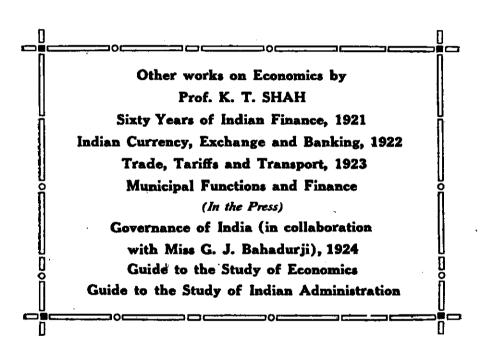
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SHAREWARDAY



### WEALTH & TAXABLE CAPACITY

OF

• Dhamanjayaran Gadgil Library

**INDIA** 

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BY

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AND

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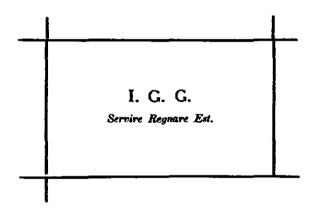
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#### INTRODUCTION

It has become fashionable, of late, to usher an important work of research into the world by a Foreword, or Preface, or Introduction, or whatever else it might be called, from some eminent personage other than the author of the book. The motive may be a perfectly intelligible modesty on the part of a beginner in the domain of research, who, by associating with himself a personage of established reputation, desires to secure a better hearing for his own views; or an equally legitimate desire to secure sufficient sales of the work, which, given the existing conditions, may not by itself, and without an adventitious aid of this description, command the sales which would indemnify the author or the publisher for at least the pecuniary sacrifice involved in the thankless task of research. In the latter case, however, the suitability of the individual selected for the honour of Preface-writing varies inversely with the subject matter of the book. The selection is made rather with an eye to worldly eminence than with any regard to inherent aptitude. As I do not pretend to any modesty or diffidence; as I cannot find any tame public man, or aspiring politician to be so obliging as to lend me the advantage of his name and association; and as I am unwilling to give any part of the beneft or opprobrium for any reflections contained in this work to any other person, even by the mere association of names, I have thought it best to comply with the fashion of the times without fathering upon any one views which he may have never entertained.

Besides the insistent and insidious demands of fashion, there are other sound reasons why a foreword was needed for this work, and why that foreword had to be by one of the writers themselves. The book contains facts, as well as opinions. I have thought it best that Mr. K. J. Khambata should be confined entirely to statements of facts, which he has gleaned by his own research, and that responsibility of any opinions expressed in this work should rest wholly on myself. For, in matters such as those dealt with in this book, critics in India have a nasty way of damping the ardour of a rising young man by the sheer weight of their unbalanced abuse, the moment they scent the least little scent of "political" views. It was not prudential considerations like these that have forced me to this conclusion. The actual division of labour in the preparation of this work amply warrants, and even demands, such a course. The first part of the work is Mr. Khambata's prepared under the general guidance and supervision of the present writer. That part deals almost exclusively with matters

and statements of facts. The second part is mine entirely; and though it has its share of the basic facts, discovered or corelated by considerable labour, it has also its share of opinions on some of the most vexed problems of to-day and to-morrow. It would be unfair to suggest, by the inevitable implication of the joint authorship, that Mr. Khambata was in any way responsible for opinions expressed by his colleague. Another reason of equal importance is that several problems dealt with in the work need to be brought together and stated as problems together, which one can only do in a preface directly enough to attract sufficient attention of the discerning critic. In the main work, the requirements of perspective necessarily demand the separation of interlocked arrangements. While perspective is necessary for the proper appreciation of a problem, a collective view has its own merits. An Introduction was thus inevitable; and since one had to be written, one might as well make the most of it.

Before getting to the main problems, let me dispose of two or three points of minor importance, which, however, are likely to create confusion if not explained at this stage. While by the nature of his work, Mr. Khambata had to aim at as much exactness as he could possibly attain; and so, while his figures are as precise as he could make them, the second part of the work has preferred to deal in round terms. For one thing, the exactness of the earlier portion is, in a manner of speaking, not perfect, in so far as there is an unavoidable margin of error; the round term method of dealing with the figures simplifies discussion and does not in all probability increase the margin of error. The discrepancies, therefore, which might otherwise appear between the first and the second parts of this work will, if this caution is borne in mind, vanish. Particular mention may be made, however, of the detailed statement of the provincial wealth as given in pp. 283-6, the total of which seems to be astonishingly small compared with the First Book. The First Book, however, has dealt with the whole of India as one unit, including the British Provinces as well as the Native States. In the Second Book, the discussion had necessarily to be confined to British Provinces, of which, the information, statistical and otherwise, is more ample than that of the Native States. Large areas are thus excluded from the purview in the pages mentioned. And, besides, a number of articles have also been omitted. If, therefore, due allowance is made for both these factors, the discrepancy will not appear to be quite as considerable as it seems at first.

These, however, are points of second class importance. The real problem with which the work attempts to grapple are different. Take the case of the services. Should they have been included in the computation of the

wealth of the community. We have not,—for reasons which are detailed in the appropriate sections of Book I. Briefly stated, we consider that the only reliable and acceptable estimate of the national wealth can be had only in regard to material commodities. To attempt to include the services-which may mean a real addition to the sum total of the community's welfare,--would render the calculus impossible, given the standards we now possess for the valuation of intangible goods. And, then, a number of services are really worthless, or even injurious to the community. The classic case of the lawyer may be amplified by the equally important case of the merchant. The mere merchant is not productive, though, in the society as it is organised to-day, he may be taking a much larger share of the national dividend than he may be entitled to. The case of the Soldier and of the Civil Servant, of the Statesman (or politician) and the Teacher, are difficult from the point of view of tangible expression in money values. I have simply assumed that in a society arranged more logically, more humanly, more economically, the steady endeavour of the people would be to abolish all forms of parasitism. and that in the process of such abolition, the lawyer and the merchant will necessarily disappear. It makes no prejudice to the reasoning of this type to urge that before we can evolve a society which can dispense with the services of the merchant and of the lawyer,—to name the most prominent examples,—we shall have to go through a stage of intense legalisation. It may or may not be necessary. My point simply is that in a sane society, aiming at the utmost conservation of human energy and at the most equal and equitable distribution of the material necessities for the maintenance of life, every form of parasitism will be sought to be abolished; and that, consequently, the inclusion of the services by the conventional valuation adventitiously given to them in a commercial society, would be simply adding to the mass of confusion hanging over this subject. All services have to be and are rewarded ultimately from the same dividend of material commodities produced in the nation, or any other unit we may take for the purposes of such computation. When we have measured the material commodities, we must necessarily be taken to have included also the services,—not only those which are actually, obviously, directly, involved in the production of those commodities, but also those which are ancillary or incidental to that production. The service of the Civil Servant or of the Soldier is an illustration of the latter type. The case of Transport Service is, I recognise, peculiar. Transport clearly does not add to the volume of production; but it as clearly adds to the value or the qualitative expression of production. Are we justified in excluding the Transport Service altogether? That the charges actually paid for the transport service are greater than they would be in a properly co-ordinated society is no reason to exclude them altogether. Our only apology of the inclusion of the real service in taking the wholesale prices, at big centres like Bombay or Calcutta, of the principal articles of Indian produce,—as distinguished from the prices off the field,—is not logically convincing, though in practice it may be lessening the error, if any be really involved in the course we have adopted.

The consideration of Services, and their place in human economy, goesmuch further than appears at first sight. We shall have to supplant,—orrather recognise more fully and clearly than we ever have done in economics. so far,—that the real motive force is, and should be, service, rather than the desire for personal gain, expressed in terms of money values. But this is not the place to interpolate a discussion on the real motive force for human activity known as economic activity. In considering, however, the solutionsof the problem, which the study involved in this work has disclosed, we have necessarily to draw upon the ideal a little bit, in contrast with the actual. Theeconomic problem of India is perfectly clear. We have considered the present as well as the potential wealth of india, as far ahead as one can see at present. But allowing for all possible increases, it cannot be doubted that India is much too much overpopulated; or, what is the same thing from another point of view, the share which each Indian receives of the national dividend is: too small to keep body and soul together in full working efficiency. There is unquestionably the problem of Distribution, which we have accordingly not Redistribution of the national wealth,—reconstruction of these social institutions which deal with the repartition of riches in a community, is an urgent necessity, since that alone could benefit the present generation... All other expedients must take time, and will benefit, in proportion that they are successful, subsequent generations. I do not believe in the common cry of interested parties that Socialism is played out. How can it be, when it has never been tried at all? The Russians, it is true, from what one hears of the gigantic experiment heroically embarked upon by the Bolshevics, seem tohave inaugurated the New Economic Policy, which is apparently not on all: fours with the traditional doctrines of Communism. But, apart from the fact that the so-called N. E. P. of Russia may be only a temporary makeshift pending the full education of the Russian people to complete communism in all material commodities, there is the further consideration that private capitalism, as we know it in European and American countries, as also in those Asiatic countries which have madly begun emulating the European "Civilisation," is dead in Russia beyond possibility of recovery. And what has beem tried in one country, there is no reason to doubt may not be tried in another. In India to-day, all reasonable people seem to be convinced that modern industrialism has its dark side. It is not as clear whether the thoughtful

Indian will go back on the history of a century, and recreate the arcadiansimplicity of self-sufficient village, life which the apostle of modern India seems to hunger for. Personally, I am not prepared to say that turning our back upon the history of a century is either practicable or desirable, quite apart from the question whether it is going to be beneficial. I think the real evil lies in our defective and objectionable system of distributing the national dividend. Two alternatives are even now possible, and are being tried under various disguises. The co-operative principle seems to make the least breach with convention and the existing situation, by recognising private property and permitting individual gain, subject to a maximum. That principle may seem more reasonable; to me it appears more inherently insufficient. For eo-operation in production might not,—does not in fact,—avoid the evils of the wage system, the crime of exploitation of one human being for the profit or benefit of another. It may be tried as the more acceptable to the Capitalism-infected intelligentsia; but I am convinced it must break down eventually, or be voluntarily abandoned when the full consciousness of common life has been aroused or inculcated. The other and rival principle,  $\frac{dx}{dx}$ though the rivalry is not quite transparent to-day,—is the State Socialism of the Indian Government, with its strange complication of capitalist delegation of administrative authority. The Railways as well as the Land are, in the theory of the law, common property, however they may be managed for the sake of convenience or prejudice. There is nothing to prevent the shipping service to be similarly jointly owned and communistically operated, any more than the coal and iron mines as well as the connected industries. But it is here precisely that the irony of the actual situation becomes most poignantly The Socialist Nationalist in India cannot trust the Government of India. Its antecedents are dead against it; and so the very best work it has done, and may still be doing, is not only not supported by those, who, likethe present writer, ought, for sheer consistency with their own fundamental ideas, to support; but is positively opposed and even objected to. is the unavoidable penalty of a foreign government to be misunderstood, though unquestionably the Indian Government have done enough to warrant every suspicion against its bona fides. That does not, however, make the Indian Socialist less illogical; and does not the less frequently betray him into advocating policies or supporting measures, which are bound to complicate most undesirably the problem. The penalty is thus acting as a doubleedged sword, that with the one edge attacks the Government in all its schemes of common benefit, and with the other paralyses the natural champions of all such measures and policies. The remedy for this hopeless impasse is not strictly economic. We must have a change of Government before we can think of a change in distribution of the national dividend, if only because a

foreign government is too apt to ally itself with the forces of capitalism that have done so much to hamper and impair the productive forces of every nation industrialised in the modern sense of the term.

