote it was 43½ lbs. At 40 lbs. to the rupee, Rs.18 4a. are required for a man's food grain alone, not including salt and other condiments. Therefore, Mr. Boys' Rs.14 8a. would be Rs.3 12a. less than was needed, even though he dogmatically declares that this sum laid out in food is undoubtedly ample for a working-man. This loose and unsympathetic writing is especially characteristic of Mr. Boys. It was his desire to keep the Indian in a merely animal condition, which even a sufficiency of food would ensure, for he goes on to say:—'For some reasons it is not desired for the present that the standard of comfort should be very materially raised.' Mr. Boys was the Mr. Thackeray of 1807 re-incarnated.¹ He would have hailed

¹ Lieut.-Col. Pitcher, Director of Land Records and Agriculture, takes over Mr. Boys' observations and rubs them in for the benefit of an agriculturist who, in one sentence, is described as alike thrifty and thriftless. 'As Mr. Boys most truly remarks,' Col. Pitcher says, 'the absence of thrift is really at the bottom of a great deal of the present simulation of poverty by

Mr. John Stuart Mill's description of a country in the position of India as 'a human cattle farm,' as most proper.

It may be well to regard these twenty villages somewhat closely, remembering that to provide sufficient food-grain for each adult in 1882, would require Rs.18 4a., and for each child Rs.9, and then note what the average income works out at.

Village.	Tashkem.	6 persons.	Available for food, Rs.69-12-0; deficiency, Rs.13, about 18 per cent.
"	"	6 "	Rs.96; surplus of Rs. 14-4-0.
"	"	14 "	Rs. 136; deficiency Rs. 45, nearly 25 per cent.
"	"	21 "	Rs. 241-12-0; deficiency Rs. 48 or 20 per cent.
"	Barhatapur.	5 "	Rs. 62-4-0; deficiency Rs. 10.
"	"	7 "	Rs. 66-2-0; deficiency Rs. 33-4-0 or 33 per cent.
"	"	5 "	Rs. 61-12-0; deficiency Rs. 20-4-0 or 25 per cent.
"	"	7 "	Rs. 72-4-0; deficiency Rs. 72 or 28 per cent.
"	Kasrawan	6 "	Rs. 96; deficiency Rs. 4 or 4 per cent.
"	"	10 "	Rs. 195; surplus of Rs. 50; this man's crops realised the (comparatively) large sum of Rs. 330.
"	"	10 "	Rs. 91-12-0; deficiency Rs. 54-12-0 or over 33 per cent.

the people.' Simulation of poverty! Such obscurant vision in high Indian officials combined with insult to the people who provide them with princely salaries, accounts for much in Indian backwardness. The Lieut.-Colonel proceeds: 'There is, broadly speaking, no such thing as thrift, as defined in the denial to oneself of superfluous articles of food, drink, and clothing, and investment of their cost in durable articles and especially in capital which itself aids in producing. There is certainly an amount of scraping and saving carried on amongst all classes to an incredible degree; but the object in view in most cases is not that of obtaining a competency or of raising gradually the position of the family in the world. It is rather that of accumulating for the purpose of squandering the money in pilgrimages, panchayets, marriages, etc. It is notorious that the native soldier, even with ample means to command food, will starve himself to an injurious extent in order to hoard. To quote Mr. Boys again, it is for some reasons not to be desired for the present that the standard of comfort should be very materially raised. Were it to be so raised a fall in prices might cause considerable distress amongst classes where it is non-existent' (Pp. iii-iv).

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Village.	Kasrawan.	8 persons.	Rs. 90-12-0; deficiency Rs. 99-4-0 or 9 per cent.
"	Behta Sidhal.	6 "	Rs.50-5-6; deficiency Rs.81-6-6 or 24 per cent.
"	"	5 "	Rs. 57-7-6; surplus of Rs. 8; wife servant in Thakur's family.
"	"	4 "	Rs. 28-8-0; deficiency Rs. 26 or nearly 50 per cent.
"	"	2 "	Rs.35-12-0; deficiency 12 annas.
"	"	10 "	Rs. 97-2-0; deficiency Rs. 48-6 or 38 per cent.
"	"	5 "	Rs. 38-14-0; deficiency Rs. 19-6-0 or about 80 per cent.
"	"	13 "	Rs. 106-5-6; deficiency Rs.84-14-10, or nearly 50 per cent. Rs. 250 in debt; contemplates flight.
"	"	13 "	Rs.119-2-0; deficiency Rs. 48-10-0 or about 24 per cent.

It is of the above record—that and none other—that the officiating Commissioner writes with such optimism as to the individual getting enough to eat, as to the amount available for food being ‘ample for a working man.’ Mr. Boys retired in 1889. Being a pensioner he is still probably living. If he be I trust he will see these lines and, in his luxurious retirement, will reconsider his expressions of nineteen years ago, and do something to repair the wrong he then did to the people out of whose necessities his retirement allowance comes. To keep him in England India has to contribute the annual incomes of considerably over one thousand Indian people. The wrong done by Mr. Boys was gross. Taking one of the cheapest grains as standard, and leaving out of account altogether very young children, though even in India little children cost something per annum to maintain, this is the result :—

Twenty households :—

Three with surplus—

Rs.14 4 0, Rs.50, and
Rs.3 respectively =
Rs.67 4 0.

Seventeen with deficiencies—	Rs.13, Rs.45, Rs.48,
	Rs.10, Rs.33 4 0,
	Rs.20 4 0, Rs.72,
	Rs.4, Rs.54 12 0,
	Rs.9 4 0, Rs.31 6 6,
	Rs.26, Rs.0 12 0,
	Rs.48 6 0, Rs.19 6 0,
	Rs.84 14 10, Rs.43 10 0
	= Rs.564 1 0.

Deficiencies in Seventeen Families	Rs.564 1 0
Surpluses in Three Families	67 4 0

Net Deficiency ...	<u>Rs.496 13 0</u>
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Or, £33 2s. 5d.

This would mean an average deficiency in each of the twenty households of Rs.24 (£1 12s.), and, if the seventeen households only be regarded, in each of them, a deficiency of Rs.31 6a. (£2 1s. 10d.).

The habit is inveterate with the Indian official and his prototype in the India Office : except when he wishes to show that Indian taxation, land taxation especially, is absurdly light *per capita*, he never takes the trouble to ascertain how the main facts fit in with the actual situation of the particular year with which he is dealing. From the first, all through the years since we assumed authority in India, this has been our practice. Nowhere in at least two hundred Indian Blue Books, dating from 1760 to 1901, which have been the object of my study for this book during the year in which it is written, can I, anywhere, find an honest grappling with existing statistics and their application to the condition of Ram Singh, or Hari Gour, or Cundy Pershotum, or Ahmed Khan, or Ramaswamy. There is a slight approximation to this desideratum in Sir Auckland Colvin's comments on the inquiry of 1888, but only a slight approximation; His Honor carefully avoids working out the figures according to reconsidered food prices. I forbear inquiry into or

comment upon the remarkable and significant psychological fact to which the circumstance bears strange testimony.

To resume the '88 investigation in the North-Western Provinces, now, happily, the reader will probably think, nearing a close.

Mr. A. H. Harrington, Officiating Commissioner, Fyzabad Division, contributes a report which calls for quotation in full. It is addressed to the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and is dated Fyzabad, April 4, 1888, and is as follows (pp. 171-2):—

SIR,—As directed in Government (Revenue Department), Scarcity
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 1-16 dated 12th January, I have the honour to forward the report and opinion submitted by Colonel Noble. I have asked Major Anson to forward his reply as soon as possible; but it has not yet been received.

2. Colonel Noble's report is interesting, but I think it somewhat too optimistic. From the fact that in the months of January and February, 58 families in 17 villages, consisting of the poorest inhabitants of those villages, are found to have a sufficient food-supply, it is hardly safe to infer that in no part of the Gonda district do the poorest agriculturists or labourers suffer from a daily insufficiency of food.

3. Gonda is undoubtedly better off than many other districts. As remarked by Mr. W. C. Bennett in the Gonda article ('Oudh Gazetteer,' vol. i. p. 515): 'There can be no doubt that the thinness of the population, the extent of fertile waste, and the extreme lightness of the summary settlement, have combined to give this district an almost complete freedom from the worst forms of poverty. Beggars are rare in the south, and almost unknown in the north.' But, on the same page, the same authority remarks: 'It is not till he has gone into these subjects in detail that a man can fully appreciate how terribly thin the line is which divides large masses of people from absolute nakedness and starvation.' I believe that this remark is true of every district in Oudh, the differences between them consisting in the greater or smaller extent of the always large proportion which is permanently in this depressed and dangerous condition.

