# MADRAS CULTIVATION ROLES

# Extract from MR. CLERK'S LETTER, showing how he arrived at the Net Produce for Tanjore District.

Pro contractor Marcola Marcola Marcola		uce sures.		I	Deduction	1.				
Irrigation.	Taram.	Grain Prod Madras Mead	Value at Rs. 128 per garee.	15 per cent. for Vicissi- tudes of Sea- sous.	Culti- vation Ex- penses.	Total.	Net Value.	Half- net.	Half- net. Pro- posed Rates.	
First Group -	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1,125 1,000 900 800 700 600 500 450 450	Rs. a. p         45       0         40       0         36       0         32       0         28       0         24       0         20       0         18       0         16       0	Rs. a. p.         6 12 0         6 0 0         5 6 5         4 12 10         4 3 9         3 9 7         3 0 0         2 11 2         2 6 5	Rs. a. p. 14 0 0 13 8 0 12 4 0 11 0 0 9 12 0 8 8 0 7 4 0 6 0 0 5 4 0	Rs         a. p.           20         12         0           19         8         0           17         10         5           15         12         10           13         5         2           12         1         7           10         4         0           8         11         2           7         10         5	Rs. a. p. 24 4 0 20 8 0 18 5 7 16 3 2 14 0 10 11 14 5 9 12 0 9 4 10 8 5 7	Rs. a. p. 12 2 0 10 4 0 9 2 9 8 1 7 7 0 5 5 15 3 4 14 0 4 10 5 4 2 9	Rs. a. p.         12       0         10       0         9       0         8       0         7       0         6       0         5       0         4       0	
Second Group	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1,000 900 800 700 600 500 450 450 400 350	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	13 8 0 12 4 0 11 0 0 9 12 0 8 8 0 7 4 0 5 0 0 5 4 0 5 0 0	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	10 4 0 9 2 9 8 1 7 7 0 5 5 15 3 4 14 0 4 10 5 4 2 9 3 7 2	10 0 0 9 0 0 8 0 0 7 0 0 6 0 0 5 0 0 4 8 0 4 0 0 3 8 0	
Tbird Group -	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	900 800 700 600 500 450 400 350 300	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	5 6 5 4 12 10 4 3 2 3 9 7 3 0 0 2 11 2 2 6 5 9 1 7 1 12 10	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	9 2 9 8 1 7 7 0 5 5 15 3 4 14 0 4 10 5 4 2 9 3 7 2 2 15 7	9 0 0 8 0 0 7 0 0 6 0 0 5 0 0 4 8 0 4 0 0 3 0 0 3 0 0	
Fourth Group	4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12	800 700 600 500 450 400 350 300 250	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{c} 4 & 12 & 10 \\ 4 & 3 & 2 \\ 3 & 9 & 7 \\ 3 & 0 & 0 \\ 2 & 11 & 2 \\ 2 & 6 & 5 \\ 2 & 1 & 7 \\ 1 & 12 & 10 \\ 1 & 8 & 0 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	8 1 7 7 0 5 5 15 8 4 14 0 4 10 5 4 2 9 3 7 2 2 15 7 2 8 0	8 0 0 7 0 0 6 0 0 5 0 0 4 8 0 4 0 0 3 8 0 3 0 0 2 8 0	
Fifth Group -	5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 12 18	700 600 500 450 450 350 350 300 250 200	28 0 0 24 0 0 20 0 0 18 0 0 16 0 0 14 0 0 12 0 0 10 0 0 8 0 0	4 3 2 3 9 7 3 0 0 2 11 2 2 6 5 2 1 7 1 12 10 1 8 0 1 3 2	9 12 0 8 8 0 7 4 0 6 0 0 5 4 0 5 0 0 4 4 0 8 8 0 2 12 0	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	7 0 5 5 15 3 4 14 0 4 10 5 4 2 9 3 7 2 2 15 7 2 8 0 2 0 5	7 0 0 6 0 0 5 0 0 4 8 0 4 0 0 3 8 0 8 0 0 8 0 0 9 0 0	

plain under this head that there is failure of successive seasons; that, all the same, the land-tax has been screwed from him with relentless vigour, on the ground that a few grains have been found scattered in the fields, which was evidence of out-turn. Remember, also, the Madras rules on remissions, under which no remission is granted if the inspecting officer is satisfied that the land has produced onethirty-second of a normal crop. Ten or twelve years before, the rule was to grant remission if the estimated out-turn fell below one-eighth. In other words, if the normal out-turn was estimated at 82 bushels per acre, and if in a year of short rainfall it produced only, say, four bushels, the ryot can have no remission. Supposing another bad year follows, and in this year an acre of the land produced two bushels, no remission can be granted under the rules. Now, remember the fact that the ryot had spent on the land in both the years much labour and money for ploughing, seeds, weeding, etc., and the out-turn in both the years is found to be far short of the expenses incurred. As if this is insufficient, Government comes with its demand for land-tax to complete the ryot's ruin. I am not drawing on my imagination, for the above are stern facts. We are having a succession of bad seasons; and even in the best of years the estimated normal out-turn cannot be got.

#### EXPENSES OF CULTIVATION.

#### 1. Cost of Bullocks.

Then, coming to the first item of expenses of cultivation, *i.e.*, cost of bullocks, I am unable to find out how the amount has been worked out. It was estimated that four pairs of bullocks, costing Rs.250 in the aggregate, are required to till twenty acres of land. A sum of Rs.17 6a. is deducted under this head for ten acres (*vide* statement attached), and this is what I don't understand. Of course new bullocks are not required each year. A set purchased in one year may, if all goes well with the ryot, last for a maximum period of five years. But in these days of famme and pestilence and forest reservation, the cattle mortality from diseases alone is terrible, not to speak of mortality from want of fodder, so that in the case of unlucky ryots—and the majority are unlucky—a set will not last for more than three years. Even supposing that his cattle serve him out the full term, the average cost of bullocks for a year is Rs.25 for ten acres.

In calculating the cost of bullocks, it is not sufficient that the average cost of bullocks for each year is deducted from the gross produce, but provision must be made for meeting the interest on the capital raised in purchasing the bullocks. I shall make the point clearer. Say I own twenty acres of land. I want four pairs of bullocks, which cost Rs.250. (I take this figure, being more easy of calculation.) I borrow this amount from a moneylender. I have to pay a yearly interest of Rs.80 at 12 per cent. per annum-a very moderate rate indeed for a ryot. If I lay aside Rs.50 a year from my gross produce, I shall recoup the original capital raised in five years. But how am I to meet the interest due on the amount? No doubt I may pay to my creditor my yearly saving under this head, and thus lessen the burden of interest; but even then, how am I to pay the interest? This must, I fancy, be met from my net produce! At the end of the fifth year, my cattle, even if they are alive so long, are of no use to me, and I have to purchase new ones; and I have to raise a loan again, so that the sum of Rs.250 I originally borrowed is a permanent debt, and the interest thereon should, in the ordinary course, be deducted from the gross produce as part of the cost of bullocks. According to my contention, the cost of bullocks for ten acres comes to Rs.34 per annum.

Cost of bullocks for ten acres		••			125
<b>Fotal</b> interest on capital for fi	ve yea	rs at :	12 per c	ent.	
per annum, a sum of Rs.25	being	supr	osed to	be	
paid towards capital every	year				45
Total for five years	••••			$\mathbf{R}$	.170
Total for one year				I	ks.34

As I have already stated, I shall have to raise again a loan of Rs.125 at the beginning of the sixth year to purchase new cattle, and the same process as stated above continues.

It will be observed that the Government has allowed only Rs.17 6a. under this head, or only half of what might fairly be claimed by the ryot, without taking into consideration other viciositudes, such as premature mortality among his cattle from diseases so prevalent, into consideration.

#### 2. Cost of Implements.

Under this head a sum of Rs.5 4a. is allowed. When this is mentioned to the ryot, he heaves a long sigh, and recounts with tears in eyes how httle by little his privileges in getting certain agricultural implements gratis from his village forests have been ruthlessly cut off by the all-absorbing Forest Department, and how he has now to pay for every stick which he wants. Times have greatly changed now, and the allowance under this head, which may have been fair at one time, is now found inadequate.

#### 8. Manure.

One curious inconsistency occurs under this head, displaying the ignorance of the Settlement officer. His Code probably teaches him that the richer the constitution of the soil, the greater the manure it requires, and the poorer the soil, the less the manure. But we all understand that the poorer the soil, the more the manure required to make it productive. This inconsistency apart, the ryot in most places is denied the benefit of the manure which his cattle give him by the enforcement of the so-called sanitary laws. He cannot store up the manure in his back-yard because the sanitary officer condemns it. In municipalities and unions he has to purchase the ashes of his own household and the dung of his own cattle at extraordinarily high prices from those bodies. It thus happens that the provision under this head also is not sufficient.

#### 4. Wages of Labourers.

This communication will be unusually lengthy if I begin to demonstrate the utter inadequacy of the provision under this head. Suffice it to say that the expense is much underestimated. If. however, it is desired that this must be thoroughly sifted, I should be very glad to give the results of my experiences.

#### 5. Cost of Sced-Sufficient.

It is unnecessary for me to say that any allowance is made and deducted from the gross out-turn for the due and proper nourishment of the cultivator and the members of his family. The ryot manages to keep his body and soul together, by himself, and all his family members, toiling in the field, taking the place of daily labourers, for whom some provision is made in the expenses of cultivation.

A RYOT.

#### [See Table opposite.]

#### III.-SOUTH ARCO'T DISTRICT.

DEAR SIR,-In response to your letter dated 17th June, 1901, published in the Hindu of yesterday, I beg to inform you that, according to the former practice of the Madras Land Revenue Settlement Department, the expenses of cultivation included the following items :---

- 1. Cost of Ploughing Cattle.
- 2. Cost of Agricultural Implements.
- 3. Seed.
- 4. Manure.
- 5. Price of labour required for sowing, transplanting in wet, reaping, threshing, etc.

The expenses of cultivation do not allow for any quantity of grain being set aside for the nourishment of the cultivator and his family.

The cost of feeding cattle is not provided for in the estimate of cultivation expenses, as the straw is taken as a set-off against this item. If, however, in any district or tract the feeding charges are known to be specially higher, owing to grain being given to ploughing cattle, this is taken into account.

Supposing that the cultivation expenses were calculated at Rs.11 for the best land, they would run something as under, viz., wet :--

	ated acre.	E	penses	of Culti	vation f	or Ten	Acres.			Not				Assess- ment		
	Gross estimu outturn per	Bullocks.	Imple- ments.	Manure.	Yearly Labourers.	Daily Labourers.	Seed.	Total.	for produce one per Acre. Acre.		Half net produce.	et ment fixed.	ment which ought t be fixed		t to ted.	Remarks.
					Α	s Esti	mated	by Se	ttlement	Officers.						ĺ
1	Rs. 25	Rs. 17	Rs. 5	Rs. 7	Rs. 45	Rs. 22	Rs. 9	Rs. 105	Rs. $10\frac{1}{2}$	Rs. 14 <del>1</del>	Rs. 71	Rs. a. 7 0	р. 1	Rs. a. 3 8	р. О	This is for three
2	90	17	5	7	45	20	9	103	1010	9.iu	43	4 8	0	2 12	0	of soils
8	16	13	5	4	45	16	9	92	93	645	3 <del>3</del>	84	0	1 12	0	predomi- nate.
						А	s Esti	mated	by Ryo	t.				-		
1	20	34	6	8	45	30	9	132	13	7	8 8 0			38	0	
2	18	30	6	9	45	25	9	124	121	53	2 12 0			2 12	0	
3	.14	25	6	10	45	20	9	115	113	31	1 12 0			1 12	0	

## PARTICULARS REFERRED TO IN THE LETTER OF A RYOT.

Ite	ms,				lost	per	sore.
Ploughin	g Cattl	e		 	R. 1	a. 12	p. 9
Agricult	ural Im	plemen	ts	 	1	0	1
Seed	,			 	1	2	5
Manure				 	1	10	8
Wages			·	 	<b>5</b>	6	1
	Total	•••	•••	 Rs	.11	0	0
	Dry, or	ne-half		 	5	8	0

The way in which the expenses were arrived at was to ascertain, separately, what extent of wet land and what of dry could be, under the ordinary conditions of the district, cultivated by one plough and one pair of bullocks.

The method of calculation varied according to the description of crops grown and of culture, as well as according to the practice of making the various payments in the district. In some these are made in grain, in others in money, and in some in both grain and money. The payments made in grain were converted into money at the commutation price adapted for the settlement.

The cost of bullocks and of the implements of husbandry was distributed over the number of years during which they were estimated to be serviceable, and the other items were calculated for each year.

Suppose the commuted money value of the gross produce per acre of land was Rs.27 9a.

A sixth of this (= Rs.4 9a. 6p.) was deducted to compensate for vicissitudes of the season;

leaving Rs.22 15a. 6p.;

- from which again was deducted Rs.11 for cultivation expenses; leaving the net value of Rs.11 15a. 6p.;
- of which half (= Rs.5 15a. 9p.), or say Rs.6, was taken as the Government share.

The present practice of the Settlement Department is not to work out separately the cultivation expenses for each district dealt with, but to adopt those arrived at for the neighbouring districts.

July 9, 1901.

If any reader has omitted to peruse the foregoing most valuable documents, and this paragraph should catch his attention, I beg him to turn back the pages and read them. Their intrinsic interest is so great, they throw so clear and vivid a light upon the Indian Governments as practical land stewards, as well as exhibit the actual position of the cultivator, that no one, wishing to really understand the ryot's position, may pass these 'human documents' by unread and unpondered.