But redistribution of the National Dividend, urgent as the problem is, is not a full and final solution of the root evil. We cannot increase our wealth by the fullest exploitation of our known resources, so as to give a guarantee of decent human life to every Indian citizen. We have so far consented to undermine our vitality rather than to reduce our numbers. There is no inherent guarantee that we shall not increase our numbers, and so undo the benefit of redistribution on a more equitable and equal basis, as also of an increase in wealth if the root evil were not tackled at the root. Emigration of a part of the population of India to less crowded and more promising lands is another solution that I have hinted at in the body of the book. It is, however, a solution which is more important from the standpoint of the entire world than from that of any isolated community. China needs a relief in her population even more urgently than India. And the sparsely populated regions of the world must afford this relief. The concrete sense and strength of the world and its peoples must be used to bring about a more even distribution of the human factor in comformity with the natural factors of production. The League of Nations will have in the immediate future its gravest task in considering the Immigration laws of the world; and if it fails to restrain the suicidal policies, apparently adopted as the considered and deliberate creed of some of the newer democracies of the world, the peace of humanity, the brotherhood of man, will never be achieved:

Herein lies another of the logical inconsistencies that the student of economics to-day seems to be inevitably involved in, in many countries Nationalism has run amok with many people, with a particular venom in those parts where the consciousness of exclusion and exploitation by another race is very intense. But the aggressive, and often inconsistent Nationalism of today has this much justification: that the inequalities of resources and possibilities, which will be retained by those who have acquired them by all sorts of means, cannot but be vaguely perceived and resented by those who have not. Within the community, a people may well be expected to correct the faults of their own system of distribution by a reform of their own institutions affecting the National Dividend; they may also be expected as justly to develop their own inherent resources and possibilities before they can lay claim to a share of those who have a surplus of such a degree that waste must necessarily follow if the owners or holders of the surplus do not know what to do with the surplus. But there are many people in the world to-day, who, in spite of the fullest development of their resources, may still not find

enough within their own means to maintain a decent standard of human life. The problem then arises whether this section of humanity will be allowed to decline and decay, tainting in its downward course even those other and happier people who may have all they need and to spare. We have not yet risen to that degree of humanity, in which we could suggest the lethal chamber for this surplus section of mankind as the simplest and the surest remedy: and so the demand for a redistribution of the entire population of the world, with a view to relieve pressure where it is unduly heavy, and to bring adequate labour force to bear upon regions which in the absence of that labour force are wasting their resources and potentialities, is likely to sound repulsive. Of course, the problem is extremely complex. We do not want a redistribution merely to reproduce the evils more evenly in the world. We must have guarantees against an undue and undesirable multiplication. And to achieve this, to enforce those guarantees, the concert of humanity will have to be something more than an existence on sufferance. The League of Nations to-day is neither strong nor respected enough for the purpose. And it will not attain to that degree of universal respect until the domination of one people by another is a thing of the past. Paradoxical as it may sound, it seems inevitable that modern nationalism must grow still stouter and more aggressive, if real internationalism is to be established. The psychological value of a consciousness of equality cannot be exaggerated. The dominated peoples of the world lack this consciousness, and are accordingly apt to be unduly, unjustly suspicious. This consciousness must be created first, and Nationalism must therefore flourish in the minds of those who are themselves engaged in the building up of a new religion of humanity.

When the redistribution of the world population has been accomplished; when mobility of labour has been achieved in a far more real sense than is the case to-day, the problem may still remain whether the world is not overpopulated, or tends to do so. In fact the real solution of the problem could only commence after this preliminary, pioneer work has been done. Do numbers tend to outrun resources? Is the sum total of human misery and injustice due to the deficit? We cannot, indeed, know the potential waste involved in a deliberate and concerted restriction of numbers; but, as far as we can see to-day, we must bear the penalty, if one there be. The religion of humanity must be founded on the loveable and the beautiful, which the existing apologies for manhood can scarcely pretend to be. The culture of the race by the united effort of the race entire must, to be successful, have the intelligent sympathy and voluntary co-operation of the individual. It is not enough to alter the marriage laws, and reconstruct the basic unit of human society. For the problem of numbers to be effectually solved, for the service of humanity really to become the religion of mankind, there must

be a corelation between ability and expectation. We have endeavoured to study this problem on the narrow, limited basis of India; but in reality the problem is a world problem; and, sooner than we like to believe, it is bound to force itself upon the attention of the peoples of the world. The solutions suggested are necessarily solutions for the immediate evils of the individual country specifically considered; and there is nothing to prevent these "solutions" from appearing in the larger perspective of the world entire as miserable palliatives, that might even defeat their own purpose if not strictly regulated. But that only proves that the world problem is more complex and insistent than the thinkers seem inclined to consider.

The University School

of

Economics and Sociology, Bombay, 15th October, 1924. K. T. SHAH.

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE:

The Introduction to this joint-work, written by Professor Shah, is not written by him with a view to "introduce" the work, in the sense of explaining its aim and scope, and the standpoint with which the entire work is written; but merely to correlate some of his suggestions in Book II with the larger problem of the redistribution of the world's human factor, and the reorganisation of human effort, so as to conduce towards a more economic use of the world's material resources, to the benefit of all. And so far the Introduction may be regarded as a continuation of Book II. Those remarks would, however, have been irrelevant if made in the text of Book II which deals with problems exclusively Indian.

The object of this Note is to make it clear that the opinions stated in the latter part of the Introduction, like those expressed in Book II, are exclusively Professor Shah's own. The undersigned does not subscribe to their implication, not because he is afraid of public opinion or of any opinion, but because he does not believe in political changes being a necessary condition precedent to, or a sine qua non of, economic regeneration, and because he has a sincere lack of faith in any radical and socialistic solution of India's ills—not to talk of those of the rest of the world. There are bound to be opinions and opinions, and each one is welcome to his own. It is the inevitable consequence of joint-authorship that the opinions expressed by one of the authors are ordinarily supposed to be shared in by the other to their fullest extent. This Note is intended, so far as it can, to dispel any such supposition.

It is, however, necessary to state,—nay, to emphasize,—that there is a general concensus between the authors as to all matters of facts and statistics expressed in both the parts of the work, and also as to such inferences as are obviously deducible therefrom. There is also agreement on the important problem of the exclusion of Services, quae services, from the calculation of a nation's annual wealth.

Subject to the foregoing, the undersigned is responsible for Book I of the present work, wherein apart from incidental inquiries, he has endeavoured, firstly, to discuss the general economic concept of national wealth; secondly, to collect and collate the figures of production of all the principal commodities and of the output of the principal manufacturing industries of our country, for each year from 1900 to 1922, the data being chiefly derived from official blue-books, and all the lacunse or defects in official figures being

made good by other evidence; thirdly, to calculate all-India average, annual, wholesale prices of the principal commodities in each of these years; and lastly, putting the last two items together, to estimate the gross annual wealth of the people of this country in 1921-2 and three other well-marked periods.

The ground was thus cleared for Professor Shah to discuss, in Book II, such problems as the net wealth of the people, the sufficiency or insufficiency of food grains, the distribution of the wealth between the classes and the masses, the correlation of the tax burdens of the people to their ability to bear them in the light of their economic position; the possible readjustment of tax burdens; and the possible improvements and expansion of the material resources of the country which should strengthen the economic position of our masses while their burdens are lightened.

This work was planned and begun long before there was any talk of moving any resolution about appointing Committees for economic or taxation inquiries, in our Imperial Legislatures; so that it is really by providential circumstances that this work happens to be a livre de circonstance.

Professor Pigou has well said: "The complicated analyses which economists endeavour to carry through are not mere gymnastics; they are instruments for the bettering of human life." It is only by analyses such as these that the misery which surrounds us, the colossal poverty into which a very large mass of the population has sunk, can be decisively brought home to those whose duty it is to look after people's welfare, as also to those whose present indifference it would be fairer to attribute more to a lack of knowledge of the real state of affairs than to a lack of sympathy. In this as in other matters, then, social survey must precede social service.

School of Economics and Sociology,
University of Bombay,
15th October 1924.

K. J. KHAMBATA.

#### CONTENTS

#### BOOK I

#### THE WEALTH OF INDIA

#### PART I

## A CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF THE GENERAL ECONOMIC CONCEPT OF NATIONAL WEALTH

#### CHAPTER I

#### The Concept of National-Wealth

	THE Concept of 14st	TOTINI- AA CHICTI			
			•	Pa	age.
1.	Economic Terminology			• • '	1
2.	What is a "Nation ?"		• •	••	2
3.	Confused popular notion of "wealth"	••	• •	••	3
4.	Relativity of the term "wealth"	,	• •		3
5.	Evolution of the technical connotation of	"wealth"	• •	• •	4
6.	The conception of "national wealth"	i .).+		• •	5
7.	National wealth and individual wealth			• •	6
8.	Some important distinctions	€\$	• •	••.	7
9.	Intangible wealth			•	8
10.	A narrower sense of the term "intangible	wealth"	• •		9
	CHAPTE	ŔIJ		•	
	Distinction between Capital-We	ealth ànd Inco	me-Wealth		
1.	Distinction between Capital and Income-V	<b>Yealth</b>	• •		12
2.	"National Wealth " simply, means the ",	capital" weal	t <b>h</b>		12
3.	Capital-wealth and Income-wealth and me	thods of comp	outing them	••	13
4.	Illustrative Data	Cyte C.		1	15
	CHAPTEI	RIII			
	The Concept of Nati	ional Income			
1.	Want of concensus as to the meaning of	'income "	• •		20
2,	Things produced or consumed ?	$v = U_{\bullet,\bullet} + v \cdot v$			20
3,	Is income ever subjective ?	•• ′	••		21
4.	Analysis of Dr. 'Marshall's concept	••	••	••	22
5.	Criticism of these definitions	• •	••	• • •	23
	CHAPTER	120			
		1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1			
	Problem of the Inclusion of "Services" in	•	on of National l	Income	
1.	The conventional attitude with regard to	"sorvices",	••	••	25
2.	The Paradoxes it gives rise to	••	••	••	26

