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CHAPTER XI

LORD HASTINGS AND THE MAHALWARI SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN INDIA (1815-1822)

THE last Mahratta war was over, and the last of the Peshwas was captured in 1818; and Lord Hastings was forced to face the problem of a proper land administration in India, far more difficult to deal with than swarms of the Pindaries or armies of the Mahrattas. The task of conquests and annexations was easy enough, when disciplined troops faced undisciplined hordes in the field of battle. But the story of such conquests is not the history of India; the story of the administration, and of the condition of the people under the new rule, is the true history of the country.

The Board of Commissioners in the Conquered and Ceded Provinces (Northern India), consisting of Sir Edward Colebrooke and Mr. Trant, submitted their report on land settlements in the different districts—Moradabad, Bareilly, Shajehanpur, and Rohilkhand; and they once more pressed that the assessments made should be made permanent.

“We should not fulfil the duty of the station in which it has pleased the Government to place us if we were to abstain from offering it as our decided opinion that the greatest injury cannot but occur to the interests of the British Government in this quarter of its possessions by any longer withholding the benefits of a Permanent Settlement, which have been so long and so anxiously expected by the mass of the population of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.

"We shall not enter upon any discussion of the advantages of the measure in a fiscal point of view, although we are fully satisfied of them, because we consider the faith of the Government to have been pledged by the promulgation of the two Regulations above quoted, which having been enacted, as we understood, after a full discussion of the question of the Permanent Settlement with the Honourable the Court of Directors, was to be considered as the absolute and final determination of the supreme authorities, both in this country and in Europe. . . .

"We at the same time take the liberty of again expressing our conviction, both individually and collectively, that no measure short of a general permanency to the settlements of the whole of these provinces will meet the expectations of the landholders, founded on what they consider a solemn promise of Government."¹

In the following year, 1819, a minute was recorded by Mr. Dowdeswell on the same subject on the eve of his retirement from India after a long and distinguished service. And he spoke in no uncertain voice.

"The position, then, which I maintain is, that the faith of Government was irrevocably pledged to the great body of the people to extend to them the benefits of a Permanent Settlement, with the limited exceptions above stated, at the expiration of the term of ten years, reckoning from the period of the cession and conquest respectively. . . .

"It is painful to me to be compelled to state facts and opinions which, I am sensible, cannot prove agreeable to those for whose consideration they are chiefly intended; but the Honourable Court [of Directors] will, I am persuaded, do justice to the motives which actuate me. Had I thought myself free to choose, I

¹ Report dated 27th October 1818.

should most readily have declined the task in which I am at present engaged. It is only because I thought the exposition of my sentiments to be a duty of more than ordinary exigency that I have been led to place them on record. . . .

“ It will answer every object which I have at heart if I can aid in showing that the measure would conduce to the best interests of the Government in promoting the agricultural improvement of the country, and more specially in cementing the attachment of the people to the British name and power, without any inordinate sacrifice of the public resources. The landholders, I doubt not, would be fully satisfied to improve their means of subsistence by gradually reclaiming such small portions of land as lie intermixed with those already reduced to a state of cultivation, or in other words, within the limits of a Pergana, Mouza, or other division of an estate for which the settlement might be formed; the rest, as shown in preceding paragraphs, would belong *de jure* to Government. . . .

“ On the other hand, I neither deem it wise, just, or politic that Government should gradually so enhance the assessments as to draw from the land the maximum revenue which it can possibly pay. I believe that, generally speaking, the assessment has already been raised as high as is consistent with the well-being of the agricultural classes and the gradual improvement of the country. . . .

“ I now quit the subject, in all probability for ever. It is equally a source of pride and satisfaction to me to reflect that I have contributed something towards the internal peace and good order of the country; that I have laboured according to the extent of my means for the improvement and the administration of civil and criminal justice; and that the public resources generally have not suffered from the share I have had in the management of them. Wide, therefore, as the

188 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

range is, I should scarcely have had a wish ungratified could I have witnessed, previously to quitting the country, the establishment of a Permanent Settlement in the western provinces."¹

A still more distinguished officer, Sir Edward Colebrooke, was now about to leave India after his forty-two years' useful and distinguished service in the country. And he too made one more endeavour, on the eve of his retirement, to secure to the people of the country some prospect of wealth and of future gain from the soil, against the ever increasing and impoverishing demands of the Court of Directors. With his Minute, recorded in 1820, he submitted a statement showing how the land revenue of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces had been continuously increased during twelve years, from 1807 to 1818; and he recommended the promised limitation of the land revenue demand which would leave "to the landholders the fruits of their improved industry."²

The following figures are taken from Sir Edward Colebrooke's statement, accepting ten Rupees as equivalent to a pound sterling.

Conquered and Ceded Provinces, Northern India.

Year.	Land Revenue.	Gross Revenue.
1807	2,008,955	2, 65,396
1808	2,042,347	2, 304,004
1809	2,254,791	2, 579,949
1810	2,392,852	2, 782,643
1811	2,414,737	2, 741,728
1812	2,274,709	2, 646,853
1813	2,508,681	2, 931,905
1814	2,502,223	2, 815,579
1815	2,483,133	2, 891,045
1816	2,665,667	3, 130,853
1817	2,620,761	2, 926,923
1818	2,892,789	3, 262,366

¹ Minute dated 7th October 1819.

² Minute dated 17th March 1820.

. In a later Minute, recorded in the same year, Sir Edward Colebrooke made his last recommendation for securing the prosperity of the people of India among whom he had lived so long.

“On the eve of finally quitting a country in which I have resided forty-two years, and a service in which, through the early partiality of the late Warren Hastings in selecting me for Persian Secretary to Government so long ago as the beginning of 1780, I have borne an efficient and responsible part from the age of eighteen, I should feel a true satisfaction if, by the last act of my official existence, I could flatter myself in having contributed to secure the blessings of a limited assessment to that portion of the British territories in which the last twelve years of an active life have been employed. . . . I cannot, however, forget that to the general character of the landholders of those provinces I am indebted for the success of my labours, and common gratitude, if even my conviction of the propriety of the measure were less strong, might dictate this return.”

A noble sentiment this, but futile. The loyal and peaceful character of the Indian people has never induced the Government to abate its own pecuniary demands; it has often had the contrary effect of encouraging the Government to enhance its demands till the people became impoverished and resourceless, in spite of the peace and security secured by the British rule, and in spite of the thrift and industry of the people, and the richness and fertility of their land.

Armed with the Reports and Minutes of the Board of Commissioners, of Mr. Dowdeswell and Sir Edward Colebrooke, as well as of Messrs. Stuart, Adam, and Fendall, the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, made his final appeal to the Court of Directors for that measure of Permanent Settlement, which had

been solemnly promised by the British Government, and which was needed for the prosperity of the people.

"It is, then, our unanimous opinion, that the system of a Permanent Settlement of the land revenue, either upon the principle of a fixed Jumma, or of an assessment determinable by a fixed and invariable rate, ought to be extended to the Ceded and Conquered Provinces."¹

The Directors of a trading company, now owners of an empire, refused the proposals of Lord Hastings with a curtness which betrayed how little real regard they entertained for the happiness of the people when their own pecuniary interests were concerned.

"We must again pointedly apprise you that we are not prepared to assent to the opinion to which, you say, you have unanimously come, 'that the system of a Permanent Settlement of the land revenue, either upon the principle of a fixed Jumma, or of an assessment determinable by a fixed and invariable rate, ought to be extended to the Ceded and Conquered Provinces;' and we distinctly repeat the injunction contained in the eighty-sixth paragraph of our letter in this department, dated the 15th January 1819, against any Permanent Settlement of land revenue; and we desire that you will abstain not only from making any such settlement, but from taking any measures which may raise the expectation that a settlement in perpetuity will hereafter be formed."² The controversy was thus closed for forty years.

Holt Mackenzie, then Secretary to the Board, had in the meantime recorded his famous Minute of 1819,

¹ Revenue Letter to the Court of Directors, signed by the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, and members of his Council, Messrs. Stuart, Adam, and Fendall, dated 16th September 1820.

² Revenue Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 1st August 1821.

revealing the existence of Village Communities in Northern India, and recommending a settlement with these communities where they existed, after a systematic survey and inquiry.¹ The Minute contained a review of the different districts and suggested that the villages should now be surveyed, that a record of rights be prepared, and that Village Communities should be represented by head-men who should be called Lambardars, or persons having a "number" in the Collector's register of persons liable to pay land revenue to the State. It was also suggested that the rates of assessment should be equalised rather than enhanced; and that revenue payers should have their rights secured such as they were.

All ideas of a Permanent Settlement being abandoned in 1821, the minute of Holt Mackenzie was accepted as the basis of settlement. The idea was that settlements should be made with landlords where they existed, and with Village Communities where they held land in common tenancy. And it was specially desired that the land tax should be fixed at a moderate rate. This was particularly insisted upon in the Government Resolution of 1822.

"87. It appears, indeed, that the ancient Hindu laws assigned to the Sovereign a certain and moderate share of the produce. But if we judge of the practice of ancient times by that of more modern Hindu principalities, it may apparently be assumed that the actual sums levied from the cultivators were by no means always limited by the nominal rates. . . .

"88. So also in the Moghal system as described by Mr. Grant, who states the ordinary money rates to have been fixed by an average valuation of one-fourth of the produce. . . .

"93. On the whole, indeed, his Lordship in Council is disposed to conclude that although the

¹ Minute dated 1st July 1819.

native governments to which we succeeded allowed considerable weight to ancient customs, even in adjusting their pecuniary demands, and though in later days especially, they were too weak to enforce all that they might regard as their just dues, yet that (subject to the general obligation of consulting the case of the Ryots) the right of the ruling power to fix the rate of its demand was never questioned. . . .

"101. In the case of Government especial caution is necessary to guard against an excessive demand; for there must always be great danger lest, while we imagine that we take only a share of the *net* rent, we in fact encroach on the fair wages of labour and profits of stock. . . .

"129. When the rates of rent payable by the cultivators are settled, it will remain to determine the nature and extent of the advantages to be assigned to the intermediate managers and others [landlords], and the manner and proportion in which the *net* rent and profits arising out of the limitation of the Government demand is to be distributed. . . .

"373. His Lordship in Council has derived much satisfaction from the evidence afforded on other occasions, that the native revenue officers have a lively sense of the distinction of honorary rewards. That feeling it is most important to cherish, and it can never be the wish of Government to practise, in regard to any class of public functionaries, the fallacious economy which leaves to officers invested with extensive trust the alternative of poverty or dishonour.¹

A week after the date of this Resolution was passed Regulation vii. of 1822, "declaring the principles according to which settlement of the land revenue in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, including Cuttack, Pattaspore, and its dependencies, is to be hereafter made."

¹ Resolution of Government dated 1st August 1822.

The revision of the settlement was to be made village by village and estate by estate, and as an estate is called a Mahal in the Indian language, the settlement which was made in Northern India is known as the *Mahalwari Settlement*. The revenue demand was not to be raised in any estate unless it was clear that the landlords' profits exceeded one-fifth of that demand. In such cases "the assessment shall be so regulated as to leave the Zemindars and others aforesaid a net profit of twenty per cent. of the amount of the Jumma," or revenue demand. Thus in an estate with a rental of £1200, the State-demand was to be raised to £1000, so as to leave to the landlord £200, or one-fifth of the State-demand. The State-demand was thus to be over 83 per cent. of the rental of estates.

Revenue Collectors were empowered to grant leases to cultivators, specifying the rents payable by them. In cases in which estates were held not by landlords but by cultivators in common tenancy, the State-demand might be raised to 95 per cent. of the rents, i.e. to the entire rental "with a deduction of 5 per cent. on account of Malikana, or such other rate not being less than 5 per cent. as Government may determine." In such cases the Revenue Collector was empowered to make a fresh partition of the lands of the village, or of the proportion of the State-demand payable by each cultivator.

Revenue Collectors might be empowered to try suits between landlords and tenants, to determine the rents payable, to adjust accounts between them, and to decide all matters connected with lands, rents, leases, and engagements between landlords and tenants. An appeal was allowed from the decision of the Collector to the Board, and finally by a regular suit in Civil Courts.¹

¹ Regulation vii. of 1822.

Such was the first comprehensive Land Act of Northern India, passed twenty years after Northern India was ceded to or conquered by the British; and a careful examination of its clauses discloses its defects. The Act prescribed no equitable standard of rents payable by cultivators except the judgment of the Revenue Collector. It prescribed no equitable margin of profits to landlords except a bare 17 per cent. of the rental. In curious contrast to frequent professions "to guard against an excessive demand," and to "take only a share of the net rent," it swept away virtually the whole of the rental of the country, leaving landlords and cultivators equally impoverished. It made any accumulation of wealth and any improvement in the material condition of the people impossible; and it fixed no limits to the State-demand in future and recurring settlements after the brief period of the first settlement was over.

The system broke down ultimately by reason of its own harshness. Some relief was at last given to the people of Northern India in 1833 by the best and greatest of the Company's Governor-Generals, Lord William Bentinck. To an account of the Land Settlement of 1833 we shall revert in a future chapter.

CHAPTER XII

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA (1800)

In the preceding chapters we have dwelt on the history of Land Settlements in Bengal, Madras, and Northern India. We have seen that everywhere the local authorities pressed for a Permanent Settlement of the land revenues. In Bengal a Permanent Zemindari Settlement was made in 1793, and this was extended to Benares in 1805. In Madras a Permanent Zemindari Settlement was made in the Northern Circars and elsewhere between 1802 and 1805, and then there was a change in the policy of the Directors. Thomas Munro recommended a Permanent Ryotwari Settlement, and the Board of Revenue recommended a Permanent Village Settlement; a Ryotwari Settlement was made, but it was not declared permanent. In Northern India Lord Wellesley pledged the faith of the British Government in 1803 and 1805 to conclude a Permanent Zemindari Settlement, and Lord Minto and Lord Hastings pressed the Directors to redeem this pledge. The Directors broke the pledge and ordered a Mahalwari Settlement, not permanent.

Such is the history of Land Settlements in India during the second period of British rule in India. The first generation of British rulers—the generation of Clive and Warren Hastings—settled nothing; they were bewildered by the land question, and their harsh and ever-changing methods ended in oppression and failure. The second generation—that of Cornwallis and Wellesley and Lord Hastings—gave a *Permanent*

Zemindari Settlement to Bengal, Benares, and the Northern Circars; a *Ryotwari Settlement*, not declared permanent, to the newer acquisitions in Madras; and a *Mahalwari Settlement*, not permanent, to the Ceded and Conquered Provinces of Northern India. *

We shall pause now in the course of our narrative to examine the economic condition of the people of India at the commencement of the nineteenth century. It is necessary to examine somewhat minutely how the people of India lived, and tilled their fields, and produced their manufactures, what incomes and wages were earned by men, what employment occupied the women. No study is more interesting and instructive in the history of nations than the study of the material condition of the people from age to age. And, fortunately, we have in the valuable works of Dr. Francis Buchanan—the first statistical inquirer employed by the British Government in India—some detailed information concerning the occupations and industries of the people of India.

On the 24th February 1800, Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General of India, directed Dr. Francis Buchanan, a medical officer in the employment of the East India Company, to make a journey through Southern India; with a view to make economic inquiries into the condition of the people and their agriculture and manufactures. Dr. Buchanan travelled from Madras territory into the Karnatic, Mysore, Coimbatour, Malabar, and Canara, and the diary of his journey and the results of his inquiries were published in London in 1807, in three quarto volumes. This work will be our guide in the present chapter, which deals with the condition of the people of Southern India in 1800. The later inquiries of Dr. Buchanan in Northern India will be dealt with in the next chapter.

THE JAIGIR OF MADRAS.

On the 23rd April 1800, Dr. Buchanan left Madras on his tour of statistical inquiry. There was little waste land in the immediate vicinity of Madras, and the soil produced a good crop of rice if the rainfall was sufficient. In some places the people irrigated their fields from old tanks and reservoirs, and these fields were covered with rice. Charitable people had built Choultries or inns on the wayside for the free accommodation of travellers.

Further on, the road westward passed through a country "at present naked," but showing some signs of improvement in the shape of plantations of cocconut palms. At Condaturu the country assumed a different and pleasing aspect, and Dr. Buchanan saw one of those old Hindu irrigation works for which Southern India was always famous. It was a large reservoir formed by shutting up with an artificial bank an opening between two natural ridges of ground. The sheet of water was seven or eight miles in length and three in width, and was let out in numerous small canals to irrigate fields in the dry season. In the rains it was replenished from the Chir Nadi; there were sluices at different places twenty or thirty feet wide; and these sluices were fortified by stones, placed in a sloping direction, to let out the superfluous water. The reservoir could irrigate the lands of thirty-two villages during a drought of eighteen months. "In a country liable to famine from want of rain," wrote Dr. Buchanan, "a reservoir such as this is of inestimable value."

Further westward, between Condaturu and Sri-Parmaturu, the country was poor and overrun with low prickly bushes. There was little cultivation, and in most places a crop would not be worth the seed. Palms and wild dates grew, however, on the soil

almost spontaneously, and the former produced drinks in the shape of Tari and Jagari.

At Sri-Parmaturu there was another old reservoir which irrigated the fields of the village containing over two thousand acres of rice lands. Beyond this spot the land was again bare and barren, and there was very little cultivation, until Dr. Buchanan came to the ancient Hindu capital of Kanchi, now called Conjeveram.

Conjeveram boasted of a large old reservoir which irrigated many fields covered with a thriving crop of rice. The Dewan of Nawab Mahomed Ali had also constructed a fine tank lined all round with cut granite, which descended to the bottom in steps. Choultries or inns were also built of granite on the sides of the tanks for the shelter of travellers, and the pillars were elaborately carved.

Conjeveram was a large town and regularly built, but was not populous. Many of the buildings were unoccupied, and the houses were only one storey high. They had mud walls and were roofed with tiles, and were built in the form of a square with a court in the centre. The streets were wide and clean and crossed each other at right angles, and on each side there was a row of cocoanut trees. Most of the Brahmans of the place were the followers either of Sankara-Acharya or of Ramanuja-Acharya. The former lived in the ninth century and was a rigid Vedantist, resolving all universe into the one Primal Soul. The latter lived in the eleventh century and was a more popular Vedantist, inculcating the faith of a Personal God. In modern times, the doctrines of Sankara are often identified with the cult of Siva, while those of Ramanuja blend themselves with the cult of Vishnu.

After leaving Conjeveram, Dr. Buchanan found the country once more a desert till he came to Damerlu, the last village in the Jaagir of Madras. A canal from

CONDITION OF SOUTHERN INDIA 199

the Palar river irrigated much valuable rice land between Damerlu and Oulur. At Oulur the soil was good but was fit only for dry grains, and bushes and trees grew in the midst of fields.

On the whole the Jaagir of Madras, which had been in the possession of the East India Company for half a century, was not in a flourishing condition. Frequent wars, a heavy land-tax, and the diversion of the revenues from possible local improvements to the purchase of the Company's Investments, left the country poor and the population sparse. At Condaturu the Collector, Mr. Place, had repaired the old reservoir during his administration, and had augmented the land-tax considerably. But long stretches of the country remained unirrigated, uncultivated, and sparsely populated—"a desert," as Dr. Buchanan calls it.

THE KARNATIC.

Lord Wellesley had not yet annexed the Karnatic when Dr. Buchanan travelled through the country, and it was therefore still nominally under the Nawab of Arcot, though virtually under the administration of the servants of the Company.

On his way to Arcot, Dr. Buchanan saw another splendid old Hindu reservoir, called the Kaveri-Pak. The reservoir "is about eight miles long and three broad, and fertilises a considerable extent of country. I never viewed a public work with more satisfaction, a work that supplies a great body of people with every comfort which their moral situation will permit them to enjoy."

The road from Kaveri-Pak to Arcot was bad, and scarcely fit for wheel-carriage. People travelled, however, on bullock carts, and Mahomedan women sometimes rode bullocks, wrapped in white veils. The city

of Arcot was extensive, and produced coarse cotton fabrics. The houses were about as good as in the towns of the Madras Jaagir. The hills in the vicinity were barren, composed of granite rapidly decaying. The country between Arcot and the western hills contained some good land which served for gardens and dry grains, while others were altogether barren.

The road westward from Arcot to Vellore, and from Vellore to Paligonda, lay along the valley of the Palar river, and the country was fertile and verdant. The fort of Vellore was large and beautiful, and the town was also large and built in the Hindu fashion. The villages along the road were, however, poor and miserable, and some of them in ruins. The people of Paligonda procured water from the Palar river by digging canals in the sand six or seven feet deep. The water was then conveyed by other canals to irrigate the fields, and thus rendered the valley of Vellore the finest tract of country in the Karnatic.

BARAMAHAL.

Dr. Buchanan then ascended the Eastern Ghats, and reached Venkatagiri in Baramahal on the 4th May. The country had been settled by Thomas Munro some years before, and reminded Dr. Buchanan of England by its swells and undulations. As far as he could judge, one-half of the country had been ploughed, while the remainder was copse land and served for pasture. Iron was smelted from ores and black sand, and common salt was found in many parts of the country. The soil was reddish ferruginous clay intermixed with quartz and granite, and walls of huts in towns and villages were built of this mud, and were smoothed and painted with alternate vertical broad stripes of white and red. In some places the flat roofs of the houses were also terraced with this mud.

EASTERN MYSORE.

Dr. Buchanan now entered into the territory of the Raja of Mysore, who had been placed on the throne by Lord Wellesley after the fall of Tipu Sultan in the preceding year. He found Waluru a large town with a weekly fair, and manufacturing coarse cotton cloths much of which was exported. Coarse blankets, known as Cumlies, were also largely manufactured in the neighbouring villages. The arable lands amounted to seven-tenths of the whole, and perhaps a twentieth part of them was irrigated. Rice grew on the banks of the Pennar river. Fields were manured by women who carried the manure in baskets, and were ploughed by buffaloes and oxen.

On the 10th May, Dr. Buchanan arrived at Bangalore, which had been constructed by Haidar Ali as a frontier fortress after the best fashion of Mahomedan military architecture, and had been destroyed by his son, Tipu Sultan, who found it useless against the valour of British troops. The gardens were extensive and divided into square plots, the cypress and vine grew luxuriantly in that climate, the apple and the peach produced fruits, and some pine and oak plants introduced from the Cape of Good Hope were thriving. The arable land in the vicinity of Bangalore did not exceed four-tenths of the country, and the small proportion of irrigated land, formerly under cultivation, was mostly waste, owing to the neglect of the reservoirs during the recent wars. Tipu Sultan had received the kingdom in a flourishing state from Haidar Ali, of whom all people spoke to Dr. Buchanan in terms of high praise. But the oppressions or wars of Tipu had caused much misery, and had driven four-tenths of the cultivators from their home and country.

On the 18th May, Dr. Buchanan presented his credentials at Seringapatam, then the capital of the

Mysore Raja. On the following day he had an interview with Purnea, the famous Hindu minister whose administration received the highest commendation from General Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington), and from every other Englishman in India who came in contact with him. Purnea had enjoyed much authority even under Tipu Sultan, and might have saved him if he had listened to his counsels. After the fall of Tipu, he became the virtual ruler of Mysore under the new Raja.

Seringapatam, which had a population of perhaps 150,000 under Tipu Sultan, was now reduced to a miserable state by the wars, and had scarcely more than 32,000 people. The district on the north bank of the Kaveri was called Pattana Ashta-gram, while that to the south of the river was known as Mahasura Ashta-gram. The country rose gradually on both sides of the river, was naturally fertile, and was irrigated by a noble system of canals sending out branches to water the intermediate spaces. The water of the Kaveri river was forced into the sources of these canals by anicuts or dams, formed of large blocks of granite at a great expense. Dr. Buchanan does not tell us if these useful and noble works were constructed by Haidar Ali or by his Hindu predecessors; but during the wars of Tipu Sultan very great damage was done; temples, villages, and dams were broken down, and canals were choked. Under the administration of Purnea, however, agriculture and industries were reviving. "Everything wears an aspect of beginning restoration. The villages are rebuilding, the canals are clearing, and in place of antelopes and forest guards, we have the peaceful bullock returning to his useful labour."¹

The manner of reaping and preserving rice in Mysore has been minutely described. Water was let

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.* (London, 1807), vol. 1. p. 83.

off from the rice fields a week before the reaping, and the rice was then cut down, about four inches from the ground, and stacked with the ears inwards. After another week it was spread on the threshing-floor and trodden out by bullocks, and then put up in heaps containing 60 Kandakas or 334 bushels. Each heap was marked with clay and covered with straw, and so left for twenty or thirty days till the division between the cultivator and the Government. The cultivators then stored their share in various different ways. Some kept it in narrow shafts, about 24 feet deep, in hard, stony soil, the floor, sides, and roof being lined with straw, and each pit containing 84 to 168 bushels. Others stored it in store-houses, strongly floored with planks. Others again stored it in cylinders made of clay, the mouth being covered by an inverted pot, and the rice being drawn out from a hole in the bottom when required. Lastly, some cultivators stored their rice in bags made of straw. Besides rice, Mung, sesamum, and sugar-cane were grown near Seringapatam. Ragi was extensively cultivated in dry fields, and supplied the lower classes of people with their common food; and Jowar and Bajra were the next most important dry corns.

Each farm near Seringapatam consisted generally of two or three ploughs of land. One plough was a poor stock, while the possessor of four or five was a great farmer. With five ploughs a man cultivated about $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wet land and 25 acres of dry field. The farmer or cultivator was not turned out of his holding "so long as he pays his customary rent. Even in the reign of Tipu such an act would have been looked upon as an astonishing grievance." On the other hand, the Government which received the rent was "bound to keep the canals and tanks in repair."¹ The pay of farm labourers near Seringapatam was

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol i. p. 124.

6s. 8½d. a month, while away from the town it was 5s. 4d. a month. Women often worked in the fields and carried manure in baskets on their heads. They were generally well dressed, and elegantly formed; "I have never seen finer forms," says Dr. Buchanan, "than even the labouring women of that country frequently possess. Their necks and arms are, in particular, remarkably well shaped."¹

On the 6th June, Dr. Buchanan left Seringapatam on his way back to Bangalore. At Mundium he found the rice land irrigated entirely from tanks and reservoirs. At Maduru he found a large reservoir, said to have been built by Vishnu Vardhana Raya seven hundred years before. It received a supply from the neighbouring river by means of a dam and a canal, and when in proper repair was capable of irrigating all the neighbouring fields, under the level of its bank, throughout the year. At Chinapattam, formerly the residence of a Polygar family known as Jasadeva Rayas, glass and ornamental rings, steel wires for musical instruments, pure white sugar, and various other commodities were manufactured. Ramagiri was the next important place on the way, but had grievously suffered by Lord Cornwallis's invasion of Mysore in 1792, and a large proportion of the inhabitants had perished of hunger. At Magadi the road passed through a wild and romantic country, consisting of low hills and valleys cultivated with dry grains. Valuable timber and bamboos grew near Savana-durga, which Lord Cornwallis had taken by assault, and had been deserted ever since. Iron was smelted in the neighbouring hills, and was repeatedly forged and purified for being wrought into instruments of husbandry, and steel was manufactured for weapons. Sandal-wood and much valuable timber was grown in the neighbourhood, and the lac insect was reared

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol I. p. 135

for that famous dye which used to be one of the best-known products of India from olden times. On the 21st June Dr. Buchanan reached Bangalore.

Bangalore had possessed a large trade and extensive manufactures under Haidar Ali. Tipu Sultan had foolishly forbidden all commerce, both with the Nizam's Dominions and with the Karnatic, and the trade of Bangalore had declined; but the place was again rising in importance after the restoration of the Hindu dynasty. Poona merchants brought shawls and saffron and musk from Kashmir and pearls from Surat; Burhanpur traders imported chintz and gold lace, cloth and thread; red cotton cloth, flowered with gold and silver, came from the Nizam's Dominions; and salt, tin, lead, copper, and European goods came from the Karnatic. The exports from Bangalore were chiefly betel-nut, sandal-wood, pepper, cardamoms, and tamarinds. A vast quantity of blankets and cotton-wool was also imported.

Goods were transported by cattle in loads. In one year, 1500 bullock-loads of cotton wool, 50 bullock-loads of cotton thread, 230 bullock-loads of raw silk, 7000 bullock-loads of salt, and 300 bullock-loads of foreign goods were imported; while 4000 bullock-loads of betel-nut and 400 bullock-loads of pepper were exported. Cotton weavers made cloths for home use, and silk weavers prepared a rich strong fabric. The silks were dyed red with lac, or orange colour with Capili-podi, or yellow with turmeric. Workmen who made cotton cloths with silk borders earned 8d. a day, and those who made silk cloth earned 6d. Weavers obtained advances from merchants, and sold their goods to merchants or to private customers, never carrying them to public markets. Various kinds of white muslins were manufactured, and had a considerable sale. Women of all castes, except Brahmans, bought cotton wool at weekly markets, spun them at home, and sold the thread to weavers. And thus people of

206 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

all classes—men and women—found in spinning and weaving a profitable occupation.

Indigo was considerably used for dyeing; the tanning of leather was a paying industry; and castor oil, cocoanut oil, sesamum oil, and various other oils, were largely manufactured and sold.

In a village near Bangalore Dr. Buchanan was informed that merchants often advanced money to the cultivators to pay their rents, and were afterwards content to receive one-half of the crop for the advance and for interest. The system of division of crops in a Village Community, described by Dr. Buchanan, is interesting. A heap of grain, consisting on the average of twenty Kandakas or 2400 Seers (about 4800 lbs.), was thus divided—

	Seers.
Village priests	5
Village charity	5
Village astrologer	1
Village Brahman	1
Village barber	2
Village potter	2
Village blacksmith	2
Village washerman	2
Village measurer	4
Village beadle	7
Village chief	8
Village accountant	10
Village watchman	10
Village accountant	45
Village chief	45
Conductor of water;	20
	169

Thus a payment of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the produce of the fields secured to the villagers the professional services of the barber, the potter and the blacksmith, the priest and the astrologer. Of the remainder, the Deshmukh or Zemindar claimed 10 per cent.; and the balance was divided equally between the Government and the

farmer. When Haidar Ali abolished the Deshmukhs, he claimed their share also for the Government.¹

NORTHERN MYSORE.

Leaving Bangalore on the 3rd July, Dr. Buchanan made a long and circuitous tour through the northern portions of Mysore. In the country round Colar he found the lands watered entirely by means of the reservoirs, often excavated by private individuals, while the larger ones were excavated at the expense of the Government. The old Hindu rate of revenue, laid down in the ancient law-books, was one-sixth or one-eighth or one-twelfth the produce; and when rulers and chiefs in Southern India claimed so large a share as one-half the produce, they made cultivation possible by excavating and maintaining vast irrigation works at their own cost, and they took their share in kind, not in money.

Rice, sugar-cane, betel-leaf, and vegetables were grown on wet lands at Colar, and the quantity of rice grown was nearly equal to that of the dry crop Ragi. Poppy was also plentifully cultivated, both for making opium and on account of the seed which was used for sweet cakes. The quantity of wheat grown was about one-half of the rice. Farm servants got 29½ bushels of grain and 13s. 5d. annually; the rate for day-labourers was about 3d. for men and 2d. for women.

Both Colar and Silagutta had suffered greatly under Tipu Sultan's arbitrary rule and frequent wars, but were reviving after his fall. Cotton cloths of various kinds were the most important manufactures. Travelling westwards, Dr. Buchanan came to the famous Nandi-Durga, in the vicinity of which the Northern Pennar, the Palar, and the Southern Pennar all take their rise. The country beyond the hills was desolate, one-third

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. i. p. 265 *et seq.*

of what had been formerly cultivated was waste, and villages were deserted since the invasion of Lord Cornwallis. The people said they had suffered from five great evils—the failure of rain, the three invading armies, and the defending army of Mysore!

On the 18th July, Dr. Buchanan came to the great Balapura, which had become an independent State under its Polygar Narayan Swami on the dissolution of the Vijainagar kingdom in the sixteenth century. The State, however, had subsequently fallen under the power of the Moghal and the Mahratta, the Nizam and Haidar Ali; and had finally passed under the administration of the restored Hindu dynasty. It imported chintz and muslin, and exported sugar.

Further to the west was Madhu-giri, which had also become the seat of an independent Polygar on the fall of the Vijainagar kingdom, but had since passed under the rule of Mysore. Haidar Ali had improved the fortifications of the hill, and turned it into a considerable mart with a hundred families of weavers. The place had declined under Tipu Sultan, and finally ruined by the wars of Mysore with the Mahrattas and with Lord Cornwallis. Rice and Ragi, sugar-cane and wheat, cotton, pulses, sesamum, and various kitchen vegetables were grown here when Dr. Buchanan visited the place. Dry soil, fit for Ragi, paid a rent of 1s. 1d. to 3s. 4d. the acre. If irrigated, it paid 9s. to 11s. an acre. The cultivator had a claim to his lands, and could reclaim them even after an absence of years. If, in the meantime, the temporary tenant had made improvements, the original cultivator was required to pay for them. A labouring man earned 4s. a month, and a woman 3s. 4d. There was frequent scarcity in this part of the country owing to failure of rain, but seldom any famine causing loss of life. "It is when war is joined to scarcity, and interrupts the transportation of grain, that famine produces all its horrors. These were never so severely

felt here as during the invasion of Lord Cornwallis; when the country being attacked on all sides, and penetrated in every direction by hostile armies, or by defending ones little less destructive, one-half at least of the inhabitants perished of absolute want."¹

On the 31st July Dr. Buchanan reached Sira, which was a large and prosperous town under the Moghals with 50,000 houses, and therefore a population of a quarter of a million. It then passed under the rule of Haidar Ali, and was ruined by the Mahratta invasions and the oppressions of Tipu Sultan. Rice and Ragi, wheat and sugar-cane, pulses and cotton, were the principal produce. Rent was paid sometimes in money and sometimes in a share of the crops. Betel-nut, pepper, sandal-wood, and spices were imported into Sira, while blankets, cloths, oil, butter, ginger, and cocoa-nuts were exported. A thin, coarse muslin and certain varieties of thick cloths were the principal manufactures.

Retracing his steps to Madhu-giri, Dr. Buchanan made some inquiries as to the famous cattle of the place, and found that every town and village in that hilly country had herds of breeding cattle. The Goalas or cowherds lived in small villages near the skirts of the woods, cultivated a little ground, and sold the produce of their dairy in the towns. Every family paid a small tax of four shillings a year to the Government, or rather to the Beni Chavedi or butter-officer, who paid an annual revenue to the Government. Iron was smelted and steel was manufactured at Madhu-giri and many neighbouring districts.

Travelling southwards, Dr. Buchanan found the fields well cultivated at Tavina-Karay, but saw much waste land at Tumkuru; and all the villages were fortified. Ragi was largely grown here, but there

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. i. p. 390.

were also many rice fields. Gubi, further south, was a mart of some importance with 154 shops and a weekly fair. Coarse cotton cloth, both white and coloured, blankets, sackcloth, betel-nut, cocoa-nut, tamarind, grains, lac, iron, and steel from all the country round were sold at this mart.

Dora-Guda had iron mines, and Taniva-Karay was a place of importance with an outer and inner fort and an open suburb with 700 houses. It formerly belonged to a powerful family of Polygars, and one of them had built four temples and four great reservoirs for the irrigation of lands. The country round was once completely cultivated, but had been desolate since the invasion of the Mahrattas under Parasuram Bhao. Further south was Beluru, where there was a good deal of fine rice ground, as well as a fine reservoir. The whole of the country between Beluru in the north to Seringapatam in the south—a distance of forty miles as the crow flies—had been laid waste at the time of the invasion of Cornwallis in 1792; and the people had been forced by Tipu Sultan to leave the open country and retire to the woods, where they lived in huts and procured provisions as best they could. A large proportion of them had perished of hunger, and the country was only half populated even in 1800, when Dr. Buchanan visited it.

Not far from Beluru was the district of Naga-Mangala, where each Gauda or village-head partly rented his village and partly collected on the public account. The cultivators had a fixed property in the land, and so long as they paid rents according to the old valuation, they could not be turned out of possession. The rice ground paid its rent by a division of crops, and the dry field paid a money rent.

Mail-Kotay, about fifteen miles north of Seringapatam, was finely situated on a high hill, commanding a noble view of the valley of the Kaveri and the hills of

Mysore in the south, of the Ghats in the west, and of Savana-Durga and Siva-Ganga in the east. It was a famous place of Hindu worship with a temple of great dimensions surrounded by a colonnade; and the fine large tank was surrounded by many buildings for the accommodation of travellers. It is said that even Tipu Sultan was afraid of seizing the jewels of this temple; they were kept in the treasury at Seringapatam; and the British troops spared them when they captured that capital.

At Tonuru, to the south of Mail-Kotay, Dr. Buchanan saw the magnificent reservoir of Yadava-Nadi, ascribed to the famous religious reformer Ramanuja who lived in the eleventh century. "Two mountain torrents here had united their streams, and forced a way through a gap between two rocky hills. Ramanuja stopped up this gap by a mound, said to be 78 cubits high, 150 long, and at the base 250 cubits thick. The superfluous water is let off by a channel which has been cut with great labour through one of the hills, at such length as to enable it to water a great deal of the subjacent plain which is three or four miles in extent. When the reservoir is full it contains a sufficient quantity of water to supply the cultivators for two years."¹

On the 1st September Dr. Buchanan returned to Seringapatam.

SOUTHERN MYSORE.

Leaving Seringapatam on the 5th September, Dr. Buchanan made a tour through the southern parts of Mysore. Near Pal-Hully, which had been entirely destroyed at the recent war, he saw the two canals from the Kaveri river which irrigated the district of Mahasura-Ashtagram. One of these canals contained a fine stream which never became entirely dry, and

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

which enabled the cultivators to have a crop of rice even in the dry season.

The Lakshman-Tirtha river, a tributary of the Kaveri, rises from the hills of Coorg. Six canals were constructed from this river to irrigate the country, and dams which forced the water into the canals were fine works and produced beautiful cascades. The whole land formerly irrigated by these canals was about 18,000 acres.

There were no hereditary Gaudas or village-chiefs in these parts, and the revenue was collected by renters, who could not take from the cultivators more than was fixed by the custom established by the old Mysore Rajas. Haidar Ah had appointed Harkaras, or superintendents of land revenue, who kept the renters in check, and listened to the complaints of the people. Tipu Sultan had abolished the Harkaras, with the effect that the people were oppressed and the Government defrauded.