#### AN EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Producing and Consuming Classes : Agriculturists. Professional and Property-Manufacturers, Miners, Holding Classes, Artisans, etc., Government and all Parties Carriers and Middlemen. Connected With It. Total Income of Country:  $S_1 + S_2 + S_3 - S_4$ . Money Value of Crops not Accurately Obtainable in India. Therefore Government Revenue (its Ratio Ascertained) Made the Basis of Calculation. Reply to a (possible) Rigorous Critic as to How so Many People Still Continue to Survive, the Average Visible Income being Below Maintenance Line,

The chapter which follows, the longest in this work, consists mainly of an estimate of the whole income of India in an ordinary year. From the estimate thus made the average income of every Indian is obtained, and, as the Government of India professed to take a like course twenty years ago, a comparison between the results of to-day and of 1882 is made. A pending discussion, in certain English reviews, on a cognate subject affecting the detailed income of the United Kingdom, which is proceeding whilst these pages are passing through the press, indicates the desirability of my stating explicitly the principle upon which my calculations are made. It appears that there are in use two or three mutually exclusive methods of reckoning a nation's income. The great point of difference seems to be this: Ought income derived from stocks and shares earning dividends in the same country, and from professional and clerical services, to be added to the total value obtained from the products of the soil-surface-planting or growth and mining-and from the value imparted to those products by agricultural and industrial labour? In the opinion of the present writer the answer is in the negative. Those incomes ought not to be included, seeing that they are paid from the respective products described. To include them would be to reckon a portion of the total income twice over, and thus vitiate the result.

The diagram and explanation which face this page are

## 530 PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

given to make more clear than any words of mere description could do, my basis of calculation. They should, it seems to me, make my position discernible at a glance.

In the calculations which follow I have given the income in money value. It is necessary, then, to state how I have obtained this value, and to examine generally the factors involved in the problem. The diagram shows the respective classes of a country segregated into five broad natural divisions:---

Agriculturists,	Professional and Property-
Manufacturers, Miners,	holding Classes.
Artisans, etc.	Government, and all parties
Carriers and Middlemen.	connected with it.

The Economic Wealth produced by or brought into the country is represented by the broad streams of yellow and blue—foodstuffs and merchandise; the red streams indicate the flow of money between the various classes.

Now, in estimating the total income of a country or people it is evident that the only wealth produced by or coming into the country is represented in quantity by the various streams-S1, S2, S3, and the outward stream S4. The only action within the country is the distribution and consumption of this wealth, and also, maybe, certain rearrangements of the accumulations of wealth [if such a phrase can be used in connection with India after Sir Richard Strachey's observation, 'Consider the total absence of anything like accumulated wealth in India']. But this distribution, this consumption, and this rearrangement, do in nowise add to the income of the country, for they are but a transfer of the country's wealth amongst the various classes, the producers giving to the consumers of their produce as taxpayers, as tenants, as employers of carriers, middlemen, and professional parties.

Also, in such an estimate, the currents of currency within the country need not be allowed for. So far as they are concerned, the arrows in the diagram point both ways, to indicate that the total backward and forward flow are approximately equal during the year.

Therefore, as regards the quantity of the substances forming the income, the position may be stated shortly, thus,-

Total Income of Country-

 $S_1 + S_2 + S_3 - S_4$ .<sup>1</sup>

But, in the chapter following, I have given the income in money value. It is necessary, therefore, to state how I have obtained this value, and to examine the validity of comparing such value for one year with that for another year.

The money value for the streams S1 and S2, to ensure accuracy, should be obtained by reckoning it at the current price in the market for such portions of S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub> as may be the subject of buying and selling. Of course, in a country like India a large part of the foodstuffs is consumed by the actual producers without becoming the subject of barter. (Not, however, without a pricing -of a sort : most of the crops are hypothecated to the moneylender who puts a value upon them which to the producer is never excessive.) Still, it would be approximately correct, in a comparison of year with year, to apply the average market value to the whole quantity of the streams S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub>. This mode of calculation has been denied to me. There is an entire absence of trustworthy data, showing the market or money value of the total production of the country so far as the yellow stream is concerned. I have, consequently, had to adopt another mode. The Government revenue is intended to bear a definite ratio to the assumed (or ascertained) produce of the soil reckoned over a number of years. That ratio differs in the respective Presidencies and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is scarcely necessary to state that if the red currency stream with other countries is greater one way or another the excess value must be added to or abstracted from this total.

Provinces. It is approximately ascertainable, and I have ascertained it as nearly as may be. Possessing it, to arrive at the money value, I have multiplied the land revenue the necessary number of times, and have thus reached the result I announce.

[I am not aware whether this course was adopted in 1882, as the particulars on which the Baring-Barbour estimate was based have not been published. Nevertheless I make the comparison as though the methods were identical, partly with the hope that my doing so will induce the Government of India to furnish the full details. My acquaintance with the Note of 1882 is but fragmentary; certain lines followed then are indicated, and those I have adopted. In the absence of actual investigation, the principles in each case must be so nearly alike as, I contend, to make the respective estimates comparable.]

In other respects the requisite data are available, and exact figures are given; where an estimate only has been possible I have indicated the fact.

The money value of streams  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  is obtained from the Blue Books.

The average income per head is, then, the total value of these streams divided by the number of the population,--

 $\mathbf{Or}$ 

Average income per head =  $\frac{S_1 + S_2 + S_3 - S_4}{\text{population}}$ 

S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>, S<sub>3</sub>, S<sub>4</sub> now standing for the value of the four streams.

One last observation by way of explanation to a rigorous critic. The average income of an individual Indian, worked out on this basis, gives the appalling

total of £1 2s. 4d. per annum, or, allowance being made for the well-to-do people, of 13s. per head for two hundred and thirty millions of British Indians. This will suffice to give him food, at 50 lbs. of grain to the rupee (which is sometimes, but not often, the rate nowadays) for less than eight months in the year, leaving nothing for clothing and other purposes. But, as has been stated, the larger proportion of the food consumed is obtained without the intervention of a middleman, save the ubiquitous moneylender, and he has become ubiquitous and can fix what price he likes : fortunately, it is to his interest to keep his debtor alive. The food of some cultivators may, therefore, in such circumstances, comé to them at a cheaper rate than the market price would indicate. But the difference thus allowed for could not amount to more than one or two months' supply of food, and if such a cultivator and his family should have enough to eat the year through it can only be at the price of his becoming more and more deeply the bondslave of the moneylender. The point is merely mentioned to show to a possible objector that it has not been overlooked.

ADMISSION BY THE RT. HON. LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P., SEC-RETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, AUGUST 16, 1901:

'I admit at once that if it could be shown that India has retrograded in material prosperity under our rule we stand self-condemned, and we ought no longer to be trusted with the control of that country.'

[An analysis shows that during his period of service at the India Office the present Secretary of State for India has drawn as salary a sum which represents one year's average income of ninety-thousand Indian people !] The DIMINISHING INCOME of The Indian People

NON-OFFICIAL ESTIMATED INCOME IN 1850:

2<sup>D.</sup> per head per day.

OFFICIALLY ESTIMATED INCOME IN 1882:

> 1D. per head 2 per day.

ANALYTICAL EXAMINATION OF ALL SOURCES OF INCOME IN **1900**, LESS THAN

> **3**<sup>D.</sup> per head **4** per day

#### CHAPTER XII

#### THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDIA: THE REAL INCOME OF THE PEOPLE

The Diminishing Income-A Typographical Sketch.

Presidencies and Provinces to be Separately Considered as to Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Income.

- First: a Non-Agricultural Estimate for India as a Whole.
- Government Greatly to be Condemned for Leaving such a Task to Outsiders.

Decreased Income in 1899 (Treated as 'a Good Year') Compared with 1881-2, nearly £60,000,000.

Statement and Analysis of the Whole Non-Agricultural Income of India-Seventy-two Items and a Total of £85,000,000.

Presidency and Provincial Estimates:

BENGAL :

Diagram Showing Average Income-Guessed and Ascertained.

Area under Cultivation during Five Years.

- Land Revenue in 1898-1899, £15,000,000 Less than in 1882.
- Government Estimates of Rice-Yield Averages: 126 lbs. Per Acre Too High; of Wheat 208 lbs. Per Acre Too High.

Statement and Analysis of Non-Agricultural Income.

- Total Income £1 0s. 3d. Per Head Per Annum.
- Mr. Grierson on the District of Gaya: the Pioneer's Review and Conclusion that 'Nearly One Hundred Millions in British India are Living in Extreme Poverty.'

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY :

#### Diagram Showing Average Income-Guessed and Ascertained.

- Casual Character of '82 Estimate: the Contradiction between Board of Revenue Statements and the Baring-Barbour Figures.
- Government Collection 15, 20, and 31 per Cent. of Gross 535

Produce respectively; Famine Commission State per Cent. Only All Round.

- Proportions of Wet and Dry Cultivation with Statement as to Yield.
- Estimate of Famine Commission of 1880 Too High by £12,139,863.
- <sup>6</sup> Choppings and Changings <sup>7</sup> in Money Nomenelature (first *L*, then Rs., then Rx., and finally *L* Sterling again) render Statements for Different Years Difficult of Calculation.
- Statement and Analysis of Non-Agricultural Income.
- Average Income: 18s. 10d. Per Head Per Annum.
- First-Hand Facts Proving General Accuracy of Foregoing Estimate.
- 'If We Can Eat Food Once in Two Days, We Will Not Ask For More.'

#### THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY :

Diagram Showing Average Income-Guessed and Ascertained.

- Wide Difference between Condition of People prior to 1876 and in 1882.
- A Poona Middling Maratha's Requirements Day by Day: Requires £2 7s. 1d. per annum; if Agriculturist has only £1 6s. 2d.
- Sir James Peile on Out-turn and (Indirect) Testimony to Greater Prosperity in Feudatory States.
- Lord Curzon's Yield Estimate—740 lbs. Per Acre; Actual (Wheat), 533 lbs.
- Mr. Wingate's Examples of Juwar:

1873-4 ..... 4081 lbs.

1875-6 ..... 3424 lbs.

The Over-Estimation of Wheat-Yield in Sind 331 lbs. Per Acre.

Indebtedness of Ryots in Four Deccan Districts— Annually New Debts are Incurred to 93 per Cent. of Land Revenue: the Moneylender Provides the Revenue

- Land Revenue Bill of 1901: Non-Official Members' Emphatic Protest.
- Minus Difference between Value of Yield in 1882 and 1898-99: £9,788,652.
- Nevertheless the Viceroy in Council Declares an Increase of £3,602,655 Per Annum over 1882!
- Statement and Analysis of Non-Agricultural Income; Latter Comparatively Large; owing to Manufactories at Bombay and Ahmedabad.
- Average Income: £1 18s. 8d. per Head per Annum.

THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH: Diagram Shouting Average Income. Guassed and
Agentained
The Legend as to the Great Prosperity and Easy Land
Individual Back Bonting Higher Uses then in Ann Other
Part of India.
Another Over-Estimate of Out-turn: 104 lbs. per Acre Excess.
Difficulty in Ascertaining Proportion Revenue bears to . Yield.
Even Here, where there is Much Irrigation, Figures for
Out-turn £3,585,770 Below the Guess of 1882.
Statement and Analysis of Non-Agricultural Income.
Agricultural Reduction since 1882-75. 6d. Per Head Per Annum.
Average Income: £1 3s. 8id. per Head per Annum, 16s.
81d. Lower than Viceroy's Estimate of March, 1901.
THE PANJAB:
Diagram Showing Average Income-Guessed and
Ascertainea.
Firty per Cent. Cultivated Areas under irrigation, Never-
theless Famine is Frequent.
What Over Assessment and Rightly of Our System Have
Done to Reduce the People to Destitution.
A Significant Dive book Entry:
(Property,
Rs.200 in Debt. No Grain or Property.
Share of Gross Produce Claimed by Conormant
Share of Gross Froduce Claimed by Government.
Juliundur Wit-According to The Little Friend of All
Vet One Mana Quer Estimate of Vield This Time 100 lbs.
ret one more over is simate of field—fins fine rootos.
Statement and Analysis of Non Agricultural Income
Lord Correspond Additional 28. 8d ner Head Agricultur.
ally Benresented by a Fifty per Cent. Reduction on
Old Alleged Income.
Average Income per Head per Annum : 178., as Against
the Viceregal Estimate of £2.
THE CENTRAL PROVINCES:
Diagram Showing Average Income-Guessed and
Ascertained.
The Most Prosperous of the Provinces Nineteen Years
Ago Collapsed under Stress of Scarcity.
Terrible Suffering and Unmerited Poverty the Conse-
quence of Exaggerated Estimate in 1882.

- A Monumental Re-Assessment and a Gross Breach Faith in Reducing Settlement Period from Thirty Years to Twelve Years.
- Rents Increased by Four Hundred to Five Hundred per Cent.
- Still Another Estimated Over-Yield—This Time of 228 lbs. per Acre.
- Description of the Crime Committed in the Settlement of 1896
- Mr. Pedder's and Sir James Peile's Estimate of Value of Crops Per Acre.
- Income of Cultivator not 2s. 8d. Increase, but Diminished by a Very Considerable Amount.
- Statement and Analysis of Non-Agricultural Income.
- Average Income per Head per Annum : £13s. 3d. Against £2 as Alleged 'on the Highest Authority' in March, 1901
- BURMA, UPPER AND LOWER:

Diagram Showing Average Income-Guessed and Ascertained.