		Page.
3.	Danger of "double counting"	. 28
4.	Why "services" are excluded by us	. 28
5.	Our concept of national income distinguished from the conventional .	. 29
6.	Two objections to our plan	. 30
7.	First objection: Why not have a money expression of "services"?	. 31
8.	The plan suggested further criticised as involving us into absurdities .	. 33
9.	What gives rise to the idea that "eservices" age measure file in money .	. 35
10.	Distinction between commodities and services as regards their measurabilit	y
	in money	. 36
11.	Additional arguments to show the inadequacy of money in measuring	œ
	"services"	. 37
12,	Second objection: Why ignore the work or services of non-industria	1
	classes	. 38
13.	What is meant by "productive"!	38
14.	1 /5 / 1 / 1 / 1 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2 / 2	. 39
15.	Our definition of "wealth?"	. 40
16.	Utilities which may be regarded as "wealth." Analysis of Mill's discussion	n 40
17.		. 44
18.	Examination of utilities created by the different kinds of "services".	. 44
19.	Why the non-industrial classes are excluded by us	. 48
20.	The National dividend is the Wages fund	. 49
21.	Conclusion	. 50
	CHAPTED 14	
	CHAPTER V	
	"Gross' and "Net' Income	
1.	Ordinary meaning of "net" and " gross. "	. 51
2.	Is it value or physical efficiency that is to be "kept intact?" .	. 51
3.	Expenses for "training" "the worker.	. 51
4.	Should cost of keeping up human efficiency be deducted ?	. 52
	CHAPTER VI	
	Summary of Part I	
	PART II	
	MEASUREMENT OF THE WEALTH OF INDIA	
	AGRICULTURAL SECTION	
	CHAPTER II	
	Introductory	
1.	Popular Concentions of the Wealth of India	. 58
2.	Previous Inquiries relating to the Wealth of India.	. 61
3.	Scope and Extent of the present Inquiry	. 68
4.	Plan and Method of the Inquiry	. 70
		,
	· CHAPTER II	
	Economic Geology and Geography of India	
1.	Influence of Natural factors on production	. 72
2.	The Geological regions of India, and their bearing on minerals and production	78

#### xvii

					J	Page.
3.	The Superfices: Influence of	Soils	man et al. 1991	, <b>* *</b> .		74
4.	Influence of Forests	* *	**************************************			77
5,	Climate	••	. • •	**		78
6.	Influence of the situation fact	or on Tr	ade and on the distri	bution of i	adustries	.79
	· ·	and the second	and the second			
	C	HAP?	ΓER III			
	Agricultural	Wealth	—Quantitative Data			
T	The Utility of Quantitative D					83
1. 2.	Quantitative data; how obtain		••	••	• •	84
	- ·		i. Riannos of the Vield	••	• • •	
3.	Cautions to be taken in using		algues of the Tield	••	• •	85
4.	Utility of the column of Erro How the coefficient of Error		ntod.	••	•••	86
5.		is calem	area	••	••	.87 89
6.	Rice and Wheat	••	• •	••	••	
7.	Minor Food Grains	117 .	八百姓 替出来	• •	• •	92
8.	Raw Sugar	• •	• •	• •	• •	94
9.	Oilseeds	4.0	i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	••	• •	96
10.	Fibres	• •	• •	• •	• •	98
11.	Dyeing and Tanning material	8	• •	• •	**	102
12.	Drugs and Narcotics	• •	••	• •	• •	103
13.	Fodder Crops	• •	••	••	• •	<b>107</b> /
14.	Fruits and Vegetables	• •	• •	••		109
15.	Condiments and Spices	• •	•••			109
	C	• HAPT	ER IV			
	Agricul	tural W	ealth—Valuation			
i.	Methods of Valuation (Rupee	and Fo	and units)			110
2.	Fluctuating price levels				• •	110
3.	Price Statistics available	11	Ad: Ji	••	•••	112
		ilaninėla	mil	••	••	113
4.	Price-ratios adopted for our ca	MCH1861D	ш	••	••	114
5.	Food-Crops—Rice and Wheat		• •	• •	••.	
6.	Food Crops (Contd.)—Minor	Rtarns	••	••	••.	116
7.	Raw Sugar (gur)	••	• •	• •	••	117
8.	Price Valuation of Oilseeds	••	••	. ••	•••	119
9.	Fibres	• •	•••	••	• •	120
10.	Dyes and Tans	• •		• •	••	123
11.	Drugs and Narcotics	- 1 1		• •	• •	194
12.	Fruits and Vegetables	••	1 4 4 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	:•	• • •	126
13.		••	•	••	••	127
<b>14</b> .	Condiments and Spices	•••1	4 1 1 Aut . 1	***	***	129
	į <b>c</b>	HAP1	rer v			
			and Value Figures			
	Observe at Bandon D	Dan Ja				791
1.	Checks by figures of Foreign		• •	• •	• •	131
2.	Checks by figures of Inland T	1406	• •	••	••	131.

#### xviii

	СН	APTER	VI			
	Other Inquiries	in connection	a with Agricultu	ire		Dogo
1.	(A) Relative encroachment of	food and no	nifood szons	aa madaa Ci		Page. 135
2.	Likelihood of higher demands:			oa unuei Ci		136
3.	(B) Possibilities of Extension		-	of non-food		137
4.	Ways of bringing about their b					138
5.	(C) Income from Cattle and o		.—Forms of Inco	me.	• • •	140
6.	Hides and Skins	1 3	• ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7 ,7	,	•••	141
7.	Manure				••	142
8.	Meat, Game and Fowls		•••			142
9.	Milk					143
10.	Accretions to live stoc	k	••	.5.54	• •	145
11.	Upkeep of Cattle and o		3	*.** *.*		146
12.	Net income from cattle			• •		147
	CH	APTER	VII			
	For	ests and Fis	heries			
i.	Area and Utility		• •	••		149
2:	Timber	• •	••			150
3.	Minor Forest Produce	• •		••		152
4.	Turpentine and Rosin		••	• •		153
5.	Dyes and Tans		••	•		154
6.	Caoutchouc	••		••		154
7.	Other forest industries-sanda	lwood oil,	; ••			155
8.	Lac	1	• •			156
9.	Estimated total income from	orests	•	• •	• •	157
10	Fisherics	• •	••	• •	• •	158
	CH	APTER	VIII			
	Su	mmary of l	Part II			
1.	Retrospect	• •				160
2.	Summary of Quantity figures	••	•• ,			161
3,	Summary of Value figures	• •		••		162
4.	Deduction for seeds, etc.	• •			.,	163
5.	Agricultural Improvement		••		*-	164
		PART :	ш			
	NON-AGRIC	TUT.TUR	AL SECT	ION		
	•	IAPTER	_	1014		
			General Discussi			
_		: 1 6		ion		444
1.				• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	۰۰ -د-سالمت	166
2.	Whether profits from commof wealth	erea ongut	to be incidited	. 111 <b>ал</b> с	SCIMBLE	150
	or megitu.	• •	• •	• •		170

#### xix

#### CHAPTER II

### India's 'Industrial' Wealth-The Principal

		Manufacturing	Industries	<b>S</b>	
			•		Page.
1.	Textiles	••	• •	• •	173
2.	Food and drink	••	••	••	176
3.	Other manufactures	• •	• •	. • •	177
4.	Power Supply	••	• •	• •	179
5.	Engineering Industr	ies	••	••	180
		CHAPT	ER III		
		The Mineral W	ealth of L	ndia	
1.	Metalliferous Minera	als		• •	181
2.	Carbon and its comp	ounds	<i>:</i> •	• •	182
3.	Other minerals	• •			184
4,	Gems		••	••	185
5,	Value of mineral pro	oducts	•	••	185
		CHAPT	ER IV		
	Other	Items of Non-Ag	ricultural '	Wealth	
1.	Handierafts	••	.,	: • •	187
2.	Transport	• •	• •	••	189
3.	Town Wealth	••		•	189
		CHAPT	ER V		
		Summary of	Part III		
1.	Retrospect	• • •			192
2.	Summary of the val	ue of manufacture	s	••	192
		PAF	RT IV		
	GENERAL	SUMMARY	' AND	CONCLUS	IONS
1.	Comparison of the fo	our periods	••		. 194
2.	•	•	••	••	197
3.			••		. 199
4.	-	-	population	••	200
5.		••			202
6.	Conclusion	••	• •	••	203

#### BOOK II

#### TAXABLE CAPACITY OF INDIA

#### CHAPTER I

#### Deductions from the Gross Wealth

						Page
1.	Rationale of the Deductions:-	First Charge	••	• •		205
2.	The Root Vice of Money Value	ation	• •	••	• •	209
3.	Deductions specifically conside	red	••	×.	• •	209
4.	The Public Revenues—Are the	y a deduction ?	• •			210
5.	The Home Charges	• •	••	••	• •	211
G.	Economic Deductions		••	• •	••	215
	(I) Interest on Overseas C	apital	• •	••	• •	216
	(II) Payment on account of	f Freight—both	Coasting and	Overseas		222
	(III) Payments on account of	f Banking Com	missions	••		231
	(IV) Profits etc. of Foreign and the Savings of			Men in India		332
	(V) Miscellaneous					233
	(V) analocalencous	•••	••	••	••	
	C	HAPTER I	11			
	Ti	ne Net Residue				
	Human I	Needs of Labour	in India			
1.	The Net Remainder	••			• •	237
2.	The Human Needs of Labour	• •	• •		44.	240
3.	Actual Conditions in India	• •				243
4.	The Food Resources of India	• •		• •		251
5.	The Full Significance of a Low	, Inadequate Pr	oduction	• •	••	252
	Cl	HAPTER I	II			
	T	axable Capacity	•			
1.	The Total Revenue Burden	••	• •			255
2.	A Brief Analysis of the Indian	Public Expend	iture		2	62-63
3.	Central Expenditure in detail	• •	••	• •		264
4.	Interest on Debt	• •	• •	• •		272
5.	The Origin of Indian Debt	••		• •	• •	273
6.	Means to reduce the Ordinary	Debt		••		276
7.	Railway Expenditure	• •	••	• •	••	279
8.	Posts and Telegraphs	• •	••	• •	••	280
9.	Details of Provincial Expendit		••	• •	••	281
10.	The Real Incidence of Taxation	= -	**	••	••	282
11.	Detailed Consideration of the	Distribution of t	the Tax Burde	ns	• •	288

#### xxi

#### **CHAPTER IV**

#### The Distribution of the National Wealth of India

						Page.
1.	Distribution of the Peoples of I	ndia by o	ccupation			293
2.	Statistics of Income-tax	••		• •		295
3.	Agrarian and other Incomes esc	aping Inc	come-tax	• ••		298
4.	Incomes below the Minimum of	Exempti	on	• •	• •	302
5.	Distribution upwards	• •				305
6.	Suggestions for redistribution	• •	••	••	• •	307
		HAPTI				
	The Pote	ntial Wea	lth of India			
1.	The Agricultural Resources of 1	india and	their Improveme	nt		309
2.	Irrigation in India	••	••			315
3.	Improvement in the Size of Ag	ricultural	Holdings			319
4.	The Forest Wealth of India		• •	• •		327
5.	The Mineral Wealth of India				,,,,	330
6.	Fisheries and Fishing in India		***	•••		333
7.	Industrial Potentialities of Ind	lia	••	•••		334
e	A Deviced seleme of Distributions					004