Further west, the country had been depopulated first by the invasion of Bajji Rao and his Mahrattas in 1761, and then by the invasion of Cornwallis in 1792. Priya-Pattan, called Periapattam in the English maps, was a place of great importance in olden days, and had belonged to a Polygar family called Nandi Raj. This family held the territory bounded by the Kaveri on the north and the Coorg frontier on the west, and yielding an annual revenue of £9361 to the Rajas of Coorg. It is said that a Polygar prince of this family defended himself gallantly against Mysore about 1640, and finding further resistance impossible, killed his women and children, and perished, sword in hand, in the midst of his enemies. Priya-Pattan continued after this to be the scene of frontier wars between Coorg and Mysore; suffered when Tipu Sultan conquered Coorg, and was utterly destroyed by Tipu's wars with the British.

“Tigers,” says Dr. Buchanan, “have taken entire possession of its ruins, a horse that strayed in a few nights ago was destroyed, and even at midday it is considered as dangerous for a solitary person to enter. It was deemed imprudent for me, who was followed by a multitude, to enter into any of the temples, which serve the tigers as shelter from the heat of the day.”¹

The wet lands near Priya-Pattan were entirely irrigated from reservoirs, but in the southern parts of the district canals from the Lakshman-Tirtha river afforded water to the cultivators. The Hainu or wet rice, Karu or dry rice, sugar-cane, ragi, horse grain, pulses, sesamum and other crops were grown in this district. Farm labourers got from £1 to £1, 7s a year besides one meal a day, and women labourers got 6s. a-year besides two meals a day. Before the last Mysore war the poorest cultivator had two ploughs, and the richer ones had fifteen. A man who had two ploughs often possessed forty oxen and fifty cows, six or seven buffaloes, and one hundred sheep or goats. The produce of wet lands was equally divided between the Government and the cultivator after the village dues had been paid. There were extensive palm gardens before the war, and the pasture was good. Sandal-wood grew in the skirts of the forest.

South-east from Priya-Pattan, near Hanagodu, Dr. Buchanan saw one of the dams of the Lakshman-Tirtha river. “Advantage has been taken of a natural ledge of rocks which cross the channel, and stones have been thrown in to fill up the deficiencies. The whole now forms a fine dam, over which rushes a cascade about 100 yards long and 14 feet high, which in a verdant and finely wooded country looks remarkably well. This dam sends off

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c*, vol. II p. 96.

its canal to the eastward. . . . The ground irrigated will amount to 2678 acres." ¹

South-east from Hanagadu lay the old kingdom of Hegodu Deva, who was said to have cleared this country and peopled it about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Down to the time of Haidar Ali the town contained a thousand houses; there were only eighty when Dr. Buchanan visited it. The district was famous for its sandal-wood, while Mota-Beta, further to the east, was known for its rich iron ores.

On the 1st October Dr. Buchanan reached Taiuru on the Kampini river, a tributary of the Kaveri. In some villages of this district the Gaudas or village-chiefs were hereditary, and they were preferred, both by the Government and by the people, to the mere renters who also went by the same name. The hereditary Gaudas were better acquainted with the cultivators, were more cheerfully obeyed, and had greater credit with the money-lenders for the making up their rents at the fixed terms of payment. On failure of payment the crops were seized by the Government Accountant, whose duty it also was to sell the Government's share of the crops collected as rent. Both at Taiuru and at Narsingpur the country was beautiful, and every field was enclosed with quick-set hedges and well cultivated, the whole being high ground without rice lands.

Narsingpur was on the banks of the Kaveri river, and had two temples and about two hundred houses. There was rich black soil close to it where cotton was extensively grown. Wheat and Womun were raised in equal quantities, and Ragi was grown on the red soil fit for its cultivation.

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. II, p. 119.

COIMBATUR

Early in October, Dr. Buchanan left Mysore and entered into British territory on his way to Coimbatur. Colegala District was well cultivated, and contained forty or fifty large reservoirs for irrigation, repaired by the Mysore authorities eighty years before, and some of them repaired again by the Company's servants after the district had come to the possession of the Company. Passing through the grounds of the decayed reservoirs not yet repaired, Dr. Buchanan found the land entirely waste, so much did cultivation depend on irrigation works in this country. Major Macleod, the Collector, had set aside the authority of the Gaudas or village-chiefs, and had only employed them on fixed salaries to collect the land revenue from cultivators. The policy no doubt added to the land revenue, but weakened the ancient village-system of India.

The magnificent falls of Gangana-Chuki and the island of Sivana-Samudra struck Dr. Buchanan with wonder. The southern fall of Birra-Chuki was even more pleasing to his eye. He was told that the State of Sivana-Samudra had been founded by Ganga Raja about A.D. 1200, but he gives 1523 as a more probable date. The State fell, after the reign of three princes, under the combined attack of neighbouring powers.

The country near Colegala and Satagala lay immediately west, the mountains of the Eastern Ghats rising to a height of 2000 feet above the level of the upper country. The country was well cultivated as far as Pallia, but beyond that place more than half the lands were uncultivated, and the tanks were in ruins. Travelling farther eastwards, Dr. Buchanan entered the Ghats at Mathully, and threaded his way through the mountains until he reached Kaveripura on the Kaveri river, where a fort had been built by a frontier Polygar to protect the pass.

There was an old irrigation reservoir at Kaveripura which watered over five hundred acres of land; but it had burst fifty years before and had never been repaired. A considerable trade passed by Kaveripura between the upper and the lower country, and Dr. Buchanan met forty or fifty loaded cattle every day. Along the course of the Tumbula, a tributary of the Kaveri, there were five old reservoirs which had all burst fifty years before, and had never been repaired.

The village-heads, as stated above, had been set aside under the Company's rule, and the country under Major Macleod paid a land revenue of £10,293 to £16,545 a year, realised through paid Tahsildars, who combined in themselves the powers of revenue collector, civil magistrate, and police. Farm labourers got from cultivators a pay of 5s. to 6s. 8d. the year, and a house to live in, and 1⅓rds bushel of grain monthly; and their wives received daily wages if able to work. The implements of husbandry in the plains were more miserable and fewer in number than those used above the Ghats.

On the 19th October Dr. Buchanan arrived at Nala-Rayana on the Bhawani river, after travelling through a country three-fourths of which seemed to be waste. A dam on the Bhawani sent off a canal on each side of the river, and the lands watered by these canals gave one unfailling crop in the year. A little land watered by reservoirs gave two crops, but the supply of water was uncertain. Cultivators under the Company's rule were required to pay the full rent for the lands they cultivated, irrespective of the quantity of produce. This they felt as a hardship, and they desired to be placed on the old footing.

At Ana-Codavery, rice was grown on lands watered by canals taken from the Bhawani river. The dam on the river had been constructed by Nunjay Raja a

hundred and twenty years before. In lands which were not irrigated, not over a sixth part of the ground was under cultivation. The soil was good, but the invasion of General Meadows had stopped cultivation; the inhabitants had retired to the hills and had perished in large numbers.

The Company's Commercial Resident at Salem had visited these parts some months before Dr. Buchanan's arrival, and had made advances to weavers for the Company's Investment. The cloth ordered was Shalamburu, resembling the Bafta of Bengal, and was made 36 cubits long and 2½ cubits broad.

Travelling southwards through much uncultivated country, Dr. Buchanan arrived at the important city of Coimbatour on the 28th October. The chief of the place was the twentieth in descent from the first founder of the town. The family originally paid tribute to the Rajas of Madura, and afterwards came under the rule of Mysore. The place had suffered much during the Mysore wars, but was recovering, and contained two thousand houses.

There was much rice ground in the neighbourhood, watered by reservoirs which were filled by canals from the Noyel river. Ragi and other crops were raised on dry lands; cotton and tobacco were grown in some places; betel-nut and cocoa-nut were cultivated by rich farmers; and iron was smelted at Topun Beta, five miles from Coimbatour. 459 looms worked in the district; the wives of all the low castè cultivators were great spinners; and the thread was dyed red or blue as required. The Commercial Resident at Salem had twice made advances to the Coimbatour weavers. The weavers formerly paid a duty of about 4s. on each loom annually, and this was replaced by a stamp duty under the Company's rule. The weavers thought this was harder, and requested the Collector to restore the former mode of assessment, without success.

Tripura, to the east of Coimbatour, was an open town with 300 houses and a weekly market. The rice land in the neighbourhood produced only one crop, and was irrigated partly from reservoirs and partly from canals brought from the Noyel river. Owing to want of repairs, more than one-third of the lands previously cultivated was out of cultivation. The poorest fields were set aside for pasture, and paid a small rent. Iron was smelted at China Mali, further east, and a duty of a thirtieth part of the smelted iron was paid as duty to Government in addition to a duty for cutting timber for fuel. China Mali had only 125 houses, and was suffering from small-pox. Lands in the district were irrigated from the Capely river, but no rice was grown.

Perenduru, north of China Mali, had 118 houses, and the district had 800 looms. Erodu on the Kaveri had had 3000 houses in the time of Haidar Ali, but had declined under Tipu Sultan. It was utterly destroyed during the invasion of General Meadows, but was reviving after the conclusion of peace. The canal passing by Erodu was a splendid work, said to have been constructed by one Kaling Raya four hundred years before, and still watered 3459 acres of land.

Further down the Kaveri river was the important town of Codomudi with an ancient temple and 118 houses. A canal taken from the Kaveri was conducted over the Noyel river to Pagolur village, and irrigated a large tract of land. The rent fixed in these parts by Tipu Sultan was four-tenths of the produce, but this was converted into a money rent, 3s. 5½d. per acre, by the British Government in 1799, and the rent for 1800 had not yet been fixed.

Major Macleod, the Collector of the Northern Division of Coimbatour, informed Dr. Buchanan that by the custom of the country no tenant could be turned

out of his holding as long as he paid his rent. The Major thought it was impracticable for the British Government to receive the land revenue in kind without leaving a door open to excessive embezzlements. When the Company obtained possession of the Salem country, the rice grounds, watered by the fine canals from the Kaveri, paid rent in kind. The Company's servants had changed this into money rent against the murmurs of the people, had extended cultivation and increased the land revenue. The Ryotwari system was preferred to the Zemindari system because it brought more revenue. "The regulations introduced by Colonel Read for collecting the revenue seem to me sufficient to secure the regular payment of more than can ever be procured from Zemindars, and I am persuaded that any deficiencies must arise either from a neglect of duty, or from dishonesty in the Collectors. I here allude to hereditary Zemindars merely as affecting the revenue and political state of the country, they must be considered as useful toward the improvement of agriculture."¹

Caruru was a considerable town with 1000 houses on the Amaravati river, a tributary of the Kaveri. But the merchants were petty dealers, and the weavers were not numerous. Two canals from the Kaveri and several from the Amaravati irrigated this district. Sugar-cane, rice, and dry crops were grown.

On the 17th November Dr. Buchanan reached Daraporam (Dharma-pura), the headquarters of Mr. Hurdis, the Collector of the Southern Division of Coimbatour. The Collector was an active, intelligent and sympathetic young officer, mixed with the people, settled their caste disputes, and knew them well. "Mr. Hurdis thinks that the present rents are greatly too high; and, no doubt, the peasantry here, as well as in almost every part of India, are miserably poor. . . .

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 296.

One great cause, indeed, of the poverty of the farmers, and consequent poverty of crops in many parts of India, is the custom of forcing land upon people who have no means of cultivating it. Thus all lands are apparently occupied, but it is in a manner that is worse than if one-half of them were entirely waste."¹ The reason for this has been explained elsewhere. The Company desired to obtain its revenue from the entire arable land, whether they could be properly cultivated or not. The rents were enormously high; betel-leaf lands were assessed at £3, 16s. 9d. an acre, rice lands at £1, 15s. 9½d. to £1, 5s. 2d. per acre.

Travelling further westwards, Dr. Buchanan reached Palachy on the 24th November. Roman coins in a pot had been dug up in this place, showing the trade of this ancient Pandya country with Rome at the time of Augustus and Tiberius. The worst grounds in this district were left for pasture and paid no rent, and the remainder belonging to each village was reckoned as arable, and had an average assessment fixed, ranging from 2s. 10½d. to 7s. 3d. the acre. "The farmers complain that the land is forced on them, and that they are compelled to rent more than they have stock to enable them to cultivate. A man who rents seventeen Bullas of land (a Bulla = 4¼ to 6 acres) is able only to plough nine of them, whereas, if he had full stock, he would plough between eleven and twelve, leaving one-third part in fallow. The rents, however, have been lowered, in some villages one-fifth, in others one-third, in order to compensate the loss which the farmer suffers by this manner of renting lands, where there is not a sufficient stock to cultivate the whole. This sort of tenure seems to be a great evil."²

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 309.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 319, 320.

MALABAR.

On the 29th November, Dr. Buchanan entered Malabar, which had been transferred from the Government of Bombay to the Government of Madras only a few months before. He entered the territory of the Tamura Raja, known as the Zamorin to European writers. High mountains on the south poured down cascades from great heights, and cornfields were mixed with lofty forests and plantations of fruit trees. But the dry land was neglected, and the quantity of rice land was not great. The town of Colangodu contained a thousand houses, many of them inhabited by weavers, who imported their cotton from Coimbatour. Palighat was the most beautiful country that Dr. Buchanan had seen, resembling the finest parts of Bengal, but the cultivation of high lands was neglected. The fort there had been built by Haidar Ali after his conquest of Malabar. There was no land tax under the Government of the old Rajas, but Haidar Ali had imposed one called Nagadi on the low and fertile lands, exempting the higher grounds. Tipu Sultan's oppression drove many of the proprietors into Travancore in the south.

The average produce of rice at the time of Dr. Buchanan's visit to Palighat was $7\frac{1}{2}$ seeds, and the rental was $4\frac{1}{2}$ seeds, or over sixty per cent. of the produce. According to Mr. Smee's valuation, the Land Tax assessed on the landlords was at the enormous rate of 84 per cent. on their rental.¹ The annual rainfall was sufficient to bring one crop of rice into maturity, while reservoirs constructed and maintained at the expense of landlords secured a second. The cattle was of very small size, and insufficient for the requirements of the country. Iron was forged at Colangodu.

On the 6th December, Dr. Buchanan entered the

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 369

territory of the Raja of Cochin, who paid an annual tribute to the East India Company, but retained full jurisdiction, civil and military, within his own realm. "His country is so far better administered than that more fully under the authority of the Company, that neither Moplas nor Nairs presume to make any disturbance."¹ At Cacadu the hills were mostly uncultivated, but the pasture was tolerable, the cattle in good condition, and the valleys were covered with corn, skirted by the houses of the inhabitants shaded by groves of fruit trees. Close by was a Christian village, and the Papa or priest informed Dr. Buchanan that Christianity had been introduced by St. Thomas who had visited Madras in the year A.D. 60.

The Moplas of Malabar had been rich traders about the middle of the eighteenth century, and possessed vessels which sailed to Surat, Mocha, and Madras. Dr. Buchanan found them quiet and industrious on the coast, but "fierce, bloodthirsty, and bigoted ruffians" in the interior. Their religious leader claimed descent from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomed.

Returning from Cochin to Malabar, Dr. Buchanan travelled northwards till he reached Vencata-Cotay on the 22nd December. The valleys were beautiful, the declivities of the hills were formed into terraces for cultivation, but the summits of the ridges were waste. The cultivators complained of the Land Tax; "every evil in Malabar is ascribed to that as its source."² Agriculture was much neglected between Tiruvana and Parupa-nada, and this was due to the want of people and the poverty of those who were in the country. The sea-coast near the latter place was, however, filled with highly productive cocoanut gardens. On Christmas day the doctor reached Calicut, the old capital of Malabar.

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 388.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 468.

CONDITION OF SOUTHERN INDIA 223

Mr. Torin, the commercial resident, was endeavouring to establish the manufacture of long-cloth at this place. The pieces were 72 cubits long, and the prices given to weavers were 18s. 6½d. to 16s. 4½d. the piece. There were 344 weavers, brought from Travancore and Cochin, and they worked 237 looms, and produced 468 pieces of cloth monthly. Mr. Torin had also established a manufactory at Palighat, which was better and cheaper.

Dr. Buchanan made estimates of the produce, rental, and the Land Tax of this neighbourhood, with the following results:

For a Field of Poor Quality.

Land Tax	£0 12 9½
Charges of collection	0 1 3¼
Seed	0 9 4½
Expense of cultivation	0 9 4½
Landlord	0 1 11
Interest of money advanced	0 1 0¼
Cultivator	0 7 8
	<hr/>
	£2 3 5½

Or approximately the gross Land Tax was 14s.; the expenses of cultivation came to 19s.; the owners of the land retained only 10s.

For a Field of the Best Quality.

Land Tax and collection charges	£0 16 10
Seed	0 9 4½
Expense of cultivation	0 9 4½
Interest	0 1 0¼
Landlord	0 8 6¼
Cultivator	1 5 6¼
	<hr/>
	£3 10 8¼

Or approximately the Land Tax was 17s.; the expenses of cultivation came to 19s.; the owners of the land had £1, 14s.

On the 1st of January 1801, Dr. Buchanan reached Tamara-Chery. All the lands here had passed into the hands of Mopla mortgagees. Owing to the persecution of the Hindus by Tipu Sultan, and the warfare of the Moplas, one-fourth of the rice lands at Kurumbara was waste and overgrown with forest trees. Some great farmers had ten ploughs, twenty oxen, twenty male and female slaves, ten servants, and twenty-five milch cows, but the number of such farmers was small. Male slaves sold at the low price of 9s. 6½d. to 28s. 8d., and women slaves at half the price.

The Collector, Mr. Coward, who accompanied Dr. Buchanan through his district, was of opinion that one-fourth of the district was capable of irrigation and rice-cultivation; about one-half was high ground fit for dry grains or plantation, and the remainder was steep and rocky. "Mr. Coward thinks the Land Tax so high that it impedes agriculture."¹

Leaving Mr. Coward on 5th January, Dr. Buchanan proceeded with Captain Osburne to Kutiporum, the residence of the Raja, who paid a tribute to the Company and had absolute authority in his territory. Here the Land Tax was 40 per cent., the landlord kept 27 per cent., and the cultivator 33 per cent. of the produce. Though accompanied by Captain Osburne, the worthy traveller did not receive kind greetings from the women of the country. "The Nairs being at enmity with Europeans have persuaded the women that we are a kind of hobgoblins who have long tails," and the women naturally ran away at their approach!²

Tellicherry, Mahe, and Dharmapatam formed a circle under the management of Mr. Strachy, "a very promising young gentleman." The whole of the circle, Mr. Strachy thought, might be cultivated or planted

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 502.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 514.

with fruit trees, but much of it was waste. The tax on rice lands amounted to 25 per cent. of the rent. The commerce of the circle was of great importance, and the principal articles of commerce were pepper, sandal-wood, and castdamoms.

Mr. Hodgson, Collector of the Northern District of Malabar, received Dr. Buchanan at Cananore. A Mopla lady, who went under the title of Bibi or The Lady, was the descendant of those who had originally purchased Cananore from the Dutch, and entertained Dr. Buchanan at a grand dinner. The Biby paid 14,000 rupees to the Company as Land Tax, and owned Cananore and most of the Laccâdive Islands. Succession, as among the Nairs, went by the female line.

Cherical was mountainous and very little cultivated, and the number of houses at Cananore and Cherical was 10,386. About the middle of January Dr. Buchanan left Malabar and went northwards to Canara.

CANARA.

Thomas Munro, the most distinguished and successful administrator of his time, had been sent after his settlement of Baramahal to settle Canara in 1798, as we have seen in a previous chapter. The Raja of Canara was then ill, but his sister's son or heir waited on Munro, and Munro had cautiously informed him that his claims to the State would be laid before the Company. In the meantime, it was placed under the management of Tahsildars or revenue collectors, the Raja was deprived of his powers, and was allowed a remission of the Land Tax on his private estate for his support. The Nairs complained of a want of good faith in the British officers in these arrangements.¹ Munro levied a Land Tax of 24,000 rupees against a nominal claim of 32,000 rupees under the government

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. iii. p. 12.

of Tipu Sultan, but this reduced tax was all that the country could pay and consumed the whole rent of the lands. Trimula Rao, the Tahsildar, considered the tax heavier than at Arcot.

Dr. Buchanan stayed for a week at Mangalore, situated on a lake separated from the sea by a beach of sand. It had been a harbour at one time, but the depth of the opening had diminished, and vessels drawing more than ten feet could not enter at the time of Buchanan's visit. The fort of Mangalore had been destroyed by Tipu Sultan.

Imams or lands assigned for the support of temples had been reclaimed by Tipu, but some of them had been concealed. Thomas Munro and his successor Ravenshaw permitted things to remain as before, and the principal Hindu temple had an income of £193, 8s. 3d. the year. Munro's land assessment was felt as heavy, and gave rise to much complaint. "The proprietors allege that the tax amounts to more than the rent, and that they are obliged to borrow money, or to give part of the profit from the lands cultivated with their own stock, to enable them to satisfy the claims of Government. . . . The universal cry of poverty, however, that prevails in every part of India, and the care, owing to long oppression, with which everything is concealed, render it very difficult to know the real circumstances of the cultivator. We may safely, however, conclude from the violent contest for landed property of every kind in Canara that each occupant has still a considerable interest in the soil, besides the reward due to him for cultivating whatever his stock enables him to do. It is indeed sincerely to be wished that this property may long continue unmolested, as no country can thrive where the absolute property of the soil is vested in the State."¹ Dr. Buchanan did not know that the contest for land in

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. iii. pp. 33-35.

India, even when the land is over-assessed, is due to the fact that land is virtually the sole means of subsistence for the nation; the cultivator must have his holding on any terms or starve.

Rice land was irrigated by canals from streams in the low valleys and from reservoirs in higher lands, while on very high lands the crop depended entirely on rains. Sugar-cane was cultivated mainly by the Christian population, and betel-nut and black pepper were grown in plantations. Salt was manufactured by the people as at Malabar, but the quantity produced was inadequate. Rice, betel-nut, and pepper were the principal articles of export; cotton and silk cloths, sugar and salt were imported.

Ten miles from Mangalore was Arcola, also called Firingy-Patta, because it was formerly inhabited by the Concan Christians. The whole country resembled Malabar, and the sides of the hills were formed into terraces for cultivation, but with less industry than at Malabar. Great damage had been done in the vicinity by Tipu Sultan and the Raja of Coorg in the recent wars. Dr. Buchanan found on the roadside many of the guns which Tipu had ordered to be transported from Mangalore to Seringapatam. A dam had been constructed across Bamala river, forming a large reservoir for cultivation.

On the 5th February Dr. Buchanan came to Einuru town, where he found eight Jain temples and a colossal Jain image, formed of one solid piece of granite and standing in the open air. The extent of lands held by the Jain temples at the time of Haidar Ali had been reduced by Tipu Sultan, restored by Thomas Munro, and again reduced by his successor Ravenshaw. The image of Gautama Raja (Buddha) at Carulla was one solid piece of granite, 38 feet high, and, according to the inscription, was made 369 years before Buchanan's visit, *i.e.* about 1432.

At Haryadika, further to the west, which Dr. Buchanan reached on the 10th February, he made some inquiries into the incidence of the Land Tax, and found it was one-half of the rent. But "these people say that when the rice is cheap, the whole rent is not equal to the Land Tax."

On the following day he came within sight of the Arabian Sea once more at Udipu, where the name of Madhava-Acharya, the great Hindu scholar and reformer of the fourteenth century, was still revered, and his sect flourished. There were three temples and fourteen convents belonging to Sanyasins, who were religious teachers. Rice was grown from Udipu to the sea. "According to the valuation of five villages in this neighbourhood, I find that out of 2048 Pagodas, the gross value of their produce, the cultivators retain 1295 Pagodas. The share of the Government amounts in general to one quarter of the gross produce, and in these villages are 671 Pagodas, of which 37 are alienated in Inam or charity lands, as they are called. What remains to the landlord is 82 Pagodas."¹

Travelling northwards, Dr. Buchanan reached Kundapura, and crossing the river, entered the Northern Division of Canara, then under the management of Mr. Read, "a young gentleman brought up in the same school with Mr. Ravenshaw." Further north were Beiduru with its temple dedicated to Siva and the larger town of Batuculla with 500 houses. Travelling further northwards, he found the plain between the sea and the low hills only half a mile to a mile and a half in breadth, and cultivated for rice. The temple of Murodeswara stood on a lofty fortified promontory. Not far from it was the Pigeon Island, frequented by wild pigeons, and also by boats for coral, with which the place abounded. On the

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. iii. p. 103.

21st February Dr. Buchanan reached the great lake and town of Onore.

Onore was formerly a large town and a place of great commerce, and Haidar Ali had made a dock here for building ships of war. His foolish and despotic son demolished this great mart after he had recovered it by the treaty of Mangalore, and the town was desolate when Dr. Buchanan visited it. Boats came from Goa for trade, and merchants lived scattered near the banks of the lake, and purchased rice, pepper, cocoa-nuts, betel-nuts, and salt-fish for export. Most of the cultivated lands were private property, but the hills and forests belonged to the Government. Every man paid a Land Tax for the whole of his property, and cultivated it in whatever manner he pleased. Cultivators in moderate circumstances had four to six ploughs, but a great number of them had only one plough, and were poor. Cultivators obtained leases for four to ten years, and paid rents to proprietors, who paid the Land Tax to the Government.

"The proprietor ought to find security for the payment of the Land Tax. If he does not, a revenue officer is sent to superintend the harvest, to sell the produce, and to deduct the revenue from the proceeds. This is a miserable system, and one of true Hindustani invention, as the person sent to collect the harvest received an allowance from the farmer, and thus one of the idle tatterdemalions that formed part of the clamorous suite of some great man, had for a while the cravings of his appetite satisfied. If a man has given security, and fails in payment, on the third day after the term, the security is called upon and confined until the revenue is paid."¹

An estate, which paid twenty Pagodas as Land Tax, sold for a hundred Pagodas, and could be mortgaged for fifty Pagodas. Sons divided their father's estate

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c*, vol. iii. p. 140.

equally among them, but the eldest managed the whole, and they all lived together. When a division took place among a number of cousins, the estate was commonly let and the rent divided. A good field produced 20 to 33 bushels of rice per acre, while poor soil produced 6 to 16 bushels. Sugar-cane, pepper, sandal-wood, cardamoms, betel-nut, and cocoa-nuts were articles of trade.

Gokarna, to the north of Onore, was a place of note, owing to the celebrated image of Siva, called Mahabaleswar, which was worshipped there. It is said that Ravana, King of Ceylon, was carrying this image from the northern mountains, and deposited it here to take rest, and could not lift it again. The town had 500 houses, one-half of which was occupied by Brahmans. There was a large tank with a convent near it, and an image of Sankara-Narayana was kept in a temple, "and it is a strong proof of the early prevalence of the doctrine . . . that Siva and Vishnu are different names for the same God."

Ancola produced an annual revenue of 29,000 Pagodas, while Onore yielded 51,000, and Kundapura 50,000. One-third of the good lands was waste. The Bazar in the town of Ancola had been frequently burnt by robbers, but was recovering under British rule. Thomas Munro's land assessment was nominally lighter than that of Tipu Sultan, but his collections were really higher. "Major Munro, according to the account of the revenue officers, considerably reduced the rate of the Land Tax, but owing to his care and strictness in the collections, the revenue which he raised was much greater than was ever before realised."¹ This is precisely what happened in most parts of India. The Company's servants sometimes maintained or raised, and sometimes reduced, the old revenue, but their collections were more rigorous than the people of India had ever known before.

¹ Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. iii. p. 18a.

CONDITION OF SOUTHERN INDIA 231

The greater portion of three northern districts, Kundapura, Onore, and Ancola was rocky and barren, and unfit for cultivation. Mr. Read estimated the different kinds of land thus :

	Cultivated Land.	Capable of Cultivation.	Sterile.
Kundapura . . .	0.32	0.08	0.60
Onore . . .	0.26	0.12	0.62
Ancola . . .	0.20	0.20	0.59

“The revenue, notwithstanding so much waste land, is said to have been greater during the first year of Major Munro’s management than it was ever before known to have been. Mr. Read attributes this to an increase of rent on the lands actually under cultivation, but of this I have much doubt.”¹

It is unnecessary for us to trace the return journey of Dr. Buchanan through Mysore to Madras, which he reached on the 6th July 1801. The account of his journey through Southern India, from the eastern to the western sea, which we have condensed in this chapter, is one of the most valuable records we possess of the economic condition of the country under the old regime, and under the new rule of the East India Company. Everywhere the extension of the Company’s rule meant the cessation of wars and disturbances, and the return of peace. With all these blessings which it conferred, the Company’s administration committed the fatal blunder of over-assessing the soil; and the condition of the people under the Company’s rule was therefore one of hopeless poverty—worse than in the native State of Mysore under the native minister Purnea.

¹ Buchanan’s *Journey from Madras, &c.*, vol. iii. p. 191

CHAPTER XIII

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF NORTHERN INDIA

(1808-1815)

THE Court of Directors recognised the value of Dr. Francis Buchanan's economic inquiries in Southern India, and desired that similar inquiries should be made by the same eminent authority in Northern India. Dr. Buchanan was accordingly directed in 1807 to make a statistical survey of some of the districts of Bengal and Northern India. The inquiry was carefully conducted for seven years, at a cost of £30,000.

The valuable materials thus collected were forwarded by the Indian Government to England, but were left unused for a long time. Dr. Buchanan came in for a large property in Scotland, took the name of Hamilton on acquiring the estate, and died in retirement before his labours saw the light.

It was then that Montgomery Martin, historian of the British Colonies and a thoughtful and careful writer on Indian subjects, asked and obtained permission to examine the manuscripts left by Dr. Buchanan. A judicious selection from the information collected with so much labour was published in London, in three volumes, in 1838, and these volumes contain the best and most reliable account that we possess of the economic condition of Northern India in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. In pursuance of the scope and object of the present work we proceed to give a summary of the statistical portions of these volumes in the present chapter.

PATNA CITY AND BEHAR DISTRICT.

(Area, 5358 square miles ; population, 3,364,420)

Rice was the most important crop throughout the district. Rice in husk sold on the average at the price of one rupee per 70 seers, or about 70 lbs. for the shilling. Wheat and barley were the next important crops, and were sometimes sown intermixed. Flour was taken as cakes (Roti), or parched and ground (Chhatu). Marua was raised entirely as a summer crop; maize and Janar were grown mostly on the banks of the Ganges.

Khesari, Bhut, pease, lentils, Arhar, Mung and succulent vegetables were also grown for food, and Til and other plants for oil. Potatoes had been introduced from Europe. Cotton was grown on 8000 acres of land, three-fourths of which yielded no other crop, and sugar-cane was raised on 7000 acres. Poppy was cultivated in garden lands near villages, and tobacco on 160 acres. The betel-leaf of Behar was considered superior to all others, and was exported to Calcutta, Benares, and Lucknow. The cultivation of indigo was on the decline, the landlords being averse to it, but Kusum or safflower was extensively grown.

The rents paid by cultivators to landlords were usually one-half the crop after deducting the expense of harvesting; but, on the other hand, the landlords paid all the expense of making and repairing canals and reservoirs required for irrigating lands.¹

Large reservoirs, a mile and upwards in length, cost about 500 rupees (£50) in excavating, but the smaller ones, which were more numerous, cost from 25 to 100 rupees. Many canals were several miles in length, and often conveyed more water than remained in the channel of the river in the dry season. The greater portion of

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. 1. pp. 282 and 294.

winter crops, vegetables, and sugar-cane was irrigated from wells. Of pasture, there were 27 square miles of inundated land, 384 miles of woods or scattered bushes, 640 miles of plantations, 205 miles of high lands, and 417 miles of broken corners, banks, and barren lands. Except in the cities of Patna and Gaya, the cultivators paid nothing for the ground occupied by their houses; "No person who rents a farm pays for his house." Artificers, traders, and labourers paid a ground rent, either in money or in work.¹

It will thus appear that the cultivator's rent was half the produce after deducting the cost of harvesting, and this rent included the ground rent for his dwelling, the cost of irrigation, and free pasture. Nor was this half-produce rent very strictly levied. "The division is so troublesome that, instead of their respective shares, both master and tenant, when the crop is ripe, usually agree the one to take and the other to give a certain quantity of grain, or its value in money." "The arrears due by the tenantry to their landlords are quite trifling except in one estate, where the owner has been in the habit of giving much money in advance. . . . The custom of advances (Takavi) from the landlord to the tenant, to enable him to cultivate, is not very common, although it exists to some extent."² A general change, which was taking place at the time of Dr. Buchanan's inquiries, was the substitution of money rents for rents paid in kind.

A plough servant's annual wages ranged from 16 rupees to 22 rupees a year, or between three and four shillings the month. Day labourers employed with the hoe, or in transplanting rice, or in watering winter-crops, were paid three or four paises (twopence) a day; and women employed to weed and transplant rice

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. i. p. 299.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 303 and 305.

received the same allowance as men, and assisted in the harvest.

Spinning and weaving were the great national industry of India next after agriculture. All the spinners were women, and Dr. Buchanan estimates their number in this district at 330,426. "By far the greater part of these spin only a few hours in the afternoon, and upon the average estimate the whole value of the thread that each spins in a year is worth nearly 7 rupees, 2 anas, 8 pies, giving for the total annual value Rs.2,367,277, and by a similar calculation the raw material at the retail price will amount to Rs.1,286,272, leaving a profit of Rs.1,081,005 for the spinners, or Rs.3¼ (6s. 6d. the year) for each. . . . As the demand, therefore, for fine goods has for some years been constantly diminishing, the women have suffered very much."¹

Cotton weavers were numerous. The total number of looms employed in the manufacture of Chadars or table-cloths was 750, and the value of the annual manufacture was Rs.540,000, leaving a profit of Rs.81,400, deducting the value of thread. This gave a profit of Rs.108 for each loom worked by three persons, or in other words an income of Rs.36 (72s.) a year for each person. But the greater part of the cotton weavers made coarse cloth for country use to the value of Rs.2,438,621 annually, which left a profit of Rs.667,242 after deduction of cost of thread. This gave a profit of Rs.28 (56s.) for each loom.

The system pursued by the East India Company is thus described: "Each man, on becoming bound (Asami) to the Company, received two rupees, and engaged not to work for any person until he had made as much as the Company required, and no other advance has ever been made by the Commercial Residents.

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. i. p. 350.

236 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

The agent orders each man to make a certain number of pieces of such or such goods, and he is paid for each on its delivery, according to the price stated in the tables."¹

Weavers who made cloth wholly or in part of Tasar silk lived mostly at Phatuḥa, Gaya, and Nawada. The total annual value of the produce was Rs.421,710, leaving a profit ranging from 33 rupees to 90 rupees a year for each loom, requiring the services of a man and a woman.

Paper manufacture, leather work, perfumery, iron-work, gold and silver work, stone-cutting, pottery, bricklaying and lime manufacture, dyeing, blanket-weaving and the manufacture of gold and silver thread and cloth, were among the other important industries. Much of the internal trade of the district was carried on by Baldiya-Beparis, or traders possessing pack-bullocks. One ox and 5 rupees of capital enabled a Bepari to start his trade, he sold goods to the value of Rs.50 a month, making a profit of 6 to 12 per cent., and thus securing an income of 32 rupees (64s.) a year. Goods were conveyed from Patna to Calcutta by boats, and the freight was 12 to 15 rupees (24s. to 30s.) for carrying 100 maunds (8000 lbs.) of grain. Cartmen conveyed goods over shorter distances, and the hire for a bullock-cart for carrying 12 to 15 maunds (960 to 1200 lbs.) from Patna to Gaya (72 miles) was 3 rupees or 6s.

In going over this list of the principal trades and professions of India, a hundred years ago, one sees how greatly these sources of income have been narrowed within this period. Weaving and spinning are practically dead, as most of the thread and cloth used by the people are supplied by Lancashire. Paper manufacture has also declined; skins are now sent

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. 1. p. 355.

CONDITION OF NORTHERN INDIA 237

to Europe for all the better kinds of leather work, the dyes of the country have been replaced by aniline dyes. The Beparis and their pack-bullocks have become things of the past, and the profits of the carrying trade are now earned, not by boatmen, but by railways owned by foreign capitalists. Agriculture has become virtually the sole means of subsistence for the people with the loss of their many trades and industries.

SHAHABAD DISTRICT.

(Area, 4087 square miles ; population, 1,419,520)

Rice was the greatest crop, but through the neglect of some landlords to repair the reservoirs on their estates, the cultivation of that grain had somewhat diminished. One-half of the district was under rice cultivation. With extended irrigation, Shahabad could be as productive as Patna and Behar, but the quality of the Shahabad rice was not as fine.

The lowest allowance given to the day labourer for mere reaping was nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the gross produce, while the highest allowance was $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On an average, 195 lbs. of grain were reaped by one man daily, for which, if he was a day labourer, he was allowed rather more than 6 per cent., and if a farm-servant, rather less than $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The grain intended for seed was preserved in vessels made of clay; the most common granaries were composed of a kind of basket made, like the bee-hives usual in Scotland, of a straw-rope coiled spirally. These granaries contained 29,360 lbs. of rice. The large ones stood in the farm-yard, and were covered with a terrace of clay. The smaller ones were placed at the end of the hut.

“By far the greater part of the proprietors of

assessed estates in this District complain that the assessment [by the Company's Government] is too heavy, so as to leave them little or no profit, and in many cases to exceed the value of the lands, and as a proof quote that many estates having been put up to sale, no bidder has offered, and the arrears having been lost to Government, the lands have been let at a reduced price; and they also allege that the revenue is so high as leaving nothing to the owners, these have been unable to defray the expense of keeping the reservoirs in repair, and, of course, that the country is growing daily less able to pay the revenue."¹ Exclusive of the high table-land, the Government land revenue amounted to Rs.1,132,677 in Shahabad on an extent of 3151 square miles capable of being ploughed; while in Patna and Behar the land revenue was Rs.1,412,269 on an extent of 5051 square miles capable of being ploughed.

Spinning and weaving were the great national industries of Shahabad. 159,500 women were employed in spinning, and produced thread to the value of Rs.1,250,000 a year. Deducting the value of the cotton, each woman made only Rs.1½ or 3s. a year. This was little enough, but this little was added to the income of the families to which the women belonged.

Weavers worked in cotton only, as there were few silk weavers in Shahabad. 7025 houses of weavers working in cotton in the District had 7950 looms. Each loom made an annual income of Rs.20½ or 41s. 6d. a year, and each loom required the labour of a man and his wife, as well as one boy or girl. But as a family could not be supported for less than Rs.48 or £4, 16s. a year, Dr. Buchanan suspected that the income of each loom, given above, was understated.

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1883), vol. i p. 541.