- No Comparison Statistics for 1882 Available.
- Large Rice Cultivation and Export Justifies High Estimate of Average Yield.
- Average Income per Head per Annum : £1 14s. 12d. Assam :
  - Many Particulars Furnished during Inquiry, Generally Proving Comparative Prosperity of Inhabitants.
  - Food-Prices in 1859 and 1877-88 Enormously Increased. Tea Cultivation the Agricultural Mainstay.
  - Statement and Analysis of Non-Agricultural Income.
  - Average Income : £1 14s. 0<sup>§</sup>d. per Head per Annum, or 5s. 11<sup>§</sup>d. Less than Declared Average for All India.
- THE INCOME IN 1900 OF ALL INDIA-GENERAL SUMMARY.
- Figures Submitted Justify Author's Estimate in Open Letter to the Viceroy, April, 1901.
- Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Incomes per Head according to Presidencies and Provinces, but Division of Workers Largely a Division in Name Only.
- Further Analysis: 835,000 Princes, Maharajahs, Professional Men, Business Men, and Others, Absorb £200,000,000 of Total Annual Income, leaving
  - Thirteen Shillings and Elevenpence Halfpenny Per Head Per Annum,

For Each Inhabitant of British India.

How These Facts Fail to Square with the Empress's Proclamation of 1858: 'In Their Prosperity will be Our Strength.'

#### In Face of the Foregoing, WHAT IS ENGLAND'S DUTY?

The Destruction of the Propertied Class and the Nearly-Complete Realisation of the Bentinck-Thackeray Ideal of Ninety Years Ago.

The Lamentation of a Bengali Publicist.

- Professional and Mercantile Classes in Utter Despair as to the Future.
- The Great and Touching Faith of the Indian People as to Coming Political and Material Redemption through Britain.

#### . GOD SAVE INDIA!

Appendices :

- I. The Incidence of Land Revenue in Bombay, by the Hon. Goculdas K. Parekh, M.L.C.
- II. The Inquisition Inseparable from the Fyotwar System.
- III. The Prosperity of India m Olden Days.
- IV. 'The Slow, Systematic, Starvation of India.'

HAVING seen what the condition of the people of India was six years subsequent to the first estimate of the average income, and, being thoroughly assured, after the two recent disastrous famines, each with a money loss to the people of India of at least £120,000,000, or, together, nearly a whole year's income from every part of India, that it cannot now be better, it may be as well to take the Presidencies and Provinces separately, note what is the 'agricultural and what the non-agricultural income, setting forth the grounds on which the respective statements are based.

But, before doing this, it is necessary to indicate in detail what appears to be the present non-agricultural income for the whole of India. Since 1882, when it was put at Rs.9 per head of the whole population, 15,000 miles of new railways have been opened for traffic, 16,000,000 additional acres have been brought under cultivation, while upon irrigation has been expended the capital sum of £9,659,172. Thousands of miles of new roads have been made. Industries of all kinds have sprung into existence, not, it is true, counting for very much when the extent of India is considered, but additions—for what they are worth. Yet, a most generous calculation

## 540 PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

in respect to every conceivable item that can be called non-agricultural, shows that, even in 1900, the proportion of annual income which was estimated eighteen years previously, does not exist. The present writer, after diligent study and untiring examination, collation, and analysis, of the figures, cannot find that income. The authorities may have been right in 1882 in the estimate they then made, but they afford no means whereby their statement could be tested. For so humble a student of Indian affairs as is the writer of these lines it may seem to savour of presumption that he should endeavour to set forth so stupendous a matter as is involved in testing the agricultural income of the whole of India, and to trace out and set forth the non-agricultural production of a whole continent of diverse countries. Somebody, however, must begin. If the Governmental authorities in India and in England (especially in England) resolutely refrain from doing that which they could, if they would, do thoroughly, seeing the supreme necessity for its being done, the humblest student and critic is justified in attempting the task, and in presenting what he has discerned to those who are interested. This is my apology for undertaking what others, with ample resources, sufficient time, and receiving large salaries, refrain from doing.

That first step which, the French say, is the step that costs, that first lesson which, as the Germans putit, is so hard to learn, but there would be no following learning were it not mastered—that step has to be taken, that lesson has to be learned, by some one. I do not profess to have arrived at absolute accuracy in my statements, but, at least, I have taken extreme pains to be correct. At the worst, my effort to ascertain the real condition of India may be the means of causing others to fully investigate the facts and so achieve the success at which I aim. The facts I have collected would seem to indicate that an over-estimation to the extent of more than onethird, compared with results of 1882, and, probably, of one-half compared with the facts of that day, marked the guess' of the statesmen of 1882. The 'guess' for that year was :---

 Non - Agricultural
 Income of India :

 Rs.175,00,00,000 = at Rs.12 to the £ £145,833,333

 Investigation for the year 1899 shows

 Rs.136,00,00,000 = at Rs.15 to the £

 Becrease 1899 compared with 1882

 £60,833,333

No.		Se	URCE OF	INCOME			STERLING.
1.	Opium						3,166,887
2.	Salt						6,066,661
3.	Country-r	nade L	iquor, s	ay		. <b></b>	20,000,000
4.	Fisheries	(300,0	00 fish	nermen	toget	ner	
	obtain	and sel	l fish to	the va	lue of)		1,930,140
5.	Clothing :	Allow	2s. 40	d. per	head	per	
	annum	to the	231,000	,000 in	habitar	its,	
	the to	tal req	uiremen	nts wo	uld be	of	
	the va	lue of	£28,95	60,000.	Of t	his	
	amoun	t En	glish	looms	s sup	ply	
	£15,43	2,082	worth,	Cott	on m	ills	
	in In	dia (17	73) £9	9,469,49	90 wo	$\mathbf{rth}$	
	(of wh	nich £1	,636,29	4 wort	h are	ex-	
	ported)	, leavin	g for vi	llage lo	oms in	all	
	the 450	,000 vill	agesan	d the tr	vo or th	ree	
	hundre	d popu	lous to	wns, £	3,784,7	22;	
	or, say,	£8 wor	th for ea	ach vill	age, ' ca	rry	

<sup>1</sup> 'Weaving is practised on a small scale by men and women in their own homes or in small workshops.'--' Fin. and Com. Stat. of Brit. India.' As there cannot be less than forty millions of homes throughout British India, the aggregate of home production must be very considerable.

# 542 'PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

No.	SOURCE OF	INCOME.		STERLING.		
	out the proceeds of	Indian	mills	and		
	village looms				13,517,918	
6. F	'orests (total receipts)				1,239,932	

#### MANUFACTURES, ETC. .

7.	Jute and Hemp Goods (less Raw Material,							
	included in Ag		1,997,841					
8.	Iron and Brass F	oundri	ies			585,079		
9.	Paper Mills (8)					416,060		
10.	Breweries (28)					371,354		
11.	Oil Mills					946,159		
12.	<b>Triving Animals</b>					117,230		
13.	Cement Works			•••		13,600		
14.	Chemical Works					33,722		
15.	Coir, and Manufa	ctures	of			225,317		
<b>1</b> 6.	<b>Cutch</b> Factories					1,946		
17.	Dairy Farms					16,951		
18.	Dye Works					47,329		
19.	Drugs and Medic	ines				95,374		
20.	Flour Mills					1,424,917		
21.	Gas Works					122,184		
22.	<b>Glass</b> Factories					3,864		
23.	Gums and Resins	s				80,492		
24.	Hemp Presses					2,480		
25.	Hides and Skins					4,967,089		
26.	Horns					107,530		
27.	Ice Factories					52,313		
28.	Ivory, and Manuf	acture	s of			42,362		
29.	Jewelry and Prec	ious S	tones			88,151		
30.	Lac (of all sorts)	. Th	le La	e Facto	ories	ĸ		
	account for £	330,48	4 onl	у; I с	arry			
	forward the E	$\mathbf{x}\mathbf{port}$	staten	nent		580 <b>,930</b>		
31.	Manures, chiefly .	Anima	l Bon	es. (A	gain			
	a minus discre	pancy	in th	ne deta	ils :			
	£71,298). Exj	port st	ateme	ent		272,268		
82.	Mineral and Aerat	ted Wa	aters			69,956		

# DETAILS OF NATIONAL INCOME

No.	SOURCE OF INCOME.	VALUE IN A	
33.	Potteries (not including village pottery		
	work)	43,167	
34.	Potteries, Village : earthen chatties and	10,101	
	cheap goods for all uses	375 000	
35.	Rope Works	178 295	
36.	Printing Presses (this is wholly an	210,200	
	estimate of my own : Government		
	records show a blank)	750.000	
37.	Saltpetre (the export value is given, but	100,000	
	the details. Presidency and Province.		
	amount to only £107.350)	232,896	
38.	Silk, Raw	317,872	
39.	" Manufactures of	116.602	
40.	Soap Factories	34,126	
41.	Sugar	290,999	
42.	Tanneries	420,424	
43.	Tile Factories	63.035	
44.	Tobacco Farms and Factories	88,560	
45.	Wool, Raw	1,150,898	
46.	" Manufactured	170,530	
47.	,, ,, (not produced in	,	
	classed mills)	18,307	
48.	Wood, and Manufactures of	1,090,048	
49.	Miscellaneous: Carpets, Benares ware,		
	Silver ware, etc	88,560	
	Mounter Doongers		
~ ~	MINERAL PRODUCTS.		

 50. Coal...
 ...
 ...
 1,034,398

 51. Iron Ore  $^{t}$  ...
 ...
 ...
 12,507

<sup>1</sup> The production of iron is yet quite in its infancy, the ore being worked for the most part only in the Raniganj district of Bengal, where it occurs in close proximity to the coal fields. According to the figures, which, however, are of doubtful accuracy, the production for all India in 1898 amounted to only 50,000 tons, of which nearly 42,000 tons were produced in Raniganj. Whether or not it will be possible hereafter to utilise the iron deposits of other parts of India—in the Central Provinces, Madras, and elsewhere—is a question which cannot yet be answered. ('F. and C. Stat. of British India, p. lz.) While these pages are passing through the press the Directors of the Bengal and Nagpore Railway are said to be arranging to develop large fields of manganese ore in Chota Nagpore.

#### 544 'PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

No.	8		VALUE IN & STEELING.			
52.	Gold. (It may be explained that,					
	practically,	all the	gold	mined	in	
	India comes f	rom the	State	of Myso	re)1	10,993
53.	Alum					4,200
54.	Gypsum					450
55.	Manganese Ore					32,240
56.	Mica					15,004
57.	Soaps, fine					533
58.	Tin Ore				•••	2,553
59.	Clay-for buildi	ing mate	erial			55,157
60.	Granite ".	,	,			60,000
61.	Gravel and Ruk	oble				3,835
62.	Laterite 2					766,991
63.	Limestone					141,479
64.	Sandstone		•••			108,838
65.	Slate					4,029
66.	Petroleum Oil					80,000

#### OTHER OBJECTS.

	Not many new ploughs arc	: Not ma	Ploughs	67.
	each year, possibly under	in each	made	
	in a portion of the Deccan	00; in a p	100,0	
	ted that no new plough has	stated that	it is	
	de since the disastrous year of	niade since	been	
66,666			1877	
	king new ones and repairing	Making ne	Carts:	68.
189.500			old	

<sup>1</sup> No account is taken of the gold produced in parts of Northern India from the washings of river sands because there are no means of stating the quantity statistically, but it is well known that it is entirely insignificant. Until the beginning of 1900 the gold produced in the mines was shipped from Bombay to London, there to be refined and coined; but, since then, most of the mining companies have been sending the gold to the Bombay Mint.— 'F and C. Stat. of British India,' p. 1x.

<sup>2</sup> This may be over-estimated. No value is placed in the Records against the 5,495,047 tons produced in Madras. I have put the value of this at about 2s. 8d. (Rs.2) per ton.

#### DETAILS OF NATIONAL INCOME

No.	Source of Income.	VALUE IN & STERLING.
69.	Boats on Rivers and at Ports: New	
	Boats and Repairs	1,000,000
70.	Indian Ships : Total tonnage, 66,728;	
	some are wrecked, others are with-	
	drawn, every year fewer-a great	
	industry at Calcutta and Bombay has	
	been allowed to die; say, for repairs,	
	etc. <sup>1</sup>	100,000

#### CATTLE.

71. Following the precedent of the Baring-Barbour inquiry I include existing cattle produce in the Agricultural production, with a set-off. That is to say, like the two gentlemen named, in my calculation, too, profit for milk, ghi, etc., balances deductions which might be made on account of cultivation. All increase of cattle is counted as an addition to income in the year when the increase occurred. The period taken is prior to the last great famine and, in so far as the terrible loss of cattle is concerned, my calculation is defective, if taken as representative of the present condition of things. That condition is very much worse than these figures indicate.

> Increase of Cattle in 1898–99 compared with 1897–98.

				Number,
Bulls and	l Bul	locks		1,579,915
Cows			··· 1	758,560
Buffaloes				931,429

<sup>1</sup> See ante, page 88, where particulars will be found of shipbuilding in Calcutta and Bombay one hundred years ago.

#### PROSPEROUS, BRITISH INDIA

No.	Source of	INCOME.		VALUE IN & STEELING.
			Number.	
	Young Stock		5, <b>4</b> 33,486 1	
	Sheep		1,229,377	
	Goats		3,269,0141	
	Horses and Ponies		195,730	
	Mules and Donkeys		96,518	
	Camels		61,196 <sup>r</sup>	
	Total	1	13,555,225	

	If a value of Rs.10 be put upon these
	animals all round, the calf one day old
	with the mature beast, it will repre-
	sent a fair average. Take Rs.135,452,250
9,030,150	at Rs.15 to the $\pounds$
	Sundries, for sources of income which
	may have escaped consideration, say
13,601,399	about fifteen per cent
£84,751,905	

In the sundries is included £300,000, approximately the contribution of Catholic and Protestant Missionary Societies towards the support of Mission Agents throughout India, and expended in India.

