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# ENGLAND AND INDIA

# ENGLAND AND INDIA

A RECORD OF PROGRESS DURING  
A HUNDRED YEARS

1785—1885

BY

ROMESH C. DUTT, I.C.S., C.I.E.

LATE OFFICIATING COMMISSIONER OF ORISSA, AND SUPERINTENDENT OF  
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## PREFACE

THE present year has been a year of rejoicing all over the British Empire in all parts of the globe ; in India it has been the most disastrous year since the country passed under British rule. A severe plague has all but depopulated the great cities of one province ; a destructive earthquake has ruined the towns and villages of another ; and a famine, the most widespread in its area ever known in India, has desolated the country from one extremity to the other.

But the famine of 1897 is only one of a series of such calamities which have visited India almost periodically, within the present century. Famines are a thing of the past in Western Europe ; in India every generation, every period of twenty years, has its tale of distress to tell. The year of the accession of the Queen was marked by a severe famine which desolated Northern India, and counted its victims by the million. The year of the Indian Mutiny was the commencement of the next twenty years, marked by three great famines—the famines of the North-West, of Orissa, and of Behar. The year in which the Queen assumed the title of the Empress of India was the year of a more terrible famine in Madras, which swept away five millions of the people of Southern India. And the year of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee has, unfortunately, been

marked in India by another widespread famine which embraces the greater part of India within its sphere, and which, in spite of relief operations, is likely to count its victims by the million. The years 1837, 1857, 1877, and 1897 are sad landmarks in the modern history of India—landmarks not of progress and prosperity, but of desolation and disasters.

Englishmen will not contemplate these facts with complaisance. It is not gratifying to know that a country, possessing a rich and fertile soil, and a frugal and industrious population, is still subject to recurring famines after a century and a half of British rule. It is not pleasant to learn that, after an uninterrupted peace of forty years, the people of India show no signs of increasing prosperity and greater security from distress. And it is sad to contemplate that, in spite of a civilized administration, of the construction of railways and canals, of the vast extension of cultivation, and of the prosperity of foreign trade, India is still periodically desolated by calamities such as are unknown in Europe.

The great famine in Bengal of 1770 aroused the attention of Englishmen to the defects of the East India Company's administration in the last century, and was followed by the Regulating Act in 1774, by Pitt's India Act in 1784, and by Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement of Bengal in 1793. Unless we are greatly mistaken, the sad events of the present year will once more direct the attention of Englishmen to Indian affairs, and will lead to reforms which are urgently needed. Under the Company's rule, the renewal of the Charter every twenty years was an occasion for an inquiry into Indian affairs. We have lost the salutary effect of those periodical inquiries now, and the direct administration of India by the Crown has, along with



many great and obvious advantages, this one disadvantage—that the administration is virtually responsible to none. But although the periodical inquiries into Indian administration have unfortunately been discontinued, recent events are directing the attention of Englishmen to Indian affairs, and will before long require some investigation into the condition of the Indian people. Thoughtful men will ask themselves if the recurrence of destructive famines, five times within the forty years of the direct government of India by the Crown, indicates the normal state of a rich and fertile country; and if the death of eight or ten millions of human beings from starvation, within this period, indicates the normal condition of an industrial and frugal population living in uninterrupted peace. These are questions which will require some definite inquiry and some definite answer.

And if an impartial inquiry be made into these matters, as it must sooner or later, it will be found that the present administration of India, honest and able as it undoubtedly is, has drifted into some serious blunders. And the worst of these blunders is its inordinate expenditure, which is impoverishing the people, and making them defenceless against droughts and famines. It will be found that the continuous increase of the State-demand from the produce of the soil, which is virtually the only means of subsistence for the mass of the people in India, is making them incapable of saving in good years, and resourceless in bad years. It will be found that the imperial policy of England in the east, to secure a 'scientific frontier,' and to maintain an adequate army against Russia at the cost of India, is exhausting that rich and fertile country. It will be found that a system of almost unlimited borrowing of English capital, and of increasing the public debt of

India in times of peace, drains the resources of the country for the payment of the interest in gold. And it will be found that the non-representation of the views and opinions of the people in the administration of the country makes it weak and uninformed in essential matters, wanting in touch with the people, and ignorant of the real condition and even the real poverty of the voiceless millions.