4. I cite one or two facts in support of this view. Bahriach, a district of my division, like Gonda, is one of the comparatively well-to-do districts. Yet, even there, 'there are very many under-

fed and meagre creatures, no doubt; but the proportion of such is not so large as elsewhere. Perhaps high rents have not had time to produce any noxious effect' ('Oudh Gazetteer,' vol. i. p. 149). 'At present the only motive for entering into the *sewak* (contract) is want of food, and that this is an increasing motive is shown by the increasing number of *sewaks* (bond-slaves). Every second man met with in the plains of Hissampur is a *sewak*. . . . As every *sewak* is a bankrupt, and as the *sewaks* form a large proportion of the whole, it may be gathered that the agricultural classes are deeply embarrassed. That their condition is becoming worse receives support from the fact that a caste formerly exempt from this servitude is now subject to it—that of the Ahirs' (*Ibid.* pp. 147, 148). In the introduction to the 'Oudh Gazetteer,' Mr. Bennett, an observer wholly free from pessimism, says of the lowest castes in Oudh that 'the lowest depths of misery and degradation is reached by the Koris and Chamars;' and he describes them as '*always on the verge of starvation.*' Now the Chamars and Koris are eleven per cent., or rather more than one-tenth, of the entire population of Oudh, [*i.e.*, nearly one and a half millions.]

Lastly, I quote the following passage from some papers contributed by me to the *Pioneer* under the head of "Oudh Affairs," in 1876. 'It has been calculated that about 60 per cent. of the entire native population' . . . are sunk in such abject poverty that unless the small earnings of child labour are added to the small general stock by which the family is kept alive, some members of the family would starve. With the bulk of them education would be synonymous with starvation.' And I cited the following passage from the Oudh Education Report for 1874:—

'Mr. Thompson, the Inspector of the Eastern Circle, whose thorough acquaintance with the wants and condition of the people within his own circle is well known, showed in the report for 1872-78 that a labourer in Oudh by sending his son to school would incur a loss of thirty per cent. of his income; not thirty per cent. which could otherwise be saved, but thirty per cent. of what is necessary to preserve himself, children, and aged relatives from perishing by hunger. As long as their condition remains so abjectly poor as it is, the only means on which a child could be sent to school would be that it should receive a meal a day from the Government.'

5. On the question, then, whether the impression 'that the greater proportion of the people of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food is wholly untrue, or partially true,' I would reply that the observations already on record in Settlement reports and Gazetteers are likely to furnish much more reliable information than

¹ That is to say, nearly eight millions out of thirteen millions.

isolated inquiries here and there of a few selected, and for the most part overworked, officers. My own belief, after a good deal of study of the closely-connected question of agricultural indebtedness (*vide* my five chapters on Economic Reform in Rural India in the *Calcutta Review*, 1882-85), is that the impression is perfectly true as regards a varying, but always considerable, part of the year in the greater part of India.

6. As to the extent of the evil, this proportion, whatever it is, will be found in that one-fifth of the total population of India which comprises 'the classes most liable to famine, the labourers, weavers, beggars, and potters,' amounting in number 'to about thirteen millions of adult males, or a population of nearly forty millions, including women and children, or twenty per cent. of the total population of British India' (Famine Commission Report, part 2, section vi., paragraph II.). (If this one-fifth (20 per cent.) I do not think that it would be an over-estimate to calculate that at least one-fourth, or five per cent., of the total population suffer from a chronic insufficiency of food, and that another five per cent. just get enough food, and no more. It will be understood that I am not now referring to the quality, but only the quantity, of the food.

7. To the question how far any remedial measures can be suggested, I can only urge the vigorous adoption of that 'policy of maintaining agricultural operations at the highest attainable standard of efficiency' which, as long ago as December, 1881, the Government of India recognised as an object of paramount importance. In the extract from the Resolutions appended to the Government letter under reply, the Government of India recognised it to be 'an imperative duty to ascertain whether any legitimate means can be provided to check the degradation of agriculture which is caused by rack-renting, or any unsuitable system of collecting rent, *inability to obtain capital on reasonable terms*,' or the lack of 'irrigating machinery and agricultural implements.' And it pronounced that 'the relief or prevention of such deterioration is an object which should have prominence in the work of every provincial Agricultural Department.'

8. Up to this date this declaration of policy remains a dead letter as regards facilitating the supply of capital on reasonable terms, and the protection, repair, and extension, of wells, tanks, embankments, or other works of land improvement other than canals. It will continue to be a dead letter as long as these questions remain as at present at the unfruitful stage of fitful discussions inside the Government offices between a Secretary here and a Member of Council there, and as long as the necessary step is deferred of appointing strong Commissions to review the data and experience already gained, to make such further inquiry as may be necessary, and to map out a line of action.

Another authority on Oudh, Mr. H. C. Irwin,¹ Deputy Commissioner of Rae Bareli, presented a report which lends itself to copious citation. The information which his letter² gives concerning the cropping capacity of the soil and the possibilities of securing anything like decent living are of special interest. He writes (pp. 175, 179):—

I questioned each cultivator as to the out-turn of each crop sown by him. If his answers showed anything abnormal in the rate of produce I pressed him to explain the cause, and asked his neighbours or the patwari what they thought. As a rule, I have put down the final result arrived at by this exhausting, if not exhaustive, process: not with much confidence in its correctness, but deeming it at least less unworthy of record than any merely conjectural estimate of my own.

6. As regards amount of produce per acre, I found a general consensus of opinion that wheat and *rabi* crops generally nowadays do not yield such heavy returns as they did twenty or thirty years ago. I was, and to some extent still am, inclined to regard this as a sample of the *laus temporis acti* to which the unprogressive classes in every country seem prone. But Mr. Gartlan, whose experience of the Salon tahsil extends over twenty years, and who probably is more intimately acquainted with its rural life than any European official can pretend to be, assures me that it is really the fact, and is inclined to ascribe it to over-cropping and excessive irrigation. A field once irrigated must, according to him, be always irrigated; for though before it was ever watered at all it might yield a tolerable dry crop, yet, once watered, it will yield nothing without irrigation. I am not, myself, enough of an agricultural chemist to have an opinion of any value on this point, but I should think that deficiency of manure had a good deal to do with the deficiency of produce, so far as it is a fact. As cultivation has increased, grazing ground has, of course, diminished. Cattle are dearer than they were, and probably fewer in number; clearing of such jungles as there were has forced a more extensive use of cow-dung as fuel. Thus, while the area of cultivation is certainly larger, the amount of available manure is probably less than it was shortly after annexation. Of these causes a diminished out-turn per acre would not be a very surprising result.

7. The impression which I derived from this inquiry is that, speaking roughly, a first-rate crop of *jarhan* or transplanted rice

¹ Author of 'The Garden of India.' W. H. Allen and Co., London.

² Dated Rae Bareli, 29th March, 1898, p. 174, 'Econ. Inq. N. W. Provinces and Oudh.'

will, if the rains be abundant and well distributed, yield as much as 15 maunds or 1,280 lbs. per bigha. Anything over this would be very exceptional. Broadcast rice would, under the most favourable conditions, yield 12 maunds or 984 lbs. per bigha. For juwar and bajra, the soil of the district does not seem to be very well suited, and I believe that 656 lbs. to 820 lbs. per bigha would be regarded as a heavy crop. Wheat, barley, and spring crops generally, seldom, I should say, yield more than 820 lbs. per bigha. Average yields I should take to be for jarhan 820 lbs.; for broadcast rice 574 lbs. to 656 lbs.; for juwar and bajra 494 lbs. to 656 lbs.; for wheat and spring crops generally 574 lbs. to 656 lbs. In a year of drought or of excessive floods, or of extensive blight or hailstorms, the average out-turn would, of course, be much lower.

8. In calculating the money value of grain, I may explain that I have adopted a general average of 50 lbs. to the rupee. The market price of every kind of grain has for some time past been considerably higher than this; but it is the threshing-floor prices at harvest which have to be considered, and these were everywhere said to have been from five to six *panseries*, i.e., 50 lbs. to 60 lbs. per rupee for rice, Indian corn, and other kharif staples.

9. The out-turn in column 8 is that of the past kharif and the present rabi of 1295 fasli. Questions as to the yield of the previous year would, I considered, be harder to answer. Having premised thus much, I turn to the various points brought out by the inquiry.

10. Perhaps the most salient of these is the extreme scarcity of warm clothing among the people examined. My statement (A) shows, for 173 persons, only 10 blankets, 16 razais, and 24 quilts. So that more than three-fourths of them go through the winter with no better covering than the common sheet (*galef* or *dohar*). The common country blanket, such as is made by the Gararias, and sold for from 10 to 14 annas, is not found among the more respectable families, being deemed a less creditable garment than a *dohar*. Mr. Gartlan's statement (B) shows eight blankets, two razais, and five quilts among 71 persons—a still lower proportion. Charpais seem more common. My 173 had 99 bedsteads among them, and Mr. Gartlan's 71 had 82. Sleeping on the ground is so productive of fever, that I should be glad to see charpais exempted from attachment and sale in execution of decrees.