Thus the total for the whole of India. I will now deal in like manner, but in more detail, with each of the Presidencies, Provinces, and Chief Commissionerships of the whole Empire.

<sup>1</sup> There is something surprising in the figures from which these details are taken. For four years the young stock stood at 17,000,000 odd; in the last year of the series there is a jump of five and a half millions! Again, with the goats; after being in the 15,000,000 rank for four years there is, all at once, an addition of 3,269,014; yet, again, camels show a like susceptibility to mysterious influences—the mystery of which, parhaps, has to do with insccurate statistics rather than with natural causes.

#### BENGAL.

In 1882 the total agricultural income of this Province was estimated at Rs.103,50,00,000 or (Rs.12 to the £) £86,250,000. Other parts of India will enable comparisons to be made as to area under cultivation, if not in 1882 at least within three or four years of that date. Bengal statistics, however, are not available until 1890-91. Considering the settled condition of the Lower Provinces, it is not likely there has been much increase of cultivation during the past eighteen years. The figures for the past five years show slight variations only :--

NET AREA CROPPED.
ACRES.
54,716,300
53,441,200
51,823,200
55,128,700
55,398,000

The changes in this period are few and the total, probably, has not varied one-tenth, or even onetwentieth, since 1882. However, the only course to be taken in this instance—in the absence of statistics for comparison—is to ascertain what was the land revenue in Bengal for the last year in the series. Knowing the proportion which the actual amount paid to the Government of Bengal under the Permanent Settlement bears to the total produce, it should not be difficult to arrive at a figure which not only is likely to be near the truth, but which may be generally accepted. A consensus of opinion, founded on close investigation, gives between five and six per cent. of gross produce as represented by that payment. Take the lower amount, as tending to show a higher yield, this result follows:—

The Income of the People in 1901, as stated by the Viceroy and by The Secretary of State, and as shown by close analytical examination of the country's condition Ausbillingen 2200 shillings 40 Lord Curzon's and Lord G. Hamilton's Estimate. Amount por head of population. \$1.03 eshilling shillings/9

# OVER ESTIMATE OF YIELD OF CROPS 549

# Land Revenue collected in 1898-99 : £2,696,524 × 20 = £53,930,480, gross produce.

This is £15,069,520 less than the estimate of 1882. In the absence of details justifying the larger figures I must ask credence and acceptance for my own; or, failing their acceptance, that satisfactory reasons may be given why my statement should not be accepted.

It is altogether impossible, in any calculation as to crop-yields and crop-values, to accept the figures of the Bengal Government. When the Famine Commission of 1897 wanted a statement from Bengal showing the probable annual yield of food grains so that it might see what surplus would be available after the people had been fed, the Bengal authorities put their food crop area at 50,596,000 acres and the out-turn of food at 24,407,000 tons, or nearly half a ton per acre,—actually, 1,072 lbs. How does this compare with the facts? About fourfifths of the area is under rice. These are the yield statistics for nine years as published by Government; although they are termed ' estimates' there are many reasons for considering that they are fairly accurate statements of fact :—

YEAR.	YIELD IN LBS. PER ACRE.	ACREAGE.
1891 - 92	813	39,552,008
1892-93	1,011	37,324,907
1893-94	1,100	37,856,500
1894-95	1,191	38,639,500
1895-96	880	37,447,600
1896-97	587	36,177,400
1897-98	1,115	39,549,500
1898-99	1,111	39,605,400
1899-1900	1,069	39,069,700

The average is 986 lbs., or 126 lbs. per acre below the estimate made by the Government of the Lower Provinces. On 40,000,000 acres this means 2,751,800 tons, or two lbs. of rice per day for eight millions five hundred thousand full-grown men for one year. With such care are Indian statistics officially put forward !

Again, take wheat. In 1898-99 there were 1,600,000 acres under cultivation with this cereal in Bengal. The selected averages are for 1892, and range as follows :----

	LBS.			LBS.
Nadia	. 861	Darbhanga		984
Murshidabad	. 861	Muzaffarpur		984
Dinajpur	861	Saran	:	984
Rajshahi	. 861	Champarun		984
Pabna	. 861	Monghyr	•••	984
Patna : Irrigated	. 895	Bhagalpur		984
" Unirrigated	. 984 <sup>1</sup>	Purnea		984
Gaya: Irrigated	. 895	Malda		984
" Unirrigated	. 994 <sup>1</sup>	Ranchi		451
Shahabad : Irrigated	d 895			
,, Unirrigated	. 984 <sup>1</sup>	1		

No average for the whole Province is given, but. from the above figures, 950 lbs. would not be an unfair estimate. The year in which the estimate was made was, apparently, not a very good year. Famine prevailed in many parts of the Empire, Bengal included. although none of the Provinces were scheduled as faminestricken. An analysis of statements giving 'estimated' actual yields reveals these unsatisfactory results :---

YEAR.	VIELD IN LES. PER ACRE.	ACREAGE.	YIELD IN TONS.
1891 - 92	431	1,300,000	250,000
1892-93	670	1,559,000	466,000
1893-94	704	1,461,000	459,000
1894 - 95	1,088	1,413,000	-586,300
1895 - 96	542	1,427,400	345,600
1896 - 97	646	1,341,700	386,900
1897-98	846	1,569,500	592,600
1898-99	929	1,582,500	656,400
1899-1900	823	1,555,800	572,600

This is indeed a marvel; unirrigated land giving a larger yield than irrigated !

The average works out at 742 lbs. per annum, or 370 lbs. per acre less than is alleged by the Bengal Government as applicable everywhere, enough to give to 750,000 full-grown Bengalis food for one year at 2 lbs. per head per day. Why, it may be asked, did not the Famine Commission expose these fallacious statements in some such detail as is being here attempted instead of merely describing the Bengal returns as being particularly unreliable? The measure of the unreliability ought to have been stated as a guide to the student of Indian affairs. The principle on which such obvious deductions are avoided by all Indian officials, in every conceivable circumstance, is past finding out, unless one imputes a motive for such reticence. At the best it is singular.

The non-agricultural income was assumed to be fifty per cent. of the agricultural produce; so far as is known, that was purely an assumption. It amounted, in 1882, for Bengal, if the estimate then made be correct, to the large sum of  $\pounds 34,500,000$ . That amount cannot be found, even now, after much additional expenditure, mostly with borrowed money, has been employed to 'develop' the country.

I put in everything that can legitimately be claimed for the Lower Provinces, and yet cannot get anywhere near, even for 1900, the amount alleged to have been received in 1882. Until the contrary be proved, I say once more, the following must be taken to represent the non-agricultural income of Bengal:--

No.	Sources of Income.	VALUE IN & STEELING.
1.	Cotton Mills, with one-tenth of the	
	spindles and a like percentage of the	
	production, say	500,000
2.	One-fourth of the total village pro-	
	duction of cloths, say	1,200,000
3.	Jute and Hemp Mills	1,937,841
4.	One-fourth of the Liquor Production	5,000,000
5.	Paper Mills	416,000

#### PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

	Sour	CE OF	INCOM	E.		VALUE IN E.
Breweries						6,000
General Fa	ctories	(one-	fourth	), say		6,000,000
Coal Mines						700,000
Saltpetre		•••				92,869
Iron Ore						7,000
Various Mi	nerals			•••	·	41,626
Boat Build	ing and	l Shij	p Repa	airing	(half)	500,000
Forests						64,841
Potteries			•••		•••	. 75,000
Cattle Incr	ease: c	one-fc	ourth			2,250,000
Opium (one	e-third)	)				1,000,000
Ploughs an	d Carts	3			•	60,000
Printing I	resses	and	other	concer	rns in	
proporti	on					200,000
One-fourth	for	Sun	dries	(incl	uding	
fisheries	)		•••			1,650,000
	¥	Tota	a			£21,685,177
	Breweries General Fa Coal Mines Saltpetre Iron Ore Various Mi Boat Build Forests Potteries Cattle Incr Opium (on Ploughs an Printing I proporti One-fourth fisheries	Sour Breweries General Factories Coal Mines Saltpetre Iron Ore Various Minerals Boat Building and Forests Potteries Cattle Increase : of Opium (one-third) Ploughs and Carta Printing Presses proportion One-fourth for fisheries)	Source of Breweries General Factories (one- Coal Mines Saltpetre Iron Ore Various Minerals Boat Building and Ship Forests Potteries Cattle Increase : one-for Opium (one-third) Ploughs and Carts Printing Presses and proportion One-fourth for Sum fisheries) Tota	Source of Incom Breweries General Factories (one-fourth Coal Mines Saltpetre Sal	Source of Income.BreweriesGeneral Factories (one-fourth), sayCoal MinesSaltpetreSaltpetreIron OreVarious MineralsBoat Building and Ship RepairingForestsPotteriesCattle Increase: one-fourthOpium (one-third)Ploughs and CartsPrinting Presses and other concelproportionOne-fourthforSundries (inclfisheries)Total	Source of Income.BreweriesGeneral Factories (one-fourth), sayCoal MinesSaltpetreSaltpetreIron OreVarious MineralsBoat Building and Ship Repairing (half)ForestsPotteriesPotteriesOpium (one-third)Ploughs and CartsPrinting Presses and other concerns in proportionOne-fourth for fisheries)Total

The busy shores of the Hughli, the mercantile houses in the streets of Calcutta, the great importance of the capital city of the Empire, the thronging millions on all the broad alluvial plains from Mirzapore to Chittagong, from Orissa to the borders of Assam and the fever-ridden Terai, might have been expected to show better returns than these. If there be omission on my part, of material sources of income, it is because I do not know, after most diligent search, where to find them; certainly the Government records contain no others than those I have set out, and by no means all of them. Many I have had to 'work out' for myself. Taken together the gross annual income of the Province would seem to work out thus:—

Agricultural Income	 £53,930,480
Non-Agricultural Income	 21,701,177
	£75,631,657

The whole amount, divided among 74,713,020 of population, yields :---

## Twenty Shillings and Three Pence per head per annum (£1 0s. 3d.; or Rs.15 3a.).

And this Lieutenant-Governorship is generally described as the richest Province in the Empire !

There is much evidence to support the view as to the condition of the Bengali people which such a deduction as this pre-supposes. I had hoped to cite the facts narrated in 1893 by Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., of the Indian Civil Service, in his 'Notes on the District of Gaya.' My inquiries, however, both in England and in India, have failed to obtain for me a copy of the work. I, therefore, take a review of the book (which is also a synopsis of its contents) from the *Pioneer* newspaper of May, 1893. The information seen through the medium which this paper provides, acquires additional value as evidence. In the course of the review it is stated :---

Mr. Grierson's 'Notes on the District of Gaya' is an admirably faithful and complete picture, not only of the physical features, but of the economic and social conditions of the district. In this latter respect the little volume is a wonderfully complete exhibition of the real India-not the India as it appears to the casual visitor in his swallow-flights across the continent, but the India of the millions. The picture has its bright side and its dark. There is little evidence of the strife and antagonism of class against class, which in these days unhappily bulk so largely in the life of the Western world. The divisions of society are clearly cut; but as the position of everybody is plainly defined in the social scale, so also are his duties. No doubt there are ways in which the individual endeavours at times to get more than communal custom allots him. The reaper will try to make the sheaf in which he takes his payment at harvest-time bigger than the rest: or the goldsmith may not put all the silver or gold he ought into the ornament. But, on the whole, the conflict of interests is not obtrusive, and the broad impression, personal feuds apart, left by the economic microcosm, is one of harmony.

But there are features in the district life upon which it is less pleasant to dwell. In Gaya one-half the population live by cultivation of the soil; but Mr. Grierson tells us that one of the most remarkable facts about cultivation in the district is that it does not, as a rule. pay for its expenses. It is found that when the holding s less than 121 acres in extent, even in the most fertile portion of the district, it will not suffice for the support of an average family, which, in the case of a ryot, usually runs to six persons. In that case the ryot and his family must either eat less than two full meals a day, or have supplemental sources of income, and perhaps even then he may not have enough food or clothing. | Mr. Grierson proves this by a careful examination of the income derivable from holdings of various sizes; but he also instituted an interesting experimental test in the case of four villages, with a population of 163 families and 1,210 cultivators. A native gentleman, in whom the cultivators had entire confidence, was deputed to find out from each ryot his actual income and expenditure. The 1,210 ryots cultivated in all about 1,428 acres, and the net income realised was Rs.9,248. From other sources there was an income of Rs.5,810, so that the total net income of the 1,210 cultivators was Rs.15,108. or an average of Rs.12.4 a head. But to let a person live in comfort with two full meals a day and sufficient clothing you require Rs.15 a year, so that in the case of these four villages there was a deficit of Rs.2.6 a head. This, too, without reckoning expenditure on social ceremonies, which are compulsory and are never pretermitted. In the case of the four villages in question this item came to over one rupee a head, which brings the deficit up to Rs.3.4 (4s. 4d.) a head.