Paper, perfumery, oils, salt, and spirituous liquors were manufactured in Shahabad. -Rice was the great article both of import and export, barley was exported to Benares, and Arhar pulse to Murshedabad. Tobacco was imported from Chupra, sugar from Mirzapar, iron from Ramgarh, and zinc, copper, lead, and tin from Patna. Raw silk, cloth, salt, and fancy articles were exported to the Mahratta country of Ratanpur.

The weekly markets were fewer than in Behar, but most of the purchases and sales were made there. Bank notes had not entered into common currency, and "gold has almost totally disappeared, for the same reasons no doubt as in Behar." The milled copper coinage of the Company was current only in the city of Arra; in the interior rude masses of Gorukpur copper coins and Madhusahi and Sherguji Paisas were in use, and Cowri shells were current in exchange for copper coins.

Boats were fewer than in Behar; the fare for 100 maunds of goods (8000 lbs.) from Bindhuliya to Benares, a distance of 140 miles, was Rs.12 or 24s. Two great roads traversed the District, one the military road from Calcutta to Benares kept up by the public, and the other along the old bank of the Ganges kept up by a tax of 1 per cent. on the whole assessed land of the District. Both were impracticable in the rainy season.

The Raja of Bhojpur, Hardar Sing a Kayest, Abdul Nasur a Mahomedan landlord, Bibi Asmat a Mahomedan lady, Lala Rajrap and Lala Kananga, both Kayests, distinguished themselves among others by feeding all strangers and mendicants who came for help. This ancient rite of hospitality to the poor was known to the Hindoos as Sada-brata, or ceaseless devotion to God.

BHAGALPUR DISTRICT.

(Area, 8225 square miles; population, 2,019,900)

Rice was the greatest crop, and 60 seers of the rough rice gave $37\frac{1}{2}$ seers of clean husked rice. Wheat was the next large crop, and barley was sown a great deal mixed with the field pea. Maize was grown on the higher lands, and the next culmiferous crop Marua. Kheri, Kodo, Cheena, Janera and Bajra were also cultivated.

Kalai, Arhar, and Khesari were important leguminous plants. Til and numerous other plants yielding oil were extensively grown, and ginger, vegetables, greens, and spices were raised for consumption in the District.

Cotton was cultivated on 4000 acres, besides a considerable quantity raised by hill tribes on their native hills. Sugar-cane was chiefly grown near the banks of rivers where the fields could be irrigated by means of canals. The tobacco raised was not sufficient for the requirements of the District. One-half of the gross produce covered the cost of cultivation, and the rent paid to the landlords did not quite amount to one-half of the remainder.¹ Owing however to the system of advances being little known the people were not much involved in debt. The money rent was collected by instalments, rent in kind was taken when the crops were reaped. "Various deductions, before division, are made from the crop, specially the whole expense of harvest, and after these deductions the landlord in some places receives one-half, in others $\frac{2}{3}$; but then the landlord, as I have said, is at all the expense of the canals, and generally at all that of the reservoir for irrigation, and

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. ii. p. 220.

the harvest, one of the heaviest deductions, is in favour of the tenant.”¹

Ploughmen in the northern tracts, who engaged themselves by the season, received an advance of Rs.5 to Rs.20, and laboured for their masters till this was worked off. In the southern tracts a curious division of the crops was made. The owner of the field first took double the quantity of the seed, and then two-thirds of the remainder; the labourer got the remaining third.

The hill tribes were less careful in cultivation, less industrious, and more addicted to drink, than the Hindu cultivators. Among these hill tribes the northern were more industrious and sober than the southern, though even among the former both men and women often get very drunk. The method of raising crops among the hill tribes was peculiar. Small holes, two or three fingers deep, were made in the interstices between the stones on the steepest declivities of hills, and in each hole were dropped ten or twelve seeds taken by chance from a promiscuous mixture, and the crops were reaped as they came month after month. Cotton was grown by the northern tribes, not by the southern.

All castes were permitted to spin. 160,000 women were supposed to spin, and each woman made an annual income of Rs.4½, or 9s., after deducting the cost of the cotton. This was added to the family income.

Few weavers worked in silk alone. A great many near the town of Bhagalpur made Tasar fabrics of silk and cotton intermixed; 3275 looms were so employed. The Company's Commercial Resident advanced Rs.10,000 annually for the fabrics known as Baftas and Namunas. The annual profit of each weaver employed in the

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838) vol. ii. p. 223.

mixed silk and cotton industry was supposed to be Rs.46, or 92s.—beside what his women made.

For the weaving of cotton cloths there were 7279 looms; each loom made an income of Rs.26, or 40s., in the year. By another calculation the profits of a man and wife engaged in this industry appeared to be Rs.32, or 64s., in the year. Cotton carpets, tapes, tent-ropes, chintz, and blankets were also made in this District.

Among the other important industries of the District may be mentioned bracelets of coarse glass, leather-tanning, iron-work, and carpentry, pottery, stone-cutting, gold and silver works, and pewter works. Indigo was produced by European planters, and the nitre produced was bought by the Company.

The people were less addicted to markets than in Bengal, and dealt more with shopkeepers and traders. Gold had almost entirely disappeared; the Calcutta Kuldar Rupees were by far the most common currency, and copper coins of different kinds were much used. "In the south-west part of the District coin is seldom seen, and most commercial transactions are carried on by exchange of commodities."¹

There was not much river traffic in this district. The freight of 100 maunds (8000 lbs.) from Monghyr to Calcutta (300 miles) was 10 to 14 rupees, or 20 to 28 shillings. The greater part of the internal trade of the country was carried on by bullock-carts or pack-bullocks. There was only one important road through the District, that passing from Calcutta to Patna and Benares, but during the rains it became impassable even for loaded bullocks. The Baldiya-Beparis, or traders with pack-bullocks, were numerous. Travelers generally journeyed on foot, and found shelter at night in the shops of Mudis, or sweet-sellers, for one or

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1898), vol. ii. p. 283.

two pice (a penny) the night, including cooking; while the articles required for food were separately paid for. Mahomedan travellers paid double for room and cooking, because they required special cooking by Bhatiyaras.

DISTRICT GORAKHPUR.

(Area, 7423 square miles; population, 1,385,495)

Although in some parts little rice was grown, yet on the whole rice was a most considerable crop, and was reared where no artificial irrigation was required. Wheat was a most important crop, and in many divisions of the District exceeded the quantity of rice. Wheat and barley intermixed were in pretty common use. Some wheat was sown intermixed with oil seeds, and some barley was sown intermixed with pease.

Among leguminous crops, Arhar, Chana, Mas, Masur, Bhringi, and peas were common. Various farinaceous herbs were grown, and Tisi, Til, and Rai were cultivated for oils. Cotton was cultivated to a small extent; the date-palm and Mahua were grown for their saccharine juice, and sugar-cane was cultivated on 1600 acres. Tobacco and the betel-leaf was largely grown; poppy cultivation had been prohibited by the Company's Government.

Fields were watered from rivers, canals, tanks, and marshes by means of baskets swung by ropes, and ten men could irrigate three to five thousand square feet daily. Some fields were watered from wells by means of leathern bags raised by cattle. The greater part of the rent was paid in money, although in some places it was paid by a division of the crop. Where the latter system prevailed, the landlord received one-fourth of the crop after deducting ploughing, sowing, reaping, and other charges.¹

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1898), vol. ii. p. 537.

Gorakhpur was one of those Districts which had formerly flourished under Suja-ud-Dowla, Nawab of Oudh, which had suffered from exactions, rebellion, and depopulation, when the rents were assigned to Colonel Hanny under Asof-ud-Dowla, and which had been ceded to the Company in 1801 under the arrangement made by the Marquis of Wellesley. We have narrated these facts in preceding chapters, and have also shown that Lord Wellesley gave his pledge in 1803 and 1805 to conclude a Permanent Settlement in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces—a pledge which was never redeemed. It is interesting to read Dr. Buchanan's account of Gorakhpur, one of the Ceded Districts, and visited by him some ten years after the cession was made.

"It is indeed said, that during the government of Suja-ud-Dowla, the District was in a much better state than at present, and that the rents having been farmed to Colonel Hanny, that gentleman took such violent measures in the collection as to depopulate the country, and I certainly perceive many traces of cultivation where now there are wastes and woods. . . .

"When the country was ceded to the English, Major Rudledge, appointed to the management, acted with great vigour and prudence. He instantly, while the known power of our discipline gave him authority, dismantled every stronghold, and thus established the uncontrollable authority of the law, which gave a protection to the lower orders before unknown, and brought settlers from all quarters. His claims at first were very moderate, and the principal error committed was in making the settlement for too short a period. . . .

"On the whole I must say that the proprietors in this District appear to me to have been very hardly treated. Wherever the country is fully occupied, such as is the case on the right of the Ghagra, I

would recommend a Perpetual Settlement on the footing of Bengal, Behar, and Benares."¹

Here we have the old story told once again. Wherever the Company's dominions extended, disturbances were succeeded by peace, and the reign of law replaced disorder. But the land was subjected to a heavy and increasing assessment, and the hand of the tax-gatherer was felt heavier in Northern India for many decades than the occasional outrages of invaders and freebooters in previous times.

One hundred and seventy-five thousand six hundred women found employment in spinning cotton, and made an annual income of Rs.2½, or 5s. There were 5434 families of weavers, possessing 6114 looms, and each loom brought an annual income of Rs.23½, or 47s. Dr. Buchanan thought this was too low an estimate, and believed that each loom brought an income of Rs.36, or 72s., in the year. Chintz was made in Nawabganj, and blankets were woven for local consumption.

Carpenters worked in iron, or made doors, windows, carts, agricultural implements, palanquins, boxes, and sometimes boats. Between 200 and 400 boats were made every year. Braziers made vessels of bell-metal. Six men could turn out in three months articles to the value of Rs.240, which left them a profit of Rs.56. This meant a monthly earning of over Rs.3, or 6s. for each man. Many brass ornaments were also made. Sugar and salt were manufactured in the district.

Grain was largely imported from the kingdom still left to the Nawab of Oudh, and also from the level country possessed by Nepal. Sugar and tobacco were imported from Saran District and elsewhere; elephants and copper vessels came from Nepal, and brass and bell-metal articles from Patna. The carrying trade

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. II, pp. 547 and 549.

246 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

was done either by settled traders, or by traders with pack-bullocks, or by farmers owning bullock-carts. Kapariya merchants imported cloth, Banjara merchants brought salt and Nuniha merchants retailed it, Baniyas retailed grains, cotton merchants imported cottons, and Mahajans lent money to cultivators to pay their rents, and to landlords to pay their Land Tax to the Government.

There were weekly markets as at Shahabad, Lucknow, and Benares. Rupees were in common use, and the Calcutta Rupee was seldom seen. The local coinage of copper had been stopped, Nepal copper coins were in common use, and Cowri shells were also used as money.

A religious mendicant of Gorakhpur had built some very fine bridges for the good of his fellow-townsmen. There were four Sada-bratas, or houses of charity, at Gorakhpur, two at Bhowapur, one at Lalganj, and one at Magahar.

DINAJPUR DISTRICT.

(Area, 5374 square miles ; population, 3,000,000)

Rice was the most important crop of the District, and some lands produced two crops of rice, one reaped at the close of the summer and the other in winter. A third kind of rice called Boro was cultivated in small quantities and reaped in spring.

The higher lands which grew the summer rice received some manure, and grew winter crops such as mustard. The lower lands which grew the winter rice required no manuring, and produced only one crop. Women husked the rice by a wooden lever six feet long called Dhenki, and 40 seers of unhusked rice yielded a little over 28 seers of husked rice.

Wheat and barley were small crops in Dinajpur, and Marua was grown in poor lands. Among legu-

CONDITION OF NORTHERN INDIA 247

minous plants, Kalai, Khesari, and Masur were the most common, and field-pea was the most common pulse. Mustard, Rai, and linseed were grown for oils.

Nearly 37,000 acres were occupied by plantations —Mango, jack-fruit, tamarind, &c., and 83,000 acres were for vegetables for the kitchen. Jute was grown on 13,000 acres, cotton on 8000 acres, flax on 5000 acres, and sugar-cane on 8000 acres. Tobacco occupied 500 acres, and the betel-leaf 200 acres.

Indigo and safflower were grown for dyes, and the former was grown on 5000 acres. The practice which Dr. Buchanan found prevailing is the same which prevails to this day in some parts of Bengal. Each cultivator was required by the European planter to grow indigo in a portion of his holding.

Thirteen hundred acres of fine lands, all within a mile of the Mahananda river, and amidst noble groves of Mango, Banyan, and Popul, grew mulberry plants for the silkworm. The Company's Commercial Resident made advances for a great part of the cocoons.

Irrigation of fields was in common use, though not so common as it ought to have been. The number of artificial lakes in the District was numerous, and most of them had springs, so that the supply of water was generally sufficient. Whenever rains failed, recourse was had to these lakes.

There were 480,000 ploughs in the District, which meant 960,000 plough bullocks and cows, besides 336,000 breeding cows. The pasture land consisted of 261 square miles of inundated lands which were overgrown with coarse grass in the dry season, 221 miles of woods and forests, about 300 miles of barren lands, and about 650 miles of lands occasionally cultivated, four-fifths of which was always untilled. No rent was demanded for the pasture of cattle, nor were

they prevented from going on any field which was not producing some crop.¹

Holdings of 55 acres were considered very large ones, those of 15 to 20 acres were comfortable and easy, while the poorer cultivators who, with their families, formed the bulk of the population, had holdings of 5 to 10 acres. The cost of cultivation was not more than one-half the produce, and the rent did not exceed one-fourth the produce, and was always paid in money.² In most parts of the District leases were granted in perpetuity to the cultivators, and in some places they "pretend to a right of perpetual possession at the usual rate of rent, if they have occupied a farm for ten years."

Cotton spinning, which was the principal manufacture, occupied the leisure hours "of all the women of higher rank, and of the greater part of the farmers' wives." Rs.3, or 6s., the year was the usual income each woman made by spinning in her afternoons. The total value of raw cotton bought by spinners in the District was Rs.250,000, the value of the yarn made was Rs.1,165,000, and the profit of the women was therefore Rs.915,000, or nearly £100,000.

The Maldai cloths, so called from their being manufactured at Malda, consisted of silk warp and cotton woof. Four thousand looms were employed on this work, and it was said that each loom made 20 rupees' worth of cloth in a month, which Dr. Buchanan considered too high an estimate. About 800 looms were employed for the larger pieces in the form of Elachis, and received advances from the Company's agents.

The manufacture of cloth made entirely of silk was confined to the vicinity of Malda and to some 500

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. ii. p. 889.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 907 and 908.

houses of weavers, and the total manufacture was valued at Rs. 120,000, or £12,000.

The manufacture of pure cotton cloths was of more importance. The whole cotton cloth woven in the District was valued at Rs. 1,674,000, or £167,400.

The lower caste Hindus—the Koch, the Poley, and the Rajbansi—wove Pat or jute into fabrics for their own wear. Most families had looms, and most women worked in the afternoons.

The flowering cotton cloth with the needle gave a good deal of occupation to the Mahomedan women of Malda. The flowers were either Kosida having running patterns, or Chikon having detached flowers or spots. Some Mahomedan women also made silk strings for tying trousers or necklaces or bracelets.

Connected with the weaving industry was the important trade of dyeing. Indigo, lac, safflower, and turmeric, Moski, Horitoki, Moujista, and various flowers were the ingredients for dyeing. Building, pottery, mats, bracelets, leather-works, carpentry, bricklaying, copper, tin, and iron-works, sugar manufacture, and indigo manufacture, were among the other important industries. The last industry had already given rise to complaints against the European planters, and the reasons assigned for their unpopularity are classed by Dr. Buchanan under eight heads. Firstly, the planter considered the growers “as his slaves, beats and confines them whenever he is dissatisfied”; secondly, that the growers were “cheated both in the measure of their land and in the measure of the weed”; thirdly, that the whole produce of the field did not exceed the rent; fourthly, that the planters were “insolent and violent”; fifthly, that they interfered with the collection of rents; sixthly, that they belonged to the “governing caste”; seventhly, that they prevented the landlords’ exactions; and eighthly, that they deterred cultivators from the work of cultivation.

Dr. Buchanan thought the complaints, though often exaggerated, were not unfounded, and held that "infinite advantage would arise from altogether refusing new licenses, and restricting Europeans, who are not responsible to the Company for their conduct, to a residence in the principal towns and seaports."¹ The action which the Company's Government took to prevent the growing evil will be narrated in the next chapter.

A great portion of the trade of the District had passed from the hands of native traders to that of the Company. There were no longer any Saudagars or great native merchants in the District. "One family, indeed, has acquired immense wealth in that line, and for nine generations the forefathers of Baidyanath Mandal carried on an extensive commerce with great reputation and propriety. The present head of the family has given up trade, has made large purchases of land, and is just as much despised as his forefathers were respected."²

Smaller merchants, called Mahajans, with capitals from Rs.2000 to Rs.25,000, residing in the District, exported rice, sugar, molasses, oil, and tobacco; and imported salt, cotton, metals, and spices. The whole number of fixed shops in the District did not amount to 2000, but open markets were numerous. Petty traders were called Paikars. Gold had become scarce, the Kuldar Rupee of Calcutta was the usual currency, and Cowri shells were largely used.

In the rainy season boats reached most villages, but there was little carrying trade then. In the dry months goods were conveyed by pack-bullocks, there being "few or no roads" for the conveyance of goods. Boats conveyed a hundred maunds (8000 lbs.) to Calcutta for Rs.13, or 26s. Bullock-carts conveyed goods twelve miles for less than half a rupee.

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. ii. p. 996.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 1001.

PURNIYA DISTRICT.

(Area, 6340 square miles ; population, 2,904,380)

The spring rice, the summer rice, and the winter rice were the principal crops of the District. Seventy seers of rice in husk produced 40 seers of clean rice when husked without boiling. When the operation was performed by boiling, 65 seers of unhusked rice gave 40 seers of clean. The Dhenki, or wooden lever, was everywhere used by women in this operation.

Wheat was more used than at Dinajpur, and barley was sown on the banks of rivers without previous cultivation and much used by the poor. Marua was also greatly used, specially on the west side of the Kosi. Maize, Janera, and different kinds of millets were also raised.

Among leguminous plants, Mas-kalai, Khesari, Arhar, Bhut, Kulti, and Mung were largely used. Mustard and Rai, Tisi and castor plant were grown for oils. Twenty-eight thousand acres were cultivated for vegetables.

Pat or jute was grown for its fibre; the cultivation of cotton was very limited. The cultivation of the sugar-cane was chiefly confined to the banks of the Kan Kayi river. Half the tobacco grown in the District was cultivated near the capital town, and the betel-leaf was an important article, although much less in use than in Dinajpur.

There were seventeen indigo factories under the management of Mr. Ellerton in the south-east part of the District, while there were some fifty other factories in other parts of the District. Safflower or Kusum was an article of somewhat greater importance than in the more eastern Districts. The cultivation of mulberry for silkworms was entirely confined to the south-east corner of the District.

The pasture of the District consisted of 234 square

miles of high fallow land, 482 miles of land not cultivated, and 186 miles of broken corners and roads. Besides this, there were some 389 miles of low lands covered with reeds and bushes. Finally in December and January, after the winter rice was reaped, the rice stubble was a great resource. Altogether the pasture lands would be inadequate for the cattle of the District but for the wilds of the Morang, belonging to the Nepal Government, where the owner of a herd of five or six hundred gave one male calf to the Gurkha officer as the pasture fee. "In some parts also of this District the Zemindars, although in other respects rigid Hindus, have had sense to take a rent for pasture."

The rents varied according to various circumstances, but "allowing one-half [of the produce] for the fair expense of cultivation, and one-half of the remainder for the net profit of the tenant, we may judge somewhat of the extent of the fair demands which the Zemindar might make, and which probably very far exceeds what they receive."¹

In other words, Dr. Buchanan considered one-fourth of the produce would be fair rent; but the Zemindars of Purniya and elsewhere in Bengal were taking much less as *rent*, at the very time when the Company's Government was realising nearly half the produce from the cultivators of Madras as *land tax*.

No caste was considered disgraced by spinning, and a very large proportion of the women of the District did some spinning in their leisure hours. Dr. Buchanan found it very difficult to estimate their profits, but conjectured that the cotton used by them annually was worth Rs.300,000, and the thread spun valued at Rs.1,300,000, leaving a profit of Rs.1,000,000, or £100,000.

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. iii. p. 290.

Pure silk fabrics were woven by 200 looms, and the goods were worth Rs.48,600, out of raw silk worth Rs.34,200, leaving a profit of Rs.14,400. This would bring an annual income of Rs.72, or 144s. for each loom.

Weavers who made clothes of silk and cotton intermixed were nearly on the same footing as at Dinajpur.

Weavers of cotton were numerous, and were mostly employed in producing coarse goods for country use. Three thousand five hundred looms employed in finer work produced Rs.506,000 worth of goods, and brought a net profit of Rs.149,000, or about 86s. annually for each loom. Ten thousand looms employed on coarse goods produced cloths to the value of Rs.1,089,500, and brought a net profit of Rs.324,000, or about 65s. annually for each loom.

Weavers of cotton carpets (Satranjis) and tapes were confined to the capital. Coarse linen made of jute was largely produced, and a large proportion of the women in the eastern frontier used this for clothing. The blankets and woollen goods were coarse, but were of much use to the poor in the rains and winter.

Goldsmiths, carpenters, workers in the Bidri and other metals, blacksmiths, and dyers, were among the other industrious classes of Purniya. The manufacture of sugar was at a low ebb. Five hundred families made salt.

Cotton was imported from the west of India, and sugar from Dinajpur and Patna. There were seven houses of bankers at Purniya, and they granted bills of exchange for money paid to them, and also discounted bills of other houses. "If large exchanges of gold and silver are required, they can only be procured from these Kothi-walas (houses). Jagat Set's house will draw at once for Rs.100,000. The others will

not exceed half that sum." The old unmilled rupees were as commonly in use as the milled (Kuldar) rupees of Calcutta. "In a country so exceedingly poor, a gold coinage is highly distressing to the lower classes, and in my humble opinion ought to be entirely discontinued. Even a rupee in this country is a large sum. . . . The gold has fortunately almost vanished, and perhaps should never be allowed to return, by being no longer held a legal proffer of payment. In most parts of the District the currency consists entirely of silver and Cowries. Towards the western parts a few of the copper coins called Paysà, worth about $\frac{1}{8}$ of a rupee, are current, but even these are too large for the small money of a country where two of them are equal to the comfortable daily board wages of a manservant."¹

The District was well provided with the means of using water carriage, and there were more boats than in Dinajpur. The hire for carrying 100 maunds (8000 lbs.) from the District to Calcutta was Rs. 14, or 28s. A few roads had been made near the capital, and some indigo factories. Ponies were used for carrying loads, as well as oxen. Rich men provided accommodation and shelter to travellers, and the shops of Mudis or sweet-sellers were inns where they could find lodging and food.

SUMMARY.

The accounts given of the two remaining Districts, Rangpur and Assam, in Dr. Buchanan's volumes are incomplete, and do not contain details about agriculture and rents, industries and trade. It is unnecessary, therefore, to refer to those Districts in the present chapter.

¹ *History of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. ii. pp. 340-342.

The six Districts of which an account has been given above contained a much larger area than what is included in the Districts now known under those names. They formed an area of 36,000 square miles, and had a population of fourteen millions; and the account of these vast and populous Districts gives us a fair idea of the East India Company's entire possessions in Bengal and Northern India. The people were still miserably poor, but cultivation had revived since the time of Warren Hastings, and much waste land had been reclaimed since the Permanent Settlement of 1793.

The Zemindars, though willing enough to obtain as large a rental as they could, never exacted as much as the Company's servants did in Madras, and by this reason they afforded some protection to the people. In exceptional cases they claimed one-half the net produce, after deducting the cost of harvesting, but in return they considered themselves bound to maintain the irrigation works at their own cost. But generally in Bengal they received less than one-fourth the produce as their rents. And as the Government revenue had been permanently fixed, and the rents too were in many places fixed by custom, there was some motive for improvements and the reclaiming of waste lands as the years went by.

What threatened, however, the sources of the income of the people was the declining state of their industries and manufactures. The hardship was already felt in many places visited by Dr. Buchanan, and grew more severe later on. To an account of the industries of the people we now turn.

CHAPTER XIV

DECLINE OF INDUSTRIES (1793-1813)

It will appear from the facts stated in the last two chapters, that large portions of the Indian population were engaged in various industries down to the first decade of the nineteenth century. Weaving was still the national industry of the people; millions of women eked out the family income by their earnings from spinning; and dyeing, tanning, and working in metals also gave employment to millions.

It was not, however, the policy of the East India Company to foster Indian industries. It has been stated in a previous chapter that, as early as 1769, the Directors wished the manufacture of raw silk to be encouraged in Bengal, and that of silk fabrics discouraged. And they also directed that silk-winders should be made to work in the Company's factories, and prohibited from working outside "under severe penalties, by the authority of the Government."¹ This mandate had its desired effect. The manufacture of silk and cotton goods declined in India, and the people who had exported these goods to the markets of Europe and Asia in previous centuries began to import them in increasing quantities. The following figures² show the value of cotton goods alone sent out from England to ports east of the Cape of Good Hope, mainly to India, during twenty years.

¹ General Letter dated 17th March 1769.

² Return to an Order of the House of Commons, dated 4th May 1813.

DECLINE OF INDUSTRIES

257

Year ending 5th January	"	Year ending 5th January
1794	£156	1804
1795	717	1805
1796	112	1806
1797	2,501	1807
1798	4,436	1808
1799	7,317	1809
1800	19,575	1810
1801	21,200	1811
1802	16,191	1812
1803	27,876	1813
		£5,936
		31,943
		48,525
		46,549
		69,841
		118,408
		74,695
		114,649
		107,306
		108,824

The Company's Charter was renewed in 1813. An inquiry was made, and witnesses were examined, previous to this renewal.

Very important witnesses, like Warren Hastings, Thomas Munro, and Sir John Malcolm were examined, and the House of Commons showed the utmost concern for the general welfare of the people of India. But in respect of Indian manufactures, they sought to discover how they could be replaced by British manufactures, and how British industries could be promoted at the expense of Indian industries.

India had suffered from repeated famines in the preceding half-century. A famine was desolating Bombay in the very year when the evidence was recorded. Industries and manufactures had declined in Bengal and in Madras. And yet we look in vain in this old volume of recorded evidence for any questions as to the means of reviving those sources of wealth which could insure the prosperity of a nation. We meet, on the contrary, with constant and never-ending inquiries how British goods could be forced on the people of India.

Warren Hastings was asked: "From your knowledge of the Indian character and habits, are you able to speak to the probability of a demand for European commodities by the population of India, for their own use?"

"The supplies of trade," replied Warren Hastings,

"are for the wants and luxuries of a people; the poor in India may be said to have no wants. Their wants are confined to their dwellings, to their food, and to a scanty portion of clothing, all of which they can have from the soil that they tread upon."¹

Sir John Malcolm, who had lived a good deal among the people of India, and knew them as few Englishmen have known them since, bore high testimony to the many virtues of the nation. Speaking of Northern India, he said: "The Hindoo inhabitants are a race of men, generally speaking, not more distinguished by their lofty stature . . . than they are for some of the finest qualities of the mind; they are brave, generous, and humane, and their truth is as remarkable as their courage." And replying to the question as to whether they were likely to be consumers of British goods, he replied: "They are not likely to become consumers of European articles, because they do not possess the means to purchase them, even if, from their simple habits of life and attire, they required them."²

Graeme Mercer, who had served the East India Company as a doctor, and also in the revenue and political departments, described the people of India as "mild in their dispositions, polished in their general manners, in their domestic relations kind and affectionate, submissive to authority, and peculiarly attached to their religious tenets, and to the observance of the rites and ceremonies prescribed by those tenets." And in reference to the introduction of European goods in India he stated that Lord Wellesley had endeavoured to find markets for such goods by instituting fairs in Rohilkhand, exhibiting British woollens in those fairs, and by directing the British Resident

¹ Minutes of Evidence, &c., on the Affairs of the East India Company (1813), p. 3. The opinion of Warren Hastings about the general character of the people of India, expressed before the Lords' Committee, has been quoted in chapter iii. of this work.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 54 and 57.

to attend the great fair at Hardwar with the same object,¹

But the most important witness examined by the Committee of the House of Commons on this memorable occasion was Thomas Munro; and the whole of his evidence was inspired by that sympathy with the people of India and that appreciation of their virtues which had distinguished that gifted Scotchman during his twenty-seven years' work in India, from 1780 to 1807.

Munro said that the average wages of agricultural labour in India was between 4s. and 6s. a month; that the cost of subsistence was between 18s. and 27s. a head per annum; that there was no probability of extending the sale of British woollen goods, because the people used coarse woollen of their own manufacture; and that they were excellent manufacturers, and were likely to imitate English goods. Asked if Hindu women were not slaves to their husbands, Munro replied, "They have as much influence in their families as, I imagine, the women have in this country" [England]. And asked if the civilisation of the Hindus could not be improved by the establishment of an open trade, he gave that memorable answer which has often been quoted and will bear repetition: "I do not understand what is meant by the civilisation of the Hindus; in the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans. But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teach-

¹ Minutes of Evidence, &c., on the Affairs of the East India Company (1813), pp. 88 and 89.

ing reading, writing, and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect, and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country [England] will gain by the import cargo."¹

Munro had a high idea of the excellence of the Indian manufactures of his time. Among the causes which precluded the extended sale of British goods in India he mentioned "the religious and civil habits of the natives, and more than anything else, I am afraid, the excellence of their own manufactures." He had used an Indian shawl for seven years, and had found very little difference in it after that long use; while, with regard to imitation shawls produced in England, he said: "I have never seen an European shawl that I would use, even if it were given to me as a present."²

The evidence of one other witness deserves mention, that of John Stracey. He had served the East India Company in the Judicial Department, and as Under-Secretary to Government on the Bengal Establishment, and he deposed that the Indian labourer earned from 3s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. a month. How could such a nation use European goods? "I do not know that they use anything in their ordinary use from Europe, except it is some small woollens and broad cloths which they may have accidentally got at a cheap rate."³

Inquiries like these fairly disclosed the objects of the House of Commons Committee. It is not in human nature for any race of men to sacrifice their

¹ Minutes of Evidence, &c., on the Affairs of the East India Company (1813), pp. 124, 127, 131.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 123 and 172.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

own interests for those of another; and the British statesmen in the early years of the nineteenth century did all they could to promote British industries at the sacrifice of Indian industries. British manufactures were forced into India through the agency of the Company's Governor-General and Commercial Residents, while Indian manufactures were shut out from England by prohibitive tariffs. The evidence of John Ranking, a merchant, examined by the Commons Committee, will explain this.

"Can you state what is the *ad valorem* duty on piece-goods sold at the East India House?"

"The duty on the class called calicoes is £3, 6s. 8d. per cent. upon importation, and if they are used for home consumption there is a further duty of £68, 6s. 8d. per cent.

"There is another class called muslins, on which the duty on importation is 10 per cent., and if they are used for home consumption, of £27, 6s. 8d. per cent.

"There is a third class, coloured goods, which are prohibited being used in this country, upon which there is a duty upon importation of £3, 6s. 8d. per cent.; they are only for exportation.

"This session of Parliament there has been a new duty of 20 per cent. on the consolidated duties, which will make the duties on calicoes . . . used for home consumption, £78, 6s. 8d. per cent., upon the muslins for home consumption, £31, 6s. 8d."

There was no thought of concealing the real object of these prohibitive duties. The same witness, John Ranking said, further on, "I look upon it as a protecting duty to encourage our own manufactures."¹

What was the result of these duties on Indian manufactures? Henry St. George Tucker, whose name has been mentioned in a previous chapter in connec-

¹ Minutes of Evidence, &c., on the Affairs of the East India Company (1813), pp. 463 and 467.

tion with land settlements in Northern India, retired to England ripe in Indian experience, and became a Director of the East India Company; and he did not conceal the scope and the effect of England's commercial policy towards India. Writing in 1823, *i.e.* only ten years after the date of the Parliamentary inquiry referred to above, he condemned that policy in the strongest manner.

"What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piece-goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and of late, partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent., but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country."¹

Still more emphatic is the impartial verdict of H. H. Wilson, historian of India.

"It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she has become dependent. It was stated in evidence [in 1813] that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and

¹ Memorials of the Indian Government, being a selection from the papers of Henry St. George Tucker (London, 1853), p. 494.

could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.”¹

While such was the policy pursued in England to discourage Indian manufactures, the system pursued in India did not tend to improve them. The revenues of the country were spent on the Company's Investments, *i.e.* on the purchase of Indian goods for exportation and sale in Europe without any commercial return. How much of the country's revenues was applied in this manner will appear from the following list²:

Year.	Prime Cost of Investment, India.	Year.	Prime Cost of Investment, India.
1793-4 . . .	£1,220,106	1803-4 . . .	1,187,07
1794-5 . . .	1,288,059	1804-5 . . .	1,088,700
1795-6 . . .	1,821,512	1805-6 . . .	1,335,460
1796-7 . . .	1,708,379	1806-7 . . .	986,310
1797-8 . . .	1,025,204	1807-8 . . .	887,119
1798-9 . . .	2,019,265	1808-9 . . .	1,013,740
1799-1800 . . .	1,665,689	1809-10 . . .	1,240,315
1800-1 . . .	2,013,975	1810-11 . . .	963,429
1801-2 . . .	1,425,168	1811-12 . . .	1,110,909
1802-3 . . .	1,133,526		
	Total of nineteen years . . .		25,134,672
	Annual average . . .		<u>1,322,877</u>

¹ Mill's *History of British India*, Wilson's continuation, Book I, chapter viii., note.

² Taken from statement in p. 487, of Minutes of Evidence, &c., on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1813.

The method pursued in supplying these Investments was this. On being informed of the amount required by the Directors, the Board of Trade in India forwarded a copy of the order to the several factories where the goods were produced. The Commercial Residents at the factories divided the order among the several subordinate factories, and required the weavers to attend on a specified day to receive advances. Each weaver was debited for the advance made to him, and credited for the deliveries he made. If the weavers objected to the rate, the Board of Trade decided the matter according to its own judgment.¹

How this system was frequently abused appears from the evidence of many witnesses examined by the Commons Committee in 1813. Thomas Munro deposed that in the Baramahal the Company's servants assembled the principal weavers and placed a guard over them until they entered into engagements to supply the Company only.² When once a weaver accepted an advance he seldom got out of his liability. A peon was placed over him to quicken his deliveries if he delayed, and he was liable to be prosecuted in the courts of justice. The sending of a peon meant a fine of one anna (about 1½d.) a day on the weaver, and the peon was armed with a rattan, which was not unoften used to good purpose. Fine was sometimes imposed on the weavers, and their brass utensils were seized for its recovery.³ The whole weaving population of villages were thus held in subjection to the Company's factories; and Mr. Cox deposed that 1500 weavers, not including their families and connections, were under his authority in the factory over which he presided.

¹ *Minutes of Evidence, &c., on the Affairs of the East India Company (1813),* p. 532.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 537-539.

The control under which the weaver population was held was not merely a matter of practice, but was legalised by Regulations. It was provided that a weaver who had received advances from the Company "shall on no account give to any other persons whatever, European or Native, either the labour or the produce engaged to the Company;" that on his failing to deliver the stipulated cloths, "the Commercial Resident shall be at liberty to place peons upon him in order to quicken his deliveries;" that on his selling his cloths to others the weaver "shall be liable to be prosecuted in the Dewani Adalat;" that "weavers possessed of more than one loom, and entertaining one or more workmen, shall be subject to a penalty of 35 per cent. on the stipulated price of every piece of cloth that they may fail to deliver according to the written agreement;" that landlords and tenants "are enjoined not to hinder the Commercial Residents or their officers from access to weavers;" and that they "are strictly prohibited from behaving with disrespect to the Commercial Residents" of the Company.¹

Manufactures do not flourish when manufacturers are held under any sort of thralldom. But the worst result of this system was that, while the Company's servants assumed such power and authority over the manufacturers of India, other Europeans often assumed larger powers and used them with less restraint.

"The Englishman," said Warren Hastings, "is quite a different character in India; the name of an Englishman is both his protection and a sanction for offences which he would not dare to commit at home."

"There is one general consequence," said Lord Teignmouth, "which I should think likely to result from a general influx of Europeans into the interior of the country and their intercourse with the natives,

¹ Regulation xxxi. of 1793

that, without elevating the character of the natives, it would have a tendency to depreciate their estimate of the general European character."

"I find no difference in traders," said Thomas Munro, "whether their habits are quiet or not when they quit this country; they are very seldom quiet when they find themselves among an unresisting people over whom they can exercise their authority, for every trader going into India is considered as some person connected with the Government. I have heard that within these two or three years, I think in Bengal in 1810, private traders, indigo merchants, have put inhabitants of the country in the stocks, have assembled their followers and given battle to each other, and that many have been wounded."

"I have always observed," said Thomas Sydenham, "that Englishmen are more apt than those of any other nation to commit violences in foreign countries, and this I believe to be the case in India."¹

So frequent were the acts of violence committed by European traders and indigo planters in the interior of the country in the early years of the nineteenth century, that the Government was compelled to issue circulars to magistrates on the subject. In a circular dated 13th July 1810 it was stated:

"The offences to which the following remarks refer, and which have been established, beyond all doubt or dispute, against individual indigo planters, may be reduced to the following heads:

First, Acts of violence which, although they amount not in the legal sense of the word to murder, have occasioned the death of natives.

Second, The illegal detention of the natives in confinement, specially in stocks, with a view to the recovery of balances alleged to be due from them, or for other causes.

¹ Minutes of Evidence, &c. (1813), pp. 2, 10, 138, 359.

Third, Assembling in a tumultuary manner the people attached to their respective factories, and others, and engaging in violent affrays with other indigo planters.

Fourth, Illicit infliction of punishment, by means of rattan or otherwise, on the cultivators or other natives."

And the circular directed magistrates to cause the destruction of the stocks, to report cases of flogging and inflicting corporal punishment on the cultivators, and to prevent European planters residing in the interior unless they conformed with the spirit of the Government orders. A further circular, issued on the 20th July 1810; directed magistrates to report cases in which indigo planters compelled the cultivators to receive advances, and adopted illicit means to compel them to cultivate indigo.¹

The oppression of indigo planters in Bengal continued, however, for half a century, until the people of Bengal rose and resisted, and the cultivation of indigo by European planters terminated in most parts of Bengal after the Indigo disturbance of 1859.

Dina Bandhu Mitra, the greatest dramatist of Bengal, exposed the oppression of the planters in his memorable drama, entitled "The Mirror of Indigo." The Rev. James Long was fined and imprisoned by the High Court of Calcutta for translating this work into English. And the name of Ashley Eden, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is gratefully remembered by the people for his endeavours to put a stop to this oppression.