11. None even of the working cattle get any grain, and live on grass, bhussa, and karbi. The so-called grazing grounds yield, except during the rains, practically no grass, and the so-called jungles nothing more nutritive than *dhak* leaves. To the question whether the plough and well-bullocks get no grain, the invariable answer was: 'How should they? Men can't get grain.'

12. Agricultural labour is not expensive. The best-paid form of it is reaping, which is remunerated by one-twelfth of the produce

which, with a heavy crop and a quick workman, might come to as much as 5 seers (10 lbs.) a day. Next comes watering from tanks and jhils by means of *duglas*: men thus employed get $2\frac{1}{2}$ and in some part 3 seers (5 lbs. to 6 lbs.) a day, while those who water from wells get $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 seers (3 lbs. to 4 lbs.); weeders the same; house-builders and thatchers get from 5 pice to 2 annas a day (less than one half-penny to twopence per day).

13. Indebtedness is not extensive, and heavy indebtedness is exceptional. Of my thirty examinees, eight said they were not in debt at all; and, of the others, only two could be described as heavily indebted. Most of them keep up a running account with some *mahajan*, which is balanced at the close of the year in Jeth. If the harvest has been good, the debt is generally cleared off and a fresh account started from Asarh; if bad, the unliquidated balance is carried on to the next year. The advances are usually for seed (*bisar*) or food (*khawai*), and sometimes for purchase of bullocks, and for marriage or funeral ceremonies. The common rate of interest on cash loans is twenty-five per cent. per annum; on food advances, twenty-five per cent.; on advances for seed it seems to be always fifty per cent.

14. A noteworthy point is the wide variations in the amount of food which different individuals estimate as a sufficient daily ration. The most liberal estimate is that of a well-to-do Kurmi, No. 11, who said he always ate one and a half seers (3 lbs.). The lowest is about three-quarters of a seer for an adult male ($1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.). I am inclined to think that this is very much a matter of habit, resulting from a long course of easy or pinched circumstances. In well-to-do families, accustomed to eat as much as they can, I daresay a man who was at work all day would eat three pounds at two meals. In hard-up households, on the other hand, one and a half pounds would be the usual thing; and no one would think of eating more. One seer for a man, three-quarters for a woman, and half a seer for a boy of ten, would perhaps be a fair average allowance.

15. In 13 of the 30 cases in statement A, the surplus in column 15 falls short of the estimated food consumption of the year, leaving nothing for clothes and miscellaneous expenditure. This seeming anomaly is partly due, no doubt, to under-estimate of out-turn—which, as already remarked, there was a general tendency to understate. In part it is to be explained by the fact that the poorer classes don't eat a full ration of grain every day in the year. For some weeks before each harvest they bring home from their fields bundles of green corn which they roast and eat, and this they exclude from their estimate of threshing-floor totals. Again, 120 to 160 lbs. of carrots may be bought for a rupee—and these, when in season, are largely used to eke out the food supply. The same is the case with mangoes, cucumbers, and 'quashes.' Probably a quarter of the food consumed by the poorest classes consists of such beggarly elements as these.

16. To the main question—whether the poorer classes get enough to eat—a categorical answer is not easy. I believe that a great majority do, in ordinary times, satisfy their hunger at least once a day. That the poorer families eat as much as would be good for them, I very much doubt. Hunger, as already remarked, is very much a matter of habit; and people who have felt the pinch of famine—as nearly all the poorer households must have felt it—get into the way of eating less than wealthier families and less than they could assimilate with physical advantage to themselves.

17. The more one looks into the condition of the Indian cultivator and labourer, the more, it seems to me, one must be impressed by the narrowness of the margin between him and destitution. The upper class of tenant, the man with from five to ten acres of land and upwards, should, in average times, and with ordinary industry, be well above the pressure of actual want. But the small cultivators, *i.e.*, the large majority, must be always on the brink of want of food; though the services of the *mahajan* generally save them from going further than the brink.

18. Take, for instance, the case of a tenant with five bighas, with a wife and three children under ten years of age. Assume that he is paying nothing for labour, and endow him with a pair of perennial bullocks which shall never need to be replaced and never be sick or sorry, and never cost anything to feed. He sows, let us say, three bighas with rice, and gets a crop of 12 maunds a bigha, or 36 maunds. In November he again sows two bighas of this with peas and grain, and reaps 12 maunds; while the other two bighas he sows with wheat, and gets a crop of 20 maunds, or 10 maunds per bigha. Total produce, 68 maunds, worth, at 25 seers the rupee, which is a very high threshing-floor price, Rs.108. It will be admitted that he has not done badly with his harvest. Land which produces such crops as these must be of good quality, and is not likely to let under, at least, Rs.6 a bigha. His rent will thus be Rs.30. He will require about four maunds for seed, worth Rs.6 6a.; surplus for food and clothing, and all other expenditure, Rs.71 10a. Allow as daily food supply for himself one seer, three-quarter seer for his wife, and one seer for the three children. Total daily rations, two and three-quarter seers, or 25 maunds, worth Rs.40 per annum, balance available for all other purposes, Rs.31 10a. With such a surplus he would deem himself, and considering his wants and habits actually would be, very comfortable.

19. But suppose the rains to be scanty or inopportune; suppose that there are three or four nights of sharp frost in January or February, and a hailstorm early in March. Under these unfavourable, but constantly recurring, conditions, his rice will scarcely yield more than six maunds a bigha or 18 maunds; his two bighas of peas and grain will bear, perhaps, eight maunds; and his two bighas of wheat ten maunds. Total, 36 maunds, worth Rs.56. So that after paying his rent

and putting by seed, he will have left only $12\frac{1}{2}$ maunds, worth Rs.19 10a.; while, by the supposition, the food alone of his family amounts to 25 maunds, worth Rs.40. It may be said that he would earn something by field labour. A man with five bighas on his hands to cultivate, without any help but that of his wife and one or two small boys, can hardly do much else. But suppose him to work two months in the year for hire at three seers a day. This would only bring $4\frac{1}{2}$ maunds, worth about Rs.7, which would not go far to make up the deficit. He would probably cut down the food consumption by a fourth, and the only other resources open to him would be either to sell his bullocks, and so disqualify himself for further cultivation, or to raise a loan at 25 per cent. Once in the mesh of the money-lender, it will go hard with him before he escapes it.

20. Calculations which I need not repeat here have led me to the conclusion that a landless labouring family of the same size as in the case above would earn about 28 maunds, worth about Rs.45, in the course of the year, supposing the man to be employed for five months in field work and for six months in building and thatching. Deducting food at the same rate, 25 maunds, worth Rs.40, there would be a balance of Rs.5 for clothing and all other expense. This small saving would, by a very moderate degree of ill-luck or ill-health, be turned into a deficit. But even assuming that the ordinary small cultivator and able-bodied labourer can always be sure of sufficient food, there remain the aged, infirm, and childless poor. The question whether these get enough to eat can only be answered by a decided negative.

21. In conclusion of this part of the subject, the nearest approach that I can furnish to a categorical answer to the question whether the agricultural population of this district are sufficiently fed, is that the mass of them in ordinary times, and the *élite* always, do get enough to eat; but that a considerable minority in bad seasons feel the pinch of hunger; and that a small minority consisting of the sickly, the weak, the old, and the childless, suffer from chronic hunger, except just about harvest time, when grain is plentiful and easily to be had. I do not understand that the indigent town populations are intended to be included in this inquiry. There can be no doubt that they suffer much more than the agricultural classes from want of food, especially the unfortunate *parda-nashin* women, and indeed men too, of good but impoverished families, who have sunk in the world, who are ashamed to beg, who live on the remnants of their property, and whom every rise in prices hits cruelly hard. For such people, dear grain means semi-starvation, while to the producer it, of course, means increased value of his produce.

22. So far actual facts. As for remedies, I must confess that I have very little to offer in the way of suggestion. The new Rent Act having been in force for little more than a year, it would, I presume, be considered out of place to point out its failure to protect the heirs

of deceased tenants from rack-renting, and to secure actual tenants from spiteful eviction; otherwise these are points on which it would be easy to dilate.