Coming to the labourers of the district, who form about one-fourth of the population, the poverty is still more general. There are two classes of labourers, the free labourer or mazdur, and the serf or kamiya. It sounds strange to speak of subjects of the British Crown as serfs: but though the kamiya has been prohibited by law from selling himself and his heirs for ever, as he once did, he achieves virtually the same result by 'hiring himself, in consideration of a stated advance or loan, to serve for a hundred years or until the money is repaid, which comes to very much the same thing.' The mazdur is a free labourer: but one year with another

he gets much the same income as the kamiya. He has higher wages, and of course greater independence, but his work is less regular. The kamiya, too, has the first right of gleaning, and often receives presents, such as money for drinking toddy and gifts of old clothes. Supposing that a labourer and his wife are fully employed. Mr. Grierson' calculates that their total annual income comes to about Rs.41.12 per annum; but as the family usually consists of four persons, this gives Rs.49 short of the Rs.15 which is necessary for a comfortable existence. 'Part of this,' writes Mr. Grierson, 'may be made up by odds and ends, supplemental sources of income, such as cutting fuel in the jangal and the like, but the greater part must be met by insufficient clothing. or food. This calculation is borne out by practical experience. It is universally stated that a labourer has frequently to content himself with one meal a day in order to avoid curtailment of the food of the children, and that even when two meals are taken they are rarely of the full amount.' Lastly, there is the artisan class who, like the labourers, form about a fourth of the total population. For the most part the various handicrafts are flourishing: but there are two exceptions. In these latter days the mills of Manchester and Bombay have run the weaver (jolaha) so hard that he is dis-appearing from the district. 'If,' says Mr. Grierson, 'all the members of the jolaha caste had to depend on the produce of their looms, they would have died out long ago.' Most of them now earn their living by agriculture, and a good many also by service and trade. Along with the weaver the dyer also (rangrez) is suffering from the competition of the West. 'Cheap European dyes can be bought for a pice in the bazaar, and people dye their own clothes. The profession of dyer is fast disappearing, and with it the beautiful old permanent Indian dyes.' Thus even of the artisan class, who are naturally the best to do, two entire groups are becoming merged in the labourers, of whom there are already too many in the district, and who, as we have seen, all live on the wrong side of the margin of comfortable subsistence. -

If we sum up the facts Mr. Grierson thus puts before us regarding the various sections of the district population, the conclusion we arrive at is certainly not encouraging. Briefly, it is that all the persons of the labouring

classes, and ten per cent. of the cultivating and artisan classes, or forty-five per cent. of the total population, are insufficiently clothed, or insufficiently fed, or both. In Gaya district this would give about a million persons without sufficient means of support. If we assume that the circumstances of Gaya are not exceptional-and there is no reason for thinking otherwise-it follows that nearly one hundred millions of people in British India are living in extreme poverty. ] No doubt extreme poverty means something far less repulsive and appalling in the East than in the West. Mr. Grierson is careful to point out that his inquiries do not warrant the suggestion, that 'this large number of human' beings (he is speaking of course only of Gaya) is, as a rule, in actual want of food, or has never more than one meal a day. In the majority of cases two meals a day form the rule, but they have often to curtail the number of their meals for a few days at a time, to enable them to tide over difficulties.' Equally unwarrantable is it to suppose, though doubtless Mr. Naoroji will turn Mr. Grierson to his own uses, that British rule is in any way responsible for the poverty of so large a proportion of the Indian people. Less is taken from each individual, and they have vastly more to distribute in the aggregate than they ever had under Hindu Raja or Muhammadan Emperor.<sup>1</sup> If the excess is swallowed up by the increase in numbers, that is no sin of the Government. Nevertheless the fact of the poverty is there, and a most unpleasant fact it is. The remedy is less obvious: is indeed remote to the point of obscurity. It is no doubt a beautiful trait of native life, that the meals which the elders of the family deny themselves, go to the children. As one of Mr. Grierson's informants puts it, 'The children always get their two meals: we cannot see them die.' Nevertheless, to reduce the problem to the simplest terms, it were better if the children were less numerous. The difficulty is much as Bill, the crossing sweeper, stated it to an enterprising interviewer bent on discovering the causes of the squalor in the East End of London: 'There's too many on us, and that's the fact.'

<sup>1</sup> The remarks in this and the preceding sentence are highly provocative, but, in view of the facts recorded in these pages, the reader will not find it difficult to make allowance for such 'special pleading,' the statements in which have not the merit even of being true.

557

## THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

If an example were wanted of the casual character of the estimate of 1882 and a justification were admissible for the hesitation exhibited to make the whole Note public, they might be found in the haphazard character of the particulars supplied to the Famine Commission of 1878-80 for Madras in regard to the agricultural income of that Presidency. The line in the Note of 1882 by Earl Cromer and Sir David Barbour concerning Madras reads thus :--

	Produce.	Payment.	Per Cent.
Madras	R.50,00,00,000	Rs.7,64,46,000	15.3

The Famine Commissioners of 1878-80 presented (para. 156, Report : Part I.) an approximate and rough estimate in which they put the yield of food-grains from 26,000,000 acres in Madras at 8,500,000 tons. valued at £5 per ton, and amounting to £42,500,000; the 2,500,000 acres under non-food crops were apparently valued at £3 per acre, or £7,500,000-together the Rs.50,00,00,000 in the Note. But six millions of acres were wrongly included; these are in Zemindary tracts, and, in the estimate of the Famine Commissioners of 1897 are (rightly) omitted. This leaves 20,000,000 acres alleged as under cultivation, whereas the actual area in 1880-81 was 15,059,000 acres, plus the districts of South Kanara and Malabar (omitted)-say, 1,800,000 acres, or 16.859.000 acres in all. The settlement in vogue was that ranging from 1860 to 1890, and was for thirty years from the respective dates of the conclusion of the inquiry in the respective districts. Elaborate tables show that

The Income of the People in 1901, as stated by the Viceroy and by The Secretary of State, and as shown by elose analytical examination of the country's condition Madras Amt. per head of population . shillings 40 Lord Curzon's and Lord 4. Hamilton's Estimate. Amount per head of population . 20 18/10 ospillings shillsass10

### ACTUAL PROPORTION OF REVENUE 559

the proportion taken of the net value of crops by the Government ranges from thirty-one per cent. on wet land in South Arcot to twelve per cent. on dry land in North Salem, taking the maximum in such instance. The particulars from South Arcot may be cited as a sample :---

	Value of Gross Produce.	Deduction for Season Changes.	Cultivation Exs.	Value Net Produce.	Govern- ment Revenue.	Percen- tage. <sup>r</sup>
Dry . Wet	Rs. a. p. 11 15 10 17 9 9	Rs. a. p. 2 15 11 3 8 4	Rs. a. p. 4 4 6 7 4 2	Rs. a. p. 4 11 5 6 13 3	Rs. a. p. 1 13 5 5 8 7	15 31

The average for the eleven districts is given thus :---

Dry	8	<b>2</b>	4	1	11	6	3	3	7	8	3	3	1	3	7	15
Wet	26	5	9	4	11	1	9	13	2	11	13	6	5	5	1	20
				1			1			1		-	·	-		1

These figures enable us to judge what the Government estimated value of the whole crops really is: The proportions are four acres of dry to one acre of wet cultivation.

Land I	Reve	nue for 188	82-83				£4,506,4592
Add f	or 1	Irrigation	(one-	fourth	of	total	
cred	lited	to Land R	evenu	e from	Irrig	ation)	35,000

Total ... £4,541,459

This is divisible not into fifths, but, practically, into halves, the superior yield on one-fifth of irrigated lands bringing up its value to that of the product of the remaining four-fifths.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In face of these percentages Sir Henry Fowler should cease to proclaim that the Indian authorities take only a slight percentage of produce as revenue. <sup>2</sup> 'Stat. Abs. Brit. India,' No. 18, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Many of the foregoing particulars are deduced from 'Replies to Chap. i. of the Circular of Questions circulated by the Famine Commission (1879) compiled in the office of the Board of Revenue, Madras.'

## PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

Dry Lands: £2,270,729	×	63	***	 	£15,138,192
Wet Lands: £2,270,729	×	5	-	 	11,353,645
Total			•••		£26,491,837

To carry the comparison further the  $\pounds$  sterling must be turned into rupees at the rate for the year—12 to the  $\pounds 1: \pounds 26,491,837 \times 12 = \text{Rs.}31,79,02,044.$ 

Estimated by the Famine Commiss	ion	Rs.50,00,00,000
Board of Revenue Actual Results		31,79,02,044
Over-statement	<b>.</b>	Rs.18,20,97,956
Or, £12,139,863.		

Reference may now be made to the yield in Madras during 1898-99: the increase in irrigated area disturbs the proportions of wet and dry cultivation only slightly, as pressure on the soil by dispossessed industrials and increased population have brought more dry land under the plough. The dry-land area cultivated has increased one-third; the irrigated area has doubled; wet produce, therefore, must be reckoned as 7 and dry as 5, or in other words 7-12ths of the revenue must be multiplied by 5 (twenty per cent. for wet lands) and 5-12ths by 6<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> (fifteen per cent. for dry land).

Gross land revenue in 1898-99: £3,358,832.

Divided, as in the previous instance :--

Dry Lands:	£1,399,902	×	63		 	£9,332,680
Wet Lands:	£1,959,902	×	5	=	 	9,799,510
			m.	tala		010 120 100
			10	)681S	 	£19,132,190

Explanation again is necessary. From the figures it would appear as if the gross land revenue of Madras in 1898-99 were £1,200,000 less than sixteen years before. It is not. The confusion arises from the 'choppings and changings' made in the official accounts and the seeming carelessness on the part of responsible officials to make

## EXPLANATIONS EVERYWHERE NECESSARY 561

statements square with one another. In No. 18 of the Statistical Abstracts the Madras revenue is put at £4.506.459; in No. 27 the same revenue is put at Rx.4,506,459. The average rate of exchange in 1882-83, to which both these statements refer, was 1s. 71d. per rupee. Rs.12 $\frac{1}{2} = \pounds 1$  sterling; consequently the sum was neither £4,506,459, as first stated, nor Rs.4,50,64,590, but £3,610,944! The pre-requisite to any thorough administrative reform in India is the reduction of all Indian figures since 1850 to one denomination, and their publication in that denomination. Otherwise comparison becomes misleading to a dangerous degree and the task of the Indian student is made almost impossible of accomplishment. It only needs that a start should be made on the right lines; this done it will be as easy to give the right figures as it now is to give the wrong.

Tested by the figures of 1882-83 the returns for 1889-90 appear to show a reduction of £252,112; the difference is accounted for by the difference in the sterling value of the rupee—as a Government coin, that is to say, as a token, not as a piece of silver representing the intrinsic value of the precious metal.

The non-agricultural income of the Presidency may be thus set forth :--

No.	Source of Income.			VALUE IN £ STERLING.
1.	Salt		•••	97,010
<b>2</b> .	Saltpetre			11,515
3.	Country-made Liquor (one-sixth)			3,333,333
4.	Fisheries (one-third)			600,000
5.	Clothing (village production one-	sixth)		750,000
6.	Forests (total income)			154,234
7.	Coir, and manufactures of			225,317
8.	Hides and Skins (one-fourth) .		***	1,975,660
9.	Cotton-piece goods (exported) .			540,543
10.	" Twist and Yarn (exporte	ed)	•••	117,562
11.	" Village production (one-	sixth)	•••	2,000,000
12.	Timber and Wood		•••	107,355

# PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

			VALUE IN £
No.	SOURCE OF INCO	ME.	STERLING.
13.	Live Animals (exported)		112,374
14.	Oils		613,163
15.	Flour Mills (one-twentieth)		′ 71,245
16.	Breweries		22,545
17.	Wool, Raw (nearly one-half	)	475,000
18.	Minerals : Quarry Stone	es Rs.55,000	)
	Granite	. 80,000	0
	Laterite	. 1,110,000	0
	Limestone	. 140,000	)
	Sandstone	. 90,000	0
	Slate	. 1,750	0
	Manganese	. 48,360	0
	Gold	. 16,490	)
			711,067
19.	Pottery of all kinds (one-six	th)	70,000
20.	Various Manufactories, etc.		100,000
21.	Tobacco Farms and Factor	ies (say three	e-
	fourths of whole of Ind	ia)	70,000
22.	Ploughs-repairs, etc. (one-	sixth) .	10,600
23.	Carts-new, repairs, etc. (or	ne-sixth) .	32,000
24.	Boats on Rivers and at Por	ts (one-fourth	a) $250,000$
25.	Cattle-increase in year (ov	er one-fourtl	1) 2,400,000
26.	Sundries, to cover omission	s	800,000
	Tomat		215 650 509
	TOTAL	• • • • •	

The combined totals of income from both sources show :---

Agricultural Income				£19,132,190
Add Coffee (value at port	of shipp	nent)		1,190,448
Non-agricultural Income			•••	15,650,523
			a de la dela de la dela dela dela dela d	£35,973,161
				the state of the s

Divide this sum, £35,973,161, by population, 38,208,000, the result is :---

## WE ARE DYING FOR LACK OF FOOD ' 565

## Eighteen Shillings and Tenpence per head per annum; or Rs.14 2a.—Five-Eighths of One Penny per day per person.

With such an average income available, if the whole sum be equally divided between thirty-five millions of people, the awful significance of such a narrative as that which follows becomes palpable to the most indifferent reader. 'Leaving out other questions,' writes the Rev. J. Knowles,<sup>1</sup> a missionary of long experience in Southern India, 'cannot we save millions from starvation? Now I do not think one out of a thousand of your readers has any idea how poor the poor in India really are. Let us look first at the question of food. Do these poor people, even under ordinary circumstances, get enough to eat? Here are two extracts from letters from missionaries I know, given in this month's *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*:—

"I think the most trying experience I ever had," writes the Rev. J. I. Macnair, of Cuddapah (January 13), "was a three weeks' tour in September of last year, in a part of the country where our people are specially poor, and where they have had no proper crops for several years. My tent was surrounded day and night, and one sentence dinned in my ears perpetually—' We are dying for lack of food.' We do not expect that the present year (1901) will be any improvement on the last. The famine will be only local, we hope, but it will be a time of terrible hardship."