A special law, which is called the "Slave Law" by the people of India, still exists for providing labourers for the cultivation of tea in Assam; ignorant men and women are bound down by penal clauses, upon their signing a contract, to work in tea gardens for a number

¹ Minutes of Evidence, &c. (1813), p. 567.

of years; and the utmost endeavours of the Chief Commissioner of Assam during the present year (1901) have failed to secure for these poor labourers an adequate pay during their enforced stay in the gardens. But we must return to our narrative of 1813.

The parliamentary inquiries of 1813 brought no relief to Indian manufacturers. The prohibitive duties were not reduced. The Company's Investments were not stopped. On the contrary, it was distinctly sanctioned by the Committee of the whole House.

"The whole or part of any surplus that may remain of the above described rents, revenues, and profits, after providing for the several appropriations, and defraying the several charges before mentioned, shall be applied to the provision of the Company's Investments in India, in remittances to China for the provision of Investments there, or towards the liquidation of debts in India, or such other purposes as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct."¹

In the Parliamentary debates of 1813, says the historian, H. H. Wilson, "professions of a concern for the interests of India were, it is true, not unsparingly uttered, but it would be difficult to show that the majority of the party who engaged in the discussion were solely instigated by a disinterested regard for the welfare of the Indian subjects of the Crown. . . . The merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom avowedly looked only to their own profits."²

The real object of the Parliamentary inquiry of 1813 was to promote the interests of the manufacturers of England. Napoleon Bonaparte had excluded British manufactures from the Continental ports; the merchants and manufacturers of England were labouring

¹ Resolutions of the Committee of the whole House, 1813.

² Mill's *History of British India*, Wilson's Continuation, Book I. chap. viii.

under difficulties; the country was menaced with distress unless some new vent for the sale of its industrial products could be discovered. Under these circumstances the national demand against the monopoly of the East India Company increased in force, and the monopoly of the Company's trade with India was abolished when their Charter was renewed in 1813. British traders thus obtained, for the first time, a free outlet into the great field of India; it was not in human nature that they should concern themselves much with the welfare of Indian manufacturers.

CHAPTER XV

STATE OF INDUSTRIES (1813-1835)

It was thus that the monopoly of the East India Company in the Eastern trade was first abolished, when their Charter was renewed in 1813. Private trade, being once admitted, increased in volume, while the Company's trade declined. And when the time approached for renewing the Charter once more in 1833, the question arose whether the East India Company's trade should not be abolished altogether. Public opinion in England was strong in favour of the view that trade between England and India should be left altogether in the hands of private traders without the unfair competition of a Company with territorial possessions in India, and that the duties of traders were not consistent with the duties of the rulers of an empire. This last argument was urged with increasing vehemence by the traders of London and the other large commercial centres of England, who were jealous of the unfair advantages possessed by the Company in India, and who hoped to increase their own trade if the Company could be stopped from carrying on trade at all.

Accordingly the Company's trade was abolished altogether in 1833, and from that date they stood forth simply as administrators of India, drawing their dividends from the revenues of India.

A great deal of evidence on the trade and industries of India, and all branches of Indian administration, was recorded while the controversy was still going on in 1830, 1831, and 1832. Valuable

evidence was given before the Lords' Committee in 1830. Still more valuable and copious evidence was conveyed in the Commons' Reports of 1830, of 1830-31, and of 1831. Fresh evidence was given before the Commons' Committee of 1832, and was published in six ponderous volumes, containing well-nigh six thousand folio pages.¹

The portions of all this voluminous evidence which relate to trade and industries are somewhat one-sided. The Lords and Commons inquired into the state of the industries carried on by British capital, or which might give employment to British capital; the industries of the people of India, and the wages and profits of the artisans of India, did not interest them much. They inquired if the abolition of the Company's trade would increase the volume of British trade with India, and would benefit the private traders and manufacturers of England; the state of the internal trade of India, carried on by the people of that country, did not much attract their attention. To foster the indigenous trade and industries of the people of India was not the object of the inquiries made either in 1813 or in 1832, nor has this object been even seriously and steadily pursued during the seventy years which have elapsed since.

Nevertheless, we get a great deal of information from the evidence recorded, such as it is. And it will be our endeavour to condense this voluminous evidence in an intelligible form within the brief limits of this chapter.

COTTON.

Indian cotton was shorter stapled than the American, had more dirt, and there was more waste in the manufacture. It was generally used in making coarse

¹ The six volumes are: (1) Public, (2) Finance and Trade, (3) Revenue, (4) Judicial, (5) Military, (6) Political.

goods, or mixed with wool in woollen fabrics. Surat cotton was considered the best, and the Dacca muslin, made in Bengal, was not equalled in England. A good quality of cotton was successfully grown in Tinnevely from seed imported from the Isle of France. Long-stapled cotton was scarcely grown in India except near the sea, and was not required by the people for their own manufactures. All the cotton was spun by hand in India.¹

The exportation of the Indian cotton had fallen off from the competition of the American market. The cotton of the East India Company's dominions was the worst that came to the British market. Between the cleaned Bombay cottons and the American upland cottons there was a difference in value of 10 to 15 per cent. The Surat cotton was generally applicable only to the coarser manufactures of England, and was also mixed in spinning the finer cottons. Attempts to improve the cotton in India had not succeeded; in some of the experiments the cotton deteriorated, in others the seeds did not come up well. Cotton was grown by the people of India, was brought to Bombay, and was purchased by Europeans. No lands producing cottons were in the hands of Europeans, and they had no share in the culture of it. The machine for cleaning cotton in India was a small hand-gin or wooden cylindrical machine, used from times immemorial. It cost 6d., was turned by hand, required no strength, and cleaned the cotton rudely. The East India Company's Investment of cotton was procured by their Commercial Residents principally from Tinnevely. In 1823 the Investment was 8000 bales of 250 lbs., and was sent to China. Bengal was unfit for the cultivation of cotton by Europeans, but a fine variety was grown by the people near Dacca. The best Indian cotton was grown in Gujrat and Cutch. Indian cotton

¹ Evidence before the Lords' Committee, 1830. Digest.

was first imported into England in 1790, and American cotton in 1791. The total export of cotton from India in 1827 was 68 million lbs., valued at one million sterling. The total import of American cotton into England was 294 million lbs. A cotton mill had been started in Calcutta for spinning yarn.¹

The Company exported cotton largely from Bengal and Bombay, and they did so from Madras till the factories were abolished. Cotton was conveyed from the interior to Calcutta in boats without sufficient protection from the weather, lying on board four or five months; it was then put into cotton screws, with a quantity of seeds screwed into it, and in a state of dampness and mouldiness it was shipped for England. It was impossible that the finest cotton could under such treatment arrive in England in a better state than Bengal cottons did.²

SILK.

The silkworm was principally confined to Bengal; it would not flourish in Northern India, and the soil of Bombay was not suited to the mulberry. The Company's Investment for England was provided by the agency of their Commercial Residents, who obtained it from the men who reared the cocoons, to whom advances were made. The Company had about twelve Residencies and extensive manufactories, but did not carry on the manufacture beyond reeling. In a few manufactories piece-goods were manufactured from "Putney silk." The manufacture of finer silks had much diminished, and English silks were imported to a considerable extent. Several European residents had factories, but not so large as the Company's, and the Company commanded the market. The defect of the

¹ Evidence in the Commons' Reports of 1830, 1830-31, and 1831. Digest.

² Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832. Digest.

Indian silk was its want of staple and want of cleanliness. The best Indian silk nearly sold as high as the best Italian silk, but the greater part of the Indian silk was inferior. The trade was in the hands of the Company, which could not exercise the strict superintendence required for production of fine quality. Very little Indian silk was sold for exportation; China silk would be preferred.¹

There were three kinds of mulberry grown in India, —the white mulberry cultivated in Europe, the dark purple mulberry cultivated in China, and the Indian mulberry. There were two kinds of worm—the country worm, and the annual worm brought from Italy or China and producing a finer silk. The cultivation of the mulberry and the production of the cocoons were left to the people, the Company making advances to them, and settling the price after the delivery of the silk or the cocoons. The Company had eleven or twelve filatures in Bengal, the machinery being on the Italian principle and very simple. The Company's Residents were paid by a commission of 2½ per cent. on the quantity supplied, and were also allowed to purchase on their own account. They were not good judges of silk. The raw silk of Bengal had deteriorated in quality, but the quantity exported had increased owing to the opening of trade and a decrease in the duties. The shipments of raw silk to England between 1823 and 1828 had increased 35½ per cent., while the Company's Investments had increased only 17½ per cent.²

Mulberry and castor-oil plants were applied in Bengal for the feeding of silkworms. The mulberry trees were planted in rows about six or eight inches apart, and were three feet high. The extreme rapidity of the produce was what the people aimed at, which

¹ Evidence before the Lords' Committee, 1830. *Digest*.

² Evidence in the Commons' Reports, 1830, 1830-31, and 1831 *Digest*.

would give them an immediate return; but the return would be greater if the method pursued in the south of Europe were adopted. Leaves were first picked about four months after the trees were planted; afterwards there was a crop every eight or ten weeks; in the first year there were four crops, in the second six. One-third of an English acre would feed 1000 worms a day. The difference in the silk depended on the season in which it was spun: the best season was the November Bund, in which the cocoons were finished spinning early in December; the worst was the rainy season. The country worms hatched four times a year, the annual only once. The Company's Residents made advances through middlemen called Pykars, and received cocoons through them in their factories, where they were reeled by native workmen hired and paid by the factory. There were twelve Residencies; the Residents fixed the price after delivery, subject to the confirmation of the Board of Trade. The Residents were hardly such persons as a manufacturer would select to superintend his establishment. There was a steady rise in the produce of the raw silk from 1815 to 1830, and the Company increased its quantity. The Company also introduced into India the Italian method of winding. The trade was perfectly free, and persons had gone from England and built filatures, but had not succeeded; they could not compete with the Company. Italian silk was good, French silk was good, Bengal silk was also as much in demand as any other, but was not so strong as the silk of Italy, France, or Turkey. It was also coarser in quality than the Italian silk, because the people looked to the quantity rather than to the quality, and did not bestow the same care in reeling as in Italy or France. Hence the Bengal silk was more foul and uneven and "endy," having many breaks in it.¹

¹ Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832. Digest.

The reader will perceive from the foregoing digest of evidence the change which had been effected during seventy years of the Company's rule in Bengal in the cotton and silk industries. Production by independent Indian manufacturers had been discouraged, sometimes by positive prohibition, later on by the influence of the Company's Residents. The weaving of fabrics had been largely discontinued. Men who had worked on their own capital, produced commodities in their own homes and villages, and obtained their own profits, were now dependent on the Company's Residents, who supplied them with raw cotton and raw silk, and received prices which the Residents settled. They had lost their industrial and economic independence with their political independence, and obtained wages and prices for what they were told to produce. Thousands of them looked up to the Company's factory for employment, having ceased to be independent producers for the world's markets. The factories demanded raw produce; the people of India provided the raw produce; forgot their ancient manufacturing skill; lost the profits of manufacture. The public in England marked the increase of trade between Europe and India—the increase in the import of raw produce and the export of manufactured articles—and argued increasing prosperity in India. The Lords and Commons inquired whether this increasing trade should be in the hands of the East India Company or in the hands of private traders. None cared to inquire if this increase in exchange meant the extinction of Indian industries and the loss of industrial profits to India. None desired to inquire if it was possible to revive the weaving industry of India for the economic welfare of the people.

FOOD GRAINS.

A great deal of misconception has always existed in England about the ignorance and the careless cul-

tivation of the Indian cultivators, but those Englishmen who have taken the trouble to study agriculture have endeavoured to dispel this unjust and untrue idea. Dr. Wallick, who was Superintendent of the East India Company's Botanical Garden at Calcutta, gave his evidence on this subject on the 13th August 1832 before the Commons' Committee.

"The husbandry of Bengal has in a great measure been misunderstood by the Europeans out of India. The Bengal husbandry, although in many respects extremely simple and primeval in its mode and form, yet is not quite so low as people generally suppose it to be, and I have often found that very sudden innovations in them have never led to any good results. I have known, for instance, European iron ploughs introduced into Bengal with a view of superseding the extremely tedious and superficial turning of the ground by a common Bengal plough. But what has been the result? That the soil which is extremely superficial, as I took the liberty of mentioning before, which was intended to be torn up, has generally received the admixture of the under soil, which has deteriorated it very much."

Asked if the Indian husbandry was susceptible of any great improvement, Dr. Wallick replied: "Certainly, but not to so great an extent as is generally imagined; for instance, the rice cultivation. I should think, if we were to live for another thousand years, we should hardly see any improvement in that branch of cultivation."¹

¹ Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832, vol. ii, Part I, p. 195. This is the opinion of all experts down to the present day. In 1889 Dr. Voelcker, Consulting Chemist to the Royal Agricultural Society of England, was deputed to India to make inquiries and suggest improvements, in respect of Indian agriculture. And he wrote: "On one point there can be no question, viz. that the ideas generally entertained in England, and often given expression to even in India, that Indian agriculture is, as a whole, primitive and backward, and that little has been done to try and remedy it, are altogether erroneous. . . . At his best the Indian Ryot, or cultivator, is quite as

The export of rice from Bengal in the husk increased to 1000 tons shortly before 1830, principally owing to the invention of machinery for freeing it from the husk after its arrival in England. Formerly it used to go husked, with a great deal of dirt and much broken in the grain. After the invention, it went in the husk, and was cleaned in England, and looked as fresh and bright as the American rice. If it could be cleaned in India as it was cleaned in Carolina it would be exported in larger quantities; for in the husk it paid double freight, as it occupied double the space.

INDIGO.

Somewhat contradictory evidence was given, as might be expected, as regards the condition of the cultivators under European indigo planters. Ramsay asserted that the condition of Ryots, who laboured for European planters, was worse than that of other Ryots; that European planters compelled them to sow a larger portion of their land with indigo than they would

good as, and in some respects the superior of, the average British farmer, whilst at his worst, it can only be said that this state is brought about largely by an absence of facilities for improvement which is probably unequalled in any other country, and that the Ryot will struggle on patiently and uncomplainingly in the face of difficulties in a way that no one else would.

"Nor need our British farmers be surprised at what I say, for it must be remembered that the natives of India were cultivators of wheat centuries before we in England were. It is not likely, therefore, that their *practice* should be capable of much improvement. What does, however, prevent them from growing larger crops is the limited facilities to which they have access, such as the supply of water and manure. But, to take the ordinary acts of husbandry, nowhere would one find better instances of keeping land scrupulously clean from weeds, of ingenuity in device of water-raising appliances, of knowledge of soils and their capabilities, as well as the exact time to sow and to reap, as one would in Indian agriculture, and this not at its best alone, but at its ordinary level. It is wonderful, too, how much is known of rotation, the system of mixed crops and of fallowing. Certain it is that I, at least, have never seen a more perfect picture of careful cultivation, combined with hard labour, perseverance, and fertility of resource, than I have seen in many of the halting-places in my tour."—*Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture.*

otherwise have done; that European planters interfered with the tiller's right to cultivate his land as he liked. Other witnesses contradicted him; but those who remember the state of things in Bengal down to 1860 are aware that the evils complained of by Ramsay prevailed in Bengal for a long period.

European planters made advances to cultivators who agreed to deliver so much weed at certain prices. If the planter was oppressive, "the Ryot had no other remedy against oppression than an appeal to the Courts where he has very little chance of having his appeal heard. Oppression is principally exercised in the lower parts of Bengal where a number of Europeans and half castes are settled."

Some Indian planters had considerable factories, but the indigo was not as good as that manufactured by Europeans. The manufacture of indigo by Indian planters was increasing. There were between five hundred and one thousand Europeans engaged as indigo manufacturers; they generally did not bring any capital from Europe, but borrowed it at Calcutta from Indians or from the Company's European servants or from Agency houses, and then started factories. There was no instance known of a man of capital going out to India to establish an indigo plantation.¹

The importation of indigo from India commenced about 1790, and had so greatly increased in forty years as to supersede all other indigos. The cultivation was carried on from Dacca to Delhi, and the exportation was nine million lbs. The amount annually paid for rent and labour by British planters was £1,680,000; the commodity on its arrival at Calcutta was valued at £2,403,000, and realised in England £3,600,000. There were 300 or 400 factories in Bengal, chiefly in Jessor, Krishnagar, and Tirhoot. The best soils were those subject to inundation from

¹ Evidence before the Lords' Committee, 1830. Digest.

the Ganges. Some indigo was grown in Madras and in Bombay. Generally speaking, planters borrowed their capital from great firms in Calcutta at an interest of 10 or 12 per cent. on a mortgage of their properties. The interest was high because there was considerable risk. Indian planters had begun to imitate the European process of manufacture. The manufacture and export were certainly not begun by Europeans, for indigo as a colour had been long known and used in the East, and manufactured and exported by the natives of India.¹

The old Indian way of manufacturing indigo was imperfect; the East India Company advanced money to European planters for the production of the article, and began making large remittances to England in indigo in 1819. What caused the great and sudden prosperity of the indigo trade in Bengal was the destruction of St. Domingo, which had supplied nearly all the world with indigo previous to the French Revolution, and did not produce a single pound after the rebellion of the black population. The indigo factories were all destroyed during that rebellion.²

SUGAR.

Sugar was cultivated in various parts of the Deccan. It required irrigation. The Indian mode of manufacture was very simple, and their machinery imperfect; there was great room for improvement. The cultivation of sugar was perfectly free, like that of cotton and indigo. West Indian machinery was introduced, but did not extract so much from the cane as the simple Indian machinery, and the speculator was a loser. Two Europeans entered into speculations

¹ Evidence in the Commons' Reports of 1830, 1830-31, and 1831. Digest.

² Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832. Digest.

in Malabar, and both abandoned the project. An attempt was made to introduce the culture of sugar at Ganjam from 1796 to 1803, but the result was unsatisfactory.¹

Europeans did not engage in the culture and manufacture of sugar in the same manner as they did in the manufacture of indigo, they simply purchased it in the Bazars or from cultivators to whom advances were made. The machinery used in India was inferior to that of the West Indies, and there were no large sugar plantations in India. The Indian sugar was inferior to the West Indian sugar. In Bengal the sugar-cane was as good as in the West Indies, and some superior sugar had been manufactured after undergoing a special process, but at a cost too high to make it profitable. Bengal sugar was subjected to a duty of 120 per cent. on the gross price, which was equivalent to a duty of 200 per cent. on the prime cost.²

The land fit for sugar was abundant in India, but the manufacture was ill-conducted. A more judicious selection of cane, and a more economical extraction and conversion of the juice into sugar, would increase the demand. The Company had a factory at Benares with agents to go about the country and buy sugar from the petty manufacturers; but orders had recently been issued to discontinue the import of sugar.³

TOBACCO.

Indian tobacco was not worth one-third of the American tobacco, owing to the want of skill in the grower and preparer. More attention should be paid to the selection of seed, the choice of soil, to weeding,

¹ Evidence before the Lords' Committee, 1830. Digest.

² Evidence given in the Common's Reports of 1830, 1830-31, and 1831. Digest.

³ Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832. Digest.

reaping, preparing, and packing. India could not compete with America, but Indian tobacco might have an extensive demand if skill and capital were applied to it.¹

Europeans did not engage in dealings in tobacco, and were not permitted to engage in the inland trade. Tobacco was extensively cultivated in the Northern districts of Bombay, and was of a very fine quality there. One bale imported into England sold higher than any American—it sold at 6d. when the latter was 5d.—but the average of an experimental exportation was found to be defective in the curing. The importations to England from Bengal and Bombay had been failures. The tobacco lands of Gujrat were the cleanest and best farmed, and tobacco was the most valuable product at Coimbatour in Madras.”²

Tobacco had no Indian name, showing that it was not an indigenous produce of India, but it had been grown there from time immemorial. It was one of the smaller cultivations of India, and was only produced for domestic use. It was used in India mixed with molasses, spices, and fruits. On very rich land the produce was 160 lbs. the acre, but on average lands 80 lbs. would be considered a fair return in green leaf. Generally, Indian tobacco was bad, but very probably could be improved. The tobacco of the Northern Circars, converted into snuff at Masulipatam, was much prized in England. Some excellent Havanah tobacco was produced at Bhagalpur in Bengal.³

DYES AND SALTPETRE, COFFEE AND TEA.

Lac-dye was imported to England in considerable quantities. Stick-lac was the gum, with the insect or

¹ Evidence before the Lords' Committee, 1830. Digest.

² Evidence in the Commons' Reports of 1830, 1830-31, and 1831. Digest.

³ Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832. Digest.

its egg in it, from which the dye was made. The dyeing particles were separated and made the dye, while the gum made the shell-lac. Lac-dye was used in the dyeing of scarlet cloths, but was not adopted for the finest dyes. The lac was used as a varnish.

The cochineal insect was collected in the southern provinces of Madras, and was coarse and inferior compared to that of Mexico. The price of cochineal had fallen one-fourth since 1820, the fall being caused probably by the lac-dye. No cochineal was imported from Bengal.¹

The import of saltpetre by the East India Company into England was 146,000 cwt. in 1814, but in 1832 it was only 37,300 cwt. Since the private traders began to import it, it fell to so low a price that it was bought as manure. In 1814 the price was 89s. 6d. per cwt., in 1832 it was only 37s. The import was profitable to the Company before 1814; since then it had become unprofitable.²

Coffèe was extensively cultivated only since 1823. The Government then allowed coffee planters to engage in the cultivation, permitting them to hold lands for a long series of years, a concession not made to any other description of European planters. In Bengal, 4000 acres had been laid out in coffee. The Bangalore coffee was very good, though not so good as that of Mocha, and the cultivation was spreading. The attempt to cultivate coffee in Arcot failed, and cocoa plantations in Ganjam were failures. In Bengal the sun was too powerful for coffee. The cultivation of coffee did remarkably well at Coimbatour.³

The cultivation of tea had not yet been introduced

¹ Evidence in the Commons' Reports of 1830, 1830-31, and 1831. Digest.

² Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832. Digest.

³ Evidence before the Lords' Committee, 1830; in the Commons' Reports of 1830, 1830-31, and 1831; and before the Commons' Committee, 1832. Digest.

in India, but Dr. Wallick, whose evidence in reference to rice cultivation has been quoted before, submitted a valuable paper on the possibility of introducing the cultivation of tea in the mountainous parts of Hindustan. Some extracts are given below.

“By far the most important cultivation of the plant is carried on in the provinces of the Chinese Empire, situated between the 27th and 30th parallels of north latitude, where the black teas are almost entirely produced; but it is also reared in vast quantities to the south, nearly as far as the seashore of Canton. . . .

“At Penang the late Mr. Brown, misled by the unconnected fact that the shrub stood well the climate of the island, conceived the project of cultivating it. . . . Upon the whole the plants grew remarkably well; but when the period arrived to reap the harvest of all the labour, time, and expense that had been incurred, the quality of the produce was found of a very inferior description. . . .

“In Java similar trials, made under very similar circumstances, have proved equally fruitless, and have, in consequence, been given up. I am informed that no better success has attended some experiments which were made many years since by the Dutch Government in the southern parts of Ceylon.

“About twenty years ago the cultivation of the tea plant was commenced on a large scale at Rio Janeiro. . . . The produce proved to be so bad in its flavour that the plantation has of late been nearly relinquished.

“I have had an opportunity of examining a sample of tea produced in the Brazils. . . . The taste of the infusion was exceedingly bad. . . .

“There exist territories within the British dominions in the East Indies agreeing so perfectly with those of the tea provinces, that no doubt can be enter-

tained of their being capable of producing tea equal to the best kinds ever obtained in China. . . . The provinces of Kumaon, Gurwal, and Sirmore contain situations corresponding entirely with what we know of those of China and Japan, in which the cultivation of the tea shrub is carried on to the greatest extent and perfection. . . .

“I have already had occasion to observe that a species of camellia grows wild in Nepal, and in publishing an account of it in 1818, I noticed that a tea shrub was thriving vigorously in a garden at Katmandu, 10 feet in height, and producing plentiful flowers and fruits during the last four months of the year. During my visit to that capital some years afterwards I saw the shrub, and I ascertained that the seeds of it had been brought from Pekin by the return of one of the triennial embassies which are sent to China by the Gurkha Government.

“If we take all these concurring circumstances into due consideration, we may surely entertain sanguine hopes that, under a well directed management, the tea plant may, at no distant period, be an object of extensive cultivation in the Honourable East India Company's dominions, and that we shall not long continue dependent on the will and caprice of a despotic nation for the supply of one of the greatest comforts and luxuries of civilised life.”¹

Dr. Wallick's letter is dated 3rd February 1832, and we may in fairness consider him one of the pioneers of the tea industry in India—next after the unknown Gurkha ambassadors who introduced it in Nepal.

GOLD, IRON, AND COPPER.

Gold had been found in the Nilgiris and was collected of a pure kind, and in some quantity in

¹ Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832, Part II., Appendix 21.

the district of Wynaad, immediately below the mountains. Iron ore was abundant in most parts of India. At Ramnad it was sold at a higher price than British or Swedish iron, and was more pliable, but there was a great waste in working it. The native manufactured iron was inferior to the English owing to inferiority in the mode of manufacture. In the neighbourhood of Burdwan, in Bengal, there was some fine iron ore, but the better kind was found on the Madras coast. It could not be easily converted into steel, but when made, the steel was remarkably good. Mr. Heath had established an iron-foundry near Madras, and had established European machinery, and had the exclusive privilege of manufacture till the end of the Charter. The iron was very superior to any other Indian iron, or even to Swedish. Iron ore was found in great abundance on the frontier of Malabar, and was remarkably cheap at Coimbatour. The iron of Cutch was particularly fine; it was found principally on the surface, and was collected in baskets and burnt in charcoal. The finest steel in India was made in Cutch, and was fabricated into armour, sabres, &c. Copper had been found in the North-Western Provinces of India.¹

COAL AND TIMBER.

There were large coal mines in the Burdwan District of Bengal, worked in 1832 to the extent of 14,000 or 15,000 tons annually. The workings of the mines first began about 1814, but extensive operations began about 1825. The seam was 9 feet deep, and about 90 feet from the surface, and two or three thousand people were employed, receiving 6s. or 8s. a month. The coal was principally used for steam-

¹ Evidence in the Commons' Reports of 1830, 1830-31, and 1831. Digest.

engines, and was sent to Singapore for that purpose, and was also used for the burning of bricks. Coal had also been found in Bundelkhand, and was found in abundance in Cutch.¹

Cutch coal had not been found good for steam-engines, and at Bombay English coal had been found cheaper. The Burdwan coal was the best in India, and none other was used in Calcutta. The price was 10 Annas (1s. 3d.) per bushel. It did not cake, but burnt to a white ash. It was not so good as English coal for the manufacture of iron. The best English coal was to the best Bengal coal in the proportion of 5 to 3, in regard to strength.

Indian forests contained every description of timber in the world, or a substitute for it. The principal kinds were Saigoon, Sal, Sisoo, Toon, Jarool, and Mango. Sal was used for ship and house-building, and for military purposes. Owing to bad and extravagant management there had been a falling-off in Sal, Sisoo, and Bamboo. There was an abundance of pine and oak. The timber of India might become an article of foreign trade.²

OPIUM AND SALT.

• In these articles the East India Company retained their monopoly as the India Government does to the present day, and they were an important source of revenue.

“The manufacture of opium and salt,” said Holt Mackenzie, who was one of the principal witnesses examined by the Commons’ Committee in 1832, “is conducted with a view to revenue, not trade. My opinion is that, of the suggested changes with regard to those articles, there is none that would not involve

¹ Evidence in the Commons’ Reports of 1830, 1830-31, and 1831. Digest.

² Evidence before the Commons’ Committee, 1832. Digest.

a large loss of revenue. In the salt department I do not think we could, by means of an excise, collect the same amount of net revenue as is yielded by the public sales. . . .

"From that source also [opium] they derive a very large revenue, the excess of the sale prices beyond the first cost constituting such a tax as I would think it hopeless to get by any other device; and though, commercially speaking, there are strong objections to the system, yet we must set against that the necessity of the revenue; and my belief is, that the same amount of revenue cannot be otherwise got."¹

SUMMARY.

It will appear from the above summary that the evidence recorded between 1830 and 1832 by the Lords' and Commons' Committees contains the most valuable account that we possess of the industries of India at that time; as the records of Dr. Francis Buchanan contain the most valuable account of the state of industries between 1800 and 1815. Nevertheless the Parliamentary records are an incomplete account, as compared with Dr. Buchanan's. The Lords and Commons limited their inquiries to those industries in which British capital had been employed, or could be profitably employed. The humbler industries, which gave occupation to the people of India—like bricklaying and building, stone-cutting and carpentry, boat-building and furniture, brass, iron, and copper utensils, gold and silver work, dyeing and tanning, and the declining spinning and weaving industries of India—did not interest them much.

The evidence recorded discloses that in purely agricultural pursuits England had little to teach; but

¹ Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832, Part I, p. 26.

in cleaning and husking the food grains, in spinning and weaving, in the manufacture of indigo, tobacco, and sugar, in the growing of coffee and tea, in the forging of iron, in coal-mining and gold-mining, in all industries which were dependent on machinery, Europe had adopted more perfect methods than India in 1830. It is possible to conceive that a Government, working with an eye to the advancement of the national industries, might have introduced these superior methods among the industrious and skilful people of India, as they have been introduced among the people of Japan within our generation. But it was hardly possible that foreign merchants and rival manufacturers, working for their own profit, should have this object in view, and the endeavour was never made. A policy the reverse of this was pursued with the object of replacing the manufactures of India, as far as possible, by British manufactures. Writing five years after the date of the Parliamentary Inquiry of 1832, Montgomery Martin described and condemned the commercial policy of the time in the severest terms.

“Since this official report [Dr. Buchanan’s economic inquiries in Northern India] was made to Government, have any effective steps been taken in England or in India to benefit the sufferers by our rapacity and selfishness? None! On the contrary, we have done everything possible to impoverish still further the miserable beings subject to the cruel selfishness of English commerce. The pages before the reader prove the number of people in the surveyed districts dependent for their chief support on their skill in weaving cotton, &c. Under the pretence of Free Trade, England has compelled the Hindus to receive the products of the steam-looms of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Glasgow, &c., at mere nominal duties; while the hand-wrought manufactures of Bengal and Behar, beautiful in fabric and durable in wear, have had heavy and

almost prohibitive duties imposed on their importation to England.”¹

“In that part of India,” the Commons’ Committee asked the witness, Holt Mackenzie, “where the greatest number of British residents are found, has there been any increase among the natives in the indulgence of English tastes, fashions, and habits?”

“Judging from Calcutta,” replied Holt Mackenzie, “there has been, I think, a marked tendency among the natives to indulge in English luxuries; they have well-furnished houses, many wear watches, they are fond of carriages, and are understood to drink wines.”

A smile of grim satisfaction must have overspread the faces of the grave and reverend Commoners of England on obtaining this significant evidence of the spread of Western civilisation in India!

¹ *Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin (London, 1838), vol. iii. Introduction.

CHAPTER XVI

EXTERNAL TRADE (1813-1835)

AN Act was passed in 1813 which directed a separation of the East India Company's Territorial Accounts from Commercial Accounts. It was directed that the Territorial Revenues should be applied (1) to Military Expenditure; (2) to Civil and Commercial Establishments; and (3) to the payment of Interest on the Indian Debt. And the Commercial Profits were to be applied (1) to the payment of Bills of Exchange and the current payment of other debts, (2) to the payment of Dividends; and (3) to the reduction of the Indian Debt or Home Bond debt.¹

The Territorial Revenues of India during fifteen years from 1813 to 1828 were:—

Bengal	£196,121,983
Madras	82,042,967
Bombay	30,986,870
Oudh and Subordinate Settlements	1,931,480
Total	<u>£311,083,300</u>

This gives us an average annual Territorial revenue of over twenty millions sterling. The "Home Charges" spent in England out of this Indian Territorial Revenue came to an annual average of £1,693,472, and the total Territorial expenditure exceeded the total Territorial revenue, showing an annual average deficit of £1,227,343. Within this period of fifteen

¹ Act 53 Geo. III., 5, 155
291

292 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

years the Territorial Debt had increased from thirty to forty-seven millions sterling; and the gradual and steady increase of the Company's Territorial Debt during thirty-seven years is shown in the following figures:¹

April 1792	.	.	.	.	£9,142,720
" 1809	.	.	.	.	30,812,441
" 1814	.	.	.	.	30,919,620
" 1829	.	.	.	.	47,255,374

It will thus appear that large additions to the Debt were made during the warlike administrations of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings. The surplus Commercial Profit of the Company, after payment of Bills of Exchange and Dividends, was applicable to the reduction of the India Debt or the Home Bond Debt, as stated before. But this surplus Commercial profit, which exceeded a million sterling in 1814, 1817, and 1818, gradually declined with the extension of the Empire and the decline of the Company's trade, and was between £3000 and £42,000 only, between 1828 and 1830. After 1824, the Company ceased to export merchandise to India, and their only exports were military and political stores. The reason for discontinuing their export trade to India was the difficulty of obtaining any article of Indian produce or manufacture in return. Indian industries had declined, and the only articles which the Company continued to import into England from India were raw silk, some silk piece-goods, saltpetre, and indigo. The indigo was purchased at Calcutta, raw silk and saltpetre were prepared in their factories, and silk piece-goods were obtained by contracts with head-weavers. Even the import of Indian sugar into England had been discontinued. This steady decline

¹ Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commons' Committee, 1832. vol. ii. Report.

of the Company's commerce with India led to the final extinction of their trade when their Charter was renewed in 1833.

As the Company's Indian trade declined, it gradually passed into the hands of private merchants to whom it was first opened in 1813. During sixteen years after that date, the Company's trade averaged £1,882,718 annually, while private trade averaged £5,451,452 annually: The private trade was therefore three times as great as the Company's, and private traders thus proved themselves fitter to carry on the trade with India than the territorial masters of India. The process of the extinction of Indian manufactures went on, however, under the new arrangements; in 1813 Calcutta exported to London two millions sterling of cotton goods; in 1830 Calcutta imported two millions sterling of British cotton manufactures. The first import of British cotton twist into India was in 1823, in 1824 it was 121,000 lbs.; in 1828 it rose to 4,000,000 lbs. Woollen goods, copper, lead, iron, glass, and earthenware were also imported. British manufactures were imported into Calcutta on payment of a small duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while the import of Indian manufactures into England was discouraged by heavy duties ranging up to 400 per cent. on their value.¹

The duties which were imposed on the import of Indian manufactures into England between 1812 and 1832 on various articles of trade are shown in the following tables:²

¹ Evidence in the Commons' Report of 1830, 1830-31, and 1831. Digest.

² Evidence taken before the Commons' Committee, 1832, vol. ii., Appendix 5.

294 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

	1812.	1824.	1832.
	Per Cent. on Valuf.	Per Cent. on Valua.	Per Cent. on Valua.
Ornamental cane work	71	50	30
Muslins	27½	37½	10
Calicoes	71½	67½	10
Other cotton manufactures	27½	50	20
Goat's wool shawls	71	67½	30
Lacquered ware	71	62½	30
Mats	68½	50	20

	1812.	1824.	1832.
Raw silk	£2, 13s. 4d. on value plus 4s. per lb.	4s. per lb.	1d. per lb.
Silk manufactures	Prohibited	Prohibited	20 per cent. on value
Taffatees or other plain or figured silks	Prohibited	Prohibited	30 per cent. on value
Manufactures of silk	Prohibited	Prohibited	20 per cent. on value
Sugar (cost price about £1 per cwt.).	£1, 13s. per cwt.	£3, 3s. per cwt.	£1, 12s. per cwt.
Spirits (Arrack)	1s. 8d. per gallon plus 19s. 1½d. excise duty	2s. 1d. per gallon plus 17s. 0½d. excise	15s. per gallon
Cotton wool	16s. 11d. per 100 lbs.	6 per cent.	20 per cent.

Petitions were vainly presented to the House of Commons against these unjust and enormous duties on the import of Indian manufactures into England. One petition against the duties on sugar and spirits¹ was signed by some four hundred European and Indian merchants, among whose names we find *Ram Gopal Ghore*, which is probably a misprint of the name of the well-known Indian publicist Ram Gopal Ghosa. An application to the British Government to reduce

¹ Evidence taken before the 'Commons' Committee, 1832, vol. ii, Appendix 6.

the duties on the cotton and silk fabrics of India, signed by a very numerous body of respectable Indians, was rejected; and some London merchants thereupon applied to the East India Company to allow a drawback of 2½ per cent. on these fabrics on their import into England.¹ The application was equally fruitless.

To what extent the unjust commercial policy of England discouraged and ruined the manufactures of India will appear from the following table of exports shipped from the port of Calcutta during thirty years. The figures represent the exports into the United Kingdom only:²

Year.	Cotton.	Cotton piece-goods.	Silk.	Silk piece-goods.	Lac and lac-dye	Indigo.
	Bales.	Bales	Bales.	Bales	Maunds.	Chests.
1800	506	2,636	213			12,811
1801	222	6,341	238			9,928
1802	2,072	14,817	400			8,694
1803	2,420	13,649	1,232			12,986
1804	602	9,631	1,926			18,339
1805	2,453	2,325	1,327			13,486
1806	7,315	651	1,689			17,542
1807	3,717	1,686	482			19,452
1808	2,016	237	817			16,622
1809	40,781	104	1,124			8,852
1810	3,477	1,167	949			13,204
1811	160	955	2,623			14,335
1812		1,471	1,889			13,703
1813	11,705	557	638			23,672
1814	21,587	919	1,786			16,544
1815	17,228	3,842	2,796			26,221
1816	85,024	2,711	8,884			15,740
1817	50,176	1,904	2,200			15,583
1818	127,124	666	2,066			13,044
1819	30,683	536	6,998	468		16,670
1820	12,939	3,186	6,805	522		12,526
1821	5,415	2,130	6,977	704		12,635
1822	6,544	1,668	7,893	950		19,751
1823	11,713	1,354	6,357	742	14,190	15,878
1824	12,415	4,337	7,069	1,105	17,607	22,472
1825	15,800	1,878	8,061	1,558	13,491	26,837
1826	15,101	1,253	6,856	1,233	13,573	14,904
1827	4,735	541	7,719	971	13,756	30,761
1828	4,105	736	10,431	550	15,379	19,041
1829	..	433	7,000(?)	..	8,251	27,000(?)

¹ Evidence taken before the Commons' Committee, 1832, vol. II., Appendix 7.

² *Ibid.*, Appendix 31.