#### INDEX

••	_		_
Accretions—To live Stock	p. 1 <del>4</del> 5	Non-Indian charges of	212
Adam Smith;	ĺ	Expenditure on	237
On a Representative Individua	1 7		<del>1</del> 3—7
"Annual Produce	12	Expenditure on 265 et se	q 338
" Productive and unproductive		Commissions	269
work	39—41	and the Empire	313
" Domestic Servants	46	(See also under Military)	
Afganistan;	***	Arrakan—Rock System of	73
Trade with	131	Arsenals—included in National wealth	
War Africa—Military Expenditure	268		73 <del>4</del>
	267	Rice, Soil in	75 87
Density of Population in	342 343	Figures of	100
Room for Immigration	152	Jute yield in Tea in	104
Agar—Forest Produce Agriculture	102	Rubber in	155
Classes and their Services	38	Petroleum in	184
Industries in Moghul Times	62	Revenue in	257
Produce in , ,	63		33—7
" Of the Several Provis	ices 63	Real revenue charge in	289
" Total of	66		96—8
" Estimating of	71	Super Tax in	307
	92 of none	Room for Tea & Forest development	t 324
Wealth, quantity data	83 et seq 84	Atkinson—Index Numbers of	111
Statistics of India	101	Attar—Forest Produce	152
Department of; (Cotton) Valuation of	110 et seq	Australia—Census of Production 14	115
Pests and diseases	139	Food—Supply from	136
Quantity figures summarised	160	Average Income in	202
Value figures summarised	162	Military Expenditure	267
Improvement in	164	Area and yield Figures	314
Total Net Value	199		<del>12</del> —3
Fundamental Source of wealt	h 203	(See also under Oceana)	
Indebtedness	239	Average—For different periods	70
Provincial wealth in	2837	Yield of Principal Crops 85	388
Population Supported by	294	B	
Income from-not taxed	298	Bajra—Soil for	76
Estimate of	301	Yield of	92
Holding—average size of	<b>304</b>	Pricing of	116
And Diminishing Returns	310	Quantity Summarised	197
Resources and Improvement	310 et seq	(See also under Food)	401
Profitability of	323	Ball-Economic Geology	73
(See also under Income	3,	Baluchistan-States : Revenue of	211
Wealth and Native States)	20	Revenues in	257
Akbar—Moreland on Vincent Smith on	58 59	Banking—Drain on account of 202-	-215
Allahabad—origin of	81	Capital in 217-	220
Alluminium—where found	182	Amount of	232
Alluvial Soil	74	Bank-rate—High in India	232
Andhra Valley Power Supply	179	Barbour, Sir D.—on	
Angle-Persian Oil Company,	2.0	Estimates of Indian Wealth	63
ownership of Shares in	2	Comparison with	201
Animals-Income from	140	Barley—Yield of	92
Upkeep of	146	Pricing of	116
Antimony—where found	182	Quantity Summarised	197
Apiculture in India—Value of	140	(See also under food)	917
Area and yield		Baroda—Revenue of (See also under princes)	211
Figures of	84		
" Under crops	135	Bengal; Agricultural Income of, as measured by Dadabhoy	64
" Statistics of	311	Ratio of Land Revenue to outturn	
Armaments-Utility of	44	Soil of	74
Army-ntility of	44	Forests in	79

,	p.		
Oil Seeds in	97	Average agricultural Holding in	р. 321
Jute yield in	00		5— <u>1</u> 7
	04	Cotton Industry of ; Prospects of	
Tobacco in 1	.07	expansion in	336
	69	Bones—Production and use of	141
	11	Bowley, Dr. on definition of capital	
	57	Wealth	2
Detailed calculation of wealth in 283-			)—24
	89	" " Dividend	23
	98	On Services of Agriculture	38
	19	Includes arsenals	44
Agricultural Holding in	1-7	On Wealth of U. K.	83
Irrigation in 315— Room for further development in 3	24	Brazil—Coffee from	136
(See also under Landlords, Zamin-		Britain—Distribution of Wealth in	293
dars, Agriculture)	1	(See also under England and	
Bentham—on Average Individual	7	United Kingdom.)	
	58	British Association; Report on Direct Taxation	L 52
Bihar & Orissa;		British Government and cost of the	
	84	Indian Army	269
	90	British Troops in India	270
Barley in	92	(See also under Empire, Army,	
Maize in	93	Debt and Military.)	
	94	Broach-Cotton Soil for	76
	97	Price of—as basis for valuation	121
	100	Budgets—Working classes 25	503
	102	(See also under Blackett)	
	107	•	
<del></del>	184	Buildings—Total value of	193
	211	Burma—Included in this inquiry	68
	257	Soil of	75 75
Detailed view of the wealth of 283- Real Revenue charge in 2	289	Soil for Rice Forests in	78
	298	The granary of India	84
	307	Rice Figures of	86
Irrigation in 315—		winds of	90
9	324	Rubber in	155
Blackett, Sir Basil-on cost of Manu-		Gold in	181
	177	Silver in	181
	265	Petroleum in	184
(See also under Finance Minister		Wolframite in	182
and Debt.)		Revenue in	257
Bombay		Real Revenue charge in	289
Agricultural Income of as measured			337
by Dadabhai	64		967
Ratio of Land Revenue to Outturn	65	Agricultural Holdings in	319
Soil in	75 70		517
Forests in Port of	78	Forest industries in	324
Railway Radiation from	80 81	C	
Rice figures of	86	•	
Rice yield of	90	Calcutta-Port of	80
Sugar in	94	Block in Inland Trade	131
Oil-Sceds in	97	Calicut-Port of	80
	100	Calories—A method of valuation	110
	102	needed by men	242
Tobacco in	107		12—n
	120	Calvert-on the Walth of the Punjab	319
	131	Camphor—Forest Produdce	152
	138	Canada—Census of Production	15
_ <del> </del>	158	Food—Supply from	136
	211	Flax production in	138 202
	257	Average income in	267
Detailed view of the wealth of 283-		Military Expenditure Canals—Investment in	207 66
	289	Area irrigated by	315
Income Tax in 296	U 907	Projects of	317

	•		75
«Cannan—Dr. on Wealth	P. 2	Establishments for	p. 167
Theories of Production & Distr	ihntion 4	Value of	178
Definition of National wealth		Contents of foods	241
Copyright an item in wealth	4, 10	China : Tea from	105
On productive and unproducti		Trade with	131
work	39	Indian Tea excluding	136
On Adam Smith	40	Chittagong—Port of	80
"J. S. Mill	43	Cinchona—Soil for	76
On Expenses of training the		Civil—Charges	212
worker	5153	Works	258
Caoutchouc—Produce of	155	Miscellaneous charges	2623
<ul> <li>Capital—Included in computation</li> </ul>	ns 12	Climate and Production	78
Wealth	<b>4</b> 3	Coal-Mines; investment in	66
Investment of	66	In Gondwana	73
In jute	169	Imports from Africa	82
Debentures	208	Production of	183
Foreign, in India	215		6-197
Total, in India	217	Foreign capital in	220
Native—Profits of	239		224 ap.
Levy on	277	Possible increase in the yield of	336
For Agriculture	324	Possibility of absorbing surplus	330—1
(See also under Debt, Inte	erest	population (See also under Mineral)	490-1
and Foreign.) Carbon and its Products	100 00	(See also under Mineral)	132
-Castor—Area of	182—83	Coasting—Trade Freight earnings on	2224
Cattle—Income from	97	Cocoanut—Areas of	97
-Cattle -Income 110m	140	( See under oil )	٠.
Figures for	et seq 142	Coffee—Cultivation of	73
Upkeep of	146	Soil for	76
In Indian Economics	160	Yield of	105-6
Deductions for	251	Price of	125
"Cement-Value of	193	Summary figures	133
«Central Provinces—Agricultural	income	Experiments in	138
of, as measured by Dadabhoy	63	Quantity of	197
Mineral Wealth in	73	Collectivist State and Distribution	34
Forests of	78	Cochin—Coffee in	105
Yield of Wheat in	91	Colonisation—possibilities of	
Oil Seeds in	97	By canals—in Punjab	324
Cotton produce in	100	Colquhoun—on National Wealth	13
Experiments in	138	Commerce—General view of	166
Iron in	181	Commercial—Departments of Indian	
States—Revenue of	211	Government—Receipts from	211
Revenue in	257	Crops	312
Detailed view of wealth in	283—7	Commodities—measurable in money	38
Real Revonue charge in	289	Staple—Summary of	133
Income Tax in	296—8	Companies—Registered outside but	01/
Super Tax in	307	working in India	219 220
Irrigation in Possible development in	315—7	Foreign—in India	307
	324 n	Super Tax on	304
Forests growth in Mineral possibilities	326 329 ot seg	Communistic organisation of	340
*Census—occupational	14	Industry and Agriculture Congress—Indian National and Deb	
of production	15	Consumer—cost to	206
, Wealth	15	Consumption—aid in computing	14
" Income	15	Tax on	14
In United Kingdom	54, 83	and Production	34 r
Basis for estimate of national	wealth 70	Standard or Normal	70
of Houses	190	Of fish in India	159
"India—bad statistics	293	" Cotton	169
" Occupations in India	29 <del>4—</del> 5	" Hides and Skins	177
Statistics rc. income	299300	Co-operative credit—use	325
and agricultural	302	in Agriculture	165
P. O. Railway etc. employees	304	Farming 324	et seq
Commissioner of Bengal	319	Coorg—coffee in	105
•Ceylon : Tea from	105	Experiments in	138
Coal exports to	183	Copper-Production and Manu-	
Capital in Chemical—Deficiencies of Indian	217	facture of	182
	I MANUA 77	Occaptity and Value of	186