So one missionary. Now for another and older missionary, the Rev. G. H. Macfarlane, who writes :---

"The grain which each householder is usually able to lay in store has this year been very meagre. It can serve only for a few weeks at most. After that comes the period of no work and gradual starvation. It is the tiding over this period—till June or July, when rain may

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Letter to the Manchester Guardian, March, 1901.

### 564 'PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

begin again-that is the difficulty. We cannot present harrowing tales of starvation and death as yet. But

## PEOPLE ARE LIVING ON ONE MEAL EVERY TWO OR THREE DAYS;

the poorer classes in India are always prepared for this. As one of our Christians said, 'If we can eat food once in two days, we will not ask for more.'"

'In my own missionary experience I once carefully investigated the earnings of a congregation of three hundred, and found the average amounted to

#### LESS THAN A FARTHING A HEAD PER DAY.

They did not live; they eked out an existence. 1 have been in huts where the people were living on carrion. I have taken photographs of famine groups which are enough for most people; yet in all these cases there was no recognised famine. Further, the salt tax alone amounts to between two and a half and five per cent. of the income of a labouring-class family; and the poorer the people are the worse is their food, and the more they crave for salt. Now, for nearly all these poor people the food is only a little rice or food grain, the bulk is less nourishing food. So it comes to pass that, living as they do, and that from hand to mouth, if they fail for a few days to work they have to face starvation, and when famine really comes it is ready to claim its millions as victims unless prompt and timely help is given.'

#### GRAVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN 1882-1900 565

#### THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

In the Note of 1882 the Bombay Presidency was described as having :---

Agricultural Produce valued	at	 £33,800, <b>000</b> ;
$\cdot$ or (Rs.12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> to the £)	• • •	 Rs.39,00,00,000.

Scarcely anything more startles the student of Indian Blue Books than the wide difference in the reports written concerning the condition of the people generally in 1876, the year before the great famine of 1877, and those written in 1881 and 1882 in obedience to Lord Dufferin's behest. In no instance is this more marked than in relation to the Bombay Presidency and the Panjab. The Bombay officials describe a state of things which would indicate that the good cotton times of ten years before the '77 famine still left the general cultivator in a position to do some justice to the soil, and, therefore, to reap good crops. One must suppose the crops described by the highest officials in the Presidency as being grown, in some considerable measure at least, were really reaped. If they were, then the decadence in the districts of this Presidency has, during the past thirty years, proceeded at a most terrific rate. The officials of that day, with food prices---

Rice 16 lbs. per rupes | Bajra. 36 lbs. per rupes ' Jowari 32, ., ., Nachni 82, ., ., .,

state that a Poona middling Maratha cultivator would require, and presumably would, in the way of daily food, have :---

<sup>1</sup> Condition of the Country and People of India,' Parliamentary Paper, p. 806. 'Articles required each month to make up the ordinary meals of a field cultivator and labourer in the Deccan and of a Kunbi in the Konkan.'

2. The Income of the People in 1901 , as stated by The Viceroy and by The Secretary of State, and as shown by close analytical examination of The country's condition. Amt. ner head of population Bombay Lord Curzon's and 199 Amt pir Lord G. Hamilton's head of Estimate Estimate. sopulation 3.0 ashillings SALLLINGS/ 0

# A MIDDLING MARATHA INCOME

No.	Name of Article	s.	Grown up Male a	and Fe	Worki male.	ng	Boy of Ten Years.		
			Weight.		Value		Weight.	Value.	
1. 2. 8.	Rice, second sor Jowari Bairi	t	1 lb. 1 lb.		a. p. 0 6 0 9		1 lb.	a. p. 0 6	
4.	Wheat								
5.	.Grain						~~		
6.	Ragi or Nachni								
7.	Ghi		-	1					
8.	Oil		180 gr.	1	01		90 gr.	0 01	
9.	Salt		400 gr.	ſ	01		180 gr.	0 0	
10.	Vegetables or P	ulse	about 4 oz	s.	0 8			01	
11.	Milk			1					
12.	Kokamb	]		1					
13.	Cocoanut Kerne	1	ł	ţ					
14.	Chilly Powder		1						
15.	Turmeric			1					
16.	Coriander		1: 075.	÷.	04			0 2	
17.	Jira	344	1, 011,	1		1		-	
18.	Assafoetida		}.				· · · ·		
19.	Onions			R.		- 1			
20.	Garlie		•						
21.	Salt Fish	···· )	1	ŧ		i			
22.	Jagri		0.0	t .	0.0	1	-		
23.	Fuel	•••	3 168.	1	0 3	1			
		- <b>-</b>	t	÷					
Tota	l per day			<b>2</b>	3		0	1 0	
Days	per month				30			30	
5			]	Rs.4	3	6	Rs.1	9 Õ	

That is to say, to sustain life, with some variety in food, and without reckoning clothes and other necessaries, there is needed for a family of four :---

				The second se	TRANSPORT OF THE	The second se	0-1-0-0	the second s	1000
		Total		Rs.126	4	0	£9	8	4
Young child	1		•••	6	4	0	_	8	4
Boy of ten	years			18	12	0	1	5	0
Mother				50	10	0	3	17	6
Father				50	10	0	3	17	6
				Rs.	Ω.	p.	£	s.	d.

or, say, Rs.31½ (£2 7s. 1d.) each. It will be seen later what the agricultural produce to-day in Bombay provides. Suffice it to say here that it provides nothing like Rs.31½ (£2 7s. 1d.) per head, nay, nor half that sum. Lord Curzon says the Bombay cultivator should be Rs.2 (2s. 8d.) per head better off in 1901 than he was in 1882, that is, his income should be Rs. $33\frac{1}{2}$  (£2 9s. 9d.), always assuming he could live as well now as it is described above he lived then.

For a Poona kunbi similar tables are given, as also for a kunbi of Kolhapur and for a kunbi of Ratnagiri. The totals in each case (same number of members of family) are :---

		Rs.	a.	p.		£	s.	d.
Poona: Kunbi	••	108	4	Õ	or	<b>5</b>	17	6
Kunbi of Kolhapur		108	4	0	,,	5	17	6
Kunbi of Ratnagiri	••	131	18	0	,,	6	12	1

The official responsible for the tables whence the above facts are gathered is Sir James Braithwaite Peile, K.C.S.I., now a member of the Council of India. In the course of the paper accompanying the tables Sir James Peile says: 'The incidence of the Government assessment on land has been ascertained by careful experiments to be less than one-sixth of the gross return on very ordinary cultivation. The new cash rents of the Bhaunagar State are about one-third of the gross produce, in some districts more, and yet the State is very flourishing. The zemindars of Alimedabad, after a few deductions, divide the entire gross produce with the tenants in equal shares, yet they have no difficulty in keeping their tenants. Of course the produce rent varies with the season, but if Rs.12, Rs.6, and 0 are taken as the produce in a good, a middling, and a bad, season of an acre assessed at Rs.1, the produce rent on the three years will be Rs.8, while Government assessment will be Rs.3-that is to say, the Government collection' ('assessment' means collection) 'is in the circumstances described more than one-third of the average gross produce and not one-sixth.'

Further passages in Sir James Peile's report show that the Bombay cultivator must have enjoyed halcyon days prior to the famine of 1877, though, as one remembers the total collapse of the Western Indian agriculturist during the famine and, in many cases, his inability even to the time of succeeding famines to right himself, one wonders whence all this prosperity departed ere the time of distress came.

The condition of the Bombay cultivator, according to the particulars garnered in 1888, has already been recorded in these pages. They show, indubitably, that, from one month to eight months in various districts, the land does not produce enough to maintain those who cultivate it. The reader, if he be following these illustrations and arguments with the interest incumbent upon him, may not unprofitably turn to pp. 451-458 before proceeding farther, and reperuse what is there set forth.

It may now be well to inquire what is the probable agricultural income of the Presidency at the present Towards the end of the decennial period, 1880-89, time. times were not good. Yet there had been a long series of more than average years of prosperity. Since then twelve years have passed; ninc of them have been bad years, involving, in some instances, the total loss of crops and of everything that could be turned into value, however triffing. Not only in the arid Deccan districts, but also in the rich Gujarat division, calamity upon calamity has fallen upon the people. How great the decline in production has become may be judged from a statement as to yield of wheat in the Presidency generally and in Sind. The particulars are available for wheat only among good grains, but what applies to this cereal, quantum valeat, will apply to other products of the Bombay fields; anyhow the responsible Government which gives one aspect which is detrimental, when understood, to itself, does not give the other aspects which, it may be supposed, would be favourable.

The estimated average yield per acre of wheat in

Bombay in 1896-97 was 575 lbs. The actual out-turn in tons, and from them reduced to  $lbs,^{r}$  was :--

YEAR.		LBS.	YEAR.	LBS.
1891 - 92		433	1896-97	 464
1892-93		524	1897-98	 756
1893-94		681	1898-99	 703
1894-95		618	1899-1900	 174
1895-96		440		
	AVEL	RAGE :	5322 lbs.	

How near these figures are to the actual facts and how utterly visionary is the Viceroy's complacent (but, in view of the consequences, wholly cruel) talk of an average yield of 740 lbs. of food grains to the acre, is proved by Sir James Peile. In his Note on Crop Experiments in the Bombay Presidency,<sup>2</sup> he says :—

'11. Mr. Wingate says of the produce of Juwar, "The favourable season of 1872-73 gives about 1,000 lbs. to the acre, but next year the failure is almost complete, and 1874-75 is, if anything worse." And, he infers, the failure was such as to drive the ryot to borrow money to pay his assessment.

'Turning to his table, I see the rates of production quoted are :---

1873-74	676, 212, 370, 376, lbs. per acre.
	AVERAGE : $408\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
1874-75	200, 133, 757, 640, 112, 240,
	240, 420, lbs. per acre.
	AVERAGE: $342\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.'

Sir James Peile goes on to make some remerks which must be quoted here because of their pertinency to the point involved, and which the reader is begged to bear in mind when the Central Provinces yields come before him. 'I see,' says Sir James,' the average produce assumed for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Agricultural Statistics of British India,' fifteenth issue, p. 371.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Condition of the Country and People of India,' Famine Blue Book 1881, p. 69.

# RYOTS' INDEBTEDNESS IN THE DECCAN 571

Juwar in the Central Provinces is in various districts, 300, 302, 322, 364, 400, 406, 435, 467, 480, 500, 582, 716, lbs. per acre. So that these 408 lbs. on 432 lbs. would be called an average rather than a complete failure. No doubt, however, the 1,000 lbs. rate is exceptional for the Deccan, and an average above 500 lbs. would not be safe.'

In Sind the average yield was put at 944 lbs. The actual out-turn in tons is here again reduced to lbs. :--

Year.	Lbs.	Year.	Lbs.
1891-92	 536	1896-97	 644
1892-93	 765	1897-98	 664
1893-94	 763	1898-99	 484
1894-95	 719	1899-1900	 435
1895-96	 508		

ACTUAL AVERAGE : 613<sup>1</sup><sub>9</sub> lbs.

It will be noted that in no single year was the officiallystated average reached by 179 lbs., and on the whole period the average decrease was 331 lbs. per acre. The average area under the cereal was about 500,000 acres each year. Consequently the diminished produce annually during this period in Sind amounted to 165,500,000 lbs., enough to support every able-bodied man in the Province fully three months on rations at 2 lbs. per day. And in Sind the cultivation was almost wholly on irrigated fields. Whence, then, the falling off in estimated yield of thirtythree per cent?

Further evidence, and this of a most startling character, must be pondered by the reader before we come to actual figures concerning the present agricultural income of Bombay.

First, the indebtedness of the ryots in the four Deccan districts with a population of nearly four millions. The average land revenue of the years 1885 to 1892 was Rs.57,17,000 (Rs.12 to the  $\pounds = \pounds 476,417$ ). During that period the average annual borrowing was Rs.53,70,000 ( $\pounds 447,500$ )! Thus —

Land Revenue.		Borrow	ing	Percentage of Bor- rowing to Revenue.		
Average for years	16 	£ 476,417	Average for 1 years	6	£ 447,500	98

On the basis of these figures, says a most able author <sup>1</sup> of a 'Note on Agriculture in Bombay' in the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, October, 1894. 'the rvots' annual debts in the Presidency may be estimated at Rs.2,50,00,000 (£1,666,667), and taking the average ratio of interest on secured debts at twelve per cent., their annual interest payment on account of annual debts come to Rs.30,00,000 (£200,000). Nor is this all. The pressure of old debts is excessive. On the basis of Mr. Woodburn's figures of nine districts, giving, on an average, Rs.28 (£2 6s. 8d.) per head of the population, the total of such debt for the whole Presidency might be put at about Rs.45,00,00,000 (£30,000,000), on which the annual interest charge at twelve per cent. amounts to Rs.5,40,00,000  $(\pounds4.500.000).$ On Mr. Woodburn's data it is Rs.5,60,00,000 (£4,666,666).'

It is in the presence of such a calamitous state of things nine years ago, with two severe famines in the interim, that the Bombay Government think to restore prosperity to the people by reducing the security which can be given by a landowner to the moneylender for his accommodation in times of disaster. To stroke a hillside in Assam for the purpose of soothing the land during an earthquake is on a par with the production of such a remedy for such an evil.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The editor of the journal says: 'This note, written by Mr. G. V. Joshi, B.A., Headmaster, Sholapore High School, and read at the Industrial Conference on the 14th of September, 1894, has been kindly placed at our disposal.' The remarks which immediately follow will be found in their appropriate place in a citation which appears on pp. 847-353.