'It is an inherent condition of human affairs,' says John Stuart Mill in his work on 'Representative Government,' 'that no intention, however sincere, of protecting the interests of others, can make it safe or salutary to tie up their own hands.' And the events of the last forty years prove that it is necessary, in order to protect the vital interests of the people of India, to give them some voice in the administration of their own affairs, and to concede to them some form of representation such as it is safe and wise and practicable to concede in India. Different classes of British manufacturers and merchants, capitalists and planters, have the means to press their demands on the Indian Government for the remission of particular duties, or the construction of new lines of railway, for the maintenance of special labour laws, or for accelerating or retarding reforms in civil or criminal laws; and the Government of India has, not unoften, shaped its acts in furtherance of the interests of such classes. The people of India have no such means to press their demands even for necessary and reasonable reforms; they have no constitutional methods for expressing their wishes or explaining their views; and their interests are not adequately protected, because they are not constitutionally represented. Instances in which the interests of the people have suffered in the past, because not duly represented, can be cited without number; nor is it possible to ade-

quately safeguard their interests in the future unless they be represented in some manner in the Government of their country. 'By their own hands only,' continues Mill, 'can any positive and durable improvement of their circumstances in life be worked out;' and the time is near when Englishmen will see it fit and desirable to allow to the people of India some voice and some power, duly guarded, in improving their circumstances in life.

A brief retrospect of the past history of India on such an occasion as this may enable us to understand Indian problems, and may help the cause of reform; for the history of British rule in India has been a history of reforms in the past, and justifies the hope for reforms in the future. The forlorn pessimism which recognises no progress in Indian administration in the past is both foolish and false; while the conventional optimism which shrinks from any reforms in Indian administration in the future is equally silly and hurtful. The problems before us at the present moment are momentous and serious, and, in order to face those problems with an unbiased mind, we must honestly and gratefully recognise the progress which has been effected in the past, and earnestly and hopefully strive after needed reforms in the future. As an Indian who has carefully studied the history of his country during the present century, who has witnessed the great events which have taken place in India during the last forty years, and who has taken his humble share in the work of Indian administration during a quarter of a century, the writer of these pages has honestly endeavoured to place the real needs of his country and the views of his countrymen before the British public.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the present little work is not meant to be a review of the general history of India, but is rather a review of reforms and popular

progress in India in the past, and a forecast of the reforms needed in the future. I have not attempted to narrate in detail the story of wars and conquests, of military triumphs and annexations. The triumphs of peace effected by such rulers as Cornwallis and Bentinck, Munro and Elphinstone, Canning and Ripon, are more relevant to my purpose, and have been narrated more fully, because they have an abiding influence in benefiting and elevating my countrymen. And behind the work of these great and gifted rulers of India, I note the influence of those great English statesmen at home who have led great movements towards reform and progress in England, who have inspired reforms and progress in India, and who have given their names to the ages in which they lived. I have referred again and again to their work and to English history, because the history of progress in England and the history of progress in India have flowed in parallel streams. Indian history, or rather the history of Indian progress under British rule, is unintelligible without a reference to the history of progress in England.

Such a clear understanding of the causes of progress in the past inspires us with hope for progress in the future. And in the midst of the calamities which have overtaken India in the present year, and amidst the difficulties which surround Indian administration in the future, there is the solacing fact that the times are in our favour, that reforms in England must lead to reforms in India, and that India forms a part of that great modern empire which has accepted progress and self-government as its dominating ideas.

ROMESH C. DUTT.