	p.	1	P
(See under Mineral)	-	Effect of War on	265
Cottage—Industries—Scope of	165	Due to military reasons	266
Value of the produce of	193	Interest on and Volume of	272
( Sec also under Handicraft	s)	Origin of Amount of Interest remaini	273-4
Cotton—Soil for	76	India	276
Industry, why concentrated in		Charge of	219
Bombay	82	Reduction of	276
Exports and consumption	99, 169	Repudiation of	278
Indian Committee	101	Deductions—From gross nation	
Valuation of	120—21	wealth	205
Summary figures of	133 136	Rationale of Specifically considered	205 et seq
India's resources in Principal establishments	166	Summary of	209 et seq 234
Review of	167	To be abolished	337—8
Statistics of	168	Deccan—climate of	74
Value "	173	Soil of	75
Manufactures, Value of	193	Irrigation in	315—17
" Quantity of Excise Duty on	197	Defence Budget of	266
	290, 338	Depreciation Fund to maintain	Property 51
Consumption by hand-looms Area and Yield of	304 314	Diamonds—Quantity and Value Diet—Standard of	of 186 240
Cotton—Mr. J. S. on Soils	77	Digby—Estimate of Wealth of	
" C. W. E. on Cottonsee		On Cromer's Estimate	64
On hemp	101	His own estimate	6568
,, Coffee	105	Comparison with	201
Resin	153	Diminishing Returns—Law of, i	
Councils—for paying Interest	218	Indian Agriculture	310
Crammond—Computation of Wealt		Distribution—affecting our no of wealth	tions 4
Estimate of the Wealth of U. K. Cromer—on the Wealth of India	64	Affecting computation of Nati	
Crops—and Area	135	wealth	7
Cuba—sugar in	94, 314	And Services	33
Currency—in circulation, basis fo		The Principle of	34 n
estimating National Wealth	70	Consequence of its inequality	
Receipts from	258	on Services	35.
(See also under Exchange)		Problem of And Taxation	70 292
Curzon—Estimate of Wealth	6566	Of the Wealth of India	293 et seg
Comparison with	201	Summary of	308
Customs duties—aid in[computing Statistics of	14 206	Unequal, due to social Institu	tions 307
Income from	258	A fair scheme of—for the popu	
In Bombay and Bengal	288	Improvements in the scheme of	
Analysis of	290-1	tribution	336 et seq
Distribution of	292	District Boards—Revenues of Dividend—National	256—60 9·
_		Defined by Marshall	23
D		Distribution equitably of	324
Dadabhoy Naoroji : Estimate		Improvement in	339
	51, 63, 68	Dockyards—Principal	167
Comparison with ours	201	Double counting—Error of	5, 28
Dalton—Dr. on objective Income	22 24	Drain-of gold to India	59 202
on National Dividend ,, Direct Taxation	52 n	From gross wealth	202
Datta—K. L. Inquiry by	68	(See Deductions)	
Why his mothod rejected	8486		
on Prico Statistics	112	Drugs and Narcotics—yield	103
" Food Supply	172	Value of	128 174
Davenant—on children as wealth o	fa. 4	Manufactures of Dubey—on Indian Food Problem	
nation Dooth Duties—on aid in computati	-	Estimate of Pulses etc.	93
Denth Duties—an aid in computati Suggested addition of	278	On Seeds	163
Debentures—Part of Individual Wo		Dundee-Jute industry in	169
Analogy of deductions with	208	Dutt R. C. on the Poverty of Ind	lia 60
Charge of	219	Dyeing Materials—yield etc.	102 et seq
Debt-Drain on account of	202	Synthetic and Indige	102 123
Charge of	220 <b>23</b> 5	Value of Establishments in	167
Figures,	230	Distriction and pro	

<b>TE</b>	p.	Expenditure on	p. 262—3
مقہ		Fibres—Yield of	98101
Earnings:-Meaning of	29	Valuation of	120-3
Mulhall on net	<b>54</b>	Exploitation of	328
Economics: claim to be a Science	7	(See also under Cotton, Jute,	
Terms in	53	Findlay Shirras—Estimate of the	
Economic Deductions from Wealth	209	Wealth of India	67
considered specifically 215 of Holding: Definition of		Comparison with	201
Economist—The: On Foreign Invest-	324	Foreign Capital in India	216
ments	218	Critique of	219
On Freight earnings of British ships	222	On Freight charges on India	222 et seq
Edgeworth—On Direct Taxation	52 n	On Banking Commissions &c.	
Egypt—Sugar yield in	94	" Working class Budgets	250—3
Area and yield figures of	314	Finance-Minister of India	272
Elsaz-Dr. Monitz; Estimate of		On the Debt of India	272-4
German Wealth by	17	Of India	277 133
Emigrants—Indian Remittances of Emigration—Possibilities of 340 e	234	Financial Statistics of India Fisher, Prof.—On concept of	799
Empire—Wealth of	15	Income	•20—22
Present made of	274	On National Dividend	24
Burdens of	313	" Services	25
Pioneers of and industrial extinc-		" Income	36
tion of India	320	" Burglar's outfit	44
(See also under Giffen, Britain, England		" Income and Capital	53
England—Expenditure incurred in 212		Fisheries—Income from—in Mug	nai 62
Interest payment in Food needs of	219 241	times Wealth from	71
Revenue of India in	257	Income from	158, 200
Relief for the Debt of India by 2			333 et. seq.
Error-In computations of National		Flax—Production in India	101
Wealth 85 e	t seq	Experiments in	138
Esher Committee—on Indian Army	269	Flour-Value of	193
Europe—Cotton demand from	100	Chemical contents of	241
Exchange—Affecting Wealth Value in being a criterion of Wealt	4	Fodder—Crops—Yield of Prices of	107—8 126
True measure of services	32	Quantity of	197
Revenue from	257	Food-grains; yield of	92
Expenditure under 26	2-3	Crops-Valuation of	114 et seg
Excise—Revenue from	177	Prices of (minor food grains)	116
Yield of	258	And non-food crops	135 et seq
On Cotton 290	, 338	Obtained from Forests	149
Distribution of Expenditure—On Houses	292 190	Enormous Production of	160 163
Of Government	210	Seed Requirements for Quantity of	197
How far a return to people	212	Stuffs—exported	208
Of Shipping Companies	222	And Feeding	241
	323	Resources of India	259
Benefit from 282	, 338	Sufficiency of	312
Exports—Visible and Invisible Of Tea	2	India to grow only	320
" Non-Food crops	136 137	Foreign-Trade-Figures as chec	
Total value of	137	Values Capital	131 et seq. 215 et seg
Duties on	165	Profits of	2323
Of Wool	175	And Riches of a Nation	206
, Hides and Skins	177	Visitors to India	234
Character of	208	Bureaucracy, charges of	282
Excess of	235	Forests-Income from in Mughal	
Deductions for Duties on—Yield of	251 290	Wealth from Influence of on Production	71 77—8
(See also under Trade)	200	And Water Supply	77
F		Kinds of	78
		Area under	149
Factories—Item in Wealth	4	Economic importance of	149, 327
For sugar manufacture	95	Minor produce of from	152
Famine — Commission of 1898, figures of	66	Dyes and Tan industry	154
Food rations under the Bombay code		Total Income from	157—200

	,	vi	
•	p.	1	p
Incidence of duty	291	Quantity and Value of	186, 197°
Distribution of the burden of	292	Mines Foreign capital in	220
Development of	324	Gondwana—Rocks of	73 . 192 220 .
Potentialities of Fragmentation of land	326—8 321—4	Coal output of Gram: yield of	183, 330 <sup>.</sup> ^ 92
Remedies of	324	Prices of	116
France—Estimate of National		Quantity of	197
Wealth of	1415	( See under Food )	
Wealth—Estimated	16	Ground-Nut yield of	97
Terpentine—Produce of	153	Quantity of	197
Average income in	202	(See under oil-seeds)	70 T1
Military expenditure of	267 276	Gross Produce Gujerat—Soil of	70—71 74
Debt of Area and Yield figures of	210	Gur (see sugar)	12
principal crops	314		
Devolution of Property in	320	H	
Freedom of the High Seas	271	Haji S. N. on Freight charges of Inc	lia 225
Freight charges of foreign		Handicrafts-in Mughal times	62
Shipping	222 et seq	Income from	71
Detailed Bill of, for India Criticism and answer	223 <del>4</del> 2301		187—93
Frontier—Trade along Land	131	Hand-loom—Weaving	187
Use of Army beyond	269	Output and Value of	188 305 -
Fruits & Vegetables-Yield of	109	Cotton consumption by Consus of	305
Price of	127	Income from	305~
Quantity of	197	(See Spinning Wheel)	322
Fuel—Supplied by forests	77, 149	Held—Quoted	6 n ·
Quantity of	150	Helfferich—On Wealth of the Germs	
For Indian Railways	280	Empire	17
G		Hemp—Produce of	101
Gandhi, Mr. M. K on Indian De	bt 278 n	Hides & Skins—Produce of Export Duty on	141 177 ·
On the Spinning wheel	322 n	Quantity of	197
On Restriction of Population in	India 341'	(See also under Leather)	
Ganges—an economic asset	81	1	319
Geddes—Prof. P. quoted on popu		Holding—Agricultural Size of—Economic	323—2
notions On Triad	3	Home Charges—Drain of	201
Sir Eric, on Wealth of India	72 60	Specifically considered	213
Gems-Production of	. 185	Details of	214
Geography-Economic, of India	72	Return from	215
Survey Department	74	Figures of	230
Geology-Economic, of India	72	House Property—Valuation of	190-1 190
Germany: Present and poten		Increment from new structures Gain of owners	239
Wealth of Estimate of National Wealth of		Income Tax from	300 1
Reduction in National Wealth of		Hume-On Lawyers and Physicians	47 n
Potash manufacture in	184	Hyderabad-State and Statistics of	f 68
Average income in	202	Cotton yield in	100
Forest industries in	327	Hemp "	101 107
Gettle—on Nation	2	Tobacco ,,	211
Ghauts—Power Works on	179	Revenue of	-11
Giffen—Computation of Wealth Consumption Wealth of U.K.	10—13	I	
Of U. S. A.	15 16	Implements—In Agriculture	164
Drink Bill of U. K.	177	Imports—Invisible	241
Freight earnings of U. K.	225—30	Duties on	165~
Banking Commission	231	On account of Interest	219
Insurance carnings of U. K.	232	Freight	222
Glass Works	167	Freight Bill on	225 ·
Manufactures—Value of	178	Income—Net	2,3 21
Value of—Total Goods—Free, excluded from the n	193	Subjective aspect of	22
of Wealth	4	Objective ,, Psychic ,,	22.
Free Gifts of Nature	Ğ	Taxable ,,	23
Goodwill—an item of Wealth	4	Gross and net	51, 53
Gold	<b>34</b>	Gross of India	61
Where found	181	Average	-65