<sup>2</sup> When the Bill referred to passed its most critical stage seven out of the nine quasi-elected Indian members of the Bombay Legislative Council withdrew from the assembly—wisely as I hold—as a protest against the Government's refusal to agree to eight months' adjournment to allow of full consideration of its proposals. At the end of this section I quote some passages from the Presidential address at the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Satara on the 12th and 13th of May, 1900. It would repay the careful reader at once to turn to the Appendix and read the Hon. Mr. Goculdas Parekh's remarks before proceeding farther.

With the above facts in evidence it would not be safe to reckon for the present day an average gross yield of more than the Rs.9 (12s.) per acre which Sir James Peile stated long ago had been accepted as a fair average, though he discards it for a higher sum. Thus regarded :---

The agricultural income of the Bombay Presidency for 1898-99 amounted to 27,018,913 acres  $\times$  Rs.9 = Rs.24,31,70,217, or, in £ sterling, £16,211,348.

Produce	(alleged) in 1882	Rs.39,00,00,000
,,	computed for 1898-99	24,31,70,217
	DIFFERENCE, being	Rs.14,68,29,783
	Or. £9.788.652	

And yet the Viceroy, comparing the two years, declares from his place in Council at Calcutta there was a gain of Rs.2 (2s. 8d.) per head by the agricultural population! In favour of the general accuracy of the present calculation is the circumstance that the Rs.4,71,64,970 which the Bombay Government have collected, bears a smaller proportion to the whole produce, namely, one-fifth, than the less than one-third which Sir James Peile allowed on the produce rental.

The agricultural income thus failing to support the assertions that Indian well-being is not lapsing, Bombay occupying a special position in this respect, the nonagricultural income will probably help to redress the balance. We will see.

# 574 'PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

An examination of the sources of the non-agricultural income reveals the following :---

			-			VALUE IN
No.	(L)	SOURCE 0	F INCOMI	5.		£ STERLING.
1.	Balt		•••	•••	•••	69,074
2.	Forests			7 m.e.	1.00	20,605
3.	Mines and Quar	ries	•••	•••		
4.	Cotton Twist a	nd Yar	n, and			
	manufactured	goods	, say:			
	Cotton Mills	(127)			£	
	Twist and Yarn			4,170	0,762	
	Manufactures,	300,6	647,593			
	yards at 4	as. (4d	l.) per			
	yard			5,00	1,792	
	Village manufac	ture, sa	y one-			
	tenth of £4,68	36,294		463	3,629	
						9,639,183
5.	Fisheries-one-t	hird of	£1,930,	140, sa	ау	650,000
6.	Country-made lie	juor, or	e-fifth o	of total	, say	4,000,000
7.	Apparel		•••			54,486
8.	Cabinet-ware an	d Furni	iture			16,579
9.	Coir: manufactu	ires				5,612
10.	Tobacco		•••			33,607
11.	Dyeing and Tan	ning M	aterials			301,074
12.	Hides and Skins					691,367
13.	Horns			***		64,166
14.	Jewelry and Plat	te (half	of expo	rt)		8,617
15.	Animal Bone M	anure				194,043
16.	Oils		•••			44,630
17.	Silk (manufactur	red)		•••		12,107
18.	Wood (teak and	sandal)				26,433
19.	Wool: raw			. £48	2,956	
	" manufaci	ures .		7	5,072	•
						558,028
20.	Articles (not sp	ecified)	export	ed by	post,	
	one-fourth					40,306
21.	" (not en	umerat	ed), one	-fourt	h	141,269
22.	Potteries (village	manufa	ctures a	and oth	iers),	
	one-seventh					53,571

## BOMBAY'S MANUFACTURING 'PULL-UP' 575

No.	Source of Income.	VALUE IN & STERLING.
23.	Shipping and Boat Repairs (one-third)	333,333
24.	Printing Presses (including newspapers)	62,500
25.	Paper Mills	2,616
26.	Breweries	23,534
27.	Flour Mills, 24 out of 103 (say one-fourth)	1,068,690
28.	Iron and Brass Foundries ( ,, ,, )	120,000
29.	Mineral and Aerated Waters	11,000
30.	Oil mills	26,000
31.	Ploughs-repairs, etc	38,000
32.	Carts: making new ones and repairing old	31,550
33.	Yearly increase of cattle (the records show	
	decrease in 1898-99, but for normal year, reckon one-eighth of general	
	increase, probably an over-estimate)	1,128,892
34.	Sundries, to cover small sources of income	
	and overlooked sources	625,000
	Total	20,065,872

The totals of agricultural and non-agricultural are :---

Agricultural Income				£16,211,348
Non-agricultural Income		•···	•••	20,065,872
Combi	ned T	otals	•••	£36,277,220

Here the non-agricultural exceeds the agricultural income by about twenty-five per cent.; probably £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 are too generously credited to Bombay, the produce being merely Bombay's as Bombay is one of the two great gates of India. Besides, I have reckoned the full value of Mill productions, when strictness should have led me to credit only the value given by manipulation to raw material. The big Mill industry, not only in the chief city, but in many other parts of the Presidency, accounts for the comparatively large figures. Further, much of the income thus shown belongs to wealthy

#### 576 PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

bankers and others whose homes are in the Feudatory States. So good a result is shown in spite of the badness of trade throughout the whole region governed from Bombay Castle.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>1</sup> How bad the trade was may be judged from the following remarks which appear in the latest Administrative Report of the Presidency :—

'The chief industries other than agriculture in the Bombay Presidency, namely, the cotton mill industry, the manufacture of salt and the distillation of liquor, are dealt with elsewhere. The remaining industries are of local importance only, and the majority of them declined considerably in the unfavourable circumstances of the year. The cream and butter industry in Ahmedabad and Kaira suffered severely owing to the great mortality among cattle in consequence of the fodder famine. From the latter place the output of cream was less than half that of the previous year. The iron and brass foundry at Nadiad was closed throughout the year. Broach cotton is reported to be losing its reputation by adulteration with inferior local products, and the Surat cotton industry declined owing to the closure of the South African market. Surat is, however, noted for the manufactures of gold and silver thread work and of shoes, of which the latter is one of the very few industries in the Presidency that advanced in the year of report. A factory for the preparation of agave fibre commenced work in the Thana District, but the business is still in its infancy. The Thana silk industry has finally succumbed to the machine-made goods of Bombay. The brewery, paper mill, and silk mill at Poona continued to do a large business, but the sugar refinery was not so successful and only worked spasmodically during the year. The evacuation of the town of Sholapore owing to plague, together with the influence of famine, reduced the weavers of that place to such a condition that relief was administered by Government in the form of work suitable to their craft. Similar assistance was granted also to weavers in Khandesh. Beyond the industrial schools under the charge of missionaries which continued to turn out good work, the industries of Ahmednagar are of little account. The silver-ware industry is languishing and exists principally by occasional European patronage. The hand-weaving industry of Bijápur, which suffered in the outbreak of plague in the previous year, made no recovery during the year of report. In Belgaum the Gokák water mills were stopped for want of water. Dhárwár had a bone mill, a distillery, and two oil mills working during the year, but the carpet industry showed a further decline. The cloth embroidery done by the desert women of Thár and Párkar, which is becoming known to Europeans, commands a ready sale and is beginning to be exported. Elsewhere in Sind the manufactures were confined to cloths, carpets, and the ordinary metal and earthen ware. A considerable business in the adulteration of ghi and the manufacture of initation ghi is reported from Shikarpur, the ingredients used being kopra oil, turmeric and lime. Efforts are, however, being made by the introduction of the Adulteration Act and the co-operation of local bodies to put down the industry which had been stimulated by the high prices of the year.'-Bombay Administrative Report, 1899-1900, pp. 91-92.

#### THE AVERAGE INCOME IN BOMBAY 577

Compared with the statement made in 1882 the figures work out thus :---

1882.	1899-1900.
£37,333,333	£35,978,220

An apparent decrease of £1,355,113.

#### 

Here the Rs.27 of 1882 are passed, owing to the exceptional character of the non-agricultural income and the comparatively small number of inhabitants. But the prosperity is wholly in spots, and affects only a comparatively small number of people. As to the agriculturist, in spite of the perennial water supply in Sind, instead of being Rs.2 better off in 1901 than he was in 1882, qua agriculturist, he was Rs.5 14a. worse off. This is precisely what the caustic analysis of the position of the Bombay agriculturist by "J." in the Times of India would lead one to expect. Side by side with industrial progress in Bombay and Ahmedabad the agriculturist is sinking lower and lower in the economic and social scale.

The Income of the People in 1901, as stated by the Viceroy and by the Secretary of State, and as shown by close analytical examination of the country's condition. Australians E00 stillings to Lord Curson's and Lord G. Hamilton's Estimate 10 Amount per head of population <u>F1384</u> shillings shillings 10

# A LEGEND ABOUT THE N.-W. PROVINCES 579

## THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

A legend has gained currency, and has taken deep root in the minds of some critics of British administration. that the Upper Provinces of Bengal (as they were once styled) and the ex-Kingdom of Oudh rank higher in prosperity than any other part of India. There are, on the face of things, reasons for such a belief. The whole region is fairly well watered, while the Ganges Canal renders a vast area independent of the seasons. As a part of the legend the excellence of the land assessment finds strenuous support, even amongst those who assail the land assessment throughout India generally. It is true that the support is based on (alleged) comparative betterness-the least bad among great communities where the assessments are all beyond the ability of the cultivator to bear, save as a crushing burden. The Provinces are comparatively, and not positively, prosperous :- that is all. I am bound to confess my own researches do not lead me to a community of views with the apologists for these Provinces. I attentively examine the evidence procured and subsequently produced by the officials who were instructed to inquire into the truth or otherwise of certain alleged statements concerning the condition of the Indian people. It may not be supposed that these officers deliberately selected the worst districts and the most hardly-tried cultivators as the objects of their inquiry. Rather must it be supposed that they acted with full candour, impartially took what came. and honestly told all the facts. What are those facts? For full details the reader is referred to the analysis

contained in pp. 382-432 in Chapter X. Here I will simply remark that, again and again in the case of individual cultivators, a rent, is taken here, as in other parts of the Empire, which approximates almost to the entire proceeds of the land cultivated. Of this rent one-half goes to the Government, the other half to the landowner. Time after time the return for the land under cultivation comes to only Rs.3 to Rs.4 per acre, or as in the case of one cultivator who himself farmed fifteen acres (out of twenty he held and sublet five acres at the same rental he was paying), and for his fifteen acres received, less than one rupee and a quarter (1s. 8d.) in produce for each acre. An examination of the evidence will show the interested reader that such cases are neither few nor far between. In the case of the villages dealt with as a whole, while the general returns are a great deal better than the instance just mentioned, enough of produce is not raised (after the double rent has been paid) to more than half or two-thirds feed the cultivators. Even where from five and a half acres the Autumn harvest yielded Rs.129 8a. (£8 12s.), and the Spring harvest Rs.84 5a. (£5 13s.), after rent was paid and cultivation expenses were met, only Rs.101 (14s.) per head were left for food and clothing and all other needs for a whole year. This, too, was irrigated land. In the very next example given in the book the produce of seventeen acres are stated to reach Rs.318 (£21 4s.), while the rent amounted to Rs.306 (£20 8s.), and the Reporter says the rent is paid every year. With such examples, if the system in the North-Western Provinces be-next to Bengal 'Permanency'-the best in India, how bad must be the remainder!

However, the particulars given above are thirteen years old. Has there, in the meantime, been any improvement in the yield of the land in these regions? A nine years' average in the only cereal concerning which particulars are afforded to the Indian student may help us to a judgment. The average yield of wheat in these Upper Provinces and the ex-Kingdom ranges from 1,440 lbs. per acre on irrigated land in Dehra Dun to 440 lbs. on unirrigated land in Fatehpur. About twenty-seven per cent. of the whole cultivated area is irrigated, and the average yield is recorded :--

For	irrigated land	•••	•••	980	lbs.
,,	unirrigated land	L		803	,,
,,	both	•••		890	,,

As has just been stated, more than one-fourth of the whole cultivated area is under wheat. That cereal, therefore, furnishes an excellent test of the yield generally. The Government estimate of wheat, year in and year out (for all deductions on account of bad seasons, insect plagues, and troubles of all sorts, are supposed to have been taken into consideration), is that 890 lbs. per acre will be produced; 3,483,287 acres are irrigated, and, therefore, are beyond mischance. Once more, as in every preceding instance, the estimate and the out-turn differ, the estimate being considerably higher than the out-turn.

#### ACTUAL OUT-TURN.

Year.	Lbs.	I	Year.		Lbs.
1891 - 92	 762		1896 - 97		860
1892 - 93	 877		1897 - 98		881
1893 - 94	 677		1898-99		840
1894 - 95	 555	1	1899-1900		910
1895-96	 712	1			
	Average		786 lbs.		
	Estimate		890 lbs.		
	Minus		104 lbs. per	r acre	

Only in two years did the area under consideration fall below an average of 4,600,000 acres. The difference between the expectation and the realisation, at 2 lbs. per day, represented full rations for nine millions of ablebodied men for nearly eight weeks. Only in one year out of the nine was the average exceeded. Working on the

basis of the Bombay and Sind yields-if Rs.9 were considered a fair average value per acre, largely in view of the recent famines, which have been most destructive in Bombay; considering, further, the evidence available as to actual yield in 1881-82, as officially reported, and the additional fact that the soil cannot in the meanwhile have increased its yield-it will not be unfair to these Provinces and the ex-Kingdom to put the yield all round at Rs.10 per acre. With the evidence of actual out-turn before me I dare not give a higher figure. In the days when famines were few in the land-that is within the memory of men little past middle age-and eagerness was exhibited to discern what it all meant, that there should be famine in the land, as ants are eager when their nest is partly destroyed, much official literature was produced. Among other matters put forward Sir James Peile, in his 'Note on the Economic Condition of the Agricultural Population of India,' submitted sample transactions of ordinary agriculturists. Two of these were from the North-Western Provinces. They showed average receipts per acre of Rs.6 (8s.) and Rs.137 (18s.) respectively. The three other farms selected gave Rs.8 (10s. 8d.), Rs.3 (4s.), and Rs.11 (14s. 8d.) each. [It is interesting to note that the details show the value of the produce to be in direct proportion to the amount spent on cultivation.] Taking, therefore, Rs.10 (13s. 4d.) per acre to represent the value of the produce-

The agricultural income would be Rs.6,63,71,350  $\times$  10 = Rs.66,37,13,500 (or in sterling) £44,247,567.