23. The gradual deterioration of the common country cattle is, I believe, mainly due to the steady diminution of grazing grounds, owing to the increased area under cultivation. Opportunity might be taken, I think, to remedy this at the next Settlement, now not very far distant. The Settlement Officer might set apart specified land, amounting to a certain proportion of the area of each village, say ten per cent., to be exempted from assessment on condition that it should be devoted exclusively to the growth of grass and other fodder, and that the village cattle should be allowed to graze on it free of charge to their owners. A portion of this reserved area might also be required to be planted with quick-growing timber for fuel, for the gratuitous use of the villagers. These measures would, it may be hoped, lead to improved agriculture by means of better and stronger bullocks, and more abundant manure, wood taking the place of cow-dung as fuel. The so-called reclamation of waste lands has, I think, been carried a great deal too far in Oudh, and should be as far as possible checked for the future. 'What is needed,' if I may be allowed to quote words which I have used elsewhere, 'is not the breaking up of fresh soils, but the better and more careful cultivation of the land already under tillage. The area available for grazing is already far too scanty in at least nine districts out of twelve. . . . The increased produce which is needed for the adequate support of the people must be derived from an increased intensity of industry, not from an extension of its area.'

24. I must plead guilty to holding the heroic heresy that the exportation of grain from Indian ports should be stopped when prices in any large portion of the country reach a certain point. It is true that the grain exported is chiefly wheat, and that wheat is not the food of the poorest classes. Still, the effect of keeping wheat down below starvation prices would be obviously to reduce the intensity of the demand for the coarser grains. This, however, is of course a remedy for exceptional scarcity only, and one which no one would advocate in normal times.

25. The only other suggestion which occurs to me is that the wide difference between threshing-floor and market prices is to a great extent the result of the necessity under which the cultivator lies of selling off a large proportion of his grain as soon as it is cleaned, to enable him to pay his rent. The *mahajan* is thus enabled for a few weeks to buy grain very cheaply, and almost monopolises the large profit arising from the increased value which the same grain possesses two months later. It may be worth consideration whether, if the revenue and rent demands were made payable in eight, instead of, as they usually are at present, in four, instalments, the tenant would not be able to hold his grain longer, and so get a better price for it.

Of course there are obvious objections which may be urged against this measure; but I am not at all sure that it would not be worth trying as an experiment in one or two districts. I am quite aware that this may be called a tinkering experiment, and that to stop exportation is an undeniable interference with free trade; but can only regret that, except perhaps the proposal contained in paragraph 23, and further alterations of the rent law, which this is not the place to discuss, I know of no other direct remedies for the condition of the poorer classes which would be less open to criticism.

In regard to the elaborate tables which follow, in which there are sixteen columns of particulars, I need only refer to the 'Remarks.'

1. *Kurmi*, cultivator and labourer. 'Weak and ill-fed in appearance. Has been ten or fifteen years in village. Has one ragged bedstead. No warm clothing of any kind. Seemed stupefied with cold. Says the family eat six lbs. of grain daily between them, which equals 2,444 lbs. per annum, or more than the surplus of grain after paying rent.'

2. *Pasi*, cultivator and *chaukidar*.¹ Requires for daily food for self and family 1,382 lbs. of food more than his income allows. 'No warm clothes at all.'

3. *Kalwar*, cultivator. 'Has no warm clothes. Says he is often hungry during the daytime, but satisfies his hunger at night.'

4. *Ahir*, cultivator. 'No warm clothes.' Says his fields yield less than assessment estimate. 'Owes Rs.40, incurred for funeral feast for first wife and marriage of another.'

5. *Ahir*, cultivator. 'No warm clothes. Owes Rs.14 at Rs.2 per cent. per month, which is ordinarily paid off during the year.'

6. *Kalwar*, cultivator. 'No warm clothes. Well-nourished. Owes Rs.32, incurred for a wedding which he says is generally paid within the year.'

7, 8, and 9. Much the same as 6.

10. *Kurmi*, cultivator and labourer. 'When he can, cooks twice a day; but very often has not the where-

¹ Village watchman, or any watchman.

withal. Has no clothing of any kind except a couple of shirts, and a sheet for his wife. This couple fortunately have no children; they need no charpai.'

11. *Kurmi*, cultivator. Family. 'Has been fourteen or fifteen generations in the village and never ejected. He says every labouring man will eat one and a half seer (3 lbs.) a day if he can get it.'

12. *Kurmi*, cultivator. Cattle live on stalks and straw. When asked if the cattle get no grain, says men can't get grain, how can cattle? Not in debt; eat their own grain all the year round. Make jewelry with the surplus, when they have any, but have made none for four years. Own marriage and sister's paid out of savings. This is a well-to-do little household, very much owing to the fact that they have so few mouths to feed.

13 and 14. Call for no comment.

15. *Lonia*, cultivator and labourer. 'This man is pretty well-to-do, thanks to a yearly contribution of Rs.60 from his brother, a contractor.'

16 and 17. Nothing noteworthy.

18. *Muria*, aged 60 or 65. Screams when asked if he eats his own grain all the year, and says he only does so for four months.

19. *Ahir*, cultivator and labourer. 'Says he eats grain advanced by the mahajan (moneylender) for eight months in the year.' 'Improbable,' interjects Mr. Irwin.

21. *Kurmi*, aged 60, labourer. Owes Rs.36. Paid the interest last year out of Rs.10 sent him by his son, who is employed at Dehra in a tea garden. No *razai* or blankets. Suffers a good deal from cold.

26. *Ghosi*, aged 34, cultivator and herdsman. When asked why he pays a rent of Rs.14 for land which yields only Rs.12 7a. 0p. worth of grain, explains that he only cultivates to have fodder for his cattle.

27. *Ahir*, aged 40, cultivator and labourer. 'Lives on his own produce for only two months, on wages of labour for six months, and on moneylender's grain for four months. Has no warm clothes. Cannot get as much

to eat as he would like, and thinks himself badly off. A poor, thin, but merry, creature.'

28. *Lonia*, aged 30, cultivator. 'Always borrows to pay his rent. Repays out of money he gets for opium. Family; sixty years' residence in village; never ejected. Built a well five years ago. Is well-to-do and content; said to be a first-rate cultivator. A big strong man of more than average intelligence.'

29. *Chamen*, aged 50, cultivator and labourer. 'Six generations in village; never ejected. Does not get enough to eat nowadays, only at and after harvest. For two months before each harvest victuals are short. Thin and poor-looking.'

30. *Chamen*, aged 55, cultivator. 'Three or four generations in village; never ejected. Rent enhanced three years ago. Says he means to relinquish his land this year, as it does not pay, and he has got into debt over it. Is evidently under-fed.'

Summary.

Eight out of the thirty are not in debt; twenty-two owe about Rs.794, interest on which is Rs.202—that is, Rs.36 principal, Rs.9 interest, for each, on an average.

Total income per family (average) Rs.60, or Rs.10 (13s. 4d.) per head per annum. Seventeen showed surplus, thirteen deficit.

Mr. Gartlan reports on thirteen cultivators (71 individuals) thus:—

	Rs.	s.	p.
Total income, including borrowed capital (Rs.111 for each household).	1,442	12	0
Cultivation expenditure ...	Rs.155	8	0
Rent	258	12	0
Interest	128	8	0
	537	12	0
Leaving ...	905	0	0
Less borrowed capital	391	0	0
Balance ...	Rs.514	0	0

Or, on an average, of Rs.40 per family and under Rs.8 (10s. 8d.) per head per annum.

And, in that year, for cheap food like bajri there was required ¹ :—

					Rs.	a.	p.
For an adult...	...	...	...	...	23	8	0
For a child ...	...	...	...	...	14	0	0

There were eight rupees all round. That is quite clear, for extraneous sources of income are all reckoned. I find it hard to believe the food-grains prices were so high as is officially stated. During that very year Sir Auckland Colvin was Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces: through his Chief Secretary he stated that he was fairly well satisfied with the results recorded. Those results the reader has before him. How do they strike the fresh intelligence he brings to bear on them? Neither of the functionaries named could have been content had he brought acumen and thought to bear on the figures before him. But there is so much of written matter daily coming before a Lieutenant-Governor and his Secretary that as a matter of necessity everything is 'scamped.' (I use a disagreeable word in no invidious sense, but because the secretariat and gubernatorial summary of these records can only be described by such a word.)

In the particulars collected by Mr. Gartlan ² are one or two statements deserving of further mention. We are told that on the slightest provocation, or even on no provocation at all, the Indian cultivator will lightly incur debt. Here are three citations which do not bear out this contention :—

'Prefer short allowance and inferior kinds of food to incurring debt.'

¹ Statistical Abstract for British India, No. 24. I think the prices on p. 294 recorded too high. But there is the authority. Current prices of food-grains Bareilly, 1880, 15·62 seers Bajri per rupee.

² Who, it should previously have been stated, was manager of the Palmer Waste Land Grant.