These figures will show that while the manufacture of indigo by European planters increased, and the export of raw silk held its ground, that of silk piece-goods showed a decline. The export of cotton, too, was on the decline, but the most marked decrease was in that of cotton piece goods. In the first four years of the nineteenth century, in spite of all prohibitions and restrictive duties, six to fifteen thousand bales were annually shipped from Calcutta to the United Kingdom. The figure rapidly fell down to 1813. The opening of trade to private merchants in that year caused a sudden rise in 1815; but the increase was only temporary. After 1820 the manufacture and export of cotton piece-goods declined steadily, never to rise again. A similar decline took place in the export of Indian piece-goods to the other countries of the world, notably to America, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Mauritius, and the markets of Asia. The export to America declined from 13,633 bales in 1801 to 258 bales in 1829; Denmark, which took 1457 bales in 1800, never took more than 150 bales after 1820; Portugal, which took 9714 bales in 1799, never took over a thousand bales after 1825; and the exports to the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, which rose to between four and seven thousand bales between 1810 and 1820, never exceeded two thousand after 1825.

On the other hand, as India lost her manufacturing industry, she began to import British and other foreign piece-goods, paying for it in food grains. The following figures are significant:¹

¹ Evidence taken before the Commons' Committee, 1832, vol. II, Appendix 33.

Some British and Foreign Goods imported through Madras into the Madras Province.

Year	Chintz.	Long-cloth	Muslin.	Piece-goods.	Satin.	Silk piece-goods.	Broad-cloth.	Shawls.	Woollen apparel.	Woollens.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1824	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	181	No figures.	No figures.
1825	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	No figures.	920	No figures.	No figures.
1826	No figures.	No figures.	342	903	312	No figures.	835	1159	No figures.	614
1827	510	470	941	536	637	No figures.	2176	754	601	915
1828	219	380	789	958	593		915	1115	481	1310
1829	352	348	598	474	853	644	1417	409	581	844
1830	372	.	224	1121	577	136	1158	476	365	457

EXTERNAL TRADE

298 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

*Some British and Foreign Goods imported through
Calcutta into Bengal.*

Year	Broad-cloth pieces.	Cotton yarn, lbs.	Cotton twist, lbs.	Mule twist, lbs.	Piece-goods, value in £ sterling.	Liquors, value in £ sterling.
1813	3,381					52,253
1814	4,635					57,201
1815	3,908					59,462
1816	3,707					56,411
1817	2,355					53,157
1818	5,633					36,712
1819	9,244					20,958
1820	5,546					26,049
1821	7,590					30,382
1822	5,108					46,235
1823	7,346				64,449	30,129
1824	5,401				43,030	22,439
1825	13,981				158,076	14,223
1826	9,629				178,481	56,058
1827	5,430	82,738	432,878	339,234	296,177	80,595
1828	7,609	149,076	642,306	464,776	235,837	41,142
1829	11,838	98,154	398,930	918,646	197,290	31,311

In his evidence before the Commons' Committee in 1813, Thomas Munro had laughed at the idea of Paisley shawls replacing the excellent shawls of India. In 1824 he was Governor of Madras, and must have noticed with concern the introduction of European shawls, as well as of muslins and piece-goods, broad-cloths and woollens, to replace the manufactures of India. An equally sympathetic administrator, Sir John Malcolm, was the Governor of Bombay in 1830, and he, too, marked with consternation the ruin of Indian industries and the growing poverty of the Indian people.

"In the despatch of the Court [of Directors] it is observed that their attention has been directed in a special manner to this subject, and to look to India for the means of rendering great Britain independent of foreign countries for a considerable portion of raw material, upon which her most valuable manufactories depend. . . .

"I must add, that it is only by the introduction of produce like silk, by our improvement of the staple of cotton, and the success of our recent efforts to make and refine sugar, that we can restore heart to many of our districts, and maintain our territorial resources. . . .

"It is only by encouraging richer produce, such as that to which I have alluded, and other articles besides grain, reviving commerce, and inducing men of wealth and enterprise to remain or settle in the interior, that we can give heart to the country, and enable it to pay its revenue. There is no want either of talent or spirit among the native population subject to our rule and control to accomplish this object, but it requires to be drawn forth; and to effect this it is necessary to exert all the activity, energy, and enlarged policy of a Government which understands how to combine its own prosperity with that of the community subject to its authority."¹

Even Sir John Malcolm did not see, or perhaps did not care to state, that the industrial prosperity of a subject population was impossible when the settled policy of the ruling nation was to convert India into a land of raw produce only, for the purpose "of rendering Great Britain independent of foreign countries for a considerable portion of raw material upon which her most valuable manufactories depend."

Public men and public writers in England never spoke or wrote of this policy pursued in India. The great political economists of the time, headed by Ricardo, had nothing to say on the subject. The leaders of the agitation against the Corn Laws, who rightly and successfully fought against the landlords of England for a measure which would bring cheap bread to the workman and labourer, said little and knew little of the policy which took the bread out

¹ Sir John Malcolm's General Minute of 30th November 1830, on his administration of the Bombay Government.

of the mouths of millions of weavers and artisans in India. Cobden and Bright, the most large-hearted, sympathetic, and enlightened Englishmen of their time, carried the agitation against the Corn Laws to the successful issue; and Sir Robert Peel, who repealed those Laws in 1846, trusted that his name would be remembered by Englishmen who would "recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because no longer leavened with a sense of injustice." But the bread of the Indian artisan and manufacturer is still leavened with a sense of injustice, and no statesman has yet seriously endeavoured to protect, foster, and revive their old and ruined industries.

Continental economists were able to take a more unbiassed view of the situation, and to speak more openly and freely. In a great work on Political Economy written in Germany in 1844, while the injustice of the Corn Laws was occupying the minds of English economists, a German economist pointed out the graver injustice which had been perpetrated in India.

"Had they sanctioned the free importation into England of Indian cotton and silk goods, the English cotton and silk manufactories must, of necessity, soon come to a stand. India had not only the advantage of cheaper labour and raw material, but also the experience, the skill, and the practice of centuries. The effect of these advantages could not fail to tell under a system of free competition.

"But England was unwilling to found settlements in Asia in order to become subservient to India in manufacturing industry. She strove for commercial supremacy, and felt that of two countries maintaining free trade between one another, that one would be supreme which sold manufactured goods, while that one would be subservient which could only sell agri-

cultural produce. In the North American colonies, England had already acted on those principles in disallowing the manufacture in those colonies of even a single horse-shoe nail, and still more, that no horse-shoe nails made there should be imported into England. How could it be expected of her that she would give up her own market for manufactures, the basis of her future greatness, to a people so numerous, so thrifty, so experienced and perfect in the old systems of manufacture as the Hindus?

“Accordingly, England prohibited the import of the goods dealt in by her own factories, the Indian cotton and silk fabrics. The prohibition was complete and peremptory. Not so much as a thread of them would England permit to be used. She would have none of these beautiful and cheap fabrics, but preferred to consume her own inferior and more costly stuffs. She was, however, quite willing to supply the Continental nations with the far finer fabrics of India at lower prices, and willingly yielded to them all the benefit of that cheapness; she herself would have none of it.

“Was England a fool in so acting? Most assuredly, according to the theories of Adam Smith and J. B. Say, the Theory of Values. For according to them, England should have bought what she required where she could buy them cheapest and best; it was an act of folly to manufacture for herself goods at a greater cost than she could buy them at elsewhere, and at the same time give away that advantage to the Continent.

“The case is quite the contrary, according to our theory, which we term the Theory of the Powers of Production, and which the English Ministry, without having examined the foundation on which it rests, yet practically adopted when enforcing their maxim of importing produce and exporting fabrics.

“The English Ministers cared not for the acquisition of low-priced and perishable articles of manufacture,

but for that of a more costly and enduring Manufacturing Power." ¹

The above extract will show that while British Political Economists professed the principles of free trade from the latter end of the eighteenth century, the British Nation declined to adopt them till they had crushed the Manufacturing Power of India, and reared their own Manufacturing Power. Then the British Nation turned free traders, and invited other nations to accept free trade principles. The other nations, including the British Colonies, know better; and are now rearing their Manufacturing Power by protection. But in India the Manufacturing Power of the people was stamped out by protection against her industries, and then free trade was forced on her so as to prevent a revival.

¹ *The National System of Political Economy*, by Friedrich List. Translated by Sampson S. Lloyd, M.P. (London, 1885), p. 42.

CHAPTER XVII

INTERNAL TRADE; CANALS AND RAILROADS (1813-1835)

THE internal trade of India still languished under the obnoxious transit duties which had been handed down from the preceding century. It will be remembered that the East India Company first obtained their footing in the country by an exemption of their export and import trade from those transit duties, to which the internal trade of the country was subjected. And it will also be remembered that when the servants of the Company claimed this exemption for their own private trade, Nawab Mir Kasim in a fit of noble generosity abolished all transit duties in Bengal, and that generosity cost him his throne. When at last the East India Company became the undisputed masters of Bengal in 1765, the time came for them to follow the example set by Mir Kasim, and to relieve the internal trade of India from those duties which repressed it. But the duties brought a revenue, however small, and the East India Company were slow to part with any portion of their revenues.

The transit duties became more oppressive under the British Rule than they had been under the Nawabs. For the Company's power was more far-reaching, absolute, and undisputed, and each low-paid officer, at each Chowki or toll-house, had the means of exercising greater oppression. The evil grew without cessation for sixty years, and as late as 1825, Holt Mackenzie, then Territorial Secretary, condemned it in the strongest terms.

"Some articles have to run the gauntlet through ten custom-houses, passing at each several subordinate Chowkis, before they reach the Presidency, and little or none of the great staple commodities of the country escape from being subjected to repeated detentions.

"Even supposing that there were no exactions and no delay, still the system would seriously hinder the commercial intercourse of the country, since no interchange of goods can take place between districts separated by a line of Chowkis, unless the difference of price shall cover not only the expense of transportation and the other charges of merchandise, but also the duty of 5 or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. levied by Government. Thus also the natural inequalities of prices aggravated, and, contrary to every principle, justly applicable to a consumption tax, the burden falls on those places where the consumer would, independently of duty, have most to pay.

"But when to the Government demand are added those of the custom-house officers, it appears to be certain that much trade that would be carried on by persons of small capital must be absolutely prevented. The rich merchant can afford to pay the utmost demand likely to be made upon him, because a considerable *douceur* will not fall heavy on a large investment, and because his rank and wealth secures him from any outrageous extortion. But to the petty trader a moderate fee would consume the probable profit of his adventure, and he has little or no security for moderation. . . .

"Hitherto the attention of the authorities at home, and of the mercantile body generally in England, would appear to have been directed chiefly to the object of finding a market for the manufactures of the United Kingdom. They have consequently looked more to the import than to the export trade of India. The duties prescribed by Regulation ix. of 1810 have

accordingly taken off a great number of articles sent from England hither, while of the exports, only indigo, cotton, wool, and hemp have been made free, and this more with a view, I apprehend, to English than to Indian objects. . . .

“The result of a pretty careful consideration of the articles which constitute the trade of Calcutta, and a consideration of the rate of duty which each could bear, have led to the conclusion that the country might be relieved from the mischief of our Inland Customs without any very considerable sacrifice, at least if the salt duties levied on our western frontier are, as would seem necessary for the protection of the Bengal monopoly, maintained. . . .

“Were Inland Duties abolished, without any change in the export and import duties, the immediate sacrifice of revenue would be about 33 lakhs (£330,000), and even though the duty on Western salts were maintained, there would still be a loss of 22 lakhs (£220,000). The whole of this, I fear, cannot be immediately replaced by the imposition of new duties on imports and exports by sea, but a considerable part may certainly be so, and inasmuch as the proposed arrangement will operate, as I hope, to extend trade, and will enable us to reduce establishments, the balance cannot be reckoned as a net loss.”¹

But Holt Mackenzie spoke to deaf ears. The East India Company would not willingly sacrifice even a revenue of £220,000, or any portion of it, for the prosperity of the internal trade of India. Professing the utmost anxiety for the material welfare of the people of India, they were unwilling to sacrifice a shilling to promote that welfare. If the abolition of the Inland Duties had depended on the East India Company, the duties would never have been abolished under their administration.

¹ Holt Mackenzie's Memorandum. Bengal Salt and Opium Consultations, 23rd June 1825.

Fortunately their hands were forced by their own servants. The greatest and best of the Company's Governor-Generals, Lord William Bentinck, went out to India in 1828, and that ruler employed Sir Charles Trevelyan to make an inquiry, and submit a report on Transit Duties. Trevelyan's famous report exposed mercilessly the evils of the system. It showed that the evils had grown under British Rule as compared with the state of things under the Nawabs of Bengal; that traders all over the country were subjected to delay and exactions; that manufactures were killed and internal trade paralysed by the extortions of Customs' Officers who were paid so low that it was possible for them to live only by extortion; that travellers were harassed and the honour of women passing through lines of customs' houses was not safe; and that this huge system of oppression was maintained in the country for the sake of an insignificant revenue.¹ Lord William Bentinck published Trevelyan's report, and thus sounded the death-knell to the Inland Duties.

Lord Ellenborough in England took up this report, and in his own forcible language pointed out to the East India Company in 1835 the evils of the system.

"While the cotton manufactures of England are imported into India on payment of a duty of 2½ per cent., the cotton manufactures of India are subjected to a duty on the raw material of 5 per cent., to a further duty on yarn of 7½ per cent., to an additional duty upon the manufactured article of 2½ per cent., and finally to another duty of 2½ per cent. if the cloth should be dyed after the Rowana [pass] has been taken out for it as white cloth. Thus altogether the cotton

¹ "Accustomed as I have been," wrote Macaulay, in referring to Trevelyan's Report, "to public affairs, I never read an abler state paper, and I do not believe that there is, I will not say in India, but in England, another man of twenty-seven who could have written it."—G. O. Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*.

goods of India [consumed in India] pay 17½ per cent. . . .

“The raw hide pays 5 per cent. On being manufactured into leather it pays 5 per cent. more; and when the leather is made into boots and shoes, a further duty is imposed of 5 per cent. Thus, in all, there is a duty of 15 per cent. [on Indian leather goods used in India]. . . .

“In what manner do we continue to treat our own sugar? On being imported into a town it pays 5 per cent. in customs, and 5 per cent. in town duty, and when manufactured it pays on exportation from the same town 5 per cent. more, in all 15 per cent. [on Indian sugar used in India].

“No less than 235 separate articles are subjected to Inland Duties. The tariff includes almost everything of personal or domestic use, and its operation, combined with the system of search, is of the most vexatious and offensive character, without materially benefiting the revenue. The power of search, if really exercised by every Custom-house officer, would put a stop to internal trade by the delay it would necessarily occasion. It is not exercised except for the purpose of extortion. . . .

“The effect upon the national morals is yet more serious than the effect upon national wealth. Every merchant, every manufacturer, and every traveller is, as it were, compelled, for the security of his property or the protection of his personal comfort, and not unfrequently for that of the feelings of the females of his family, to enter into unlawful collusion with the officers of Government. It is a system which demoralises our own people, and which appears to excite the aversion of all the foreign traders of Asia. . . .

“We may at once, by our own authority, give entire liberty to the internal communications of sixty

millions of people. Industrious, possessing a fertile country, traversed in its whole extent by a navigable river, inaccessible to foreign war, and protected in their property by an impartial administration of the laws, the inhabitants of Bengal would thus obtain, by the enlightened policy of their Government, more extensive means of public prosperity than are enjoyed by any other nation in the world."¹

But Lord Ellenborough too spoke to deaf ears. The Court of Directors replied that "the Indian Government is well aware of the opinion entertained by the home authorities of the injurious effects which attend the levying* of this impost, and their desire to see it abolished whenever it can be considered safe to do so. The Court think it would be premature and inexpedient to go farther than this by giving peremptory instructions on such a subject to the Local Government."² In other words, the East India Company followed the practice, which unfortunately is not uncommon, of screening themselves and their disinclination to undertake reforms behind the imposing figure of the Local Government.

By an irony of fate that screen failed them for once. The publication of Trevelyan's report had stirred public opinion in India, and Mr. Rosse in the Upper Provinces took upon himself to abolish the Inland Customs Houses within his jurisdiction. And the successor of Lord William Bentinck followed this up by abolishing all the Customs Houses in Bengal on the 1st March 1836, and the town duties on the 1st May 1836. The Court of Directors, forced to approve of these measures, nevertheless expressed to the Governor-General their regret "that you were precipitated into its adoption without having been enabled

¹ Lord Ellenborough to the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the East India Company, dated 18th March 1835.

² Letter of the Court of Directors, dated 2nd April 1835.

to form any available plan for compensating the loss of revenue."¹

We have now arrived at the date when Queen Victoria ascended the throne of the British Empire. But it is necessary to proceed with the narrative of the Inland Duties a few years further, in order to bring it to an end. Lord Auckland had arrived in India in 1836, and was the first Governor-General under the Queen. Unhappily, an act of astounding folly, ending in a grave calamity, marked the Indian administration at the very commencement of the new reign. Disregarding the policy of peace, retrenchment, and reform initiated by Lord William Bentinck, Lord Auckland launched himself into the first Afghan War of 1838. It ended in making enemies of a friendly and warlike race, in the disastrous retreat of 1842, in the destruction of 4000 troops and 12,000 followers, and in the sacrifice of Indian revenues in a war outside the frontiers of India.

Lord Ellenborough, who had pressed on the East India Company the abolition of the Inland Duties in 1835, went out as Governor-General to India in 1842. He abolished the Inland Duties in Sindh in 1843, in the territory of Jalun in 1844, and in the Province of Madras by Act VI. of 1844.

Nine years after, when the Charter of the East India Company came up again for renewal, Lord Ellenborough was one of the Select Committee of the House of Lords and Sir Charles Trevelyan was one of the witnesses. And referring to the abolition of the Inland Duties, Lord Ellenborough asked :

"Was it not owing to Lord William Bentinck sending you to make inquiries upon the subject, which was followed by your report, and by the Act of the Government abolishing those duties?"

Sir Charles replied : "If my report had remained

¹ Letter to the Governor-General in Council, dated 7th June 1837.

unpublished and had merely undergone the usual course of official discussion, years might have passed before the Transit and Town Duties would have been abolished. But instead of that the report was published, and everybody at once felt that the system was condemned."¹

It is necessary to state, for the information of modern readers, that at the period of which we are speaking in this chapter India did not yet possess a uniform currency. The silver coin in Calcutta was the Sicca Rupee, the value of which was about 6½ per cent. above that of the Madras Rupee. The Gold Mohur was a legal tender for Rs.16, but as the value of gold had risen it sold for Rs.18, and ceased to be a current coin. Horsley Palmer, governor of the Bank of England, stated in his evidence in 1832: "Gold neither does nor will circulate to any extent as current coin in India, where silver forms the actual currency and is a legal tender. . . . I should be directly opposed to an opinion of the propriety of introducing gold into India as the current coin of the realm."²

Steam communication between England and India through the Red Sea had commenced, but was still enormously expensive. The *Hugh Lindsay* steamer reached Suez from Bombay in thirty-three days, a distance which is now performed in one-fourth the time.

The introduction of steam navigation in the rivers of Bengal and of an experimental voyage between Calcutta and Allahabad was also discussed. As early as 1828, H. T. Prinsep, then Secretary, submitted an interesting note on the subject. There was no river in the world, he said, except those of China, on which there was so large a navigation as on the Ganges. Thirty thousand boatmen found their livelihood on

¹ Second Report from the Lords' Committee, 1853, p. 161.

² Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832, vol. II. p. 109.

that river as far back as 1780, and the number had since increased. Everybody "has been struck by the constant succession of boats moving up and down, the river never appearing for a moment altogether clear; and as this is nearly the same at all seasons and in all places, it leaves an impression of the extent to which this magnificent stream ministers to the wants of commerce and of the traveller such as defies the attempt at computation."¹ The present railway system of India ministers to the wants of commerce much more effectually; but it is constructed by foreign capital and pays interest to foreign shareholders; and millions of boatmen and boat-builders, cartmen and bullock owners, have lost their living.

The question of the applicability of canals, and railroads for conveyances drawn by animals, also came up for consideration. It was estimated that the cost of construction of a canal, and of a single railroad, would be the same, about £900 the mile; that the former would pay £190 and the latter £175 the mile.

"A canal would require works which are not required in irrigating channels, but not works of a very different nature. But a railroad for conveyances drawn by animals is one of the simplest works that can be executed, and would present much fewer obstacles than the various works now used in irrigation. The railroads would also be preferable to canals as requiring no water, which is so valuable in the Carnatic. . . . But the main question seems to be whether the same money and skill expended on works of irrigation, whether those now in use or new ones, would not, upon the whole, improve the country more than if expended in improving the means of internal communication. . . . It may be proper here to mention that all the above calculations and remarks respecting railroads refer only to those intended for animal power,

¹ H. T. Prinsep's Note, dated 31st July 1828.

for the use of locomotive engines alters the nature of the work materially and increases the expense prodigiously, because in the latter case neither such great inclinations nor such sharp turns can be allowed as in the former. Thus the Manchester and Liverpool railroad cost £25,000 per mile, while the average of double railways throughout England [for animal power] is about £5000 per mile. . . . It seems very advisable to send out a small quantity of rails and waggon wheels to be ready for any of the works that are constantly executing in the Tank Department. About a thousand yards of double rails, such as are used for temporary purposes in England, and wheels for forty railway waggons might be sent out for about £250."¹

We have made the above extract because it is always interesting to trace the commencement of a controversy which has assumed vast proportions in recent years. The discussion about the comparative merits of canals and railways was carried on through succeeding decades, and, as might be expected, preference was given to railways which facilitated British trade with India, and not to canals which would have benefited Indian agriculture. So great was the influence of British traders on the Indian administration that the Indian Government guaranteed a rate of interest out of the Indian revenues to companies constructing railroads in India; and £225,000,000 were spent on railways, resulting not in a profit, but in a loss of £40,000,000 to the Indian taxpayer up to 1900. And so little were the interests of Indian agriculture appreciated that only £25,000,000 were spent on irrigation works up to 1900, and only twenty million acres of land were protected by such works out of over two hundred millions of cultivated land in India.

¹ Evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832, vol. II. Part II. Appendix xxiv.

CHAPTER XVIII

ADMINISTRATIVE FAILURES (1793-1815)

THE measures organised first by Warren Hastings, and then by Lord Cornwallis, for the civil and judicial administration of the Company's dominions in India have been briefly described in previous chapters. With much that was good and beneficial in those measures, they had some fatal defects which became more and more conspicuous with the lapse of time. In the first place, the judicial machinery set up was wholly inadequate for the requirements of a vast country, with a population which nearly amounted to a hundred millions in the tracts included in the Company's dominions at the time of the death of Cornwallis. And in the second place, a plan of administering justice, and giving protection to life and property to this great and civilised population, without accepting the help and co-operation of the people themselves, was doomed to failure.

European judges were imperfectly acquainted with the language of the people, and had a still more imperfect knowledge of their customs and manners. Their Indian ministerial officers were meanly paid and therefore corrupt, and justice was often sold to the highest bidders. Worse than this, the cases accumulated to such an extent, and their decision was delayed so long, that there was a virtual denial of justice to the people. Armies of witnesses were dragged from their homes and occupations to attend distant courts, until the people, Hindu and Mahomedan,

considered it one of the severest of punishments to be cited as witnesses. Charges and fees were imposed in order to make justice more expensive and to discourage recourse to courts. Additional powers were given to judges, and the privilege of appeal was limited, in order to reduce the work. Every repressive measure was vainly adopted to remedy that evil which had but one true remedy,—to accept the co-operation of the people, and to entrust the task of judicial administration to the people themselves.

“It seems to have been forgotten that, for centuries prior to the introduction of European agency, law and justice had been administered solely by natives, yet society had been held together, and there had been times when, according to the testimony of travellers and historians, India had been populous and flourishing, the people thriving and happy.”¹

If such were the defects in the administration of civil justice in the early years of the nineteenth century, the defects in the administration of criminal justice were graver. Bengal was infested by gangs of robbers who were known by the name of Dacoits, and whom the Magistrates, helped by an ill-paid and corrupt police, were unable to check. Daring robberies were committed in large towns and centres of trade, and villages remained in a continuous state of terror, and often paid blackmail to renowned heads of robbers. From 1800 to 1810 the country was kept in a state of perpetual alarm, the deeds of Bengal Rob Roys were narrated in bazaars and market-places; the Magistrate and the Police were powerless, the people accepted their fate. “A monstrous and disorganised state of society existed under the eye of the Supreme British authorities, and almost at the

¹ Mill's *History of British India*, Wilson's continuation, Book I. chap. vii

very seat of the Government to which the country might justly look for safety and protection. The mischief could not wait for a slow remedy, the people were perishing almost in our sight; every week's delay was a doom of slaughter and torture against the defenceless inhabitants of very populous countries."¹

The measures which were adopted for remedying the evil were worse than the evil. Two European Superintendents of Police were appointed to act in concert with Magistrates for the suppression of crime. Special Magistrates were appointed and armed with special powers to put down robbery. They employed Goendas or spies to give information against suspected people, and thus the evils of an extensive system of espionage were added to the evils caused by crimes. Inhabitants of villages were indiscriminately apprehended on false information, they were kept in jail for months, and sometimes for years before they were brought for trial, and they not unoften perished in prisons. Every large jail in Bengal was crowded with hundreds and thousands of innocent men, and the villagers dreaded the malice of the informer more than the wrath of the Magistrate.

In 1813 the Court of Directors circulated queries regarded the working of the judicial system in India to several of their distinguished servants, then in England. The majority of them still clung to the time-honoured tradition that the natives of India were unfit and unworthy of being entrusted with high duties—a tradition which had the merit of reserving all the high posts of India for their own sons and nephews, friends and relations. But the wisest and most thoughtful among the Company's servants saw the hollowness of the doctrine, and they boldly proclaimed—what was then a heresy—that India could not be governed except through the co-operation

¹ Lord Minto's Minute, dated 24th November 1810.

of the people themselves. Among the first who had the wisdom to see and the courage to declare this truth were Sir Henry Strachey of Bengal, Thomas Munro of Madras, and Colonel Walker of Bombay. It is necessary that some portions of their replies to the Court of Directors should be placed before the reader.

“The remedy I propose,” wrote Sir Henry Strachey, “for the defects I have stated, is the establishment of more Courts, composed of natives, both Mahomedans and Hindus, to be guided entirely by our Regulations. Let the Native Judges be well paid, and they will do their duty well; of this I feel the strongest conviction. The expense would be little or nothing, as the fees might defray the whole, though it would be better to give the Native Judges liberal salaries. There should, at all events, in cases of undue exactions of rent, be no fees on documents, no stamps, no expense except the institution fee.”

“If the powers of the Munsiffs [Native Civil Judges] were only extended to the decision of suits to the amount of Rs.200 [£20], the limit of the Registrar’s authority at present, the institution fee alone would, I conceive, form an ample fund for the payment of the Native Judges and their Amla [clerks]. When I speak of a liberal salary for a Native Judge, I would be understood to mean somewhat less than one-tenth of the salary of the European Judge.”

“It is my opinion that all the judicial functions of Bengal might gradually be thrown into the hands of the Natives, if such were the pleasure of the Company, and that the business would be as well conducted, under our Regulations, by the Natives as by Europeans, in some respects better, and at one-tenth of the expense.”¹

Speaking of European traders in India, Sir Henry

¹ *East India Papers* (London, 1820), vol. ii. p. 56.

wrote: "The trade of Bengal has been for the most part in the hands of Europeans for half a century and longer.

"It was not till the Courts, civil and criminal, had been some time established under their present form and in full operation," that oppression committed by European traders was put an end to. Labourers and manufacturers, in the employment of the Company and of private European traders, were imprisoned and beaten and harassed by peons.

"This I conceive to have been the ancient custom of the country, and not invented by Europeans; but the agents of the Company had most power, and were, of course, the worst tyrants.

"In the salt department a shameless system of cheating and severity was universally practised. Many thousands of men were compelled to work, and allowed a most scanty subsistence. Some hundreds were pressed every year into this service. They were, in some instances, bound hand and foot, and sent off to the most unhealthy parts of the Sundarbans, to manufacture salt for the Company's monopoly.

"All these practices remained till the Courts were established in 1793, and then it was soon discovered that they were wrong. They prevailed till that time; not that we had made laws to authorise them, but because the people seldom complained of them. Because, if they had been in the habit of complaining, the Collector could not have heard the hundredth part of the complaints, and because their practices were conformable to the custom of the country.

"Generally speaking, in the commercial transactions carried on by the Company and by Europeans out of the service, the Natives were treated ill, though signal acts of cruelty would occasionally be punished by the Collector.

"The decisions of the Civil Courts, and the sentences of the Magistrates in petty Foujdari [Criminal]

cases, which last are speedy and expeditious, have produced, since 1793, a great change for the better."¹

On the important question of Executive and Judicial duties, which were separated by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, Sir Henry Strachey's remarks are of special interest at the present time.

"It was not till the year 1793 that the powers of Collector and those of Judge and Magistrate were first separated and held by different persons in Bengal. The plan had been tried, I think, but partially, several years before, and given up; but till this period the administration of justice, whether committed to the Collector or not, appeared to be a secondary affair. It occupied less time than the other duties of the Collector, and the collection of the revenue was still considered, according to the ancient characteristic usage of the country, as the primary object, the chief function of the internal Government.

"It was not till this period [1793] that the Bengal Government, through the agency of its judicial servants, began seriously to attend to the welfare and protection of the numerous people subject to their dominion."²

Sir Henry Strachey had much to say of the oppression of the cultivators of Bengal under the Zemindari system, an oppression which has since been stopped by the Rent Acts of 1859, 1868, and 1885. And he also spoke in equally forcible words of the oppression of the cultivators of Madras under the Ryotwari system.

"Well may the Ryotwari Collectors talk of the incompatibility of their system with that of the judicial institutions of Bengal. Well might the Madras Government delay, from year to year, the introduction of the Bengal Regulations, lest the Collectors' influence should

¹ *East India Papers* (London, 1820), vol. ii. p. 58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58. Judicial and Executive duties have unfortunately been reunited since.

be destroyed and the collection of the revenues impeded. . . .

"If the Ryotwari plan can be carried on successfully after the establishment of the judicial authorities, if rules can be framed under which the Ryotwar Collector shall act as Manager only of an estate, and the Judge shall have the usual power of redressing grievances, then I shall not condemn the plan; but I protest against the Ryotwar Collector having any judicial power whatever. As Manager of an estate only he ought to be considered; consequently we must be jealous of his power, lest he should pervert it to purposes of extortion. Every Manager of an estate has, in India, a natural inclination or tendency towards extortion. If any man, whose business it is to collect rent from the Ryots, shall persuade himself that, while so occupied, he is the fittest person in the world to defend these Ryots from the oppressions which he and his dependents commit, that his occupation supersedes the necessity of all control, that person, in my opinion, grossly errs."¹

It is necessary to quote one more passage from Sir Henry's valuable letter, in which he emphatically asserts the fitness of the people of India for judicial duties of a high and responsible nature, without the superintendence of European officials.

"I think no superintendence of Europeans is necessary. I have already in my reply to Question 4th offered my opinion upon this subject. If the Natives are not qualified for these or any other offices, I conceive the fault to be ours, and not theirs. If we encourage them, if we allow them to aspire to high office, if we pay them well, if we raise them in their own estimation, they will soon be found fit for any official employment in India.

¹ *East India Papers* (London, 1820), pp. 64, 65. The Ryotwari Collector of Madras still continues [1901] to be the Magistrate of his District.

"I beg to repeat what I long ago said in substance upon this subject, that the Natives are depressed and humiliated, being confined by us to subordinate and servile offices. Although their education is most defective, and ignorance and credulity pervade all ranks, especially among the Hindus, they are nevertheless found to acquire easily the requisite qualifications for the duties which we are pleased to entrust to them. From temper, habit, and peculiar circumstances, they are in many respects fitter for the office of a Judge than ourselves.

*"But we place the European beyond the reach of temptation. To the Native, a man whose ancestors perhaps bore high command, we assign some ministerial office, with a poor stipend of twenty or thirty rupees [£2 or £3] a month. Then we pronounce that the Indians are corrupt, and no race of men but the Company's European servants are fit to govern them."*¹

We must here take leave of Sir Henry Strachey, though a great deal of what follows in the subsequent part of his letter is valuable. He quotes figures to point out the harshness of the measures adopted to suppress robberies in Bengal. Two hundred and nine prisoners were kept in confinement, some of them for five months, in the jail of the Twenty-four Perganas, on suspicion and without being even examined by the Magistrate. Sixty-two persons were arrested on suspicion after a robbery at Arwal; nine of them died in jail; not one was convicted on trial. Eighty-four persons were arrested on suspicion after a robbery at Dungain; only two of whom were found guilty by the Judge. One hundred and ninety-two persons were arrested on suspicion after a robbery at Madanpur; confessions were extorted from them or fabricated against them; forty-six of them were detained in irons

¹ *East India Papers* (London, 1820), vol. II. p. 67. The italics are our own.

above a year; three of them died; the rest were proved innocent at trial and acquitted. In the District of Nadiya, 2071 persons were arrested on suspicion between November 1808 and May 1809. In six months forty-eight had died in jail, 278 were still under inquiry, and 1477 were not yet examined. "Such shocking cruelty," says Sir Henry, "such a monstrous perversion of justice, committed with our eyes open and with deliberation, the imprisonment of multitudes, the harassing, the subornation of perjury, the plunder, the death of innocent men in jail, these scenes I conceive to be most discreditable to those who permitted them. They ought not, under any circumstances, to have been endured. Dacoity itself, dreadful as it is, cannot be compared in its quantum of mischief to what was produced by this horrid system."¹

We now turn to the opinions of Thomas Munro, which are equally significant.

"In a civilised, populous country like India, justice can be well dispensed only through the agency of the Natives themselves. . . . Most European Governments have deemed it advisable to purchase integrity in high public officers by honours and emoluments. If we want it in India, we must adopt the same means; and if we pay the same price, we shall find it among the Natives of that country as readily, I am afraid, as among Europeans. Under the sway of every Mahomedan conqueror, the Natives of India have been admitted to all the highest dignities of the State; it is only under the British Government that they have been excluded from this advantage, and held in a condition, even when employed in the public department, little superior to that of menial servants."²

In another Memorandum, Thomas Munro wrote of the ancient Hindu system of dispensing justice through

¹ *East India Papers* (London, 1820), vol. ii. p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 110. The italics are ours.

Village Panchyets, with all their merits and all their defects.

“The strong attachment of the Natives to trial by Panchyet has, no doubt, in some degree arisen from the dread of the venality of their rulers; but it has probably been increased and confirmed by the conviction, resulting from experience, that no Judge, however upright or active, was so competent as such a body to dispense justly, correctly, and expeditiously.”

Contrasting this old system with the system introduced under the British Rule, he made some thoughtful remarks.

“It is evident that our present system is not only most expensive and vexatious, but totally inefficient. There is, under the Bengal Government, about one hundred and thirty thousand suits in arrear. These suits will, on a moderate calculation, require a million of witnesses; and if we consider the expense, the distance, and the time they must be absent from their homes, it will not be easy to estimate the amount of injury which the country thereby sustains. But the evil, it has been asserted, is unavoidable, and springs from the litigious spirit of the people of India. Had this been their real character, it would have appeared when they paid nothing for trials. I have had ample opportunity of observing them in every situation, and I can affirm that they are not litigious. I have often been astonished at the facility with which suits among them were settled, and at the fairness with which the losing party acknowledged the claim against him. But when irritated by expense and by delay, it is not surprising that litigation should grow, with the progress of the suit through its tedious stages. . . . Our system produces the litigation which we groundlessly impute to the character of the people.”¹

Lastly, we turn to the remarks of Colonel Walker

¹ *East India Papers* (London, 1820), vol. ii. pp. 116, 118.

of Bombay, who wrote with a commendable moderation and impartiality on the excellence as well as on the defects of the judicial system introduced in India under the British Rule.

"The excellence of the British judicial system has been often acknowledged and recorded with the fervour of national pride. The system has been dictated by the purest philanthropy, and is administered with the most honourable and scrupulous integrity. Justice is, in fact, administered with exactness to all ranks of subjects; and, allowing for the weakness of human nature, with strict and uniform impartiality. The disadvantages of the system may be principally ascribed to the great difference of manners, and the unfavourable situation of strangers in administering justice to a foreign people. This is a great disadvantage, which never can be effectually removed, but might be softened by admitting the Natives to a share in the administration. . . . The greatest defect of the present system, perhaps, is the employment of strangers to the total exclusion of the Natives of the country."¹

To this subject Colonel Walker reverted again and again in his reply to the ninth question set by the Directors, in respect of the integrity and diligence of the natives of India.

"The most prominent feature in the civil government of the Company is the almost entire exclusion of native agency. The offices held by Natives are only those of the lowest description—such as could not be the object of ambition to any European; and the salary attached to these appointments is such as barely affords to themselves and families the means of subsistence. To Natives of rank and liberal education no temptation is held out which can induce them to engage in the service of the Company. Not only are the emoluments offered scanty, but the want of confidence reposed in

¹ *East India Papers* (London, 1820), vol. ii. pp. 183, 184.

them, the general light in which they are received, cannot fail to inspire them with insurmountable disgust. . . .

“The admission of the Natives to offices of honour and profit is the only mode by which they can be effectually conciliated. It is vain to expect that men will ever be satisfied with merely having their property secured, while all the paths of honourable ambition are shut against them. This mortifying exclusion stifles talents, humbles family pride, and depresses all but the weak and worthless. By the higher classes of society it is considered as a severe injustice; but these are the men of influence and consideration in the country, the men by whom the public opinion is formed. So long as this source of hostility remains, the British administration will always be regarded as imposing a yoke. . . .

“The Romans, whose business was conquest, and who extended their yoke over the greatest part of the civilised world, may be safely taken as guides in the art of holding nations in subjection; that wise people always left a great share of the administration of the countries they subdued in the hands of the natives.”¹

It is remarkable that a wide survey of historical antecedents suggested to Colonel Munro and to Colonel Walker the same conclusions. Colonel Munro pointed to the Mahomedan conquerors who ruled Northern India for five hundred years by admitting the Hindu natives of India “to all the highest dignities of state;” and Colonel Walker pointed to the Roman conquerors who held the Western world under their sway for a similar period by leaving “a great share of the administration of the countries they subdued in the hands of the natives.” Those who are most keenly conscious of the blessings of England’s Rule in India—and the educated people of India are the foremost among them

¹ *East India Papers* (London, 1820), vol. ii. pp. 185, 186.