These results are the nearest approach to the agricultural figures of 1882 that the investigations have yet yielded. Even then the deduction is by so much as Rs.5,37,86,500 ( $\pounds$ 3,585,770), a decrease of one-twelfth, and nearly the whole rental acknowledged as received by Government. Clearly it is not in these old-time Provinces of Britain in India, and in the ancient Kingdom tacked on to them for administrative purposes, that Lord Curzon will get any help towards the additional Rs.2 (2s. 8d. extra) which each agriculturist is said to now receive. If not here, where irrigation plays so large a part, nor in Bengal, the land of abundant rainfall, where is alleged increase to be found?

Possibly the non-agricultural income may serve to redress the balance. Lord Cromer and Sir David Barbour estimated this at £23,916,667 (Rs.35,87,50,000).

							VALUE IN
No.		SOURCE	OF INC	COME.			£ STRELING.
1.	Forest Rec	eipts					106,221
2.	Mines and	Quarrie	es		191		4,782
3.	Hides and	Skins	•••				1,008,146
4.	Shellac						314,824
5.	Ghi	•••	•••	and the		•••	640,114
6.	Saltpetre	••••	***			•••	137,373
7.	Animals (n	et expo	rt, 31,	545 at ]	Rs.50 e	ach)	104,817
8.	Salt (unde	r 'Nort	hern '	India	the Pa	njab	
	mines,	and Ma	andi,	Kohat,	Nuh,	and	
	Sultanpu	ir worl	are are	all 1	umped	to-	
	gether);	includ	ing 4	9,74,88	39 mai	unds	
	from Ra	ajputan	a Sta	tes, th	e whol	e is	
	7,916,98	0 maun	ds; a	fter de	ducting	the	
	Rajputat	na amo	unt,	two-thi	irds of	the	
	remaind	er are	credit	ed to	the No	orth-	
	Western	Provi	aces,	and or	ne-third	l to	
	the Pan	jab					255,962
9.	Fisheries ()	River), s	say on	e-tenth	ı		193,014
10.	Country-ma	ade lique	or (por	ulation	, one-f	ifth,	
	no man	nufactur	res,	say on	e-sixth	of	
	£20,000,	(000)		·			3,333,333
11.	Cotton man	nufactu	red in	villag	es, one-	fifth	
	of total			0			927,258
12.	Cotton ditt	o in Cot	ton N	lills, sa	y		315,403
13.	Woollen M	ills					80,473
14.	Paper Mills	3					33,520
15.	Breweries	(6)					816,996
16.	Limestone						15.467

## 584 'PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA

No.	SOURCE OF INCOM	Œ.		1	CALUE IN E STERLING.
17.	Sandstone				417,529
18,	Flour Mills				203,581
19.	Lac (44 Factories)				193,643
20.	Mineral and Aerated Wate	$\mathbf{ers}$			10,000
21.	Minor Manufactories	•••			50,000
22.	Ploughs-repairs, renewal	ls, etc	. (one-	fifth)	11,000
23.	Carts, do. (one-sixth)				32,000
24.	Cattle, yearly increase of				2,250,000
25.	Pottery (in villages)				70,000
26.	Sundries, to cover small	and	overlo	oked	
	sources of income	•••			750,000
	Tota	al		£	12,275,456

The totals from Agricultural and non-Agricultural income are :---

Agricultural Income			£44,247,567
Non-Agricultural Incon	•••	12,275,456	
Г	otal		£56,523,023

Here the non-agricultural income, instead of being one-half of the agricultural, is only one-fourth. On the basis of the figures of 1882, these Provinces and the ex-Kingdom have fallen off greatly :---

Estimate in 1882 (both s	ources)	•••	£71,750,009
Actuals in 1899-1900	,,		56,523,023
DIMINUTI	ON .		£15,226,986

Whether this sum represents a falling-off since the earlier year, or an exaggerated estimate then, this much is apparent that, instead of there being Rs.2 additional for the agriculturist, and Rs.1 to the non-agriculturist, as Lord Curzon, on the information given to him, declared there was, there is a considerable reduction in both instances. The reduction is so much as Rs.5 10a. (7s. 6d.) per head. Reckoning sustenance at one penny per person per diem, the minus sum represents food for forty-seven millions of people (the whole population of this part of India) for nearly twelve weeks. Even with the progress he believed he was in a position to report the Viceroy deprecated the 'advance' as giving little occasion for congratulation; it was nothing at all to boast of; he said he regarded it as little enough at the best. His Excellency was speaking more truly than he knew. What is to be said should it be found, as I am confident it will, that my statements are as near to accuracy as the available information permits?

The total income works out :---

## £1 3s. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. per head per annum, or Rs.18 0a. 3p.

The Income of the People in 1901, as stated by the Vicency and by the Secretary of State, and as shown by close analytical examination of the country's condition Panjab. Ant. per head of population Lord Cueson's sind Gord 4. Hamilton's Estimate. Amount per head 20 of population. Ossillings shelling (0

## THE PANJAB.

With such a plenitude of water as the name indicates (" the Five Rivers "), and the fact that fifty per cent. of the cultivated area is under irrigation, t combined with the peace and security of British rule, marked prosperity should be the chief feature of this Lieutenant-Governorship if of any part of the Empire. Before, however. prosperity could come to the people, we had, within twenty years of our assuming possession of Ranjit Singh's dominions, to undo much ill that we had wrought. Everywhere we too highly assessed the territories over which we assumed sovereignty, and so laid a burden upon the shoulders of the people which was too great to be borne. One of our achievements in this region was. if not the actual introduction of the moneylender to, certainly his becoming the dominant factor in, village life. There was no general indebtedness in any village before 1871, says a high authority on this subject. The same gentleman has remarked : 'The indebtedness of a large proportion of the Marwats is due, I think,' wrote Mr. S. S. Thorburn,<sup>2</sup> of the Indian Civil Service in 1878, 'chiefly to over-assessment and the rigidity of our revenue system, but there is also no doubt that, without any assessment at all, in bad years or famine cycles, debts would be incurred, and some old peasant proprietors would have to sell or mortgage their holdings. In this settlement the over-assessed villages have received substantial reduction, but Government still owes them reparation for the great injury of having for the twenty-two preceding years rack-rented them, so to say; and, as the rigid revenue system remains, the district officer is under

<sup>2</sup> ' Condition of the Country and People of India,' p. 246.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; 'Admin. Report, 1899-1900,' p. 131.

an obligation to work the rules sanctioned for suspension and remissions with a wise liberality.'

Of a village in the Muzaffargarh district, it is said: 'In this village there are 164 cultivators; of these only one (Daulat) is not in debt; all the others are involved more or less.'<sup>I</sup> In the next village discussed 'there are 110 cultivators; only seven are free from debt.' Of one (comparatively) large farmer's operations it is remarked: 'There has been no surplus for the last ten years.'<sup>2</sup> Again, 'Rent rates are so high that, with one or two exceptions, all the tenants are largely in debt.'<sup>3</sup> Of another, after recording the yield of a good year, and reckoning the earnings of 'two men of the family who work as labourers for others,' it is stated: 'Deficiency of Rs.15, hence debt.' In the tabulated particulars of the same family is this significantly grim statement:—

> 'Property. 'Rs.200 in debt. No grain or property.'4

In another instance, after deducting the rent, ' which is one-third of the produce in Jatpura,' the cultivator's expenses were Rs.139 8a., or Rs.27 10a. above his income. This amount he borrowed without any deed being written 'at twenty-four per cent.' 5 Of a farmer of forty-six acres it is said : 'The women's jewels are not valued at more than Rs.10' (13s. 4d.); 'there is no store of grain. After paying the interest on the debts the family have no surplus income.' 6 One more instance and this page may be closed. Family: man, wife, four sons. Cultivator. 'The house consists of one thatched room. All the household property-it was only a charpai and brass dish-has been sold: there remains a hookah and some earthen pots. Has two bullocks and a she-goat. The wife has no ornaments. The children have no clothes. They have no store of grain.'7 In winter time the climate is inclement: the

<sup>1</sup> 'Condition of Country and People of India,' p. 249. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 250. <sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 254. <sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 254-55. <sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 259. <sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 260. <sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 262.

## SELECTED REVENUE AVERAGE JUSTIFIED 589

body needs the sustenance of a sufficiency of good food and the protection of warm clothing. These people had neither. As to wasting money on 'tamashas,' it is said of a cultivator of seven acres, 'the only festival he can remember of late years was the birth of his firstborn, when he spent thirty shillings in making merry.'

The details elsewhere given <sup>1</sup> indicate with much clearness that the condition of the Panjab agriculturist has not improved in the interval since the Great and Secret Inquisition met in 1887-88. The recent passing of a law for this region, interfering with the rights of property, is proof, if further proof were needed, of this fact.

The condition of the cultivators to-day may be judged by the report of Mr. Thorburn on Indebtedness of the Landed Classes, which has already been freely used by me.

The two incomes of the Province may now be dealt with. In 1882 it was alleged that the

> Agricultural income was Rs.34,15,00,000, or (Rs.121 to the £1) was £29,822,485.<sup>2</sup>

It is asserted that the rental is but ten per cent. of the total produce. But with instances given in foregoing pages of thirty-three per cent. it is idle to deal with a mere tithe in ascertaining the true proportions of the impost. If I regarded twenty per cent. all round, I should probably be near the mark; I will, however, content myself with fifteen per cent.

Confirmation of the percentage I have selected with which to multiply the produce, namely, fifteen per cent., is to be found in particulars given in 1878 concerning the last preceding statement. These particulars are as follow :---

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 295-805, ante.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> At Rs.15 per £, the present standard, the value would be £26,700,000.

Division.		District.		Share of the gross produce which the Assessment, when made, wass in- tended to cover so far as can be stated.'		
Delhi		Delhi		One-sixth		
		Gurgaon	***	27 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1		
		Karnal		Not stated		
Hissar		Robtak		One-sixth		
		Sires		Not stated		
IImballa		Ilmhalla		NOT BLAUED		
Omballa		Ludhiana		"		
		Simla		"		
Jullandur		Jullundur		One-fourth c		
oundiduu		Hoshianur		010104144		
		Kangra		Not stated		
Amritsar		Amritsar		One-sixth		
		Sialkot				
		Gurdaspur		**		
Lahore		Lahore				
		Ferozepore		Not stated		
		Gujranwala		One-sixth		
Rawalpindi		Rawalpindi	••••	Not stated—perhaps		
				one-sixth		
		Jhelum		Not stated		
		Gujrat		One-sixth		
15.1		Shahpur		Not stated		
Mooltan		Mooltan		One-eighth		
		Jnang		One-tenth		
		Montgomery		One-sixth (?)		
Demist		Dora Tamail K	han	Variog generally from		
Derajat		Dera Isman K	1.0011	valles generally nom		
		)		tonth		
		Dora Ghazi Ki	nan	One-eighth		
		Bannu	1011	One-twelfth		
Peshawar		Peshawar		Irrigated land-one-		
L Colla Wal		1 Collawal		sixth r		
				Unirrigated land -		
				one-twelfth		
		Kohat	•••	Irrigated land-one-		
				Unirrigated land -		
				one-eighth		
		Hazara	•••	Less than one-sixth		

'Condition of the Country and People of India,' p. 336.

If the 'share of Gross Produce' under the assessment was intended to cover' rates from twenty-five per cent. to eight and one-third per cent., this at least is certain: The revenue collected represents the respective percentages. In this one thing the revenue official does not fail the Sirkar which appoints him. When the 'guess' of 1882 was made the above facts were in existence: how came they to be wanting when material upon which to express a judgment was obtained? The mischief which has been done to country and to people by the inflated statements which were then made, which are added to and confidently repeated, who shall tell?

Before applying this percentage it may be well to show here, as in the other Provinces, that over-estimation of the yield is a prevalent vice of the authorities. In 1896-97 the estimated production of wheat for most of the districts is carefully set out: the averages range from 1,280 lbs. (irrigated) in Jullundur,<sup>4</sup> to 560 lbs. (unirrigated) in Sialkot. Half the acreage in Jullundur is 'well' irrigated. The averages for the whole Province were:—

Irrigated		 	 	917	lbs.
Unirrigat	ted	 	 	576	,,
Both		 	 	728	••

After the crops were grown these were estimated as results :--

YEAR.	1	YIELD PER AC.	ACRES.	
1891-92		526 lbs.		6,224,000
1892-93		708 "		7,020,000
1893-94		717 ,,		8,265,000
1894-95		670 ,,		8,051,800

<sup>1</sup> That Jullundur is one of the most fertile of the districts, indeed reckons itself primus in Indis, is amusingly shown in Mr. Kipling's novel, 'Kim':---

"They are all alike, these jats," said Kim softly. The jat stood on his dunghill and the king's elephants went by. "O driver," says he, "what will you sell those little donkeys for?"

"The jat burst into a roar of laughter, stifled in apologies to the lama. "It is the saying of my own country-the very talk of it."