'Cannot get along without borrowing, and pay the usual rates; but owing to bad credit have difficulty in procuring supplies; and in preference to getting further into debt live on short allowance of grain, supplemented with weeds, fruit, etc. My difficulties commenced in 1877-78, the year of drought, and I have never been able to re-establish myself since. As a large cultivator in that year my losses were heavy, and my indebtedness then begun.' Mr. Gartlan adds: 'Personally the writer remembers this man before the date mentioned as a large cultivator and a person of good credit and some substance.'

'Manages to make both ends meet, but lives on short allowance in preference to getting into debt. Credit not very good, but can obtain loans when necessity forces him to do so.'

Finally Major Anson, agent of the Balrampur Estate, reports:—

Fyzabad Division (p. 209). Cultivator, with one plough, family three; income, Rs.73; food at 40 lbs. per rupee; balance available for food, Rs.45; deficiency, Rs. 9 = 17 per cent.

(Ditto). A Hanwara; income, Rs. 32; three in family; available for food, Rs. 22; required, Rs.54; deficiency, Rs.32 = 60 per cent.—a truly awful result.

(Ditto). A day labourer; income Rs.47; three in family; available for food, Rs.37; required, Rs.54; deficiency, Rs.17 = 31 per cent.

Out of seven instances, four show most serious deficiencies: one, a petty dealer, is Rs.14 deficient; two have just enough; and one, a moneylender, shows a surplus.

'To affect deep interest in things native is incorrect. A lady was asked what she had seen of the people since she came out. "Oh! nothing," she said. "Thank goodness, I know nothing at all about them, and don't wish to; really, I think, the less one sees and knows about them the better. As for Hindustani, I should never *dream* of trying to learn it."'—*A Sportswoman in India*, by ISABEL SAVORY.

PURCHASING POWER OF ONE RUPEE.

1873-1877.			1893-1897.		
District.	Wages per Month.	Amount of Food	District.	Wages per Month.	Amount of Food.
	Rs.			Rs.	
Patna	3-4	36 lbs. Wheat	Patna	4-5	30 lbs. Wheat
Cawnpore	Under 4	40 lbs. „	Cawnpore	4-5	29 lbs. „
Fyzabad	1·87-3·75	40 lbs. „	Fyzabad	1·87-4	27 lbs. „
		60 lbs. Millet			37 lbs. Millet
Amritzar	6	29 lbs. Rice	Amritzar	7-8	19 lbs. „
Jubbulpur	4-5	35 lbs. „	Jubbulpur	8½	25 lbs. „

MEAN PRICE OF PADDY PER GARCE (MADRAS).

1873	...	...	Rs. 149·5
1874	...	...	148·3
1875	...	...	152·5
1876	...	...	245·5
1877	...	...	280·3

'Who is it we deceive?
Ourselves, or God—with all this make-believe?'

BROWNING.

'It is better to follow the real truth of things than an imaginary view of them. For many republics and principedoms have been imagined which were never seen or known to exist in reality.'—MACHIAVELLI.

'THE HORRORS OF A POPULAR REVOLUTION' OF WHICH THE STATE IS THE REAL ORIGIN.

'Historians, whose ideas have been largely coloured by those of the governing classes, have depicted in strong colours the short-lived horrors of a popular revolution, but the permanent sufferings caused by a governmental revolution have for the most part been sketched with faint touches. *And yet the latter type of revolution leads to more disastrous consequences than the former. The vital forces which in the one case are ever working towards a new social equilibrium, are in the other case not brought into play till the Government is itself overthrown. If India is to escape such a catastrophe, it can only do so by the Indian Government and the British Parliament showing more consideration than hitherto for native wants and ways. It is not more science, but more sympathy that is demanded of us by an ancient civilisation like that of India. This is the lesson which may be read up and down the pages of British Rule in the East. All the well recognised and splendid successes of our countrymen in dealing with Orientals are due to the observance, and all their less known, but none the less ignominious, failures, are due to the breach of this principle. Wherever we have superseded, instead of supervising, native officials and headmen, wherever we have poisoned the social organism with English reforms, instead of purifying it by the light of the best native traditions, there the seeds of demoralisation and disaster have been sown broadcast. The wisest men in India are beginning to recognise this fact, but we in England are still oblivious of it, and especially in those points where commercial self-interest blinds our eyes.*'—A. K. CONNELL, *Paper on Indian Pauperism, Free Trade, and Railways, March, 1884.*

CHAPTER XI

THE ALLEGED INCREASED AGRICULTURAL AND NON- AGRICULTURAL INCOME

Lord Curzon's 'Element of Conjecture' regarding the Condition of the People.

Highly Discreditable to the India Office and the Government of India that Trustworthy Facts are Wanting.

The Settlement Reports and Village Records a Gold Mine of Authentic Information.

Sir Louis Mallet on 'Absolute Disagreement as to Fundamental Facts.'

The Baring-Barbour Investigation of 1882.

Less than One Penny each Person per Day, if All Shared Alike.

The Guess (in 1882) as to Non-Agricultural Income.

Provinces Above and Below the Rs.27 Limit.

An Identification of the Parties in the Story, after the Buddhist Jatakas.

Was the Statement of 1882 Trustworthy?

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY:

A Digest of the 'Report on the Economic Condition of the Masses of the Bombay Presidency, 1887-8.'

The Director, Land Records and Agriculture, declares: 'There is Much Poverty but no Pauperisation.'

Gujarat Division—Yield of Holdings, Strong Deficiency in Sustenance.

<i>Deccan</i>	do.	do.	do.	do.
<i>Karnatak</i>	do.	do.	do.	do.
<i>Konkan</i>	do.	do.	do.	do.
<i>Sind</i>	do.	do.	do.	do.

The People Suffer, in Every Year, 'Without a Murmur, Most of the Hardships Incidental to a Famine.'

Many 'Fever' Deaths really Starvation Deaths.

THE PANJAB: A LAND OF MANY RIVERS, WIDESPREAD IRRIGATION, YET MUCH NEED:

The 'Misleading' Circular and the Twenty-eight Reporters Thereon.

Delhi Divisional Conference in 1888.

'The Standard of Living Nowhere Lower than in Gurgaon' (Mr. J. R. Machonachie).

Mr. Machonachie's Generalisation on the Situation.

What 'Daily Insufficiency of Food' Means.

Certain Fair-Sample Cases, with Life History of Families:
Case I., Case IV., Case VI.

Sir Mackworth Young Extremely Satisfied.

The Example of Feudatory State Rulers may need to be Imitated 'for Maintaining the Peasantry in Bad Years.'

Colonel Birch, Mr. O'Dwyer, Ghulam Ahmad, and Ghulam Farid Khan as Reporters.

'People are Long-Suffering, but Indications Not Wanting' of Restiveness.

THE ASSIGNED DISTRICTS OF BERAR:

'Famines are Unknown in Berar,' yet, in 1900, 126,000 People Died from Famine (official acknowledgment).

A Small Farmer's Condition in Berar, as depicted by Mr. Leslie S. Saunders.

Average Production of Wheat Alleged to be 12½ Bushels per Acre; only 2½ Bushels Reaped.

Population Actually 579,696 Short

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY:

Paucity of Particulars regarding 1881-82.

'Grinding Poverty is the Widespread Condition of the Masses.'

'No Considerable Proportion of the Population Suffer from a Daily Insufficiency of Food in Ordinary Years' (Madras Government).

What Cultivators Say as to Quantity of Produce taken as Tax.

Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Row's Most Valuable Experience.

If a Three-Quarter Crop only be Reaped, Government

Receive 88 per cent., the Ryot 18 per cent., of Gross Produce.

The 'Normal Increase at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per Annum' Announced in Connection with a Madras District. During 1891 and 1901 Three Districts show Slight Increase over Normal, Nineteen exhibit Decrease. Minus Population in 1901: 2,710,588.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES:

In 1882 these Declared to be the Premier Prosperous Provinces, yet at Touch of Famine People Perish in Great Numbers.

Excessive Increase of Soil Production Based on the Fallacies of 1882.

Government Over-Estimate of Yield: Alleged, 600 lbs. per Acre; Actual, 372 lbs.

Agriculture the Main Dependence of the Provinces.

A Sample Poverty Case: 'Less than Half of One Farthing each Person per Day.'

Famine Mortality Results: 1,370,510 Fewer Inhabitants than Should Have Been.

ASSAM:

The Government of India Informed that the Question Raised in their Letter 'Need Cause Them No Anxiety Whatever.'

AJMER-MERWARA:

Under Direct Control of Supreme Government.

Excess Deaths in Famine Year, 1900, Three and a Half Times Above the Average: 50,458 Deaths Against 14,609 Deaths being the Average of a Bad Decennial Period.