—are, nevertheless, painfully aware how the virtual exclusion of Indians from the higher services and the control of the administration makes the British Rule needlessly unpopular and weakens the Empire.

And this exclusion is often justified by a misrepresentation of the Indian character which Colonel Walker guardedly refers to towards the end of his letter.

“There is no source of deception against which it would behove the Company to guard than the reports which they receive concerning the capacities of their native subjects. They are, of course, transmitted through the medium of Europeans holding employments in that country, *but they often undervalue the qualifications of the Natives from motives of prejudice or interest.* There are many, indeed, who would be superior to such motives, and few, perhaps, who would act upon them deliberately. But still the principle is secretly active, and will always have a powerful effect, though perhaps unfelt influence, on men’s views and opinions.”¹

¹ *East India Papers* (London, 1820), vol. ii. p. 188. The italics are our own.

CHAPTER XIX

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND LORD W. BENTINCK (1815-1835)

THE opinions recorded by men like Sir Henry Strachey, Colonel Munro, and Colonel Walker, the famous Fifth Report submitted by the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1812, and lastly, the evidence given by Munro and Malcolm before the House of Commons in 1813, had their effect on public opinion in England, and compelled the Court of Directors to take some measures to reform the judicial administration of India. They appointed a Special Commission to inquire into and reform the judicial system, and Colonel Munro was appointed President of the Commission.

Munro left England in June 1814, and arrived at Madras in September, after a quick voyage of eighteen weeks. Without any loss of time he entered into his work with his accustomed ardour, and on Christmas Eve of the same year he placed before the Government of Madras his suggestions under six heads. He proposed (1) that the Collector should be vested with the authority of Magistrate, and the management of the village police should be restored to the heads of villages; (2) that Village Panchyets should be reconstructed; (3) that Native District Judges or Commissioners should be appointed; (4) that Collectors should be empowered to enforce Pottah Regulations; (5) that the power of Zemindars to distrain should be restricted,

and (6) that cases of disputed boundaries should be decided by Collectors.¹

It is impossible not to remark in these preliminary suggestions two predominating ideas which actuated Thomas Munro. In the first place, he insisted on placing all judicial work, as far as possible, in the hands of the people of India, appointed as Village Heads, District Judges, and Commissioners. In the second place, he desired to centralise all executive power—revenue, magisterial, and police—in the hands of a single official, the District Collector. His first idea has only been partially carried into execution, and the post of District Judge is, to the present time, virtually reserved for Europeans. His second idea, probably justified in an age of disorder and misrule, has unfortunately been acted upon down to the present time.

It is impossible within our limits to narrate the work of the Commission during the subsequent two years, and the vast amount of correspondence which ensued, and which fill nearly 500 folio pages of the East India Papers.² It is enough to state that the Commission at first prepared drafts of seven Regulations and submitted them to the Chief Civil and Criminal Courts of Madras for revision. A letter from the Court of Directors, dated 20th December 1815, was then received and forwarded to the Commission. Various alterations and additions to the original drafts were made in accordance with the suggestions of the Madras Government and of the Chief Courts. Finally a series of Fifteen Regulations were passed at different dates in 1816.

The immediate result of these Regulations was to largely extend the employment of the people of Madras

¹ Colonel Munro to the Madras Government, Letter dated 24th December 1814, para 6.

² Vol. ii. (1820), pp. 291-769.

in responsible posts, and the transference of much of the judicial work to their hands. It was a reform which the most thoughtful of the Company's servants had advocated for years past, a reform which was needed in the interests of good administration. It fell to Thomas Munro to be the first to give effect to this needed reform.

"The most important and laborious part of that duty," wrote the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras, "fell on Colonel Munro, the first Commissioner, in whose commendation it would be superfluous for us to speak, were it not for the purpose of assuring you, for your information and that of the Civil Service in general, that we consider the services which he has rendered to the Company and to the natives, as Chief of the Commission, to be as deserving of our hearty acknowledgments as any act of his long and honourable public life."¹

This encomium was well deserved, and has been endorsed by public opinion in India. Nevertheless, it is necessary to state that some of the objects aimed at by Munro in his Regulations have not been fulfilled. The endeavour to place the village police under village heads has been abandoned, and the Police now forms a separate force all over India. And the endeavour to reconstruct village Panchyets has also failed, for reasons which have been explained elsewhere. The time to construct Village Unions under wiser regulations has now come, and the Government in India will never be in touch with the mass of the people till this is effected.

On the other hand, the mistake made by Thomas Munro in combining the duties of the Collector, the Magistrate, and the Police, in the same hands has been perpetuated. The mistake was committed, not without a strong protest from the Madras Government,

¹ Judicial Letter to Madras, dated 12th May 1819.

even in 1815 and 1816. Mr. Fullerton, a Member of the Madras Government, stated the cardinal objections to that combination of duties fully and clearly.

"The transfer of Magisterial duties to Collectors, also, I do certainly think must involve a departure that may go far to counteract the benefit of the judicial system, by arming the executive with too much power, and lessening that faith and confidence the people now begin to feel in the protection of the Judicial Department."¹

The Madras Government was of the same opinion, and held that while the Collector might be vested with the superintendence of the Police, he should not be armed with magisterial powers. The question went up to the Court of Directors, and the Directors overruled the Madras Government, and directed the combination of revenue and magisterial duties in the same officers.

"The point on which a difference of sentiment has arisen between you and Colonel Munro regards that part of our despatch in which we enjoined the transfer of magisterial functions to the Collector, Colonel Munro thinking that we meant to include in the transfer not merely the superintendence and control of the police, but the whole duties of magistrate, and our Governor in Council, on the other hand, conceiving that we intended to confine the transfer to the superintendence and control of the police establishment.

"We have no hesitation in declaring our intention to have been that the transfer should take place in the sense and to the extent supposed by Colonel Munro."²

The Government of Madras submitted to this

¹ Minute, dated 1st January 1816.

² Judicial Letter from the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras, dated 20th December 1815, paras. 12 and 13.

decision with ill-grace. Robert Fullerton wrote again : "However much I must lament that the sentiments I had previously recorded should have proved at variance with the orders and opinions since received from superior authority, I cannot conscientiously recall them. Intermediate reflection, and the consideration of various public documents since received, have added strength to the belief that the whole and sole magisterial authority of the district, vested in the Collector, much of which must be delegated to Native Revenue officers, uncontrolled except by the occasional visits of the Judge of Circuit, will establish a degree of power in the Revenue Department, against the abuse of which no legal appeal can effectually be made."¹

We now turn to the affairs of Bombay. No reference to Bombay has been made in preceding chapters, because the greater portion of the Province came under British Rule more than half a century after Bengal and Madras. British influence was firmly established in Bengal after the battle of Plassey in 1757, and in Madras after the battle of Wandewash in 1761, but the Mahrattas held their own in the west of India in spite of the wars of Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley. The last of the Peshwas was seated on the throne of Poona by the help of British arms in 1802, and maintained a British subsidiary force within his dominions by the terms of his treaty with the British. This was the beginning of the end. He soon discovered the formidable power of his new allies, and chafed under the restraint he had placed on himself. At last he threw off the mask; he fought one battle and lost, and his dominions were annexed to British territory in 1817.

Mountstuart Elphinstone's name is as intimately

¹ Minute of 13th September 1816. Robert Fullerton might have been aware that the main concern of the Directors was their revenue, and the main purpose of their policy was to vest the utmost degree of power in the Revenue Department.

connected with the building up of British administration in Bombay as the name of Thomas Munro is connected with Madras. Elphinstone went out to India in 1796, a young lad of seventeen. Seven years after he had the good fortune of serving in the capacity of a private secretary under Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the famous Duke of Wellington. He rode by the Duke's side in the great battle of Assaye in 1803, and he first acquired his intimate knowledge of Mahratta affairs and administration as Resident at Nagpur from 1804 to 1808. A mission to Kabul enabled him to write a very readable work on the people and institutions of that unknown country, and on his return he was, in 1811, appointed Resident at Poona, where he was destined to play an important part in the revolution which followed within a few years. The revolution came, as stated before, in 1817; the rule of Baji Rao, the last Peshwa, was swept away; and the Deccan was annexed to the British Empire.

Elphinstone's unequalled experience in Mahratta affairs marked him out as the most capable man for settling the conquered territory. He was appointed Commissioner of the Deccan in January 1818, and the work performed by him in this capacity will be referred to in the following chapter. In 1819 he was appointed Governor of Bombay, and during the eight years that he held this high appointment, he laid the foundations of British administration in Western India.

His fame as a liberal administrator rests mainly on his work in three directions. His first endeavour was to codify the law. His second great object was to confer on the people of India as large a share in the work of administration as was then possible. His third and last purpose was to spread a sound education among the people, so as to enable them to take

a higher and more responsible share in the future in the management of their own concerns.

The first task was well and satisfactorily done. "The whole of the Bombay Regulations were formed into a code, regularly arranged according to their subject-matter. This code consists of twenty-seven Regulations, subdivided into chapters and sections. It refers to the same subjects as the Bengal Regulations, but differs from them in the circumstance that it contains a body of substantial criminal law."¹ Beyond this, Elphinstone endeavoured to prepare a digest of the laws, customs, and usages of the people themselves. "What we call 'Hindu law,' he wrote, "applies to Brahmans only; each caste has separate laws and customs;" and Elphinstone's idea was to compile a complete digest of these varying customs of all castes and tribes. Such an idea was worthy of him, but was impossible of execution, and the work remained unaccomplished.

How intimate the best administrators in India have always been with the highest thought and culture of England will appear from the fact that while Elphinstone was seeking to compile a digest of Hindu usages and laws, he was studiously applying himself to the works of Jeremy Bentham. He wrote of him to Strachey:

"I was greatly delighted with your account of Jeremy Bentham. I had a great curiosity about him, which was fully gratified. He is certainly a man of first-rate talents, but also of first-rate eccentricity, which, both in his doctrines and his personal habits, probably arises from his little intercourse with the world. I was extremely flattered by his present of books, and knew no author from whom I should so highly have valued such a distinction. When I last

¹ Sir James Stephen. Proceedings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science for 1872-73.

wrote to you at length, I was thinking of employing the Bengal counsellors whom I expected to get at Poona to form a code from the Hindoo law as administered under the Brahmans and the customs of the Mahratta country, corrected in some cases by our own; but I got no counsellors, and the more I contemplated the undertaking the more formidable it seemed."¹

Historians of India have not always made it sufficiently clear that British administration in India during the last 150 years has been always shaped by European influences. The wars of Frederick the Great fostered those wars between the English and the French in the eighteenth century which ended in the effacement of the latter in India; and the Napoleonic wars inspired the ambitious conquests of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings. The endeavour after judicial, civil, and domestic reforms which followed, and which culminated in England in the Reform Act of 1832, led to similar reforms in India, and admitted the people into a larger share of administrative work in Madras, Bombay, and Bengal. And during the seventy years which have elapsed since, every period of peace and reforms in England has been marked by some tangible reforms in India; and every wave of the war feeling in England has inspired ambitious projects and often foolish wars in India. The want of any popular representation in India makes that country dependent on England in more senses than one; and the people of India have often had to endure unwise and retrograde administration, and to pay for unwise and foolish wars, during periods of England's temporary madness!

At the period of which we are speaking in this chapter the English influences were of the healthiest kind, and induced Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck not only to reform the laws of India, but to regard

¹ Letter of September 3, 1820. *Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone*, by Sir J. E. Colebrooke (1834), vol. II. p. 115.

favourably the claims of the people to a legitimate share in the administration. Elphinstone was as thorough in this opinion as Munro, and gave expression to it in all his correspondence and minutes in which the question came up for consideration. The following extract from a letter to Sir Thomas Munro, dated 1822, will serve as an example:

“I hear you have instituted something like a Native Board at Madras, and I should be much obliged if you would inform me of the nature of the plan. It seems to be one great advantage of the arrangement that it opens a door to the employment of natives in high and efficient situations. I should be happy to know if you think the plan can be extended to the judicial or any other line. Besides the necessity for having good native advisers in governing natives, it is necessary that we should pave the way for the introduction of the natives to some share in the government of their own country. It may be half a century before we are obliged to do so; but the system of government and of education which we have already established must some time or other work such a change in the people of this country that it will be impossible to confine them to subordinate employment; and if we have not previously opened vents for their ambition and ability, we may expect an explosion which will overturn our Government.”¹

Four years later, in a letter to Henry Ellis, Elphinstone expressed his matured opinion on the subject still more emphatically,

“It has always been a favourite notion of mine that our object ought to be to place ourselves in the same relation to the natives as the Tartars are in to the Chinese: retaining the government and military power, but gradually relinquishing all share in the

¹ *Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone*, by Sir J. E. Colebrooke (1884), vol. ii. p. 142. Letter dated 27th October 1822.

civil administration, except that degree of control which is necessary to give the whole an impulse and direction. This operation must be so gradual that it need not even alarm the Directors, as you suppose, for their civil patronage; but it ought to be kept in mind, and all our measures ought to tend to that object."¹

Elphinstone always upheld and preached this idea to the end of his life. Over twenty years after his retirement from India, when he was living a retired life among his books in his quiet country house at Surrey—esteemed by all as the highest authority on Indian affairs, and pressed more than once to go out to India as Governor-General—he still entertained and expressed the same opinion in his correspondence.

"We . . . must apply ourselves to bring the natives into a state that will admit of their governing themselves in a manner that may be beneficial to our interest as well as their own and that of the rest of the world, and to take the glory of the achievement and the sense of having done our duty for the chief reward of our exertions."²

It remains to add that Elphinstone did all he could to give effect to this policy during his administration; and the example set in Madras by Sir Thomas Munro enabled him to place a large share of the judicial work of Bombay in the hands of Indian Civil Judges of different grades.

The third and last great object of Elphinstone's administration was the promotion of education among the people. Bombay was then probably the most

¹ *Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone*, by Sir J. E. Colebrooke (1834), vol. ii. p. 186. Letter dated 30th October 1826. The Directors and their civil patronage have ceased to exist, but the desire to find a career for English boys in India has still kept the door to the higher services virtually closed to the sons of the soil.

² Cameron's Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain to India (1853). Quoted in J. S. Cotton's *Mountstuart Elphinstone and the Making of South-Western India* (1896), p. 190.

backward of all the Presidencies in point of education. The chaplains of the East India Company supervised a few charity schools, and missionary effort was almost confined to a small body of American missionaries who came to Bombay in 1814.

Elphinstone presided at a public meeting in 1820, and a Society for the promotion of the Education of the Poor was formed. He obtained a grant of £5000 for this Society for printing works and purchasing prizes, and all education in the vernacular languages was conducted during the next sixteen years through the agency of this Society. Elaborate inquiries were also conducted into the system of primary instruction, and the result of these inquiries, published in 1832, disclosed a total of 1705 schools with 35,143 scholars in the Bombay Province, with its population of nearly five millions.¹

In his endeavour to spread higher education, Elphinstone met with opposition from his own Council, and also from the Court of Directors. Elphinstone desired to found a College at Bombay for young civilians with a special department for the training of native officials; the latter part of the scheme was opposed by his Council; and the whole project failed to obtain the sanction of the Directors.

For the spread of general education Elphinstone proposed (1) to improve and increase the native schools; (2) to supply them with school-books; (3) to encourage the lower classes to obtain education; (4) to establish new schools for the teaching of European sciences; (5) to prepare books of moral and physical science in the vernaculars; (6) to establish new schools for teaching English; (7) to hold forth encouragement to the people. To conciliate the Directors, Elphinstone pointed out that the cost

¹ J. S. Cotton's *Mountstuart Elphinstone and the Making of South-Western India*, 1896, p. 193.

of the schools to the Company would be small, and would be largely borne by villages. Nevertheless no sanction to his scheme was received before he left India. The first English school was opened in Bombay in 1828, the year after Elphinstone's departure; an English department was attached to the Sanscrit college at Poona in the same year; and the great Elphinstone Institution of Bombay was not opened till 1834.

We conclude this brief account of Elphinstone's educational work in India by making one or two extracts from his Minutes of 1824.

"It has been urged against our Indian Government that we have subverted the States of the East, and shut up all the sources from which the magnificence of the country was derived, and that we have not ourselves constructed a single work, either of utility or of splendour. It may be alleged with more justice that we have dried up the fountains of native talent, and that from the nature of our conquest, not only all encouragement to the advancement of knowledge is withdrawn, but even the actual learning of the nation is likely to be lost and the productions of former genius to be forgotten. Something should surely be done to remove this reproach."¹

And he wrote in the same year:

"If care were taken to qualify the natives for the public service, and afterwards to encourage their employment, the picture would be soon reversed. At no very distant day we might see natives engaged in superintending a portion of a District as the European Assistants are doing now. In a more advanced stage, they might sometimes be Registrars and Sub-Collectors, or even Collectors and Judges;

¹ Forrest's *Selections from the Minutes and other Official Writings of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone* (1834), p. 102.

and it may not be too visionary to suppose a period at which they might bear to the English nearly the relation which the Chinese do to the Tartars, the Europeans retaining the government and the military power, while the natives filled a large portion of the civil stations, and many of the subordinate employments in the army."¹

The two greatest administrators of their time were removed from India in the same year. Sir Thomas Munro died in July 1827, and Mountstuart Elphinstone left India four months after. In the same year Lord William Bentinck was appointed Governor-General of India, and it fell to him to complete the work which Munro and Elphinstone had so happily begun.

No administrator went out to India under stronger influences of that healthy public opinion which was forming itself in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars. He had been Governor of Madras early in the nineteenth century, had been removed from the post on the occurrence of a mutiny, and had then plunged into European politics. He was in Sicily and in Italy, planning with the Duke of Orleans (afterwards Louis Philippe, King of France) for the emancipation of Italy; and after the capture of Genoa in 1814, he restored to the Genoese their old constitution, and called on the Italians to struggle and be a free nation. The victorious Allies, however, wanted to keep up the old order of things, and the Congress of Vienna forced Italy under the hated rule of Austria. Thirteen years after this, when France was on the eve of the revolution of 1830, when England was already agitating for a Reform Act, Lord William Bentinck arrived in India as Governor-General in 1828.

The administrative and educational reforms effected by Lord William Bentinck were on the lines laid down by Munro and Elphinstone. A larger share of judicial

¹ Quoted in J. S. Cotton's work, cited before.

work was given to qualified Indian officials, and a higher grade of Indian judges was created under the name of *Sudder-Ameens*. Some executive and revenue work was also entrusted to them, and a higher grade was created for them under the name of *Deputy-Collectors*. During a period of over seventy years, the educated people of India have proved their ability, integrity, and fitness for the most difficult and responsible administrative work.

The Land Settlements of 1822 in Northern India, under which the State claimed more than three-fourths of the rental as the *Land-Tax*, had proved oppressive in the extreme. Lord William Bentinck changed the system, and reduced the State demand to two-thirds of the rental. A new settlement commenced in 1833, and effected by R. M. Bird, gave much relief to the people, while it actually increased the revenue from the soil. We shall speak of this new settlement in a subsequent chapter.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the most advanced among the educated Hindus, gave the Governor-General his support in abolishing that cruel custom of permitting Hindu widows to burn themselves on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands, known under the name of *Sati*. And Sleeman's name stands prominent in connection with the suppression of the class of criminals known as *Thugs* or *wayside murderers*, who infested various parts of India.

The Company's Charter was renewed in 1833, and the Company's trade was abolished. They stood forth henceforward as administrators of India, not as traders; and they found in Lord William Bentinck the most efficient helper in the cause of good administration. The post of a Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council was created, and the illustrious Macaulay went out to India as the first Legal Member.

Never had any Governor-General more enthusiastic

colleagues. Trevelyan, as has been stated in the preceding chapter, took the first decisive step in abolishing the Inland Duties which had so long impeded trade in India. Macaulay helped in all legal work, and made the first draft of that celebrated Penal Code of India which is still one of the finest penal laws in the world. And Metcalfe followed out Lord William's policy after his retirement, and granted liberty to the Press of India during his short administration.

True reforms always lead to retrenchment, and Lord William Bentinck changed the chronic deficit in the Indian budget into a surplus. The total deficit during fifteen years, from 1814 to 1828, was nearly twenty millions sterling, while the deficit during the last six years of this period amounted to nearly three millions a year. Lord William Bentinck's administration changed this into a surplus of two millions.

No true reformer in Indian administration has escaped obloquy and censure. The extension of the civil powers of the Indian officials gave offence to the Europeans in India; and the Act which withdrew from them their privilege of bringing civil appeals before the Supreme Court at Calcutta was called the Black Act, and brought upon Macaulay and Lord William Bentinck a torrent of abuse.¹ The historian Thornton was himself carried away by this race prejudice, and wrote of Bentinck that he "added the treachery of the Italian to the caution of the Dutchman." Such is the fate which has overtaken, not once or twice, those British administrators who have laboured to work in the interests of the unrepresented people. Canning and Ripon are more recent instances.

¹ Macaulay refers to this European agitation in these words: "That Public Opinion means the opinion of five hundred persons who have no interest, feeling, or taste in common with the fifty millions among whom they live; that the Love of Liberty means the strong objection which the five hundred feel to every measure which can prevent them from acting as they choose towards the fifty millions."—*Trevelyan's Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*.

English education had made more progress in Calcutta than in Bombay. David Hare, a watchmaker of Calcutta, started an English school, and his name is remembered in Bengal to this day as the Father of English education. Subsequently, in 1817, the Marquis of Hastings founded the Hindu College of Calcutta. The question soon arose whether education should be imparted in India through the English language, or through the Sanscrit and Arabic and the vernacular languages of India. Oriental scholars, with a generous appreciation of all that was great and noble in the Oriental classics, urged that education should be imparted to the people through their own language. But more practical men, like Macaulay and Trevelyan, thought that no true education in modern knowledge and sciences could be imparted except through the medium of a modern language. Macaulay's masterly Minute, which has become a historical document, virtually decided the controversy. With a very imperfect appreciation of Sanscrit literature, he nevertheless came to a conclusion which was correct—that modern education could only be imparted through a modern language.

“Suppose that the Pasha of Egypt, a country once superior in knowledge to the nations of Europe, but now sunk far below them, were to appropriate a sum for the purpose of reviving and promoting literature, and encouraging learned natives of Egypt, would anybody infer that he meant the youth of his Pashalic to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all the doctrines disguised under the fables of Osiris, and to ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly charged with inconsistency if, instead of employing his young subjects in deciphering obelisks, he were to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys? . . .

"We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign tongue. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. . . . Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia, communities which are every day becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian Empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be most useful to our native subjects."¹

The Orientalists were routed by the irresistible logic and the matchless power of Macaulay's Minute. It was decided that education should be imparted to the people of India through the medium of the English language. Nineteen years after, this decision was supplemented by the famous Education Despatch of 1854, which provided that primary education should be imparted in Indian schools through the Indian vernaculars, and should lead up to higher education in English. This is the educational policy of India to the present day.

On the 20th March 1835, Lord William Bentinck left India after a benevolent and successful rule of seven years. In the graphic words of Macaulay, inscribed on the pedestal of Bentinck's statue in

¹ Macaulay's Minute, dated 2nd February 1835.

Calcutta, he "never forgot that the end of government is the happiness of the governed."

After his retirement from India, Lord William Bentinck was elected Member of Parliament in the Liberal interest for the city of Glasgow in 1837; but he spent a good deal of his time in France, where his friend Louis Philippe was then king, and he died in Paris in June 1839. The calumnies and censure with which privileged classes had assailed him in India passed away; and fourteen years after his death, Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had been his colleague in India, spoke of Bentinck's administration in his evidence before the Lords' Committee in words which have received universal assent from the people of India.

"I must bear my testimony to Lord William Bentinck, that although the honour of having established our dominion in India belongs to others, to Lord William Bentinck belongs the great praise of having placed our dominion in India on its proper foundation in the recognition of the great principle that India is to be governed for the benefit of the Indians, and that the advantages which we derive from it should only be such as are incidental and inferential from that course of proceeding."¹

There is no doubt that men like Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck, Trevelyan, Metcalfe, and Macaulay, set this high ideal before them in their administration of India; and if it had been possible for one nation to work in the interests of another, India to-day would have been governed "for the benefit of the Indians." But it is not in human nature for one race to work for another; and it were idle to ignore the fact that all Indian interests, commercial, industrial, economic, and financial, have been subordinated to the interests of

¹ Trevelyan's Evidence. Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 1853, p. 159.

344 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

England down to the present time. Mankind has yet discovered no method of ruling a subject nation for the benefit of that nation except by conceding to them some hand in the administration of their own concerns, some degree of representation and self-government. And until this policy is adopted in India, the words that "India is to be governed for the benefit of the Indians" will remain an idle maxim, if not a cruel satire.

CHAPTER XX

ELPHINSTONE IN BOMBAY (1817-1827)

THE dominions of Baji Rao, the last of the Mahratta Peshwas, were annexed in 1817, and he himself was captured, after a long pursuit, in the following year. He retired on a pension, and his extensive territory now forms the most important portion of the Province of Bombay.

The duty of settling this wide tract of country fell on one of the ablest and best servants of the Company. Mountstuart Elphinstone, son of the eleventh Lord Elphinstone, had come out to India in 1796, as has been stated in the last chapter, and after varied experience had been appointed to Poona in 1811. In 1818 he was appointed Commissioner of the territories annexed from Baji Rao.

No better selection could have been made. Junior to Thomas Munro by nearly twenty years, Elphinstone had the same capacity for revenue work, the same sympathy with the people, the same literary instincts, the same broad and statesmanlike desire to promote the prosperity of the Indian Empire. The first half of the nineteenth century produced a number of great administrators in India, distinguished no less by their sympathy with the people than by their capacity for organisation and work. But it is perhaps no injustice to the other meritorious servants of the East India Company of this period to acknowledge that Munro of Madras and Elphinstone of Bombay stand a head and shoulders above the rest. It is a

melancholy reflection which forces itself on all thoughtful observers that this class of sympathetic administrators became rarer in the latter half of the nineteenth century; and that a desire to repress the political advance of the people, rather than to promote their progress and self-government, has often influenced later administration.

Elphinstone's "Report on the Territories Conquered from the Peshwa," submitted to the Governor-General in October 1819, is a masterly account of the country and of the measures adopted for its settlement. It is a voluminous paper, and covers nearly seventy folio pages of the fourth volume of "East India Papers," and all that we can do here is to make a few extracts.

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.

"In whatever point of view we examine the Native Government in the Deccan, the first and most important feature is, the division into villages or townships. These Communities contain in miniature all the materials of a State within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members, if all other governments are withdrawn. Though probably not compatible with a very good form of government, they are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one; they prevent the bad effects of its negligence and weakness, and even present some barrier against its tyranny and rapacity.

"Each village has a portion of ground attached to it, which is committed to the management of the inhabitants. The boundaries are carefully marked and jealously guarded. They are divided into fields, the limits of which are exactly known; each field has a name and is kept distinct, even when the cultivation of it has long been abandoned. The villagers are almost entirely cultivators of the ground, with the

addition of the few traders and artisans that are required to supply their wants. The head of each village is the Patil, who has under him an assistant, called a Chaugulla, and a clerk called a Kulkarni. There are, besides, twelve village officers, well known by the name of the Bara Baloti. These are the astrologer, the priest, the carpenter, barber, &c., but the only ones who are concerned in the administration of the government are the Sonar or Potdar, who is silversmith and assayer of money, and the Mhar, who, in addition to various other important duties, acts as watchman to the village. Each of these classes consists of one or more individuals, according as their original families have branched out. The Mhars are seldom fewer than four or five, and there are besides, where those tribes are numerous, very frequently several Phils or Ramoshis, employed also as watchmen, but performing none of the other duties of the Mhar.

“The Patils are the most important functionaries in the villages, and perhaps the most important class in the country. They hold office by a grant from the Government (generally from that of the Moguls), are entitled by virtue of it to land and fees, and have various little privileges and distinctions, of which they are as tenacious as of their land. Their office and emoluments are hereditary, and saleable with the consent of the Government, but are seldom sold, except in cases of extreme necessity, though a partner is sometimes admitted, with a careful reservation of the superiority of the old possessor. The Patil is head of the police and of the administration of justice in his village, but he need only be mentioned here as an officer of revenue. In that capacity he performs on a small scale what a Mamlatdar or a Collector does on a large; he allots the land to such cultivators as have no landed property of their own, and fixes the rent

which each has to pay; he collects the revenue for Government from all the Rayats; conducts all its arrangements with them, and exerts himself to promote the cultivation and the prosperity of the village. Though originally the agent of the Government, he is now regarded as equally the representative of the Rayats, and is not less useful in executing the orders of the Government than in asserting the rights, or at least in making known the wrongs, of the people."

MIRASDARS OR PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

"A large portion of the Rayats are the proprietors of their estates, subject to the payment of a fixed Land-Tax to Government; that their property is hereditary and saleable, and they are never dispossessed while they pay their tax, and even then they have for a long period (at least thirty years) the right of reclaiming their estate on paying the dues of Government. Their Land-Tax is fixed, but the late Mahratta Government loaded it with other impositions, which reduced that advantage to a mere name; yet so far, however, was this from destroying the value of their estates, that although the Government took advantage of their attachment to make them pay considerably more than an Uprī, and though all the Mirasdars were, in ordinary cases, obliged to make up for failures in the payment of each of their body, yet their lands were saleable, and generally at ten years' purchase. . . .

"An opinion prevails throughout the Mahratta country, that under the old Hindu Government all the land was held by Mirasis, and that the Uprīs were introduced as the old proprietors sank under the tyranny of the Mohammedans. This opinion is supported by the fact that the greater part of the fields now cultivated by Uprīs are recorded in the village books as belonging to absent proprietors; and affords,

when combined with circumstances observed in other parts of the peninsula, and with the light Land-Tax authorised by Manu, a strong presumption that the revenue system under the Hindus (if they had a uniform system) was founded on private property in the soil."

CHANGES UNDER THE BRITISH RULE.

"The outline of the revenue system adopted since our acquisition of the country is contained in my letter dated July 10th, conveying instructions to the Collectors, and in that dated July 14th, enclosing instructions for Mamlatdars. The leading principles are to abolish farming, but otherwise to maintain the native system, to levy the revenue according to the actual cultivation, to make the assessment light, to impose no new taxes, and to do none away unless obviously unjust; and, above all, to make no innovations. Many innovations were, however, the result of the introduction of foreign rulers and foreign maxims of government, but in the revenue department most of them were beneficial. The country, which had been under many Mamlatdars, with very unequal extent of territory and power, was placed under five principal officers (I include Satara), with much superior weight and respectability. The chief authority now resided in the District, and devoted his whole time to its affairs, and all subordinate agents were obliged to follow his example. The straggling revenue divisions of the Mahrattas were formed into compact districts, each yielding from Rs. 50 to Rs. 70,000 a year, and placed under a Mamlatdar."

EVILS OF A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT.

"Many of the evils from which this country has hitherto been exempt are inseparable from the introduction of a foreign Government; but perhaps the

greater may be avoided by proper precautions. Many of the upper classes must sink into comparative poverty, and many of those who were employed in the court and army must absolutely lose their bread. Both of these misfortunes happened to a certain extent in the commencement of Baji Rao's reign, but as the frame of Government was entire, the bad effect of these partial evils was surmounted. Whether we can equally maintain the frame of Government is a question that is yet to be examined. The present system of police, as far as relates to the villages, may be easily kept up; but I doubt whether it is enough that the village establishment be maintained and the whole put under a Mamlatdar. The Patil's respectability and influence in his village must be kept up, by allowing him some latitude both in the expenditure of the village expenses, and in restraining petty disorders in his village. So far from wishing that it were possible for the European Officers to hear all complaints on such subjects, I think it fortunate that they have not time to investigate them, and think it desirable that the Mamlatdars also should leave them to the Patils, and thus preserve a power on the aid of which we must, in all branches of the Government, greatly depend. Zealous co-operation of the Patils is as essential to the Collector of the revenue, and to the administration of civil justice, as to the police; and it ought, therefore, by all means to be secured. Too much care cannot be taken to prevent their duty becoming irksome and their influence impaired by bringing their conduct too often under the correction of their superiors. I would lend a ready ear to all complaints against them for oppression, but I would not disturb them for inattention to forms; and I would leave them at liberty to settle petty complaints their own way, provided no serious punishment were inflicted on either party."

EDUCATION.

“Books are scarce, and the common ones probably ill chosen, but there exist in the Hindu languages many tales and fables that would be generally read, and that would circulate sound morals. There must be religious books tending more directly to the same end. If many of these were printed and distributed cheaply or gratuitously, the effect would, without doubt, be great and beneficial. It would, however, be indispensable that they should be purely Hindu. We might silently omit all precepts of questionable morality, but the slightest infusion of religious controversy would secure the failure of the design.

“It would be better to call the prejudices of the Hindus to our aid in reforming them, and to control their vices by the ties of religion, which are stronger than those of law. By maintaining and purifying their present tenets, at the same time that we enlighten their understandings, we shall bring them nearer to that standard of perfection at which all concur in desiring that they should arrive; while any attack on their faith, if successful, might be expected in theory, as is found in practice, to shake their reverence for all religion, and to set them free from those useful restraints which even a superstitious doctrine imposes on the passions.”

VILLAGE PANCHYETS.

“But with all these defects, the Mahratta country flourished, and the people seem to have been exempt from some of the evils which exist under our more perfect Government. There must, therefore, have been some advantages in the system to counterbalance its obvious defects, and most of them appear to me to have originated in one fact, that the Government, although it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them

the means of procuring it for themselves. The advantage of this was particularly felt among the lower orders, who are most out of reach of their rulers, and most apt to be neglected under all Governments. By means of the Panchayat, they were enabled to effect a tolerable dispensation of justice among themselves; and it happens that most of the objections above stated to that institution do not apply in their case. . . .

"I propose, therefore, that the native system should still be preserved, and means taken to remove its abuses and revive its energy. Such a course will be more welcome to the natives than any entire change, and if it should fail entirely, it is never too late to introduce the Adalat. . . .

"Our principal instrument must continue to be the Panchayat, and that must continue to be exempt from all new forms, interference, and regulation on our part."¹

It will appear from the preceding extracts that the great aim of Elphinstone was to conserve what was good in the old institutions of the Mahrattas. It were well for the country if Elphinstone's successors were as cautious in introducing innovations. But under the administration of succeeding generations of rulers, Village Communities have disappeared, and the right of peasant proprietors to hold their lands at fixed rates has been crushed under increasing revenue demands.

Elphinstone's great ability marked him out as the most suitable head of the Government, and he was appointed Governor of Bombay in 1819, a year before Sir Thomas Munro was appointed Governor of Madras. It is necessary now to describe briefly his endeavours to arrive at a proper land settlement in Bombay within the eight years of his administration.

¹ Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa, dated 25th October 1819.

BROACH.

In 1821 the Governor recorded a Minute on the land revenue arrangements at Broach, and did not contemplate with pleasure the increase in the Land-Tax which had already commenced under the British Rule.

“The assessment is made entirely by villages, without any inquiry into the circumstances of individuals. One of the hereditary revenue officers is sent to inspect the crops of each harvest. He makes a statement of the quantity of land cultivated with each sort of produce by each Ryot, and calculates the quantity of each sort that will be produced in each field. The sum of these gives the whole amount of each sort of grain produced in the village. . . . The general principle is to take half of the money produced by the sale of the crops, and leave the rest to the Ryot. . . .

“It is always difficult to guess whether the assessment is light or heavy. On the plan here adopted it is utterly impossible. An increase of four lakhs and a half [£45,000] has taken place this year: a circumstance which I cannot contemplate with pleasure.”¹

AHMEDABAD.

On the same date Elphinstone recorded another Minute on the land revenue operations in Ahmedabad and Kaira, and his remarks betray the same caution and hesitation.

“In the Ahmedabad Zilla, the number of villages that have been let to the highest bidder, the consequent detection of all sources of revenue, and in some cases the raising of the Bigoties by Panchyats granted

¹ Minute dated 15th August 1821.

at the suggestion of the farmer, have a tendency to strain the revenue to the highest pitch."¹

SURAT.

In May 1821 Elphinstone recorded a Minute on Surat, in which he once more deplored the heaviness of the land assessment.

"If I were to decide on the present condition of the people in this Collectorship, I should pronounce it to be very much depressed. The Ryots seem to be ill-clothed and ill-lodged, and although some parts of the District are highly productive, I should think that in others the cultivation was very imperfect. . . . These evils are by no means to be ascribed to the present system. On the contrary, I am persuaded that the measures now in progress will go far to relieve us from the system which we inherited from our predecessors. The great obstacle will be the extreme heaviness and perhaps the inequality of the assessment."²

THE CONCAN.

The state of things in the Northern Concan was unsettled. The Collector recommended "that the demand of the Government be fixed at one-third of the gross produce, and at a reduced ratio on the inferior kinds of soil, to be divided into three, or at the utmost into four classes of land; that no rent be paid in kind, which is a system expensive to Government and offers opportunities of speculation to the inferior native officers; that the commuted money-payment be fixed for six years; that the rate of assessment be not fixed in perpetuity, but that a settlement be made for twelve years."³

¹ Minute dated 15th August 1821.

² Minute dated 6th May 1821.

³ Revenue Letter from Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 19th April 1822.

A separate letter was recorded in the same year in reference to Southern Concan, which gives us some information with regard to the Khotes and the rights of cultivators generally.

“The villages are either termed Kulargee or Khotegee. In the former, each cultivator is understood to stand assessed at a certain fixed rental on the public records, beyond which nothing can be properly levied from him; whilst in the Khotegee villages, though a Khote or head of the village can only levy a particular sum from one particular class of Ryots, yet with others, either occupying new lands or renting the Khote's own, he may make what bargain he pleases. And this naturally leads to an explanation of the only two descriptions of tenures prevalent in this Zilla, viz, the first Dharekari, and the second Ardheli.

“The former of these seems very nearly to correspond with the Mirasi of the Deccan, for he cannot be dispossessed as long as he makes good his payments according to the custom of the country; and if he cannot actually sell, he may unquestionably mortgage his property, though it is generally believed he may even dispose of it. . . .

“The Ardheli Ryot is on the footing with the Upri elsewhere. He is the tenant of the Khote, or of some other holder of land, as the case may be. He cannot either sell or mortgage what he occupies, because it, of right, belongs to another, and he only holds it by sufferance. He may be dispossessed either by the owner choosing to take the land into his own hands, or to assign it to some one else, though this latter course would be considered a hardship if the Ryot regularly fulfilled his engagements. These engagements are, however, mostly annual, and it is therefore obvious the owner of the land might easily effect an ejection by raising his demands till the land would not be worth the cultivation. The Ardheli Ryot who may cultivate

rice-land generally pays his landlord half the produce in kind . . .