	p.		p.
From cattle and other	- 1	General View	166 ot seq
animals	140 et seq	Engineering	180
Total from forests	157	of Iron	181
Wealth-not including Shelte	r&c. 190	Domestic	187
Average	201	Population Supported by	294
Total Taxed	293 et seq	Income from	305
Escaping Taxation	209	Supplementing agriculture b	
Medium class	305	France	320
(See also under Wealt)		Development of	323 J.S.A. 8
Income Tax—System in U. K.	2, 14, 30 14	Ingalls—Potential Wealth of I	10
Statistics of in computation	1	Items of Wealth Capital Wealth of U.S.A.	16
Social Commissioners (Br.)	24, 28 25	Pre-War Wealth of Chief Po	
Figures as basis for estimati		Inheritance: Law of Equal	312, 320
National Wealth	70, 71, 190	Inland : Revenue Commissione	
Yield of	258	on interest receipts from a	
On India's foreign creditors	277	of British citizens	216
Incidence of	291	( See also Trade )	
Distribution of	292	Insurance—aid in computing	14
Figures and distribution of N		Commission for	202
Wealth in Britain	293	Capital in	220
Number of assesses in sever	al	Charges of	232
Provinces	2967	Interest—Part of wealth	30
Total income Taxed	2967	On Foreign capital	215 et seq.
On Securities in India	300	Revenue from	258
Indebtedness-Of Agriculturist	s 165	Expenditure on	262—3
International, to be cancelled		On debt, to be included	in the
Real Total of India	278	military Budget	266
Index Numbers—Their use in va		Details of	273
Value of Indian production	194—8	Income Tax from	300
India; Income Wealth of	8, 19	Investments—Part of wealth	3
Estimate of Total Production		In India	202
Wealth of—Popular conception		Of Foreigners	215 et seq.
Food—Crops of	136	New, in London	. 216
Flax production of	138	Iron, Ore where found	73 166
Military expenditure of	265 et seq	Foundries	181
Census of occupations in	2945	Where found	
Potential Wealth of	310 ot seq	Quantity and Value of	332—3
Comparative figures of the ar	314	Possibilities of Irrigation—Means to extend	
and Yield of Chief Crops Of To-day Scries	317		139
Indigo: Plantations investment		tion Scheme of	203
Soil for	76	Nature of charges	210
Yield of	102	Income From	258
Value of	123	Expenditure on	2623
Summary figures	133	Division of yield from	291
Substitute for Tea	139	Employees in	304
Quantity of	197	And the increase of agri-	cultural
Indus	81	wealth in India from	315
Industrial classes; Labour of	42	Extent of	315
Distinction in Service	47	Cost and Income from	316
Wealth of	171 et seg	Summary projects	317
Commission: on Power	179	Italy—Average income in	202
On Hand-loom Supply	187	Gain from foreign Visitors	234
Miscellaneous establishments		Military expenditure of	26° 27°
Capital estimate	217	Debt due from	14:
Revolution in Britain	320 324	Ivory-Production of	18:
Development of India	326	Carving in	100
Possibilities of Forests	66	J .	
Industries; Employment in Mining and geological region		Jails-Food rations in India	243—
Distribution of	79	Jamshedpur-Origin of	8.
of fruit	129	Iron ore at	18
Indigo and synthetic Dycing	133	Japan—Trade with	81
And Natural resources	81	Sugar Yield in	9.
, Forest Produce	153, 324	Average income in	20:
Cottage	165	Tonnage of Ships of	22:

	p.	1	p.
Military expenditure of	267	Effect on Welfare	312
Java-Sugar Yield in	94, 314	First Settlements	320-1
Jevons-on Mill	42 n	Of Bombay	322
On direct Taxation	52	Lascars-Food Rations to	243-4
Joint Stock companies and Super T		Lavergne-Estimate of French	
Jowar—soil for	75	Wealth	16
Yield of	92	Lcacock—On Nation	2
. Pricing of	116	Lead—Quantity of	197
Jute—Soil available for	75	League of Nations and Redistri-	101
Industry, why centred in Calcutte	1.1	bution of population	340
Exports and consumption of	99	Leather—Works	167
Valuation of	120	Manufacture of	177
Prices of	122	l	193
	133	Value of	
Summary figures of	136	Legumes—Chemical contents of	241
Monopoly of		Leone Levi—On valuation of some	20
Principal establishments	166	Services	38
Review of	169	Linseed— Yield of (See Oil)	96
Value of	174	Liquor-Production and Value of	177
Manufacture—Value of	193	Value of Manufactures	193
Quantity of	197	Loans—To Municipalities	260
Foreign capital in	220	Loria—On cost of maintaining	
Profits of	221	Efficiency	52
	5 et sog	) M	
K		MacDonald—Ramsay, and burdens of	f
Karachi—Harbour for Sind Trade	80	the Empire	313
Wheat exports from	91	Machinery in Agriculture	164
Block in Inland Trade	131	McKenna-On Fruits	129
Kashmere-Revenue of	211	Madras-Agricultural Wealth of	64
Keatinge : on Meet produce	143	Ratio of Land Rev. to Produce	65
" Upkeep of cattle	146		et seq.
Kellock-The Human Temple	110	Harbour of	80
Kemmerer-Modern Currency Refo		Rice Figures of	84
Keynes	59	Bajra in	92
Khariff—Crops	75	,	94
King-Prof. Estimate of the Wealt		Sugar in	97
U. S. A.	16	Oil-Seeds in	100
Kleinwarchter—on National Income		Cotton yield	102
		Tanning materials	102
Knauth-Estimate of Wealth in		Coffee in	
U.S. A.	16	Ports of—Block in inland trade	131
Kolar—Gold ore in	73, 181	Cotton experiments in	138
Konkan—Good Bajra in	92	Sandal-wood in	155
L		Gold in	181
7-1	00	States and Revenue	211
Labour-Of a country	23	Cost of jail food in	245
In Wealth	43	Details of Wealth of	2836
Invested in injurious commoditi		Real Revenue charge in	289
Office Bombay & Index numbe		Income Tax in	296—8
Gazette—Prices in	114	Super Tax in	307
	110, 237	Irrigation in	315—7
And agriculture	319		et seq.
Territorial Division of	320	Maize—Yield of	92
Lac—Produce of	155	Pricing of	116
Land—Extra for cultivation	311	Quantity	197
Wealth from	312	Chemical contents of	241
Tenure, effect of	312	Malabar-Why Coffee centres in	S2
Landless man—Problem of	3201	Malay Rubber Restrictions in	155
Land-Lords-Gains of	238	Mallock on Fancy Value of Services	38
Exempted from Income Tax	301	Malthus of average individual	7
And Tenants	321	Malwa—Opium from	103
Land Mortgage Banks to secure		Manganese Ore-where found	182
capital for Agriculture	325	Mann-Dr. On Fruit estimates	128
and Revenue-Ratio to outturn	65	Income from cattle	142
Yield of	258	" Upkeep of cattle	146
And income Tax	277	" Seed needs	163
Division of	290	"Joint cultivation	
Distribution of	202	Societies .	325
Administration Reports	303-4	Manufactures—Under Mughals	63

	p.		p.
Need of extending cultivation for		Bombay (cotton) Owners' Associ	
the raw materials for	138	ation on cotton consumption an	
From Bones	141	exports	100
" Ivory	142	Mines-Item in National Wealth	4
Of Paper	151,321	Kolar	8
	151,321	Foreign Capital in	217, 220
" Dyeing and Tanning materials	154	Mineral Wealth of India	´ 8
Industries	170	In Moghal days	62
Of Cotton	173	Inclusion of	712
" Jute	174	Principal industrial establishmen	ts in 166
" Wool	175	Wealth of India	189
" Silk	176	Other Minerals	184
"Sugar	176	Value of	185
" Tobacco	176	Population supported	295
" Flour	177	Development of	330—3
" Toys	188	Military—Receipts	258
	93, 200	Expenditure	262-3
Manure—From Bones	141		65 et seq
Other kinds	142	Comparative view of	267
And agricultural wealth	318	Details of	2678
Markets—provision of	165	Mint—Receipts	258
Marshall-Dr. On Economic Terms	1, 4	Expenditure on	262 - 3
External wealth	· 5	Missions-Receipts of Foreign in I	ndia 234
Thames as part of British Nationa	1	Moghul Court, Splendour and Weal	
wealth	6	Mollison on the yield of Ragi	93
On intangible goods	9	Money—Item of Wealth	4
" classification of goods	10	Value in	9
" capital and annual Income	13	Measuring Rod	24
" National Income	20-2	Value of services	2535
" Dividend	23—4	Incomes and National Dividend	27
" Social Income	24	Inadequate to Measure Services	37
" Double counting	- 28	Valuation in	209
" Services	. 32	Money, Sir Chiozza; On computati	on
" Productive services	41		10, 18, 28
" Speculation	45	On Improved distribution	37
" Domestic servants	46	Reckons Value of arsenals	44
" Transport service	48	Monsoon-Passage of	. 74
" Payment of all services from	1	Moreland—On the Wealth of India	in
National Dividend	50		61 et seq
" Gross and Not Income	51	Mortgages-Part of Individual We	alth 7
, Real and Nominal Wages	52	Mukerji Dr.—Principles of compara	tive
Meat—Valuation of	142	Economies	. 70
(See also Keatinge, cattle and anim	nolel	On seed needs	163
Mercantile Marine Committee	337	Mulhall—Dictionary of Statistics	1617
Of Britain and its earnings	222	On Earnings	29, 83
(See Ships and Freight)	222	Municipalities—Revenues of	256
Mercantilists—Ideas on Wealth	4, 58	Really Taxes	<b>259—60</b>
Metal Working—A domestic industr		Mysore—Coffee in	105, 136
Mica-manufacture of	166	Sandal Wood oil in	155
Production of	184	Gold in	181
	86, 197	Mica in	184
Middlemen—Charges of	238	Revenue of	211
Abolition of	339	) N	
Mill, James; on Average individual		Nation—Definition of	1
On National Wealth	13	National Wealth—Definition of	5, 10
Mill J. S. on Meaning of Wealth	3	Opposed to individual	5, 6
Definition ,, ,,	4	Extent of	6, 7
National Wealth	13	Income—Concept of	20 \
On Productivity	39, 40	Measurement of	29, 31 <i>n</i> -
, Utilities	41	Native States-Included in the	-
On Transport and Commerce	47	inquiry	68
307	49	Statistics of	84
And Commercial Profits	171	Rice yield in	90
Milk': Valuation of	143	Oil Seeds in	97
Quantity of	197	Cotton yield in	100
Chemical contents of	241	Opium	101
Mills-Itom in National Wealth	4	Tobacco	