Details of Family Life in Various Villages.

Recourse to a Moneylender Absolutely Necessary.

'There is No Surplus in Any of these Villages.'

'The State of the Agricultural Classes is Far from Satisfactory.'

THE LOWER PROVINCES OF BENGAL:

'The Lower Classes . . . have no Resources to Fall Back Upon in Times of Scarcity.'

'There is Almost Constant Insufficiency of Food Among those who Earn their Living by Daily Labour.'

Bengal Government declares People, 'as a Rule, Well Nourished' . . . 'but the Signs Indicating Prosperity Cease when we reach Behar.'

The Behar Ryot: Mr. Toynbee's Description and Sir Henry Cunningham's Responsibility in Relation Thereto.

Repudiation of the Doctrine: Knowledge Imposes Responsibility.

Appendices:

I. Result of the Ryotwar System in Coimbatore, 1814-15 to 1828-29.

II. Experiences of Cultivators in the Madras Presidency

- | | | |
|------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| (1) In Madura District | \| | (3) In South Arcot District |
| (2) „ Nellore „ | \| |  |

IN his speech at Calcutta, on the 28th of March, 1901, Lord Curzon, using expressions I have given in a previous chapter, said :—

'At Simla I spoke of it [the Agricultural Income] as being now between 350 and 400 crores. Thereupon I found my authority quoted in some quarters for a proposition that the agricultural wealth of the country had remained stationary for twenty years, while the population had gone on increasing by leaps and bounds. Further equally erroneous assumptions followed, that there had been no rise in the interim in the non-agricultural income of the community. I found myself cited as the parent of the astonishing statement that the average income of every inhabitant of India had sunk from Rs.27 in 1882 to Rs 22 in ordinary years, and to Rs.17½ in 1900, the inference, of course, being drawn that while Nero had been fiddling, the town had been burning. I have since made more detailed inquiries into the matter. . . . Turning, however, to agriculture alone, concerning which the loudest lamentations are uttered, I have had worked out for me from figures collected for the Famine Commission of 1898 the latest estimate of the value of agricultural production in India. I find that in my desire to be on the safe side I under-rated the totalling in my Simla speech. I then said between 300 and 400 crores. The total is 450 crores. The calculations of 1880 showed the average agricultural income at Rs.18 per head. If I take the figures of the recent census for the same area as was covered by the earlier computation, which amount to 223 millions, I find that the agricultural income has actually increased, notwithstanding the growth in the population and an increasingly stationary tendency of that part of

the national income which is derived from agriculture, and that the average per head is Rs.20, or Rs.2 higher than in 1880. If I then assume—I know of no reason why I should not, indeed I think it under the estimate—that the non-agricultural income has increased in the same ratio, the average income will be Rs.30 per head, as against Rs.27 in 1880. I do not say that these *data* are incontrovertible. There is an element of conjecture in them, but so there was in the figures of 1880. The uncertainty in both is precisely the same. If one set of figures is to be used in argument, equally may the other.'

It is to the standing discredit of the Government of India and of the India Office that there should be any 'element of conjecture' in such a matter. For two hundred years, in Bombay and Madras, one hundred and thirty-two years in the larger part of India, and for over fifty years in nearly all the remainder of the country, the British raj has had full sway in India, none being able to make any effectual resistance. The rulers have carried out the detail of government so minutely that a cow cannot gender in a village but note is made of the calf that is born; so wide-sweeping is the net of taxation that on the sea-board and on the land-frontier not one maund of goods can enter or leave until the Sirkar has taken note of the same; not an acre of land is sown or the crop from it reaped without the officers under Lord Curzon's direction knowing fully all that is done. Nowhere in the world, perhaps, could more accurate statistics concerning the people of a country and their condition be more readily obtained than in India, if a real desire to possess them were only felt. The material available is ample; its completeness leaves little or nothing to be desired. In the Settlement Reports, upon which the assessment is periodically reconsidered, are to be found a detailed record better than was contained in Norman Domesday Book or the Visitations of the Judges in later centuries. The available material is not a thing of yesterday. So long ago as the 1st day of September, 1831, Mr. John Sullivan, ex-collector of the district of Coimbatore, Madras Presidency, produced

before a Committee of the House of Commons a statistical statement concerning that district.¹ This statement is reproduced as an Appendix to this chapter. The information therein given differs in naught from that which has been available for every part of India (not excepting Bengal, only the information for the Lower Provinces was not in the hands of the Revenue officials) ever since India has been under our rule. With such quarries of readily verifiable facts available it is worse than idle for the Viceroy to take refuge under the phrase 'element of conjecture.' He, or the Secretary of State, could put that 'element of conjecture' beyond peradventure in less than twelve months if only one man really in earnest, with *carte blanche* to tell the truth as he found it, and with an adequate staff to assist him in sifting and arranging the facts, were turned loose upon the statistics at Calcutta and in the India Office.

Why is it, with all the information at hand, there is still 'conjecture' where there ought to be certainty?

I will not supply the answer which naturally comes to one's lips. I will merely say that if the result of the complete examination of the over-abundance of facts available would put the blessings of British rule in India beyond all doubt, why should Viceroy and Secretary of State

'. . . do themselves the wrong,
And others, that they are not always strong'?

Why do they not make themselves invincible in their defence of their administration by producing the facts? One is justifiably suspicious that the actual facts—in spite of all that is so grandiloquently and vaingloriously said year after year concerning the condition of India—will not bear examination; and, further, that Lord George Hamilton and all other Secretaries of State, and all other

¹ 'Statement showing the results of the Ryotwar System in Coimbatore, from 1814-15 to 1828-29, both inclusive, compiled from the detailed Accounts kept by the Kurnums, or Native Accountants, of Villages,' vol. v. p. 488. Inquiry of 1881. Evidence.

high officials of India, are not unaware that they will not bear examination. Challenge an ex-official on this point, and he will say, 'Oh; Sir Henry So-and-so and Mr. Blank Otherman know that well enough. They also know that things will last their time, and, therefore, they leave it alone.' I have had these exact words said to me on several occasions by ex-civilians; otherwise I would not venture to put such a phrase into print.

'If,' said the Permanent Under-Secretary of State¹ at the India Office in 1875, 'there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts. There is hardly a subject upon which the best authorities do not absolutely disagree as to the fundamental facts. I could mention the most startling circumstances, but they must be present to the minds of all of us.'² Now, I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found just as strong a repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measure for the collection of a comprehensive and well-digested set of facts as to the recognition of general principles. The only occasion on which I had the misfortune of encountering the vehement opposition of some Members of Council, for whose opinions and experience I have the most unfeigned respect, was in my advocacy of Mr. Forbes Watson's proposal for an Industrial Survey.'

The condemnation conveyed in these words still hangs heavily over the India Office; the reproach is still unre-moved from any one of the high officials. Probably, before we get to the end of this section, it will be recog-nised why those responsible shrink from an examination of the facts which they possess, or which, did they so desire, they could readily possess. For, with the India

¹ Sir Louis Mallet.

² 'All of us'—Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State, and some of the members of the Secretary of State's Council: Sir G. Campbell, Sir Henry Montgomery, Sir Erskine Perry, Sir Henry Maine, Sir Bartle Frere, and Sir Louis Mallet himself.

Blue Books before me, I propose to get some distance ahead of the 'element of conjecture,' even though absolute certitude is sure, from the lack of materials available to a member of the general public, to be wanting.

In 1882, Lord Cromer (then Major Evelyn Baring, Finance Minister of India) and Sir (then Mr.) David Barbour, made an estimate of the agricultural wealth in India per head of population. This they put as follows:—

Presidency or Province.	Amount per head per annum. Rs.
Bombay	22·4
Central Provinces	21·6
Madras	19·0
Panjab	18·5
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	16·4
Bengal	16·9
Burma	27·0

Making allowance for Assam and other districts the total amount reached was Rs.3,500,000,000 or (Rs.15 = £1) £233,333,333. How the amount was made up in total figures thus appears:—

Percentage of Payment compared with Gross Produce.

Presidency or Province.	Gross Produce. Rs.	Payment. Rs.	Per Cent.
Panjab	34,15,00,000	4,74,39,000	13·8
N.-W. Provs. and Oudh	71,75,00,000	11,27,60,000	15·7
Bengal	1,08,50,00,000	14,31,36,000	13·8
Central Provinces	21,25,00,000	1,61,40,000	7·6
Bombay	39,00,00,000	4,14,57,000	10·6
Madras	50,00,00,000	7,64,46,000	15·3

Sir David added here a corrected table of his own, in which he brought out the averages slightly different. Thus:—

	Rs.		Rs.
Panjab	14·2	Central Provinces	7·6
N.W. Provinces and Oudh...	16·0	Bombay	11·2
Bengal	18·6	Madras	18·0

'The returns on which the estimate in Table No. 3 was

based included payments made both to the Government and to the zemindars.'