“From the foregoing description, your Honourable Court will perceive that the Khotes very much resemble the smaller class of zemindars in Bengal.”¹

THE DECCAN.

We have so far referred to the reports of experimental Settlements in the Western Coast, from Broach to the Concan. We turn now once more to the Deccan. Mr. Chaplin had succeeded Elphinstone as Commissioner of the Deccan, and his lucid reports of November 1821 and August 1822 cover, with their enclosures, over five hundred folio pages of the East India Papers.

The population of the newly acquired territory, including Poona, Ahmadnagar, Khandesh, Dharwar, Satara, and the Southern Jaigirs, was estimated at nearly four millions. An endeavour was made, in the early land settlement, to combine the Ryotwari system, which had been introduced in Madras by Sir Thomas Munro, with the village system, which had been so strongly advocated by the Madras Board of Revenue. The settlement made was professedly the Ryotwari, and was so essentially; but the individual distribution was left with a good deal of latitude to the village officers. The new system did not at first essentially differ from that which had been followed under the Mahrattā Rule at the time of their renowned minister, Nana Farnavis, except that the Mamlatdars or district officers had less power in increasing or decreasing the revenue. The payments of the Ryots were fixed by the Company's servants with reference to their cultivation and the receipts of former times, and the levy of the State demand was more rigorous than before. In 1817 the

¹ Revenue Letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 23rd February 1822.

revenue of the newly acquired territory was £800,000, in 1818 it was raised to £1,150,000, and in a few more years to £1,500,000. The village officials were allowed less and less power of interference; the Company's servants liked to come in closer contact with each individual cultivator, and the Village Communities virtually disappeared in a few years in Bombay, as they had disappeared in Madras.

KHANDESH.

The district of Khandesh was under the administration of Captain Briggs, who distinguished himself in later years by his great work on the Land-Tax of India, and his translation of Ferishta's History of India, and who with Elphinstone and Malcolm, Grant Duff, Todd, and Horace Hayman Wilson, stands foremost among the Anglo-Indian writers and historians of the first half of the nineteenth century. He found in Khandesh "the dilapidated remains of more than one hundred substantially built dams for diverting the water into channels for irrigation, many of them constructed at prodigious expense," which attested "the liberal and enlightened policy of the early Mahomedan monarchs." But Khandesh in his time was desolated and impoverished. Frequent wars, the incursion of the Bheels, and the havoc caused by tigers, which in three months had destroyed 500 men, and 20,000 head of cattle, added to the miseries of the district. And Captain Briggs experienced "the difficulty of drawing the line between a moderate and a high assessment in the absence of all authentic records of the resources."

POONA.

The District of Poona was under the administration of Captain Robertson, and his answers to queries put

to him by the Commissioners throw a flood of light on the institutions and the condition of the cultivators of the Deccan. The Mirasi tenant in the Deccan was virtually a peasant proprietor, subject to the payment of a Land-Tax to the Government. "He is in no way inferior," wrote Captain Robertson, "in point of tenure on its original basis, as described in the quotation, to the holder of the most undisputed freehold estate in England. The ancestors of many of the present occupants of the lands of the Deccan were probably holders of land antecedent to the Musalman conquest of their country, on the condition of paying a *reddendum* equal to a sixth part of the produce of the land they held." "If I were to make any such distinction respecting the payment made by the Thalkaris [Mirasi tenants] of the Deccan, I should term it a tax and not a rent."¹ Modern administrators who speak of the cultivators' rights to the soil in Southern India, and the Zemindars' rights to the soil in Northern India, as the creation of British legislation, will find from the voluminous reports of early British administrators that private property in the soil, heritable and transferable, was stronger in India before the British conquest than under modern revenue settlements. The soil belonged to the nation and not to the State, and the State was never entitled to anything except a *Tax—a fixed Tax*—from the Mirasdar.

Captain Robertson's remarks on the common possession of villages by families of cultivators are equally instructive.

"Every original paper relating to Thalkaris [Mirasi tenants] and their occupation of land, every return I have obtained from the districts concerning them and the ancient distribution of land, proves beyond

¹ Paragraphs 19, 20, and 22 of Robertson's Report, dated 10th October 1821.

a shadow of doubt that at a former time the whole of the arable land of each village was apportioned out among a certain number of families. . . . Their descendants collectively are termed a Jutha; they are inferred to possess the whole of the original estate among them; they are responsible as a body corporate for the payment of whatever is due to Government and others for the whole estate. . . . One Jutha appears to have been selected, either by Government or the other Juthas, to perform, through the representation of its elder branch, the duty of collecting from all other Juthas, and to be responsible for the claims of Government on them all, thus collectively rendered under one head a body corporate, for the discharge of certain obligations and for the enjoyment of certain privileges. The members of the Jutha thus selected have the distinguishing appellation of Patils, and probably always had that or some other distinguishing name, and a person of the elder branch of it actually *in officio* as its head is styled Mukaddam. . . . He was and is still a Magistrate, by the will of the community as well as by the appointment of Government; he enforces the observance of what in England would be termed the bye-laws of the Corporation; he formerly raised by contribution a sum of money for the expenses of the Corporation as such, and for the support of his own dignity as its head; he suggested improvements for the benefit of the association, and marshalled the members to aid him in maintaining the public peace; he dispensed, and still dispenses, civil justice as a patriarch to those who choose to submit to his decision as referee or arbitrator; or he presides over the proceedings of others whom either he himself or the parties might nominate as arbitrators on their disputes.”¹

For the rest, Captain Robertson proved the heritable

¹ Paragraphs 26, 27, 30, and 32 of Robertson's Report.

360 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

and transferable nature of the Mirasi tenure by many documents, and added that "the Mirasi tenure may be said to have existed in all villages in this Collectorship. There are not many in which it does not now exist."¹ This was written in 1821, and gives us some idea of the status and rights of Bombay cultivators under Mahratta rule.

AHMADNAGAR.

Captain Pottinger administered the District of Ahmadnagar, and reported that "those Ryots who are Mirasdars can dispose of or mortgage their lands when they like." "The Mirasi tenure has existed in this part of India (in common, I believe, with all others) from time immemorial; and when I have asked about the period of its establishment, I have been told I might as well inquire when the soil was made. I observe that Mr. Ellis, in his numerous replies on Mirasi, states in a note, 'the fact is, that the thing (Mirasi) existed in India when the law-givers of the land wrote;' and his authority is, in my humble judgment, quite definitive."²

DHARWAR.

The District of Dharwar was under the administration of Mr. St. John Thackeray. He was an experienced revenue officer, mixed much with the cultivators, and gave some characteristic replies to the queries sent to him. "With respect to the personal exertions of revenue officers," he wrote, "in promoting agriculture, I have generally found them more inclined to bully than to encourage the Ryots; and their object is rather to display their zeal by showing an increase of cultivation on paper, than to augment the resources

¹ Robertson's Report, para. 132.

² Pottinger's Report, dated 31st July 1822, Answer to Query 37.

of the country. . . . The Ryot cultivates for his profit, and when this is adequate, he needs no spur.”¹

THE DECCAN.

Enclosing these and other District Reports, the Commissioner Chaplin submitted his own exhaustive Report on the revenue settlements of the Deccan. He referred to the previous settlement of Malik Ambar, which was as famous in the Deccan as the settlement of Todar Mall was in Northern India. Malik Ambar's settlement was in the nature of a fixed money demand for each village, and his policy was greatly to encourage the ancient Mirasi tenure, by which the arable land of the country “acquired most of the substantial qualities of private property.”

Passing on to the subject of the assessment of the soil under the newly established British Rule, Chaplin assumed that a cultivator of middling circumstances held ten acres of dry land and probably one-third acre of garden land, and had two ploughs and four bullocks, and made an income of £12 in the year. His expenditure is thus estimated :²

Land-Tax	£4	4	0
Proportionate annual cost of bullocks, assuming each pair to be serviceable for eight years	1	5	0
Cost of ploughs and occasionally hired labour	0	16	0
Seed for dry lands and garden	0	19	0
Fees of officers and village dues	0	12	0
Grain for the cultivator and his family's daily food	2	4	0
Clothes for cultivator and family	1	10	0
Sundry necessary expenses	0	12	0
	<hr/>		
	£12	2	0

¹ Mr. Thackeray's Report, para. 51
² Mr. Chaplin's Report, dated 20th August 1822, para. 105. There is an error in the totalling of the figures in the original report.

It will be seen that a State demand of £4, 4s. out of an estimated income of £12 is less than 45 or 50 per cent. of the gross produce which the Government originally demanded both in Madras and Bombay from the peasantry. But even this tax of £4, 4s. out of £12 left the cultivator no savings and no resources. It is quite clear that the Ryotwari system found favour with the Directors of the Company for this very reason, viz., that there were no intermediate landlords or Village Communities to intercept a part of the profits. The Company had as good a grip over the cultivators as a slave-owner has over his slaves, and could take away all that was not needed to keep them alive. "It cannot be concealed or denied, I think," said one Director, "that the object of this [Ryotwari] system is to obtain for Government the utmost that the land will yield in the shape of rent."¹

With regard to the Mirasi tenure, Chaplin wrote that it "is very general throughout the whole of that part of the conquered territory which extends from the Krishna to the range of Ghats that divide Gungterre from Khandesh." That "a Ryot, having once acquired the hereditary right of occupancy is, together with his heirs, entitled to hold it by sale, gift, or mortgage, and according to the usage of the Deccan, without previously obtaining the permission of the Government." That a Mirasdar "has a voice in all the village councils, has a right of pasture on the village commons, can build a house or dispose of it by sale." That in Poona the proportion of Mirasdars to Upris or tenants at will "may be about three to one." That to the north, beyond the Godavari, "the existence of the Miras right becomes less general, and Chaplin also thinks the dairy produce brought 14s. annually to the cultivator.

¹ Henry St. John Tucker: *Memorials of Indian Government* (London, 1853), p. 113.

the difference between it and the Upri tenure more faint and indistinct." That in the Southern Mahratta country, "Miras does not exist at all," but "permanent occupancy is, however, recognised." That "the privileges of Miras in Satara are the same as in other parts of the Deccan."¹

"The Collector [of Poona] is very properly an advocate," Chaplin wrote, "for preserving the rights of Mirasdars, a line of policy which he strenuously recommends in several places; but as nobody, I trust, has ever thought of invading their rights, the discussion of the question at any length would be superfluous."² Mr. Chaplin did not anticipate that later British administration would virtually confiscate the ancient Mirasi rights of the Deccan cultivators.

Chaplin's long report ended with an exhortation to English officials to observe forms of civil intercourse with the people of India.

"It ought to be recollected that since the change of Government has inevitably deprived them of so much consequence, it is the more incumbent on us to continue to them the forms of civil intercourse which are yet in our power; and that although we may be apt to consider them as far beneath us, yet that they held a respectable rank under their native prince, which, as we now occupy his place, we ought to preserve to them as far as lies in our power.

"Young men on their first arrival in India, and their first appointment to office, are so prone to form opinions entirely at variance with those which I have just expressed, and to act on notions so diametrically opposite, that I have deemed it proper to inculcate these principles to the assistants who have been appointed to the Deccan; and I lately circulated for their guidance the judicious instructions of Sir John

¹ Mr. Chaplin's Report, paragraphs 107, 114, 125, 131, 133, 135, 136.

² *Ibid.*, para. 143.

Malcolm on this subject. It would, I think, be attended with good effect if a code of this kind were given as a sort of manual for every one newly arrived from England. The motto of it might be in the words of Shakespeare :

‘O but man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence
Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
As make the angels weep.’¹

On receipt of this valuable and exhaustive report with its many enclosures, the Governor of Bombay, Mountstuart Elphinstone, directed a gradual survey and assessment of the whole of the conquered territories. He also insisted on the preservation of the Patil's authority in each village; recommended that the assessment should be light and equally distributed; and urged on the Commissioner the importance of preserving the rights of the cultivators under every species of tenure in use. The Court of Directors also expressed their satisfaction with the proposal of a general survey.²

The Commissioner of the Deccan submitted one set of survey rules in September 1824, and a modified set of rules in February 1825. Sir Thomas Munro had reduced the Land-Tax in Madras to about one-third of the field produce; and Chaplin adopted the same standard for the Deccan in paragraph 7 of his Circular issued with the revised Survey Rules. This severe State demand has been the ruin of agricultural prosperity in Southern India. In Madras the rule is still maintained as the maximum of the Government demand; in Bombay, while all endeavour to fix any specific share of the produce has been abandoned, the

¹ Mr. Chaplin's Report, paragraphs 392, 393.

² Revenue Letter from Bombay to the Directors, dated 5th November 1823; and Revenue Letter from the Directors to Bombay, dated 4th May 1825.

actual Land-Tax levied often approximates to or exceeds one-third of the field produce. Thus Henry St. John Tucker's shrewd remark, quoted above, as to the cause of the extension of the Ryotwari system, is justified by facts.

The proposal of a general survey still hung fire. Mountstuart Elphinstone endeavoured to keep the village system untouched in the Deccan. His idea, as stated before, was to combine the principle of the Ryotwari system with the principle of the village system. His object was to settle, after a Survey, what each cultivator should pay to the State, and then to realise this from each village through its Patil. "The Survey will fix the rights and the payment of each Ryot, after which the village may be farmed for a certain number of years to the Patil."¹

"It must be admitted there was an initial weakness in this proposal. If the village Patil and the village Council were to be deprived by the proposed Survey of all their power of distributing the collective village assessment among the cultivators forming the village, what was the good of keeping up the Patil and his Council at all? If the functions which they had discharged in past centuries of assessing the Ryots of the village in order to make up the collective State demand was to be taken away from them, where was the necessity of maintaining them only as farmers of revenue?"

The question had been fought out in Madras on first principles. The Madras Board of Revenue were out and out "Collectivists," and desired to maintain the village institutions and their authority unimpaired. Thomas Munro was an out and out "Individualist," and insisted on direct relations between the State and each individual cultivator, without any interference from the village authorities so far as the Land-Tax

¹ Revenue Letter from Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 5th November 1823, para. 452.

was concerned. Thomas Munro had his way, and the Village Communities of Madras at once lost their vitality, in spite of Munro's own endeavours to keep them up by bestowing upon them other powers.

These experiments and results carried their own lesson. Village Communities could only be maintained in India, as they had been maintained for centuries, by leaving the work of internal assessment to the Village Councils and Panchyets. A few rules might have been framed against excessive assessment in view of the produce of lands, and subject to these rules the village elders might have been permitted to continue their work of separate assessments and realisations, and their collective payment to the State. Such an arrangement would have had the obvious advantage of a continuity of the ancient system of India, as well as of leaving an organised popular body in every Indian village. But such an arrangement was against the very spirit of the Company's rule. The Company's policy was to deal individually with every taxpayer in the land, and to levy as much tax as he could pay. Elphinstone himself was so far carried away by this spirit as to approve of a Survey which would fix the liability of each individual cultivator. And after this, when he still desired to deal with villages collectively through the headman, his plan was open to the obvious criticism that the headman's occupation was gone!

Elphinstone left India in 1827, and in the same year the Court of Directors found out the weak point in Elphinstone's plan, and took advantage of it.

"If the survey should really fix the rights and payments of each Ryot, and if the Ryot has immediate access to redress on account of any infringement of his rights, the Patil may be usefully employed in the manner adverted to in a preceding paragraph of this despatch. The experience which you have had of

the evils produced by the system of revenue-farming during the administration of the late Peshwa ought to make you extremely cautious in confiding powers to individuals which their previous habits and practice must render them liable to abuse. Nor can we place any confidence in the security which a moderate assessment, payable by the village contractor to Government, would afford against exaction.”¹

This was the beginning of the end of the Village System.

¹ Revenue Letter from the Court of Directors to Bombay, dated 23rd May 1827, para. 87.

CHAPTER XXI

WINGATE AND THE RYOTWARI SETTLEMENT IN BOMBAY (1827-1835)

We have brought our narration to the year of the departure of Mountstuart Elphinstone from India. The land assessment in every Province of India was felt at that time to be excessive, not only by the people, but also by the Company's servants and revenue officers. In Madras, the revenue officers had told Dr. Francis Buchanan, as we have seen in Chapter XII., that the heavy Land-Tax impeded agriculture and the prosperity of the people, and Sir Thomas Munro gradually reduced the rate from one-half to one-third the gross produce, which last was still an excessive tax. In Northern India, Sir Edward Colebrooke and successive Governor-Generals had implored the Court of Directors, in vain, to redeem the pledge given by the British Government, and to permanently settle the Land-Tax, so as to make it possible for the people to accumulate wealth and improve their own condition. And in Bombay, Elphinstone had viewed with concern the rapid growth of revenue in several Districts, and Chaplin's decision to fix it at one-third the gross produce was calculated to give little relief. Throughout the continent of India, except where the Land-Tax had been permanently fixed, the people groaned under the assessments of the new rulers of the country. The Directors were deaf to representations, and the servants of the Company, who felt the injustice done to the people,

expressed their opinions with bated breath, and were powerless to afford relief.

One of the most distinguished Englishmen then in India was Bishop Heber. He made a tour through India in 1824, 1825, and 1826, and during this extensive tour he inquired with great care into the condition of the people in the different provinces through which he travelled. What created the saddest impression on him was the poverty of the people, and the heavy Land-Tax which was levied by the East India Company in their dominions. He did not mention this explicitly in his Journal, which was recorded with an eye to publication; but in his private letters he opened his mind and stated his opinions more freely. His letter to the Right Honourable Charles Williams Wynn, dated Karnatic, March 1826, will serve as an example.

“Neither Native nor European agriculturist, I think can thrive at the present rate of taxation. Half the gross produce of the soil is demanded by Government, and this, which is nearly the average rate wherever there is not a Permanent Settlement, is sadly too much to leave an adequate provision for the present, even with the usual frugal habits of the Indians, and the very inartificial and cheap manner in which they cultivate the land. Still more is it an effective bar to anything like improvement; it keeps the people, even in favourable years, in a state of abject penury; and when the crop fails in even a slight degree, it involves a necessity on the part of the Government of enormous outlays in the way of remission and distribution, which, after all, do not prevent men, women, and children dying in the streets in droves, and the roads being strewed with carcasses. In Bengal, where, independent of its exuberant fertility, there is a Permanent Assessment, famine is unknown. In Hindustan [Northern India], on the other hand, I found a general

feeling among the King's officers, and I myself was led from some circumstances to agree with them, that *the peasantry in the Company's Provinces are, on the whole, worse off, poorer, and more dispirited, than the subjects of the Native Princes*; and here in Madras, where the soil is, generally speaking, poor, the difference is said to be still more marked. The fact is, no Native Prince demands the rent which we do, and making every allowance for the superior regularity of our system, &c., *I met with very few men who will not, in confidence, own their belief that the people are overtaxed, and that the country is in a gradual state of impoverishment.* The Collectors do not like to make this avowal officially. Indeed, now and then, a very able Collector succeeds in lowering the rate to the people, while by diligence he increases it to the State. But, in general, all gloomy pictures are avoided by them as reflecting on themselves, and drawing on them censure from the Secretaries at Madras or Calcutta, while these, in their turn, plead the earnestness with which the Directors at home press for more money.

"I am convinced that it is only necessary to draw less money from the peasants, and to spend more of what is drawn within the country, to open some door to Indian industry in Europe, and to admit the natives to some greater share in the magistracy of their own people, to make the Empire as durable as it would be happy."¹

It will appear from the above account, that while there were few officials in India who did not know the

¹ Bishop Heber's *Memoirs and Correspondence*, by his Widow, London, 1830, vol. ii. p. 413. The italics are our own. There has been some reduction in the Land-Tax in Bombay and Madras since Bishop Heber's time; but it is still excessive, and, what is worse, uncertain; and it still "keeps the people, even in favourable years, in a state of abject penury." "To draw less money from the peasants, and to spend more of what is drawn within the country," are the remedies against poverty and famines in India, more needed to-day than they were seventy-five years ago.

people to be overtaxed, they were unwilling to make the avowal openly. It is, however, to the honour of the Service that, when questioned on the subject openly in England, some of them stated their opinions in the most emphatic manner. Robert Richards was one of them; and some of his replies given to the Committee of the House of Commons deserve to be quoted.

“Where the revenue is collected, as it is in India, on the principle of the Government being entitled to one half of the gross produce of the soil, and vast numbers of officers, whose acts it is impossible to control, are also employed in the realisation of this revenue, it is a moral impossibility for any people whatever to live or prosper so as to admit of a very extensive commercial intercourse being carried on with them. . . .

“It may be done [*i.e.* manufacture of articles for foreign exportation] in lands not subject to the aforementioned exorbitant tax. It may also be the case in Bengal, where the Permanent Settlement has been enforced for many years, and where its original ruinous pressure is no longer so severely felt; but it would be quite impossible in lands, for example, subject to the Ryotwari Tax, or from lands where from 45 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the gross produce is actually levied as revenue. . . .

“I am personally acquainted with instances where the revenue assessed upon certain lands has actually exceeded the gross produce. I have also known other lands in India where a revenue has been assessed as being specifically derivable from rice lands, plantations of fruit trees, pepper, vines, and other articles, and each portion particularly described; but on comparing the assessment with the lands in question, those very lands have been found to have been nothing but jungle within the memory of man.”¹

The general feeling of the officers engaged in land

¹ Answers to Queries 2825, 2828, and 2829.

assessments in India at last found expression in a great and memorable work. To Lieutenant-Colonel Briggs belongs the credit of expounding for the first time the true nature of the Land-Tax in India, after an exhaustive inquiry into the laws and usages of ancient and modern times. The East India Company had so far regarded India as their estate, and had sought to derive from it the utmost possible land revenue, in disregard of ancient rights and customs. Against this practice John Briggs took his stand. In his great and epoch-making work on the subject,¹ he explained to Englishmen of his time, and of all succeeding time, that land in India had never been the property of the State; that the soil was private property in India, as among all other civilised nations; and that the State was only entitled to impose a tax on this form of private property, as on other private properties.

It is not possible, within our limits, to give an analysis of this great work of nearly five hundred pages; but it is necessary to place before the reader a few of the conclusions arrived at, which have their value at the present time as they had seventy years ago. John Briggs pointed out that among ancient nations—the Greeks, the Romans, the Persians, and the Chinese—the right of the State consisted in levying a tax of one-tenth of the produce. Among the ancient Hindus the right of the King or the State was to levy of grain one-eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth, according to the difference of the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it.”² And Briggs showed, after an exhaustive inquiry into the practice of succeeding ages,—

“That the occupant of the land alone was its sole proprietor; that the demand on him for contributing to the support of the State was a sort of income-tax, viz., a limited portion of the produce of his estate; and

¹ *The Present Land-Tax in India*, by John Briggs, London, 1830.

² Quoted from Manu's *Institutes*, in p. 31 of Briggs' work.

that this portion was fixed in time of peace, but liable to increase in time of war; and that, under all circumstances, it left a certain surplus profit to the owner, equivalent to a rent. Moreover, I hope I have established that the Sovereign never claimed to be the proprietor of the soil, but of the Land-Tax.”¹

The disregard of this cardinal principle by the East India Company, and their endeavours to sweep away the entire profits from the land, leaving to cultivators barely enough to support their lives, were regarded by John Briggas as the main causes of the poverty of India under British rule.

“The flourishing condition of the country under the Moghal Emperors is recorded by all European travellers who have visited the East within the last three centuries; and the wealth, the population, and the national prosperity of India, far surpassing what they had seen in Europe, filled them with astonishment. That the condition of the people and the country under our Government presents no such spectacle, is every day proclaimed by ourselves, and we may therefore assume it to be true. . . .

“If I have proved that we have departed from the practice of our predecessors, that we have established a system far exceeding theirs in rigour, even in the worst of their regular governments, then indeed there is some reason to call for a reform, and to hope at least for investigation. . . .

“I conscientiously believe that under no Government whatever, Hindu or Mahomedan, professing to be actuated by law, was any system so subversive of the prosperity of the people at large as that which has marked our administration. . . .

“Although we have everywhere confessed that the heavy pressure of taxation was the most cruel injury they sustained, we have in no instance alleviated that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

pressure.' So far from it, we have applied a false measure for fixing the impost, that of money instead of produce; we have pretended to abolish minor taxes on other classes, but have laid the amount on the landholder; and by minute scrutiny into every individual's concerns, have, under the plea of justice to ourselves, in many instances deprived the cultivators of the means they enjoyed of paying the heavy taxes from which they sought relief under us, till by rigid exactions we have increased our own revenue and reduced the people to the condition of mere labourers. This is the professed maxim of our rule, the certain and inevitable result of taking the whole surplus profit of land. . . .

"Having assumed that the Government is the sole landlord, it [the present Government] considers the land to be the most profitable source of all revenue; it employs a host of public servants to superintend the cultivator; and it professes to take all the profit. A Land-Tax like that which now exists in India, professing to absorb the whole of the landlord's rent, was never known under any Government in Europe or Asia."¹

A great and thoughtful work like this would have created a revolution in any other country in the world. In India it did not produce the slightest change in the procedure of the Bombay revenue officials. The Survey Settlements, recommended by Elphinstons, had already been commenced by Pringle of the Bombay Civil Service in 1824-28; and the Settlements were conducted on untrue and exaggerated estimates of the produce of the soil, and therefore led to disastrous results.

"His [Pringle's] assessment was based on a measurement of fields, and an estimate of the yield of various

¹ *The Present Land Tax in India*, by John Briggs, pp. 393, 410, 414, 416.

soils, as well as of the cost of cultivation; the principle adopted being to fix the Government demand at 55 per cent. of the net produce. . . . The preliminary work of measurement was grossly faulty, and the estimates of produce which formed such an important element in the determination of the assessment, and which had been prepared in the most elaborate manner, were so erroneous as to be worse than useless. But meanwhile the Settlement had been introduced, and with the result of aggravating the evils it had been designed to remove. From the outset it was found impossible to collect anything approaching to the full revenue. In some districts not one half could be realised. Things now went rapidly from bad to worse. Every year brought its addition to the accumulated arrears of revenue, and the necessity for remission or modification of rates. . . . Every effort, lawful and unlawful, was made to get the utmost out of the wretched peasantry, who were subjected to torture, in some instances, cruel and revolting beyond all description, if they would not or could not yield what was demanded. Numbers abandoned their homes, and fled into the neighbouring Native States. Large tracts of land were thrown out of cultivation, and in some Districts no more than a third of the cultivable area remained in occupation.”¹

The system was eventually abandoned. A re-survey was commenced in 1835 by Goldsmid of the Bombay Civil Service and Lieutenant Wingate, afterwards Sir George Wingate.

“Abandoning all attempts to arrive at a theoretical ideal of assessment by endeavouring to discover the yield of soils and assigning a certain proportion of them as the Government demand, the Survey officers adopted the simple expedient of ascertaining the average character and depth of soil in each field, and classing it accordingly; no more than nine gradations

¹ Bombay Administration Report of 1872-73, p. 41.

of valuation being employed for the purpose. In fixing the rates of assessment they were guided by purely practical considerations as to the capability of the land and the general circumstances of the District."¹

In spite of the official approval of this latter system, the reader will perceive that the new method was wrong in principle. The principle of fixing the assessment on the basis of the average produce of the fields was the ancient and correct principle; though Pringle failed because he worked it badly. The new method of fixing the assessment by "ascertaining the average character and depth of soil" was absurd on the face of it; though Wingate succeeded because he worked it with that moderation and leniency which was a part of his nature. A geological examination of the soil is not a safe basis for an estimate of its produce; and the continuous increase in the land revenue in later settlements, made on this unreliable basis, has led to impoverishment and widespread distress in the Province.

The Survey, which commenced in 1835, is the commencement of the present land revenue system of Bombay; and the first Regular Settlement in that Province was commenced in the following year, on the eve of the accession of Queen Victoria. It is necessary to examine this Settlement somewhat minutely, because it is virtually the system which is followed in Bombay down to the present time.

The Settlement operations were carried on for many years, and were gradually extended to the whole of the Province. As experience widened, it was thought necessary to gather up the results and to formulate rules for future guidance. This was done in 1847 by what is known as the JOINT REPORT, signed by H. E. Goldsmid, Captain Wingate, and Captain Davidson.²

¹ Bombay Administration Report of 1872-73, p. 42.

² Joint Report, dated 2nd August 1847.

RYOTWARI SETTLEMENT IN BOMBAY 377

The principles of the Settlement, as explained in the Joint Report, were, *Firstly*, that it was based on the assessment of each field separately, and not of holdings or villages collectively; *Secondly*, that it granted long leases for thirty years instead of the short leases which had preceded; and *Thirdly*, that it abandoned the basis of produce-estimates, and substituted the estimated value of lands as the basis of assessment. A few extracts from the Joint Report will make this clear.

“The cultivator's title to the occupation of the fields is indestructible while he continues to discharge the assessment laid upon them, though his engagement for each be annually renewed; and by placing the assessment upon each field, instead of on his whole holding, he is enabled, when circumstances make the course desirable, to relinquish any of the former or take up others which may be unoccupied, so as to accommodate the extent of his liabilities to his means to meet them. The fixed field assessment for the term of thirty years, introduced by our surveys, thus secures to the cultivator the full advantages of a thirty years' lease without burdening him with any condition beyond that of discharging the assessment for the single year to which his engagement extends.”

“We have retained the practice of referring every variety of soil to one of nine classes which experience has proved to afford a sufficiently minute classification for all practical purposes. But in preference to trusting entirely to the judgment of the Classer for determining to what class any particular soil should be referred, we have formed a set of rules for the purpose of determining the soils which should fall into any class. The fertility of a soil in this country, or at least in all parts of it to which our operations have yet extended, being chiefly dependent on its power of imbibing and retaining moisture, and as this quality is

378 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

mainly affected by depth, we have chosen the latter peculiarity as the principal regulating influence in the formation of our estimates."

"If all soils of the same depth were of uniform fertility the depth alone would suffice to determine their class, but this is not the case. . . . We deem it sufficient for the purpose of valuation to range them [the soils of different degrees of fertility] under three orders, which again are distributed among the nine classes of our scale on a consideration of their depth, as will be readily understood from the following table :

Class.	Relative value of class in annas or 16ths of a rupee.	Soils of the		
		First Order. Of a fine uniform texture, varying in colour from deep black to dark brown.	Second Order Of uniform but coarser texture than the preceding and lighter also in colour, which is generally red.	Third Order Of coarse gravelly or loose friable texture, and colour varying from light brown to grey
		Depth in cubits (1 cubit = 1½ ft.)	Depth in cubits (1 cubit = 1½ ft.)	Depth in cubits (1 cubit = 1½ ft.)
1	16	1½	...	.
2	14	1½	1½	...
3	12	1½	1½	..
4	10	1	1½	..
5	8	¾	1	...
6	6	½	¾	1
7	4½	½	½	¾
8	3	...	½	½
9	2	..	...	½

"The first column of this table contains the nine classes of our scale; the second, the relative values of these, estimating the highest at sixteen annas or one rupee, which is the mode of valuation most familiar to natives."

“Detailed figured statements should be furnished, exhibiting the source and amount of every item of revenue hitherto derived from land of every description.”

• “The information thus collected and exhibited with that obtained by local inquiries into the past history of the District will generally enable us to trace the causes which have affected its past condition; and a knowledge of these, aided by a comparison, of the capabilities of the District with those of others in its neighbourhood, will lead to a satisfactory conclusion regarding the assessment to be imposed.”

“But instead of a particular sum at which a District should be assessed, it amounts to the same thing, and is more convenient to determine the rates to be imposed on the several descriptions of soil and culture contained within its limits, so as to produce the amount in question. And to do this it is only requisite to fix the maximum rates for the different descriptions of cultivation, when of course all the inferior rates will be at once deducible from the relative values of our classification scales.”¹

The above extracts give us the substance of the famous Joint Report, the basis of the Bombay Land Revenue system. It recognised the transferable and heritable right of the cultivator to his field, but it finally swept away the equally ancient right to a fixed Land-Tax which the Mirasi cultivator had enjoyed under the Mahratta rule. It made an elaborate scale for the distribution of the District revenue demand among a million of fields contained in the District, but it prescribed no limit to that demand. It substituted for the equitable basis of the field produce an impracticable geological basis for the purposes of assessment. And it let loose swarms of Classers, on a pay of ten or twelve shillings a month, to determine the depth and nature of the soil in each field in order to fix its

¹ Joint Report, paras. 9, 41, 42, 43, 75, 76, and 77.

relative value! The total District demand was to be distributed among the fields according to their relative values thus determined, but the District demand itself was to be vaguely determined from "the past history of the District" and the past condition of the people. Thus on the one point on which the people looked up to the Government for some assurance after thirty years of British rule in the Province, they received none; the East India Company and their servants would prescribe no limits to their own demand; they retained the power to shape the demand, to vary it, to increase it, at each recurring settlement, according to the condition of the people. No system could be devised by human ingenuity better calculated to keep an agricultural nation permanently poor and resourceless than the system which left to the revenue officials the absolute and unrestricted power to increase the revenue demand at each recurring settlement. The cultivator had no voice in the settlement of the Land-Tax; he was not consulted in fixing that tax; he was called upon, after the demand was settled, to pay it or to quit his ancestral land and starve.

That we are not exaggerating the evils of the new system will appear from the testimony of those who took a part in the making of the Settlement. The Company's charter came up for renewal in 1853, and, as usual, there was a Parliamentary inquiry into all branches of the Company's Indian administration before the charter was renewed. Select Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons recorded evidence in 1852 and framed their Reports. They recorded further evidence in 1853, and the Lords submitted three Reports and the Commons six. From this voluminous mass of evidence we will select that of a young officer, Goldfinch, who had himself done Settlement work in Bombay, and described it on the 20th June 1853.

"6714. After the survey was finished, when you found a field, say No. 11, of five Bighas [about two acres] of land, in the possession of some particular person, did the Collector assess the revenue upon it arbitrarily, or did he ask the occupant or proprietor whether he was willing to pay the amount ?

"The assessment was fixed by the Superintendent of Survey, without any reference to the cultivator; and when those new rates were introduced, the holder of each field was summoned to the Collector and informed of the rate at which his land would be assessed in future; and if he chose to retain it on those terms, he did; if he did not choose, he threw it up."

"6720. Does the assessment bear the same proportion to the nett produce of all the villages in that District, or does it vary ?

"I cannot answer that question; I can only give a guess as to what proportion the assessment bears to the nett produce of the land."

"6722. Is there one officer superintending the survey for the whole District ?

"Yes.

"6723. Therefore the principle of assessment is uniform throughout the Presidency ?

"Certainly.

"6724. What service does the Superintendent of Survey belong to ?

"He belongs to the Engineers—Captain Wingate."¹

To Goldfinch it appeared that to fix the Land-Tax "without any reference to the cultivator," and then to ask him to accept the assessment or to throw up his land, was a fair and equitable procedure. It did not strike him that the land belonged to the cultivator,

¹ Fourth Report from the Commons' Select Committee, 1853, p. 141.

and had been held by his ancestors at a fixed Land-Tax; and that the option of throwing up the land meant a confiscation of his hereditary property, and probably starvation and death to the resourceless peasant.

It is fair to Captain Wingate to state that he worked this bad system with moderation and leniency. And it is fair to the East India Company to state that they saw the iniquity of the system, and endeavoured to prescribe some general limits to the assessment. Three years after the renewal of the charter they recorded their famous Despatch of the 17th December 1856, in which they laid down that the "right of the Government is not a *rent* which consists of all the surplus produce after paying the cost of cultivation and the profits of agricultural stocks, but a *land revenue* only." And after the abolition of the East India Company, Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax), then Secretary of State for India, recorded in his equally famous Despatch of 1864 that he desired only to take a share, and only a *half share of the rent* as Land-Tax.

But these were pious wishes which could not be carried into effect when, under the Bombay system, the produce of the field and its economic rent were never ascertained, and the Land-Tax in each District was fixed by an examination into what the people had paid in the past, and what they could pay in the future. Under such a system, where the cultivators were not consulted, and could appeal to no Land Courts, the revenue demand was increased at each recurring Settlement, and the peasantry remained resourceless and poor.

Lord Canning, who was Viceroy of India from 1858 to 1862, proposed to permanently settle the land revenue of Bombay as of other Provinces of India; but the proposal was rejected by the India

Office in London in 1883. The Marquis of Ripon, who was Viceroy of India from 1880 to 1884, proposed that the increase of land revenue should be limited to the reasonable ground of an increase in prices; but that proposal too was rejected by the India Office in 1885.

All equitable and intelligible limits to the Land-Tax, proposed from time to time, have thus been ignored or rejected; and the present system is as well calculated to keep the Bombay cultivator permanently resourceless as any system that the wit of man could devise. The cultivator has accordingly sunk more and more under the thralldom of the money-lender; and the nineteenth century closed in Bombay with the worst and most widespread famine that has afflicted India. Moderate and thoughtful men looked forward to some remedial measures—some rules to enforce Lord Halifax's desire to limit the Land-Tax to one-half of the economic rent—some laws to enforce Lord Ripon's prohibition of enhancements except on the equitable ground of a rise in prices. No such remedial measure has been passed; on the contrary, in the present year (1901) Lord Curzon has given his sanction to a new law, empowering the Bombay Government to withdraw from the land of a defaulting tenant those rights of inheritance and transfer which were recognised by the old Marhatta rule, and which were attached to the land by the British Government since the days of Elphinstone and Wingate.

The Bombay cultivator asked for relief in the shape of some clear and intelligible limits to the Land-Tax, like those proposed by Lord Halifax and Lord Ripon; but Lord Curzon has sought to relieve him by taking away from the marketable value of the only property he had on earth.

CHAPTER XXII

BIRD, AND THE NEW SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN INDIA (1822-1835)

THE Settlement of Northern India, commenced in 1822, and described in Chapter XI. of this work, was a failure. Inquiries needed for the preparation of a Record of Rights made no progress. Minute investigations relating to the produce of fields proved vexatious and futile. The Government demand of over 80 per cent. of the rent was severe and impracticable. The system broke down through its own harshness. A reform was needed, and a true reformer appeared on the scene.

Lord William Bentinck had come to India as Governor-General in 1828, and the East India Company never sent out a truer friend of the people. He made a tour in Northern India, and he described what he saw in a letter to the Court of Directors. .

“ 2. Your Honourable Court is already aware that my visit to the Western Provinces was in a great measure prompted by my anxiety to satisfy myself by personal observation of the progress which was making in the work of Settlements under the operation of the provisions of Regulation VII. of 1822, and to ascertain whether it might not be practicable to expedite the progress, or to adopt other measures equally adapted to secure the objects contemplated by your Honourable Court to promote the prosperity of the country.”