Blocks in Inland Trade	p. 131		
Throlighla diames of		(See also under Drugs & Narcotic	. P.
	135	Oudh—Agricultural income of, as	-,
Unreliable figures of			
Cattle figures for	142	measured by Mr. Dadabhoy	64
Forests in	149	(See under United Provinces)	
Income from Forests	155	P	
Revenues of	211, 256	_ F	
Tributes from	258	Paish—Sir G. on Investments abro-	ad 217
Revenue all Taxation	259	Paper—Industrial establishments f	
Income in	299		
		Quantity and Value of	179
Agricultural income in	303	Manufactures and Value of	193
Agricultural resources	310n	Possibilities of	326-
Additional land and wealth in	312	(See also under Forests)	
Irrigation in	318	Parliament—Services of members	27
Forest Produce of	329	1	
	•	Passenger earnings ; of foreign	00 -4
Navy-Utility of	44		29 et seg
Use of the British	270	Of Railways	292
For India	271	Patents—An item in Wealth	4
Net advantages from cattle and		Pavy on Dietetics	249
animals	148	Pearl—Fisheries of	159
(See also under Income.)			
	100	Persia—Trade with	80, 131
Agricultural production	163	Petroleum—Refineries in	166
Value of Food industries Produ	ice 177	Resources of	183 <del>4</del>
Total Agricultural Produce	199	Figures of	185
Newmarch—Direct Taxation	52	Quantity and Value of	186, 197
Nicholson, Prof.—on estimating		Excise Duty on	290
	0.9		331
National wealth	83	Petroleum—Possibilities of	
Nickel-where produced	183	Petty—On aggregate and average	ge
Nilgiris—Slopes of, for Tea and Co	ffee 74	Wealth	304
Nitrates—from S. America	184	On Production and Trade	130
Non Agricultural Incomes—Estima	at-	Physiocrats	
ed by Dadabhoy	64	Emphasis on Agriculture	12, 13-
Nonford crops domend for	136		394
Nonfood crops—demand for		Influence on Adam Smith	
North West Frontier Province Ag		Pigou-On corelating welfare wit	
cultural Income	64	National Dividend	21—4
Revenue in	257	On Services	2632:
Railway	267	Disparity between Rich and Poor	37
Detailed view of Wealth and	_	On physical efficiency	51
			4, 10
Taxation	283—7	Plant—Item in Wealth	
Income Tax Statistics	296—7	Planting Companies—Capital of	220~
Norway—Terpentine of	153	Pliny—On Drain of Gold to India	59 <i>•</i>
	400		
• •	400	Political Deductions—or Drain	209 - 10
0	400	1	
	-	Population—And Wealth	200
Oatmeal-chemical contents of	241	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on	2004 261
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of	241 294—5	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation	2004 261 283
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists	241 294—5 323	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration	2004 261 283 295
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists	241 294—5 323	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration ,, Unproductive occupation	2004 261 283 295- 295-
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of	241 294—5 323	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration	2004 261 283 295
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in	241 294—5 323 om 342	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration ,, Unproductive occupation	2004 261 283 295- 295-
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of	241 294—5 323 m 342 73	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration ,, Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France	200* 261 283- 295- 295- 312: 320*
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration ,, Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India	200* 261 283: 295- 295- 312: 320 *
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of	241 294—5 323 om 342 73 96 97	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other	200* 261 283- 295- 295- 312: 320 * 340 ·
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries	200* 261 283- 295- 295- 312: 320* 340-
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of	241 294—5 323 om 342 73 96 97	Population—And Wealth Per capits burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from	200* 261 283: 295- 295- 312: 320* 340* r 342—3: 258
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration , Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of	200* 261 283: 295- 295- 312: 320* 340-  r 342_3: 258 280-
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration , Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of	200* 261 283: 295- 295- 312: 320* 340* r 342—3: 258
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration , Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of	200* 261 283- 295- 395- 312: 320* 340-  r 342—3- 258 280- 292
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpe	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in	200* 261 283- 295- 312: 320* 340-  ** 342—3: 258 280* 292 304-
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.]	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India	200* 261 283: 295- 312: 320* 340-  ** 342—3: 258 280* 292 292 201—3
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152	Population—And Wealth Per capits burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of	200* 261 283: 295- 395- 312: 320* 340*  7 342—3: 258 280* 292 292 201—3 179, 193:
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration , Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of	200* 261 283: 295- 295- 312: 320* 340*  7 342—3: 258 280- 292 304: 201—3 179, 193: 109
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of	241 294—5 323 om 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 en-	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration , Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on	200* 261 283: 295- 295- 312: 320* 340-  7 342_3: 258 280- 292 304: 201_3: 179, 193: 109- 45
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration , Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of	200* 261 283- 295- 312 320* 340-  r 342_3- 258 280* 292 304 201_3 179, 193- 109 45
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of Capital in	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 en- 167 178 197 217	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on And value	200* 261 283: 295- 295- 312: 320* 340-  7 342_3: 258 280- 292 304: 201_3: 179, 193: 109- 45
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Soeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpe tine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of Capital in Yield and area figures of	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 en- 167 178 197 217 314	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on And value Datta's Inquiry into	200* 261 283- 295- 312 320* 340-  r 342_3- 258 280* 292 304 201_3 179, 193- 109 45
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of Capital in Yield and area figures of Onions—Yield of	241 294—5 323 323 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 en- 167 178 197 217 314 109	Population—And Wealth Per capits burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on And value Datta's Inquiry into Level and fluctuations	200* 261 283: 295- 395- 312: 320* 340*  7 342_3: 258 280* 292 291_3 179, 193: 109 45 68, 84 110
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of Capital in Yield and area figures of Onions—Yield of Opium—under the Moghals	241 294—5 323 m 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 en- 167 178 197 217 314 109 63	Population—And Wealth Per capits burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on And value Datta's Inquiry into Level and fluctuations Statistics of	200* 261 283: 295- 295- 312: 320* 340*  342—3: 258 280- 292 304: 201—3 179, 193: 109 45 46 68, 84 110 112:
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of Capital in Yield and area figures of Opium—under the Moghals Yield of	241 294—5 323 323 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 217 217 314 109 63 103	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on And value Datta's Inquiry into Level and fluctuations Statistics of Retail	200* 261 283: 295- 312: 320* 340-  r 342_3: 258 280* 292 304: 201_3: 109 45 46- 68, 84 110 112: 113:
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of Capital in Yield and area figures of Onions—Yield of Opium—under the Moghals Yield of Value of	241 294—5 323 323 323 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 201- 217 217 314 109 63 103 104	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on And value Datta's Inquiry into Level and fluctuations Statistics of Retail Ratio adopted	200* 261 283: 295- 312: 320* 340-  7 342—3: 258 280* 292 394: 201—3 179, 193: 109 45 68, 84 110 112: 113:
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of Capital in Yield and area figures of Onions—Yield of Opium—under the Moghals Yield of Value of	241 294—5 323 323 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 217 217 314 109 63 103	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on And value Datta's Inquiry into Level and fluctuations Statistics of Retail Ratio adopted Of Rice and Wheat—How taken	200* 261 283: 295- 312: 320* 340*  342_3: 258 280* 292 291 45- 46- 68, 84 110 112: 113: 113- 114-15-
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of Capital in Yield and area figures of Onions—Yield of Opium—under the Moghals Yield of Value of Summary figures	241 294—5 323 323 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 201 201 217 217 217 217 217 314 109 63 103 104 133	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on And value Datta's Inquiry into Level and fluctuations Statistics of Retail Ratio adopted Of Rice and Wheat—How taken	200* 261 283: 295- 312: 320* 340-  7 342—3: 258 280* 292 394: 201—3 179, 193: 109 45 68, 84 110 112: 113:
Oatmeal—chemical contents of Occupations—Census figures of Subsidiary for agriculturists Oceana—Area and Population, Roo for settlement in Oil—field of Seeds, yield of Area of Pricing of Summary figures of India's resources in From Forests—Produce [See also under Sandal, Terpetine &c.] Mills Value of Quantity of Capital in Yield and area figures of Onions—Yield of Opium—under the Moghals Yield of Value of	241 294—5 323 323 323 342 73 96 97 119 133 136 152 201- 217 217 314 109 63 103 104	Population—And Wealth Per capita burden on And Taxation In Public administration "Unproductive occupation Pressure of In France Problem of, in India Comparative Pressure of, in other countries Post and Telegraphs—Income from Charges—Nature of Receipts—Incidence of Employees in Poverty—of India Power—Supply—Value of Potatoes—Yield of Prices—Effect of Speculation on And value Datta's Inquiry into Level and fluctuations Statistics of Retail Ratio adopted	200* 261 283: 295- 312: 320* 340*  342_3: 258 280* 292 291 45- 46- 68, 84 110 112: 113: 113- 114-15-

	р.	_	P-
Of oilseeds	119	R	
" cotton	120 - 1	Rabi crops	75-
" Jute	122	Ragi-Figures not available	93
" Dyes &c.	123	Pricing of	116
" Drugs &c.	19 <del>4</del>	Quantity of	197
" Tea & Coffee	125	Railways—Investment in	66-
" Tobacco	126		131 et seq
" Fruits & Vegetables	127	As consumers of timber	150
" Fodder	128	Workshops and Factories	167
Condiments & Spices	129	Freight charges of	207
Voung enttle	143	Nature of	210
" Young cattle	144		211
Wholesale and Produce	172	Receipts of	217
	209	Capital invested in	238
Changes in	293	Traffic Receipts of	258.
And wages, statistics of		Receipts from	
Primogeniture—System of	320	Charges really Tax	259~
Princes-Indian, expenses in		Expenditure of	2623
	214, 233	Details of	279—80
Produce—Figures, how to obtain	84	Distribution of burden	292
Gross agricultural	163	Employees in	304
Productive—Meaning of	38	(See also Transport)	
Productivity and Wealth	43	Rainfall in India	79
Resources of the State	49	Raiyatwari-Rice figures in villa	ges 84
Professional Classes, Services of	39, 47	Area and Revenue from	239-
Population Supported by	295	Area etc. under	303
Profits—Part of Wealth 13, 1	5, 30, 48	Rajputana—Soil of	74
	2 et seq		92
	2323	Bajre in	211
Of Foreign capital	239	States, Revenue of	
" Native capital		Rangoon—Harbour for Burma T	96-
" Traders or Commerce	170	Rape and Mustard—Yield of	90-
" Foreigners in India	215	(See under Oil-seeds)	000
Property—Civic, Income from	171	Raw Materials—Exported	208-
Provincial contributions	258	Rawalpindi—Oil near	73-
Expenditure	262—3	Petroleum near	184
Details of	281	Redistribution of Land	323
Pulses-How estimated	93	Registration—Revenue from	258
Pulteney-On National Wealth	13	Rent-Part of Wealth	13, 15, 30
Punjab-Agricultural Income esti-		Paid to Land-lords	239-
mated by Dadabhoy	64	Estimate of	301
Ratio of Land Rev. to Produce	65	Receivers, number of	302
Soil of	74	Ricardian theory of in India	311
Forests in	77		321
	80	Restriction of,—by legislation	326-
Trade of	81	Resin—Forest industry of	172
Rivers of		Retail Prices	
Wheat Yield of	91	Difference from wholesale	207
Bajra in	93	Retrenchment—Incheape Commi	ttee,
Sugar in	94	Memorandum	268
Cotton Yield in	100	Report of	272
Tanning materials in	102	Revenues—of India depend on	Pro-
Saltpetre in	184	duction	72
States—Revenue of	211	. A Drain upon People (1)	202—10
· Revenue in	257	Provincial	210
Detailed view of Wealth and	ł	Total demand on account of	211
Taxation	2837	Charge on people	231
Real Revenue charge in	289	Raised in Different Provinces	257
Canals in	318	Total Burden of	2556
Irrigation in	3157	Reverse Councils—Loss from	275
Canal colonies in	324	Rice—Where grown	75, 76
Forest possibilities in	328-9	Mill industry, why centred in	Burma 82
v oreas heasternes in		Figures to illustrate possibili	trof
^			85 ct seq
Q		error	89 et seq
		Yield of	90
Quantity-Figures Summarised	161	Error in	113-
Of Industries	170	Average annual Price of	
"Minerals 186	, 197, 330	Valuation of	114 et seq
Quesnay-Quoted on Richesse et bi	ens	Summary figures	133
gratuits	4	Relative position of	160
=			