SANDGATE,

*August, 1897.*

## APPENDIX

### INDIAN EXPENDITURE IN 1887 AND 1897.

THE Indian Budget for the current year has been published in England after the preceding pages were written, and we take the liberty of placing before our readers in this Appendix a few figures showing the alarming increase in taxation and expenditure in India in recent years. During the decade 1887-1897 there has been in the British Isles an accumulated net remission of taxation of £21,000,000,\* and during this decade there has been no remission of taxation in India (except a modification of cotton duties, made in the interests of Lancashire), but there has been an accumulated imposition of new taxation amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 29,000,000. This is the essential difference between the financial policy of England and the financial policy of India in times of uninterrupted peace. The strain of taxation is relaxed in England in times of peace; the strain of taxation goes on ever increasing in India.

Let us now turn to figures. Excluding revenue, which is collected but refunded, and excluding railway receipts,

\* The figures in this Appendix are taken from a Special Article in the *Daily Chronicle* of August 5, 1897.

the revenues of India have increased thus in the last ten years :

	[Rx. = nominally £1.]	
	1887-1888 (Accounts). Rx.	1897-1898 (Budget). Rx.
<b>I. LAND REVENUE :</b>		
i. Land ... ..	23,141,300	25,601,800
ii. Forest ... ..	1,121,700	1,753,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>24,263,000</b>	<b>27,354,800</b>
<b>II. TRIBUTES ... ..</b>	<b>743,600</b>	<b>901,600</b>
<b>III. OPIUM ... ..</b>	<b>6,089,100</b>	<b>3,156,200</b>
<b>IV. TAXATION :</b>		
i. Salt ... ..	6,636,200	8,698,800
ii. Stamps ... ..	3,832,000	4,782,600
iii. Excise ... ..	4,501,000	5,653,800
iv. Provincial rates ...	3,027,400	3,616,000
v. Customs ... ..	1,316,800	4,375,900
vi. Assessed taxes ...	1,411,500	1,836,800
vii. Registration ... ..	310,200	439,700
	<hr/>	<hr/>
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>21,035,100</b>	<b>29,403,600</b>
<b>V. MISCELLANEOUS ... ..</b>	<b>986,700</b>	<b>366,800</b>
<b>TOTAL REVENUE ... ..</b>	<b>53,117,500</b>	<b>61,183,000</b>

It will be seen from the above figures that the loss in Opium Revenue is made up by the increase in Land Revenue, and that Rx. 8,000,000 more are raised by Taxation in the current year than what was raised ten years ago. It is estimated that of this increase, something above Rx. 3,000,000 represents the natural increment in the revenues due to growth in population, etc. The balance of Rx. 5,000,000 means an increase in the incidence of

taxation during a period of profound peace in India. It is an increase which should be unnecessary in times of peace, and is both inexpedient and unjust.

Let us examine the figures once more. The total increase in revenue in these ten years is over Rx. 8,000,000. Rx. 5,000,000 out of this increase are contributed by the State demand on land and by tax on salt. The two articles on which the poorest of the poor depend for their subsistence in India, viz., the produce from land and salt, contribute the largest increase in the revenues during the past decade. This, again, is both inexpedient and unjust.

Let us now turn to the net expenditure for 1887-88 and 1897-98. The figures are set forth below.

	[Rx. = nominally £1.]	
	1887-1888 (Accounts). Rx.	1897-1898 (Budget). Rx.
<b>I. COLLECTION OF REVENUE :</b>		
i. Land ... ..	3,486,700 ...	4,166,700
ii. Forest ... ..	719,800 ...	1,076,100
iii. Taxes ... ..	1,114,100 ...	1,474,900
iv. Assignments ... ..	1,467,300 ...	1,553,300
	Total ...	6,787,900
		8,271,000
<b>II. DEBT SERVICES...</b>		
	4,695,200 ...	2,708,700
<b>III. CIVIL SERVICES :</b>		
i. Departments... ..	11,410,600 ...	13,778,600
ii. Miscellaneous.. ..	3,974,200 ...	5,242,400
iii. Buildings and roads	3,667,100 ...	3,919,300
	Total ...	19,061,900
		22,940,300