I do not follow this plan. I am concerned only with what the Government takes as revenue. Whatever be left, whether it be a single profit for the ryot, or a profit divided between zemindar and cultivator, it is a profit which goes to the producers and is available for the support of them both. So long as I fairly reckon the Government impost, and nowhere overstate it, I do no injury to any one while I arrive, at one and the same time, at a fairly accurate statement of the production and the amount of the administrative burden. In the 1882 calculation, not the burden on the land, but 'total taxation per head, everything included,' is charged against the produce of the land—surely a strange proceeding, with nothing to recommend it. The non-agricultural income was assumed to be half the agricultural income (an erroneous assumption as will be seen); thus regarded the combined result was shown to be:—

				Rs.
Agricultural Income	...	...	...	350,00,00,000
Non-agricultural Income	...	...	...	175,00,00,000
Total	...	...		<u>Rs.525,00,00,000</u>
Or, £350,000,000.				

Divided among 194,539,000 people, the average amount per head was Rs.27 (£1 13s. 9d.).

Was there a fear that some one, into whose hands the figures might fall, would analyse them and, at once, reveal the utter insecurity of the basis on which the grand edifice of British administration rests? Was this the reason why these inquiries have never been made available, their production being refused time and again? For that total sum of Rs.525,00,00,000 turned into annas—that is to say, into pennies—pence 84,000,000,000 ÷ 365 gives—

230,136,986 pennies per day to divide between
231,085,132 persons, the population in 1901, or

less than ONE PENNY each person per day,
assuming every one shared and shared alike.

In England the average income works out over thirty pence per head.

One penny per day in India has to provide each person with :—

House Room,	Clothing,	Salt,	Religion,
Food Grains,	Firing,	Condiments,	Medicine,
Bedding,		Pleasure,	Cooking Utensils.

that is, if no one had more than one penny per day; if any one, be he Viceroy, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Commissioner, Maharajah, judge, civilian, barrister, or wealthy merchant, should have received more than one penny per day, some one has had to supply all the above-mentioned needs on less than one penny per day, or go without a large portion of them.

That is always supposing there are £350,000,000 per annum to divide. There is not that income in 1901. Probably there was not this income in 1882. If there were, the deterioration during the past nineteen years is as serious as it is deplorable, and should call for immediate action.

The inquiry in 1882 is the only attempt that has ever been made in India, officially, to ascertain what is the average economic condition of the people.¹ The details then ascertained and put on record, as I say, have never been published. Repeated requests, preferred by way of question in the House of Commons, have always met with an absolute refusal. One political party was as resolute in refusal as the other. Indeed, in all respects where Indian progress is concerned, there is little to choose between Liberal and Tory Secretaries of State for India. Why there should be this persistent refusal is obvious from the conclusions which have been drawn

¹ That is to say, of the people as a whole. Dr. Buchanan, in the first years of the nineteenth century, made a detailed survey of some districts of Bengal, and Mr. Montgomery Martin embodied the results in a book.

since these facts first saw light in the use I have, from time to time, made of the material in my possession; this happened in the year 1890.

There are three other tables which may be cited:—

1. *Total Taxation per head, everything included.*

Presidency or Province.	Rate per Head. As. or d.
Bengal	24·80
N.W. Provinces and Oudh	32·04
Madras	41·86
Bombay	52·90
Panjab	29·82
Burma	19·13
Central Provinces	22·43
Assam	27·45
Average	As. 32·84

2. *Total Payments by Cultivators per Acre.*

Presidency or Province.	Rent. As. or d.	Stamps. As. or d.
N.W. Provinces and Oudh	49·22	1·80
Bengal	42·02	2·72
Madras	38·47	2·76
Panjab	35·47	2·53
Bombay	24·57	4·07

4. *Value of Agricultural Produce per head and of Stamp Duty per head.*

Presidency or Province.	Agricultural Produce. Rs.	Stamp Duty. Rs.
Central Provinces	20·9	1·91
Bombay	20·2	4·07
Madras	17·3	2·76
Panjab	17·1	8·53
Bengal	15·1	2·72
N.W. Provinces and Oudh	14·8	1·80

If, on the basis of Table 4, one wishes to estimate what the whole resources per head are in each Presidency and Province, it becomes necessary to add one-half (as representing the non-agricultural income), and it may be as well to omit the few annas paid for stamp duty. This produces a surprising result. Let it be borne in mind

that the average income, according to the Government of India, was Rs.27 per head, and, then, observe how vast a proportion of the inhabitants of India were greatly below the average. The details are:—

Presidency or Province.	Amount per head counting all sources of income.		Above or below Gov. Estimate, plus or minus.		Per Cent. Plus or minus.
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		
Central Provinces	30 8 0	...	+ 2 8 0	+ 8
Bombay	30 5 4	...	+ 2 5 0	+ 8
Madras	26 0 0	...	— 1 0 0	— 4
Panjab	25 8 0	...	— 1 8 0	— 4½
Bengal	22 8 0	...	— 4 8 0	— 20
N.W. Provinces and Oudh...	...	22 3 4	...	— 4 12 8	— 23

A number of obvious comments are at once suggested, as, for example, that the above figures have to be further reduced nearly thirteen per cent. (to be exact, 12·8 for India as a whole, the averages ranging from 7·6 in the Central Provinces to 15·7 in the North-Western Provinces) for rent. For the moment let them stand in the most favourable light possible. They must, however, be considered with the help of such experience as is available as to the scale of diet in India. Four examples, relating to the same period, will suffice:—

Jail diet ...	Rs.17·2 per head per annum.
Sepoy's diet ...	31·5 " "
Camp follower's diet ...	22·5 " "
Sir J. B. Peile's agriculturist	30·0 " "

From this comparison it will be seen that the Central Provinces and Bombay were comparatively well-to-do, while all the rest of India fell below the Government average of Rs.27. Of the population of, roughly, 200,000,000, only a small proportion—say one-fourth—were in a satisfactory condition.¹

¹ This calculation was made in 1890, when I first published the figures, with appropriate observations, in every newspaper in India which would give space to my communications. Three out of every four with whom I communicated gave me space. I retain the statistics of that day for comparison hereafter. They make the authorities look very ridiculous, seeing that the two regions declared to be above the average of Rs.27 are precisely those

<i>Provinces above Rs.27, with population.</i>		<i>Provinces below Rs.27, with population.</i>	
Bombay	... 17,000,000	Madras	... 31,000,000
Central Provinces	... 10,000,000	Panjab	... 19,000,000
		Bengal	... 67,000,000
		N.W. Provinces and Oudh	... 44,000,000
Total	... 27,000,000	Total	... 161,000,000

Let it not be forgotten that, in the above tables, is to be found, as I have already intimated, the first and only attempt which has been made by the Indian authorities in England or in India to ascertain the economic condition of the Indian people. Unhappily, no use was made of the inquiry save to furnish Lord Cromer with a brief paragraph in his Financial Statement for 1882, and to establish a basis on which a rough estimate of an Indian's position could be made. The principles on which the estimate of an average income of Rs.27 per head per annum was ascertained were never stated; consequently, no one worked out such consequences as have already been deduced. Still, whether the consequences were worked out or not, they were there; that the eyes of the highest officials were not open to their sufferings did not diminish by one moment's ease the sufferings of many millions.

Each of the stories in 'The Jataka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births,' end with an identification of the parties in the story. Story 498 has, as its conclusion, these words: 'When the Master had ended this discourse, . . . he identified the Birth: "At that time, the landowner who did honour to the Law was the landowner in the story. Ananda was the king, Sariputta the chaplain, and I myself was the ascetic who lived in Himalaya."'

In like manner may I say? 'At that time the Marquis of Ripon, with a full heart to do India good, was Viceroy, Major Evelyn Baring was Finance Minister, the Duke of

regions in which the most destructive famines (of money, not of food, says Lord George Hamilton) have taken place.

Devonshire was Secretary of State for India, Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister of England, with power over all the British realm. Yet not one of these eminent men, nor any of their successors—Lord Dufferin, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Elgin, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, as Viceroy; Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir David Barbour, Sir James Westland, Mr. Clinton Dawkins, Sir Edward Law, as Finance Ministers in India; Lord Kimberley, Lord Cross, Sir Henry Fowler, Lord George Hamilton, as Secretaries of State; the Marquis of Salisbury, as Secretary of State and Premier, in England,—has ever taken the trouble to deduce from the secretly-preserved statements of 1882, the lessons they contained. The direct outcome of this perfunctory manner of dealing with vital matters concerning India has been a vast host of deaths from starvation and an amount of daily suffering beyond the telling by mortal man or record by mortal pen. Even the Recording Angel's stylus must have needed frequent renewal. More: the forty and more eminent gentlemen who, since 1882, have led a strenuous life as Members of the Council of the Secretary of State, neither collectively nor individually have devoted any of the time they have had (and still have) in abundance, to the consideration of what Indian economic statistics really do mean in regard to the condition of the Indian people. This inference is based on the complete absence of any evidence to the contrary.'