	TÒ.		74
Mills in	p. 167	Quantity of	p. 197
Quantity of			
	197	Sethna—Resolution for an economic	IC
Chemical contents of	241	Inquiry	67
Area and yield figures		Shan States—Tea from	108
(comparative)	314	Trade with	131
Rivers—Influence on Wealth	81	Shares-Part of individual wealth	
Highways of Commerce	81	. Of the Suez Canal Co. owned by	tha `
Trada hama be			the
	31 et seg	British Nation	2
Gold from	181	Ships—Building and Timber	151
Roots—Chemical contents of	241	Establishments for	167
Roumania-Cotton demand of	100	Commissions	167
Debt due from	276		
		Payments for	215,337
Rowntree—Human Needs of Labou	n 110	[See also under Deductions, Ind	US-
Royalties—Part of Wealth	15, 30	try, Iron and Steel]	
Rubber—Produce of	155	Siam—Trade with	80
Capital in	217		
		Sidgwick—On Economics as an app	TION .
Furthur exploitation of	328	Science	1
Ruskin—On meaning of Wealth	3, 5	Silk-Weaving and Scriculture in	
Bussia-Present and Potential W	ealth	Moghal days	62
of	8	Principal establishments in	166
±. ***			
Cotton demand of	100	Produce in	176
Settlement of	136	Manufactures, Value of	193—7
Capital lost in	218	Silver-Where found	181, 34
Repudiation of debt by	276	Quantity and Value of	186
Ryot-Income and ability	201	Sind—Soil of	74
Land Revenue charge on	291	Trade of	80
Full employment to	319	Bajra of	92
Settlement with	323	1	
		(See also under Irrigation	,
S		Sixty nears of Indian Finance	
-Salaries-Part of National Wealt	h 30	Distinction between Tax and	
			235
Drain of foreigners	202	Non-Tax Revenues	
Of civil Departments	212	On Military Expenditure	292
Figures of	213	Smart—On Distribution Incomes	26n
Expenditure on	2623	On National dividend	50
To Deilmone Diet-ib-ti of			74
In Railways-Distribution of	280, 303	Soil—Influence of	
In the Post Office	280—3	Different varieties of	75, 77
Income Tax from	300	Chemical deficiencies of	77
Salmond—On Nation	2	And Rivers	81
		· • •	
Salt—Wealth under Moghuls	63	Variation in size of holding	D10 700
Production of	18 <b>4</b>		319, 323
Quantity and value of	186—7	Spain—Military expenditure	267
Yield of	291	Rice vield, highest in	314
Distribution of burden	292, 335		45
		Speculation—Utility of	
Revenue from	289	Spence-On National Wealth	13
Saltpetre—Where found	184	Spices—Yield of	109
Quantity of	197	Value of	129
Sandalwood-Oil from	155	Quantity of	197
		Spinning Wheel-Possibilities of	322-3
Carving in	188	Spinning wheel-Possibilities of	J.:2
Forest industry of	326	Stamp-Dr. Sir Josiah	
Savings—Aid in computing	14	On Denotation of National	
Of non-Indians	212	Wealth	711
Of public Servants	232	National Wealth same as capita	
Saw-Mills	167	Wealth	12
Seeds—Deduction for	163, 251	Computation	15
Senior—On National Income	20	Wealth of Chief Powers	17
:Services-Measurement of	24	Wealth estimate of U. K.	18
			-
Conventional attitude to	25	British Incomes and Property	24n
Why excluded	28, 31	On Wives' Services	26
How measured in money	35	Questions Levy	37, 38
Non-Industrial	35	On arsenals	44
Why exclude them		Subsistence Minimum	53
	38		
Of Commerce and Transport	47	Stamps—Revenue yield of	258
Their value included in Product	ion 49	Incidence of duty	291
Of Non-Indians	212	Distribution of Burden	292
How far a return	214	Standard of value—Changes in	
			100
Of the State Sceamum—Yield of	237 96	valuation due to Food requirement	199 241

	p.		p.
State—Regulating Production	3 <b>4</b>	Terpentine and Resin-Value of	1530
Statist-Freight Index of	222	Prospects of Forest Industry	326
Statistical Measurement—Inadequac	y of 24	Terminology—Difficulties of	_1
Stock Exchange—Services of Specu-		.Textiles—Industry of 166,	296
lators in	45	(See also under Cotton, Jute, Silk &c.)	
Stores-Drain for	202	Thames—Part of National Wealth	10
Item in Home charges	212	Thompson—On Standard Food Ration	242
Figures of	213 280	Timber—Forest Produce	77 151
Of Railways	233	And Machinery Supply and use	150
Students (Indian)—Expenditure of Subsistence Minimum	53	Value of	326
Sugar—Investments in	66	Timurlane-Mothods of restricting	020
Where found, and Soil for	75	population	322
Yield of	94	Tin—Where found	182
Indian Committee on	95		107
Pricing of	117	Price of	<b>126</b> -
Summary figures	133	Summary figures	133
Factories in	167		167
Manufactures of	176		176 -
Refined-Value of	193	• = · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	193 -
Quantity of	197		189
Foreign capital in	220	Trade—aid in computing wealth	14
Comparative yield and area figure		Foreign, Basis for estimating Nations	** 71
OI Culbus Domes - Design of	314	Wealth Income from	70
Sukkur Barrage,—Project of	139 317	And Situation	79 -
Cost &c. Surat—Cotton Soil of	76	With Asiatic countries by sea	80 -
Switzerland—Gain from forcign	10	Balance in—Sugar	95
tourists	234		128
T		Inland, of India 128-	
			129 -
Tanneries—Number of	167	Figures as checks 131 et	seq
	et seq	Coasting	$13\overline{2}$
Value of	123	In Saltpetre, killed by German	
Tata Iron and Steel Company,	181	competition	184
output of Taxable Capacity 205	et seq	Board of, on Foreign Investments 217	—8 ·
Problem of	70 70	,	222
Taxation—Direct, Report on	52		5 : 2 <b>3</b> 5
	339 <del>4</del> 0		294
Means to redistribute Wealth	83	Population supported by Real Balance of	236
Burdens and Adjustment	238		234
Per capita burden	261	Trade-Marks-as wealth	10
Real Incidence of	282	Tramway Companies—Capital in 217-	
Per head in the Provinces	283	Trap-Soil 75 et	seq
Indian system of	338	Travancore-Coffee in	105
Taxes—Contrasted with charges fo		Rubber in	155
Services	210	Transport—Service, not productive	47
On Income—yield of	258 261	Income from	71
What are proper Detailed consideration of Burden	289		129 ·
Incidence on several classes			167
Incomes	305	1 101100 11011	170 187
Super, Statistics of	306		237
Burdens readjusted	338		294
Tavernier—on Wealth of India	58	Fair burden for	308
Tea—Investment in	66	Difficulties of—in Forest development	
Soil for	76	Treasure—Imports of	235
Yield of	104	Treaty of Peace—and Indian army	269
Price of	125	Tributes—Yield of	258
Summary figures	133	Tungsten—Where found	182 :
Monopoly of	136	Turmeric-Yield of	109
Diseases of	139		
Quantity of Capital in	197 217—20	U	
	217—20 2 <b>4-A</b> -C.	United Kingdom	
Room for extension of	327	System of Taxation	2
Tennance Logislation	201	Mathod of Computation	14

Wealth of	16	Vizagapatam—Harbour of 80
Recent estimates	18	Voelcker-on Indian Agriculture 164, 318
Census of production in	83	
Tea exports to	105	.W
India's coal production in relation	202	
Average Income in Debt due to	276	Wages—Statistics of 293
Yield and area figures of principal		(See also Prices)
crops	314	In selected industries 304
United Provinces—	021	Walker—on Fund and Flow 12
Soil of	74	War-Exports of non-food crops 137
Forests in	77	(See also price and valuation)
Price figures of	84	Gross value of Total wealth during 162
Wheat yield of	91	Net value of Total wealth during 164
Barley in	92	Demand for Iron Goods 182
Maize in	93	Mica Supply before 184. Value of Indian production during 194
Sugar in	94	Value of Indian production during 194 And Foreign investment 218
Oil-seeds in	97	Effect of debt 265
Cotton yield in	100	Contribution of India 270
Tanning materials in	102	And Debt 274
Saltpetre in	184	Restrictions on trade due to 275-6
States, Revenue of	211 257	Washington Conference-Wealth of the
Revenues in Real Revenue charge in	289	Powers at 16
	296—8	Water—Resources in 164
Super Tax in	307	Aerated 177
United States		And Indian Trade 236
Census of production in	83	Purchases in 258
Cotton seed in	97	Watt, Sir G Commercial Products of
Terpentine from	153	India 77
India's production of Coal in rela-		On yield of sugar 94%
tion to	183	Estimate of dyeing-materials 102
Average Income in	202	On the value of Milk 144
Tonnage of	222	On consumption of hides and skins 177 Wealth—Conception of 1
Military expenditure	267	National 1
Debt due to	276	Capital 2—3
Yield and Area figures of principal	014	Income 2—3
crops	314	Money value of 4
*Utilities— Can be produced	40	Material and personal 4, 5
And Wealth	41	Intangible 5
And different services	44	Contrast between capital wealth
1		and Income wealth 12 et seq
•		Individual—vs. National 12
v		And earnings 17
V		And Services 36
		Real—definition of 40
* Malma		Meaning Material Wealth only (Mill) 43
'Value Exchangeable	<b>E</b>	Real 118 Total gross value of 162
In use and in exchange	5 9	Net value of 164
Fancy values of services	38	Mineral, of India 181
And physical efficiency	51	Of Towns 189
Methods of valuing	110	From Manufactures
	et sea	Summary 192
Of non-food crops exported	137	Total Mineral 193
Figures summarised	162	Real, annual value of 196
Of cotton Production	173	Real contrasted with Nominal 205
Of Dyes and Drugs	178	In relation to population 200 et seq
Of power supply	179	And Debt 278
Of Industrial Wealth summarised	180	And Taxation 283
Of Minerals Summarised	186	Of Provinces 283
Of Handloom Production	188	Falling under and exempted or escaping from Income Tax 304
Figures Summarised	199 109	escaping from Income Tax 304 Potential 310 et seq
Vegetables—Yield of Price of	127	From irrigation 318
Quantity of	197	Total Potentialities of 341
	2389	Webb
	325—6	Complement to Mulhall's Statistics 17
<del>-</del>		-

Weighted Index Numbers	194	Wood-Working establishments	167
Welfare, economic, and National		Value of manufactures	178
Dividend	21	Value of	193
Wells—use of for irrigation	315 et seg	Wool-Principal establishments in	166
Wheat Yield of	8 <b>9</b>	Production in	175
Average annual Price of	113	Manufactures, value of	193
Valuation of	115	(See also under Animals)	
Summary figures	133	Working Class—Budgets of	67
Relative position of	160	Food Consumption of	243-9
Quantity summarised	197	In European Countries	250
Chemical contents of	241	Expenses of Railways	262 - 3
Yield and area figures of	314	Working Expenses	
Wholesale prices, and consumers	170	of: Railways not to be deducted	210
Difference from Retail	207	•	

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