	[Rx. = nominally £1.]	
	1887-1888 (Accounts). Rx.	1897-1898 (Budget). Rx.
<b>IV. MILITARY SERVICES :</b>		
i. Army ... ..	19,357,100	23,314,200
ii. Military Works ...	1,191,700	1,181,200
iii. Special Defence ...	456,000	19,400
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total ...	21,004,800	24,514,800
<b>V. COMMERCIAL SERVICES :</b>		
Net cost of Post Office, } Railways, Irrigation }	3,053,500	2,728,700
<b>VI. RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION</b>	81,000	7,300
<b>VII. FAMINE RELIEF AND }     INSURANCE }</b>	91,400	3,666,200
	<hr/>	<hr/>
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE ...</b>	54,775,700	64,837,000

The first thing which strikes one in examining these figures is the alarming increase in expenditure, within a period of ten years of profound peace. In these ten years the revenues have increased by Rx. 8,000,000, while the expenditure has increased by Rx. 10,000,000. The largest increases are in Famine Relief and Insurance, in the Civil Services, and in the Military Services, there being an increase of between Rx. 3,000,000 and Rx. 4,000,000 under each of these heads. One or two remarks under each of these heads will suffice.

The increase under the head of Famine Relief and Insurance is consequent on the poverty of the people and of recurring famines. The special expenditure under this head cannot be altogether saved until the general condition of the people has improved. Till then the impoverished people must be taxed in order to be saved from death.



The Civil Services show an increase of nearly Rx. 4,000,000, a million out of which may be put down to Exchange. It is a notorious fact that the price of food has risen in India fifty per cent. or more within these forty years; but natives of India, employed in Government offices as clerks or ministerial officers on a humble pay of about a shilling a day, have been allowed no compensation and no increase of pay for their increased cost of living. But European officers, who are supposed to make remittances to Europe to their families or friends, or for the purpose of saving, are allowed a special compensation from the Indian Exchequer because the rupee has gone down in value in comparison with gold. And in the higher Indian services, recruited in England, a distinction in remuneration is made virtually on the ground of colour and race; the European is allowed an Exchange compensation, and the Indian who has entered the same service by the same examination in London is allowed none. To such acts of unfairness and petty self-seeking the most conscientious governments will sometimes descend when the people governed are allowed no voice and no influence in the administration of their country.

Lastly, the Military Services show an increase of over Rx. 3,000,000. The military expenditure in 1887 was heavy enough, because the hunt for a 'scientific frontier' had been made by Disraeli and Lord Lytton years before, and an extended frontier had already increased the military expenditure of India. The further increase within the last ten years shows the steady growth in the costliness of the Indian army which neither the poverty of the people nor famines can retard for a moment. The military department, we have said elsewhere, is under no effective control; the people of India have no voice in its arrange-

ments; and the people of England do not trouble themselves about it so long as they do not pay. And so it comes to pass that *nearly one half of the net revenues of India is spent on the military services*. For the total budgeted revenue of the current year is Rx. 61,000,000, and the cost of collecting this revenue is Rx. 8,000,000. The net revenue, therefore, is Rx. 53,000,000, and Rx. 24,500,000 out of this is spent on the military services.

India cannot be prosperous and contented until her military expenditure is revised and reduced. And in justice and in equity, England should bear a portion of the cost of that army which she maintains in India in furtherance of her imperial policy, and in defence of her Eastern Empire from which she benefits so largely in her trade and in the profitable employment of her capital. A contribution of a fixed proportion of the Indian military expenditure from the English exchequer would be an act of simple justice which England owes to India, would secure an effective control over that expenditure, and would be a real relief to the people of India, suffering from chronic poverty, increasing taxation, and recurring famines.

THE END.



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