Was the statement of 1882 trustworthy, as an indication of the actual condition of the people? Failing the production of the data on which the conclusions were founded, it is not possible to speak positively. Only on their production can a trustworthy judgment be formed. Guided, however, by what was revealed in the inquiry of 1888, either in six years the country had gravely deteriorated or too bright a picture was drawn by Lord Cromer and Sir David Barbour in 1882. The reader shall have some of the evidence of 1888 on which to base a judgment for himself and for herself. That done the agricultural produce of the past ten years accompanied by

the non-agricultural development and resources for the same period, will be set out so far as published official records will permit. These will show how entirely inapplicable an average income of Rs.27 per head is to-day. The evidence in connection with the North-Western Provinces, and Oudh has already been given in the immediately preceding chapter.

‘On a late excursion into the Deccan I was exceedingly pleased and surprised to observe the great appearance of prosperity which the city of Poonah exhibited, and which was the more remarkable after the scenes of desolation, plunder, and famine, it had been so lately subjected to : all the principal streets and bazaars were crowded with people, whose dress and general appearance displayed symptoms of comfort and happiness, of business and industry, not to be exceeded in any of our own great commercial towns. The whole, indeed, was a smiling scene of general welfare and abundance. On noticing this to the Resident, he informed me that the Peishwa, since his return, with a view of promoting the prosperity of Poonah, had exempted it and the surrounding country from every description of tax ; and, to prevent the possibility of exactions unknown to himself, had even abolished the office of cutwal. This fact is at least one proof, among various others, of the practicability of introducing what are termed the European principles of economy into Indian societies, with the same happy effects as have been experienced elsewhere.’ — R. RICKARDS, 23rd July, 1808.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

In the report prepared of the inquiry in 1887-8,¹ it was shown 'that the proportion of the total population, even in Sind, which live close to the margin of subsistence is not less than the rest of the Presidency, that is forty-seven per cent., of which at least one-half or two-thirds are cultivators' (p. 4). In the Konkan districts, population at that time, 3,804,344, 'there was hardly a season in which this population did not endure without a murmur the hardships of a Deccan famine' (p. 9). In spite of such statements as these, the Director of Agriculture did not consider there was much occasion for concern. He had admitted that 'the whole charge of living will amount to Rs.32, or Rs.30 to Rs.35 per adult man. Taking the average family as equivalent to a man, wife, and two children, one an infant, the man consumes two-fifths of the whole, such a family, therefore, will require Rs.75 to Rs.85 to support it. This, it will be observed, is exclusive of stimulants or narcotics. But even including a substantial charge for liquor, there are few places where a family of the working classes could not be decently supported on Rs.7 or Rs.8 per month.' The mean of this sum is Rs.90 per annum, or Rs.18 per head. That is on the basis of good crops and plenty of work, and comes to considerably less than one penny per day per annum. There is no allowance for famine, or even for poor crops, or for lack of work. This, less than one penny per head per day was considered essential.

¹ 'Report on the Economic Condition of the Masses of the Bombay Presidency, by the Director, Land Records and Agriculture, 1887-8.

The Director concluded his general summary in these words :—

‘Every Indian administrator has recognised the poverty of the people of India. A man who supports life in the Bombay Presidency on two or three annas (2d. or 3d.) per day will be poor, but not so poor by half as the man who is called upon to do so in England on a shilling. The truth is summed up in Sir Richard Temple’s words, quoted by Mr. Sheppard in his note on Gujarat: “There is much poverty but no pauperisation.”’

The too-often casual way in which such important matters are dealt with in Indian publications is exemplified by this passage. The Indian poor man is not so badly off compared with the English poor man, it is asserted; then a fallacious illustration is employed to fasten the (alleged) fact in the mind. First, according to the Director’s own showing not twopence or threepence, but less than one penny per day is the Bombay income. The Government of India showed only one penny and a fraction per head per day—if every one shared equally. Next, as to the parallel with England. That parallel is not, as Mr. Ozanne, the director, imagines, with one shilling per day as representative of an Englishman in the same position. In England the average income per head at that time was £44 per annum against, say, 23s. in India. Therefore, the true comparison is between £110 (two-and-a-half times the average as against ‘two or three annas per day’) and £2 18s. 6d.—that is to say, the English average income is thirty-eight times greater than the Indian; or, again, eight shillings against twopence halfpenny to threepence! So regarded, the poverty of the Indian cultivator becomes a thing to marvel at, and lifts the unhappy individuals affected by it—(say two hundred millions and more)—only a few removes above the cattle which graze on the pasturages. But what measure should be meted out to the highly-paid officials who put such false statements before the public.

In GUJARAT, ‘the Garden of India’ as it is called, it was found that in the

FARMERS SLAVES OF THE SOWKAR 453

Total Population of 2,857,731
In the Lower Stratum there were 47 per cent., or 1,335,048

These ranged from 37·09 per cent. in Ahmadabad to 68·16 in the Panch Mahals. In the last-named district only 81,354 out of 255,479 were 'persons of a higher stratum,' as distinct from those 'in the lower stratum' (p. 16). The standard of living was—

	£	s.	d.
Average Minimum	1	17	2
„ Maximum	2	1	6½

'The average cost in the gaols is Rs.20 1a. (£1 6s. 9d.) per prisoner.' The *yield of holdings* shows that—

In Ahmadabad 10 per cent. of agriculturists (17,126), each representing a family, have sustenance from their fields for only ...	9 months.
In Kaira 33 per cent. to 50 per cent. (20,000 families), after paying debts, have sustenance for only	3 to 4 „
In Broach 10 per cent. (8,200 families), after paying debts, have sustenance for only	6 „
In Surat 15 per cent. (4,602 families) have sustenance for only	6 „
In Panch Mahals, percentage not stated, ditto, ditto	10 „

How, then, do they live? 'Probably . . . the money-lender keeps the poorer cultivator through the season of field operations and gets his profit by claiming the harvest' (p. 18). The people thus dragging through life are British subjects, be it borne in mind ; we have abolished predial and domestic slavery in India, and yet allow farmers to live in slavery to the moneylender ! 'When the field operations are over the poor cultivator has to get work. His resources in work are day labour, agricultural and non-agricultural, carting, and cutting wood and grass' (p. 20).

In the DECCAN, the 'liability' of famine greatly affects the lowest stratum of the population even in normal years' (p. 27). The submerged population, the 'lower stratum,' number more than one out of five. The

standard of living ranges between the average minimum, £2 0s. 6d., and the average maximum, £3 6s. 5d., which is simply a cruelly absurd statement, when the calculated average for all India was only 34s., and, probably, was actually thirty-three per cent. less than that.

'Authorities are unanimous that many cultivators fail to get a year's supply from their land. . . . The quality and natural advantages of the soil appear to be only one-fourth of those possessed by the Gujarat cultivator, though the acreage is double' (p. 29).

'Proportion of cultivators with short supply':—

	Supply.
In Khandesh, 15 to 66 per cent., say 40 per cent. (77,000 families, population 1,237,231), after paying debts, have for sustenance only 6 to 8 months.	
In Nasik, 50 to 80 per cent., say 65 per cent. (91,000 families, population 701,826), after paying debts, have for sustenance only ...	6 ..
In Ahmadnagar, 25 per cent. (38,000 families, population 751,228), not reckoning debt, have for sustenance only	4 to 6 ..
In Poona, 33 to 50 per cent., say 45 per cent. (85,000 families, population 900,621), ditto, ditto	4 to 6 ..
In Sholapore, 40 per cent. (52,400 families, population 582,487), ditto, ditto	12 ..
In Satara, 37½ per cent. (say, 75,000 families, population 1,062,530), ditto, ditto	6 ..

(p. 30). Satara is probably the richest of these districts, Khandesh excepted, and Sholapore the poorest, so that the particulars which give Sholapore twelve months of sustenance from the land apparently are not of much value. In spite of the facts given, and also that, according to Dr. Cornish, in the famine of 1877-78, 800,000 of the people in these regions died, and the admission that 'probably not one-half of this number' (nine per cent. of the whole population) 'habitually live below the standard in normal years, and not one-fourth (i.e., 1,100,000) are compelled to live on insufficient food,' the official verdict is: 'There is no widespread distress anywhere in the Deccan' (p. 31).