“ 4. Among the officers whom I consulted, I found

no deficiency of zeal, and no want of intelligence, but it is nevertheless my duty to assure your Honourable Court that, to whatever cause the failure may be attributable, little or nothing has been effected towards a Settlement of these Provinces.

"8. It is with sincere gratification that I perused the remarks contained in the 58th paragraph of your Honourable Court's despatch dated the 9th February last, which evince your sense of the necessity of long leases, and which detail your views, so nearly corresponding with my own, as to the mode by which the process of settlement may be expedited, and the rights of the subordinate tenantry protected."¹

In a letter addressed to the Board of Revenue in the same year, Lord William Bentinck pointed out the main causes of the failure of the scheme of 1822. He condemned the exorbitant Government demand of over 80 per cent. of the rental, and he had the courage to suggest that this should be reduced.

The Regulation prescribes, he wrote, "that where an increase may be demanded, the assessment shall be so regulated as to leave the Zemindars and others a nett profit of 20 per cent. on the amount of the Jumma [Government demand] payable by or through them respectively, while his Lordship understands it to be a prevalent notion among revenue officers whose opinions are entitled to respect, that the allowance in favour of the Zemindars should in no instance fall short of 30 or 35 per cent. of the Government Jumma; and after all may not this be considered as the capital by which improvement is to be accomplished?"

"This however is exclusive of charges of collection, and is calculated upon the nett rental. The deductions to be made in favour of the Zemindar or other

¹ Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated 15th September 1831.

proprietor' from the gross rental on every account is that which his Lordship is desirous of having fixed; and whatever may be the proper rate, his Lordship desires me to suggest for your consideration whether it would not be more practicable to consolidate the whole of the deducted allowances to be made in favour of Zemindars from the gross rental, and to fix it so that it shall operate uniformly and universally, instead of being assigned, as appears to have been hitherto the custom, at the discretion of individual officers." ¹

It will appear from these extracts that as early as 1831 Lord William Bentinck had grasped the cardinal principles of the New Settlement which was to follow, viz., *long leases*, which would give landlords and tenants a motive for improvement, and a *moderate Government demand*, which would leave with them some portion of the profits from the soil.

Another matter which also received the attention of the Governor-General was the preservation of the Village Communities of Northern India. This was forcibly laid down by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then a member of the Governor-General's Council, and afterwards Acting Governor-General of India, in his famous Minute of 1830, which has often been quoted.

"The Village Communities are little Republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindu, Pathan, Moghal, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are masters in turn; but the Village Communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves; a hostile army passes

¹ Letter to the Board of Revenue, dated 7th April 1831, paragraphs 106 and 107.

through the country; the Village Community collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance, but when the storm has passed over they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the villages cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers, the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands, will be re-occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success.

"The union of the Village Communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence. I wish, therefore, that the Village Constitutions may never be disturbed, and I dread everything that has a tendency to break them up. I am fearful that a Revenue Settlement with each individual cultivator, as is the practice in the Ryotwari Settlement, instead of one with the Village Community through their representatives, the headmen, might have such a tendency. For this reason, and for this only, I do not desire to

see the Ryotwari Settlement generally introduced into the Western Provinces,"¹

Sir Charles Metcalfe was correct in ascribing the disappearance of Village Communities in Madras and in Bombay to the introduction of the Ryotwari Settlement. When a settlement is made with each individual cultivator, the *raison d'être* of Village Communities ceases. The endeavours of Munro and Elphinstone to keep the Communities alive, after depriving them of their chief function, failed. In Northern India too, the Village Communities have virtually disappeared within the last seventy years through similar causes. The British Government, in obedience to Western ideas, endeavoured to fix the responsibility of the Land-Tax on particular men—zemindars or headmen—until they became the responsible revenue payers and landlords, and the Communities declined. And in trying also to centralise all judicial and executive powers in the hands of its own officers in the spirit of Western institutions, the Government withdrew or weakened the ancient powers of the Communities, until they fell like trees whose roots had been severed. With the most sincere desire to preserve this ancient form of self-government—a desire earnestly and eloquently felt and expressed by Munro, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe—they nevertheless failed in their object because they withdrew the powers of Self-Government from the little republics, because they centred all powers in their own civil courts and executive officers, because they reposed no real trust in the old institutions of the people. One of the saddest results of British rule in India is the effacement of that system of village Self-Government which was developed earliest and preserved longest in India among all the countries of the earth.

¹ Sir Charles T. Metcalfe's Minute, dated 7th November 1832.

Lord William Bentinck had now completed his scheme in consultation with his Councillors, his Board of Revenue, and the Court of Directors; and he convened a conference of officers at Allahabad in 1833, over which he presided in person. The result was the passing of Regulation IX. of 1833, which is the true basis of Land Settlements in Northern India. By this Regulation the majority of judicial cases were transferred from the Courts of Settlement Officers, estimates of produce and of rents were simplified, and the system of average rents for different classes of soil was introduced. The general use of the field map and the field register was prescribed for the first time. The Government demand was reduced to two-thirds of the gross rental; and the settlements which took sixteen years to complete, from 1833 to 1849, were made for a period of thirty years.

The direction of this vast operation fell on a man who was worthy of the work. This man was Robert Merttins Bird, the Father of Land Settlements in Northern India. He was originally a judicial officer, and the training he had received in the discharge of his judicial work rendered him better qualified as a great revenue administrator.

"The greater part of the measures," he wrote in 1842, "which have now been carried through, had been many years before planned and elaborated by me, as measures of a purely judicial character, when I was holding a judicial office, and had no prospect of ever being employed in the Revenue Department. . . .

"A judicial officer has no official facilities for bringing plans of general usefulness into practical operation. I embraced therefore with avidity the offer of the appointment of Revenue Commissioner to conduct the settlements of the Goruckpur Division, as affording the ready means of carrying out my purposes

and testing both the soundness and the practicability of my views by actual experiment. . . .

"I saw no reason to doubt the assessment of a fair and moderate revenue on the land might be so combined with the ascertainment of private rights and the cultivation of the Village Communities, that such records might be framed, such principles fixed, and such sanatory processes put in action, as would correct the evils which had eaten like a canker into the very vitals of landed property and agricultural prosperity.

"On these principles I commenced operations at Goruckpur. The late Lord William Bentinck, having visited that district in the following year, communicated fully with me on my plans, and by his command I maintained a constant correspondence with him on the subject; the result was his calling me in the year 1832 to the office in which the superintendence of the settlements of the North-Western Provinces had devolved principally on me. . . .

"On the whole, there is, I think, just reason to consider that a moderate, fair, and equal demand on the land, such as can and ought to be collected without interfering with the accumulation of property, and the march of agricultural prosperity, has, generally speaking been fixed."¹

It is not necessary in the present work to go through the history of the settlements in the different divisions and districts in Northern India; but the results of the assessments may be seen from the following figures taken from a statement appended to Bird's Report.²

¹ T. M. Bird's Report on the Settlement of the North-Western Provinces, dated 21st January 1842.

² The statement excludes tracts permanently settled. One mistake in calculation about Hariana District has been corrected. Fractions of acres and pies have been omitted.

BIRD AND THE NEW SETTLEMENT 391

Name of Division and District.	Total Area in Acres	Cultivated Area in Acres	Rate of Government Revenue per Acre of the Land in Cultivation		
			Rupees.	Annas	Pies
<i>Delhi Division—</i>					
District Hariana . . .	1,657,975	696,147	0	14	4
„ Delhi . . .	364,534	174,605	2	1	3
„ Rohtuck . . .	844,666	474,465	1	5	2
„ Gurgaon . . .	1,160,437	647,353	1	9	0
<i>Meerut Division—</i>					
District Saharanpur . . .	1,018,705	606,847	1	10	6
„ Muzaffarnagar . . .	691,706	392,377	1	11	2
„ Meerut . . .	1,776,430	1,034,016	2	1	9
„ Bulandshahar . . .	1,025,096	592,630	1	9	8
„ Alghar . . .	1,119,238	900,562	1	4	0
<i>Rohilkhand Division—</i>					
District Bijnaur . . .	1,027,533	459,409	2	2	10
„ Moradabad . . .	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated.		
„ Budaon . . .	1,450,418	752,103	1	7	6
„ Pilibhet . . .	Not stated	Not stated	2	0	1
„ Bareilly . . .	1,116,174	639,579	1	15	7
„ Shahjehanpur . . .	1,309,211	651,549	1	9	0
<i>Agra Division—</i>					
District Muttra . . .	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated.		
„ Agra . . .	935,815	646,818	2	2	5
„ Farrakabad . . .	1,247,288	614,253	2	6	0
„ Mynpur . . .	1,280,927	613,422	2	4	0
„ Etawa . . .	1,071,756	477,901	2	11	10
<i>Allahabad Division—</i>					
District Cawnpur . . .	1,497,795	782,276	2	1	3
„ Fatehpur . . .	990,584	506,905	2	12	9
„ Allahabad . . .	1,790,244	997,508	2	2	6
<i>Benares Division—</i>					
District Goruckpur . . .	4,115,212	1,927,234	1	1	3
„ Azimgarh . . .	1,652,293	773,616	1	15	4

These were the general results of Robert Bird's work up to the date of his leaving India. Ten years after, when he was examined as a witness before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, he explained clearly and lucidly the procedure he had followed in India.

"I first of all proceeded to make a survey of all the land. . . . The next process was to make a map,

including every field, exactly in the same manner as the English tithe commutation maps. . . . Then the next thing was the professional survey of the boundary made by an educated officer, that shows the cultivated and the uncultivated land, and the real shape of the village as taken by a regular survey. . . . We then proceeded to investigate the assessment of the Government Land-Tax upon that tract. . . . As soon as that was ascertained, we fixed the amount of the Government tax we should require upon the whole of that tract, and then we proceeded to set down the amount that we should require upon each village. . . . The people then came forward and met the Collector. They generally met, as is our way of doing business in India, under the shade of a tree or in an open field. . . . In many instances objections were made: they said, 'This is too high; my village will not pay this; it is a poor village.' They were then told that we intended to have that amount of revenue from the whole tract, and that, therefore, if there was any objection regarding that village, they must point out who could pay more; and this set them to discuss the matter among themselves. . . . The assessment upon the whole tract was not strictly maintained; it was not our object to do so; we were ready to reduce it if we found cause to do so; but the object of demanding this first in a lump was to induce them to look into their own concerns, and to come to such an adjustment as they should find to be satisfactory."

This procedure, as described by Robert Bird himself, was by no means perfect: but it was far better than that of Bombay, where, according to Goldfinch, each cultivator was called upon to take his field on the revenue fixed by Government, or to throw it up.

Asked what was the proportion of the Government revenue assessed by him on the produce of the soil, Robert Bird replied: "My general impression is that

it was not above a tenth of the produce." And he added that "in Madras and other places it is a matter notorious now that the error is that *the revenue was fixed too high at the beginning, and impoverishes the people.*"¹

We have brought down the story of Land Settlements to a date beyond the limit prescribed for this volume; but it is necessary to add a few words to complete the history of Northern India.

When Robert Merttins Bird left India, the work he had commenced, and almost completed, passed under the control and supervision of a worthy successor. James Thomason was the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces from 1843 to 1853, and a more kind-hearted and benevolent Englishman never went out to India. His "Directions for Settlement Officers," drawn up in 1844, was the first complete Code of Land Settlement compiled in India. These, with the "Directions for Collectors," were published five years after under the name of "Directions for Revenue Officers," and continued for many years to be the standard of official reference. The underlying principles of the Land System of Northern India are enunciated in a Preface to these Directions.

"First, All the inhabited part of the country is divided into portions with fixed boundaries called Mahals or estates; on each a fixed sum is assessed for the term of twenty or thirty years, calculated so as to leave a fair surplus profit over and above the

¹ Fourth Report from the Select Committee, 1853. The italics are our own. A tenth of the produce is consistent with the ancient Hindu law of Manu and the Mahomedan law of the Hedaya, and ought to be the maximum limit of the Government Revenue where it is not permanently settled. In Madras and Bombay the Government revenue is still too high and impoverishes the people. The percentage of the revenue on the gross produce is between 12 and 31 in Madras, according to the Board of Revenue's Statement submitted to the Famine Commission of 1880 (Appendix III. p. 394), and the percentage is 20 in some parts of Bombay, according to the Famine Commission's Report of 1901.

nett produce of the land, and for the punctual payment of that sum the land is held to be perpetually hypothecated to the Government.

"*Secondly*, It is determined who are the person or persons entitled to receive this surplus profit. The right thus determined is declared to be heritable and transferable, and the persons entitled to it are considered the proprietors of the land, from whom the engagements for the annual payment of the sum assessed by the Government on the Mahal are taken.

"*Thirdly*, All the proprietors of a Mahal are, severally and jointly, responsible in their persons and property for the payment of the sum assessed by the Government on the Mahal."¹

Thomason laboured for ten years to complete the great work initiated in Northern India by Lord William Bentinck. And if Bentinck had able and distinguished colleagues in Metcalfe, Trevelyan, and Macaulay, Thomason too trained up under him a school of no less distinguished administrators, such as John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, and William Muir. They were inspired by that practical desire to work in the interests of the people which animated Lord William Bentinck; a desire which unfortunately became less conspicuous in the last decades of the century. Thomason's good work of ten years was recognised in England, and on the 27th September 1853 an order was signed by Her Majesty's command appointing the wise and able administrator of Northern India to the higher post of Governor of Madras. The reward came too late: on that very day, the 27th September 1853, James Thomason died in the country in which he had passed the best part of his life in the service of its people.

Two years after, Bentinck's wise policy of reducing

¹ Selection of Papers relating to Revenue Survey and Assessment in the North-Western Provinces, 1853, pp. 4, 5.

the Government demand was more than vindicated. He had reduced that demand to two-thirds of the rental, but in practice, even this was found to be harsh and unworkable. Under the administration of Lord Dalhousie it was decided by the famous Saharanpur Rules of 1855 that the Government demand should be limited to one-half the rental.

"The assets of an estate can seldom be minutely ascertained, but more certain information as to the average nett assets can be obtained now than was formerly the case. This may lead to over-assessment, for there is little doubt that two-thirds, or 66 per cent., is a larger proportion of the real average assets than can ordinarily be paid by proprietors or communities in a long course of years. For this reason the Government have determined so far to modify the rules laid down in paragraph 52 of the Directions to Settlement Officers as to limit the demand of the State to 50 per cent. of the average nett assets. By this it is not meant that the Jumma [Government revenue] of each estate is to be fixed at one-half of the nett average assets, but in taking these assets, with other data, into consideration, the Collector will bear in mind that about one-half, and not two-thirds as heretofore, of the ascertained nett assets should be the Government demand. The Collectors should observe the cautions given in paragraphs 47 to 51 of the treatise quoted, and not waste time in minute and probably fruitless attempts to ascertain exactly the average nett assets of the estates under settlement."¹

¹ Rule XXXVI. of the Saharanpur Rules of 1855. It will help the reader's memory to note that the great land reforms in Northern India were effected, curiously, once in every eleven years. The first great Land Act was Regulation VII, of 1822. Regulation IX, of 1833 reduced the Government demand to two-thirds the rental, and saw the commencement of the New Settlement by R. M. Bird. In 1844 Thomason's Directions to Settlement Officers were promulgated. In 1855 the Saharanpur Rules were passed, reducing the Government demand to half the rental.

Thus after the persistent blunders of half a century, the Government at last decided to limit its demand to one-half the rent. This is now the recognised principle all over India, where the revenue has not been permanently fixed. In Madras and Bombay the Land-Tax is fixed at one-half the economic rent by Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 1864; in Northern India it has been fixed at one-half the rental by the Saharanpur Rules of 1855. It would be a distinct gain to the cause of good government in India if this principle were strictly and honestly adhered to.

But it is the unavoidable result of a system of administration in which Revenue Collectors dictate the revenue policy, and the people have no voice whatever, that the clearest and most unmistakable rules are strained, misinterpreted, and evaded. How this was done in Madras and Bombay has been described elsewhere. How this was done in Northern India, it is painful to note. Lord Canning's recommendation for a Permanent Settlement of the land revenue all over India, made in 1862, and supported by Lord Lawrence, Sir Charles Wood, and Sir Stafford Northcote, was rejected in 1883. Even the Saharanpur Rules, which were still binding on revenue collectors, were virtually evaded in practice. The purport of the Saharanpur Rules is unmistakable. The rule quoted above limits the Government demand to one-half of "the average nett assets," "the real average assets." But in later settlements the Government interpreted this to mean one-half of "the prospective and potential" rental of estates. If an estate had a rental of £1200 a year, the claim of the Government was to a revenue of £650, or might be £700, on the ground that the rental *might rise hereafter* to £1300 or £1400. More than this, while the Land-Tax is still theoretically one-half the rental, a number of new taxes for education, post-office, &c., have been introduced and assessed on

BIRD AND THE NEW SETTLEMENT 397

the rent, adding to the share of the Government on the produce of the soil. Is this not paltering with the people of India in a double sense, keeping the word of promise to their ear, and breaking it to their hope?

CHAPTER XXIII

FINANCE AND THE ECONOMIC DRAIN (1793-1837)

THE East India Company's Charter was renewed in 1833 for twenty years, dating from April 1834. The financial arrangements which were effected by this Act deserve our attention in the present chapter.

It was provided that the East India Company should henceforth "discontinue and abstain from all commercial business," and stand forth only as Administrators and Rulers of India. It was enacted that all the territorial and other debts of the Company "shall be charged and chargeable upon the revenues of the said territories" of India. It was declared that out of the revenues of India there should be paid to the Company "a yearly dividend after the rate of £10, 10s. per annum on their capital stock." It was further provided that the Company's dividend should be subject to be redeemed by Parliament after 1874 on payment to the Company of £200 sterling for every £100 of the capital stock." And lastly, it was enacted that if the Company ceased to exist after 1854, or was deprived of the possession and government of India by the authority of Parliament, they would be entitled to demand the redemption of the said dividend within one year, "and provision shall be made for redeeming the said dividend, after the rate aforesaid, within three years after such demand."

Comments on these arrangements are superfluous. The British nation had spent millions of their own

money in acquiring dominions in other parts of the world; but in India an empire had been acquired, wars had been waged, and the administration had been carried on, at the cost of the Indian people; the British nation had not contributed a shilling. The trading Company which had acquired this empire had also drawn their dividends and made their profits out of the revenues of the empire for two generations. When they ceased to be traders in 1834, it was provided that the dividends on their stock should continue to be paid out of the taxes imposed on the Indian people. And when, finally, the Company ceased to exist in 1858, their stock was paid off by loans which were made into an Indian Debt. The empire was thus transferred from the Company to the Crown, but the Indian people paid the purchase-money. And the Indian people are thus virtually paying dividends to this day, on the stock of an extinct Company, in the shape of interest on Debt!

It is necessary here to place before the reader the Indian revenue and expenditure of the Company year by year from 1792 to the year of the Queen's accession.¹

	Land Revenue.	Gross Revenue.	Gross Expenditure.
	£	£	£
1792-93.			
Bengal	3,091,616	5,512,761	3,873,859
Madras	742,760	2,476,312	2,222,378
Bombay	79,025	236,555	844,096
Total	3,913,401	8,225,628	6,940,833
1793-94.			
Bengal	3,177,028	5,871,945	3,714,160
Madras	789,050	2,110,089	1,972,224
Bombay	82,050	294,736	906,745
Total	* 4,048,128	8,276,770	6,593,129

¹ Returns of the Gross Revenue, &c., in India since 1792. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 22nd June 1855.

400 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

	Land Revenue.	Gross Revenue.	Gross Expenditure.
1794-95.			
Bengal	₹ 3,235,259	₹ 5,937,931	₹ 3,863,566
Madras	891,640	1,775,782	1,850,332
Bombay	70,238	312,480	823,910
Total	4,197,137	8,026,193	6,567,808
1795-96.			
Bengal	3,130,697	5,694,194	3,986,744
Madras	929,200	1,894,304	2,119,196
Bombay	64,085	277,596	783,057
Total	4,123,982	7,866,094	6,888,997
1796-97.			
Bengal	3,118,556	5,703,906	4,126,644
Madras	900,534	1,996,328	2,449,000
Bombay	39,724	315,937	932,394
Total	4,058,814	8,016,171	7,508,038
1797-98.			
Bengal	3,097,443	5,782,741	4,351,926
Madras	732,983	1,938,950	2,665,232
Bombay	38,872	338,182	998,169
Total	3,869,298	8,059,880	8,015,327
1798-99.			
Bengal	3,072,743	6,153,615	4,416,954
Madras	856,666	2,123,831	3,442,094
Bombay	37,007	374,587	1,280,315
Total	3,966,416	8,652,033	9,139,363
1799-1800.			
Bengal	3,213,230	6,498,473	5,058,662
Madras	883,539	2,822,536	3,319,547
Bombay	91,364	415,663	1,577,182
Total	4,128,133	9,736,672	9,955,390
1800-1.			
Bengal	3,218,766	6,658,334	5,420,966
Madras	957,799	3,540,268	4,614,387
Bombay	45,130	286,457	1,432,832
Total	4,221,695	10,485,059	11,468,185
1801-2.			
Bengal	3,296,303	7,127,988	5,647,415
Madras	1,095,972	4,729,609	5,347,805
Bombay	54,571	305,992	1,414,825
Total	4,446,846	12,163,589	12,410,045

FINANCE AND THE ECONOMIC DRAIN 401

	Land Revenue.	Gross Revenue.	Gross Expenditure.
1802-3.	£	£	£
Bengal	3,295,761	8,380,087	5,798,858
Madras	933,108	4,724,904	5,117,769
Bombay	68,015	359,546	1,410,253
Total	4,296,884	13,464,537	12,326,880
1803-4.			
Bengal	3,252,621	8,060,993	6,193,638
Madras	921,646	4,651,744	6,306,284
Bombay	305,861	558,648	1,895,483
Total	4,480,128	13,271,385	14,395,405
1804-5.			
Bengal	3,225,436	9,336,707	7,464,291
Madras	993,849	4,897,140	6,312,613
Bombay	384,740	715,548	2,338,279
Total	4,604,025	14,949,395	16,115,183
1805-6.			
Bengal	3,311,673	9,542,430	8,931,958
Madras	1,097,416	5,014,493	5,728,164
Bombay	471,344	846,486	2,761,296
Total	4,880,433	15,403,409	17,421,418
1806-7.			
Bengal	3,296,684	9,160,149	9,291,826
Madras	963,440	4,602,721	5,472,829
Bombay	388,536	772,869	2,474,209
Total	4,648,660	14,535,739	17,240,864
1807-8.			
Bengal	3,729,098	9,971,695	7,760,920
Madras	1,039,671	4,927,519	5,717,228
Bombay	417,186	770,691	2,372,142
Total	5,185,955	15,669,905	15,850,290
1808-9.			
Bengal	3,851,128	9,816,458	7,898,924
Madras	1,057,628	4,968,321	5,431,151
Bombay	427,033	740,276	2,062,814
Total	5,335,789	15,525,055	15,392,889
1809-10.			
Bengal	3,706,200	9,590,880	7,815,675
Madras	1,184,253	5,373,191	5,637,365
Bombay	396,482	691,914	2,081,671
Total	5,286,935	15,655,985	15,534,711

402 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

	Land Revenue	Gross Revenue.	Gross Expenditure.
1810-11.			
Bengal	₹ 3,295,382	₹ 10,682,249	₹ 7,241,839
Madras	1,071,666	5,238,576	5,110,977
Bombay	437,108	758,372	1,557,165
Total	4,804,156	16,679,197	13,909,981
1811-12.			
Bengal	3,296,905	10,706,172	7,058,871
Madras	1,048,844	5,156,717	4,619,610
Bombay	433,785	742,726	1,542,485
Total	4,779,534	16,605,615	13,220,966
1812-13.			
Bengal	3,310,874	10,390,257	7,222,936
Madras	1,159,778	5,258,244	4,799,630
Bombay	420,323	687,789	1,493,262
Total	4,890,975	16,336,290	13,515,828
1813-14.			
Bengal	3,310,617	11,172,471	7,135,172
Madras	892,793	5,297,088	4,893,224
Bombay	400,802	759,152	1,589,329
Total	4,604,212	17,228,711	13,617,725
1814-15.			
Bengal	7,370,741	11,155,912	9,145,560
Madras	3,880,555	5,322,164	5,134,246
Bombay	488,998	819,204	1,675,200
Total	11,749,294	17,297,280	15,955,006
1815-16.			
Bengal	7,566,439	11,312,896	9,833,062
Madras	3,609,668	5,106,107	5,289,476
Bombay	467,777	818,816	1,937,430
Total	11,643,884	17,237,819	17,059,968
1816-17.			
Bengal	7,875,647	11,856,953	10,200,303
Madras	3,826,107	5,360,220	5,201,399
Bombay	498,102	860,405	1,902,460
Total	12,199,856	18,077,578	17,304,162
1817-18.			
Bengal	7,639,154	11,692,068	10,685,154
Madras	3,856,433	5,381,307	5,475,254
Bombay	868,047	1,302,445	1,885,786
Total	12,363,634	18,375,820	18,046,194

FINANCE AND THE ECONOMIC DRAIN 403

	Land Revenue	Gross Revenue.	Gross Expenditure
1818-19.	₹	₹	₹
Bengal	8,548,138	12,437,385	11,925,349
Madras	3,799,410	5,361,432	5,979,045
Bombay	1,143,041	1,660,200	2,492,193
Total	13,490,589	19,459,017	20,396,587
1819-20.			
Bengal	8,163,919	12,245,526	11,598,419
Madras	3,791,931	5,407,004	5,694,844
Bombay	1,078,164	1,577,932	2,395,844
Total	13,034,014	19,230,462	19,689,107
1820-21.			
Bengal	8,139,415	13,547,423	11,287,397
Madras	3,738,460	5,403,506	5,572,489
Bombay	1,818,314	2,401,312	3,197,366
Total	13,696,189	21,352,241	20,057,252
1821-22.			
Bengal	8,258,903	13,390,339	10,841,003
Madras	3,708,404	5,557,029	5,405,592
Bombay	1,761,910	2,855,740	3,609,894
Total	13,729,217	21,803,108	19,856,489
1822-23.			
Bengal	8,261,843	14,312,044	10,746,301
Madras	3,769,369	5,585,210	5,072,992
Bombay	1,551,592	3,274,447	4,264,448
Total	13,582,804	23,171,701	20,083,741
1823-24.			
Bengal	8,211,251	12,992,069	11,397,024
Madras	3,741,100	5,498,765	6,228,823
Bombay	1,607,088	2,789,550	3,228,150
Total	13,559,439	21,280,384	20,853,997
1824-25.			
Bengal	8,081,462	13,524,223	13,509,910
Madras	3,765,212	5,440,743	5,714,848
Bombay	1,208,735	1,785,217	3,279,398
Total	13,055,409	20,750,183	22,504,156
1825-26.			
Bengal	8,133,625	13,151,080	14,456,164
Madras	3,978,682	5,714,915	5,704,829
Bombay	1,627,237	2,262,393	4,007,020
Total	13,739,544	21,128,388	24,168,013

404 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

	Land Revenue.	Gross Revenue	Gross Expenditure.
1826-27.	£	£	£
Bengal	8,355,800	14,812,833	13,904,322
Madras	3,609,312	5,981,684	5,432,562
Bombay	1,873,427	2,588,983	3,975,411
Total	13,898,539	22,383,497	23,312,295
1827-28.			
Bengal	8,331,604	14,973,110	14,012,763
Madras	3,605,226	5,347,828	6,007,597
Bombay	1,817,873	2,542,325	4,033,477
Total	13,754,703	22,863,263	24,053,837
1828-29.			
Bengal	8,200,779	14,833,840	12,563,550
Madras	3,649,012	5,575,049	5,502,224
Bombay	1,722,335	2,331,802	3,652,786
Total	13,572,126	22,740,691	21,718,560
1829-30.			
Bengal	8,197,563	13,858,178	11,710,870
Madras	3,522,100	5,415,587	5,256,647
Bombay	1,585,432	2,421,443	3,600,841
Total	13,305,095	21,695,208	20,568,358
1830-31.			
Bengal	8,228,161	14,119,914	11,532,398
Madras	3,460,329	5,358,260	5,107,020
Bombay	1,650,061	2,541,136	3,594,472
Total	13,338,551	22,019,310	20,233,890
1831-32.			
Bengal	6,942,324	11,748,757	13,464,520
Madras	3,252,117	4,472,137	2,167,574
Bombay	1,395,894	2,096,343	1,416,079
Total	11,590,332	18,317,237	17,048,173
1832-33.			
Bengal	7,099,249	12,244,523	10,539,527
Madras	2,940,703	4,108,061	4,312,452
Bombay	1,441,986	2,125,340	2,662,741
Total	11,481,938	18,477,924	17,514,720
1833-34.			
Bengal	6,637,961	11,616,954	9,881,927
Madras	3,176,708	4,358,207	4,382,368
Bombay	1,629,580	2,292,207	2,660,037
Total	11,444,249	18,267,368	16,924,332

FINANCE AND THE ECONOMIC DRAIN 405

	Land Revenue.	Gross Revenue.	Gross Expenditure.
	£	£	£
1834-35.			
Bengal	3,234,336	15,290,414	8,470,472
N.W. Provinces	4,018,344	4,899,274	1,494,027
Madras	3,256,855	4,480,025	4,128,753
Bombay	1,544,183	2,186,934	2,591,244
Total	12,053,718	26,856,647	16,684,496
1835-36.			
Bengal	3,304,294	8,286,287	7,942,501
N.W. Provinces	4,217,981	4,838,133	1,640,478
Madras	3,297,602	4,599,261	3,839,758
Bombay	1,719,895	2,424,444	2,572,067
Total	12,539,772	20,148,125	15,994,804
1836-37.			
Bengal (includes Excise).	3,575,059	8,618,470	8,455,287
N.W. Provinces	4,478,417	5,056,489	1,735,419
Madras	3,161,490	4,618,309	4,172,784
Bombay	1,842,759	2,705,862	2,999,878
Total	13,057,725	20,999,130	17,363,368
1837-38.			
Bengal (includes Excise).	3,615,975	9,081,014	8,536,423
N.W. Provinces	3,765,973	4,369,351	1,807,209
Madras	3,431,270	4,819,890	4,295,036
Bombay	1,858,525	2,588,565	2,914,857
Total	12,671,743	20,858,820	17,553,525

These long columns of dry figures have a meaning and a significance, if we read in them the political and administrative history of half a century. Every change in the policy of the British Government, every leaning to a policy of war or to a policy of peace and retrenchment, has left its impress on the finances of India. And the figures given above are silent witnesses to the administrative reforms effected in India from the time of Cornwallis and Barlow to the time of Bentinck and Metcalfe.

Lord Cornwallis, when he left India in 1793, had so adjusted the finances as to limit the total expenditure to under seven millions, showing a surplus revenue of a million and a half. Within twelve years from

this date, the restless and warlike policy of the Marquis of Wellesley had increased the expenditure to fifteen millions, showing a deficit of over two millions. It was this which gave offence to the Court of Directors. That venerable head of a mercantile body looked with indifference on peace or war in India so long as their surplus was safe; the pecuniary returns from their territories was the main standard by which they judged administration; and when the surplus was changed into a deficit they never forgave. They disapproved of the wars of Wellesley because the wars were expensive; and they recalled the great Proconsul from India in disgrace.

All through the fifteen years, from 1795 to 1810, Bengal had showed a surplus, Madras and Bombay had showed deficits. It is not an exaggeration to state that Bengal, with its Permanent Settlement, yielding a steady and unvarying income from the soil, enabled the British nation to build up their Indian Empire. Bengal paid the expenses of ambitious wars and annexations in Northern and Southern India. Madras and Bombay never paid the total cost of their own administration during these years; Great Britain never contributed anything towards the acquisition of India.

On the departure of Lord Wellesley a balance in the finances was restored once more; and between 1810 and 1814 the peaceful administrators of India reduced the annual expenditure to a little above thirteen millions, showing an annual surplus of two to four millions, which delighted the souls of the Directors. But the surplus disappeared under the warlike administration of the Marquis of Hastings; and there was a deficit again in 1818, when the last Mahratta war was concluded. Lord Hastings avoided the wrath of the Directors by showing a surplus of two millions in 1822. Bombay did not yet pay its expenses. It showed

a deficit of a million, five years after the dominions of the Peshwa had been annexed; and Bengal showed a surplus of three millions. It may therefore be said with strict truth, that the conquests of Lord Hastings, like the conquests of Lord Wellesley, were made out of resources furnished by Permanently Settled Bengal.

The Burmese war of Lord Amherst once more upset the finances of India, and there was a continuous deficit from 1824 to 1827. The revenues of India had now increased to twenty-two millions, owing to the extension of the Empire and the severity of the Land-Tax; but the expenditure during these years rose to twenty-three or twenty-four millions.

Then were witnessed the striking results of the policy of peace, retrenchment, and reform introduced by Lord William Bentinck. Even as a financial reformer, Lord William Bentinck stands alone among all British administrators ever sent out to India. For financial reforms in India consist, not in hunting after new sources of taxation which do not exist, but in retrenchment. The excessive Land-Tax was reduced everywhere, and fell within six years (1825 to 1831) from thirteen millions to eleven and a half millions; but the reduction in expenditure more than compensated this loss. When Lord William Bentinck arrived in India in 1828, the total expenditure was twenty-four millions, showing a deficit of over a million. When he left India in 1835, the total expenditure was sixteen millions, showing a surplus of four millions.

Happy it were for India if administrators of his type had always succeeded him. But every reduction in expenditure in India affects the privileged classes of that country, and leads to an outcry; and Lord William Bentinck was denounced as no Governor-General under the Company's rule was ever denounced. It is not in human nature that British administrators should brave the wrath of their countrymen to serve

the interests of the people of India; and under the present system of government a continuous pressure is exerted for increase in expenditure, while there is none in favour of retrenchment. Expenditure and the public debt have increased by leaps and bounds since the time of Lord William Bentinck; nor is there any possible remedy for this growing evil except to give the people themselves, who are necessarily in favour of retrenchment, some control in the administration of their own concerns. If those who spend have the sole control of the finances, the expenditure necessarily increases; if those who pay the taxes are allowed some control, the expenditure is necessarily restricted. This is the rule all over the world, and India is no exception.

It has been stated above that the whole cost of wars in India and of civil administration was paid out of the resources of India. It is important to note that after paying all these expenses India showed a substantial surplus during the forty-six years ending with the accession of Queen Victoria.

It will be seen from the figures given above, that if there were fourteen years of deficit, there were thirty-two years of surplus; and if the deficit amounted altogether to nearly seventeen millions, the surplus amounted to nearly forty-nine millions. The nett financial results of Indian administration was therefore a surplus of thirty-two millions during forty-six years. But this money was not saved in India, nor devoted to irrigation or other works of improvement. It went as a continuous tribute to England to pay dividends to the Company's shareholders; and as the flow of the money from India was not sufficient to pay the dividends, there was an increasing debt—called the Public Debt of India—adding to the burdens of the taxpayers who had to pay the interest. This is the saddest episode in the sad financial history of India.

FINANCE AND THE ECONOMIC DRAIN 409

In 1792, the Indian Debt, bearing interest, little exceeded seven millions. In 1799, it had risen to ten millions. In consequence of Lord Wellesley's wars, it had risen in 1805 to nearly twenty-one millions, and by 1807 to twenty-seven millions. It remained almost stationary at this figure for many years, but in 1829 it had risen to thirty millions. Lord William Bentinck's beneficent administration had the effect of gradually reducing the debt, and on the 30th April 1836 it amounted to twenty-seven millions.¹

Under an equitable arrangement between the two nations, India should have paid for her own administration, and England should have remunerated the Company for building up an empire so beneficial to her trade and her power, and so advantageous to her sons seeking a career in the East. If both nations benefited by the founding of the British Empire in India, both nations should have contributed to the cost,—India paying for the administration of India, and Great Britain paying the home charges. But a different policy was pursued from the commencement of the British rule in India, and the result was a continuous Economic Drain from India, which has increased in volume with the lapse of years, and has impoverished an industrious, peaceful, and once prosperous nation. These results were foreseen by thoughtful Englishmen in those early years of which we are speaking in the present chapter.

"This annual drain of £3,000,000 on British India," wrote Montgomery Martin in 1838, "amounted in thirty years, at 12 per cent. (the usual Indian rate) compound interest to the enormous sum of £723,997,917 sterling; or, at a low rate, as £2,000,000 for fifty years, to £8,400,000,000 sterling! So constant and accumu-

¹ The exact figure is £26,947,000. Annual Account of the Territorial Revenues and Disbursements of the East India Company, &c. Printed by Order of the House of Commons, 12th August 1842.

lating & drain even on England would soon impoverish her; how severe then must be its effects on India, where the wages of a labourer is from twopence to threepence a day?"

"For half a century we have gone on draining from two to three and sometimes four million pounds sterling a year from India, which has been remitted to Great Britain to meet the deficiencies of commercial speculations, to pay the interest of debts, to support the home establishment, and to invest on England's soil the accumulated wealth of those whose lives have been spent in Hindustan. I do not think it possible for human ingenuity to avert entirely the evil effects of a continued drain of three or four million pounds a year from a distant country like India, and which is never returned to it in any shape."¹

It would fill a volume to quote all that has been written and said on the subject of this annual Economic Drain, which was increased by the exclusion of the people of India from all the higher services. We shall content ourselves therefore with the views of four distinguished administrators who served in the four great provinces of India—Bengal and Madras, Northern India and Bombay.

The Honourable John Shore, bearing a historic name, was one of the best of the Bengal administrators in the thirties; and he recorded the result of his own observations, fully and clearly, in his thoughtful work on India.

"More than seventeen years have elapsed since I first landed in this country; but on my arrival, and during my residence of about a year in Calcutta, I well recollect the quiet, comfortable, and settled conviction, which in those days existed in the minds of the English population, of the blessings conferred on the

¹ Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India*, London, 1838. Introductions to vols. i. and iii.

natives of India by the establishment of the English rule. Our superiority to the Native Governments which we have supplanted; the excellent system for the administration of justice which we had introduced; our moderation; our anxiety to benefit the people—in short, our virtues of every description, were descanted on as so many established truths which it was heresy to controvert. Occasionally I remember to have heard some hints and assertions of a contrary nature from some one who had spent many years in the interior of the country; but the storm which was immediately raised and thundered on the head of the unfortunate individual who should presume to question the established creed was almost sufficient to appal the boldest.”

“I was thus gradually led to an inquiry into the principles and practice of British-Indian administration. Proceeding in this, I soon found myself at no loss to understand the feelings of the people both towards the Government and to ourselves. It would have been astonishing indeed had it been otherwise. The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefits of themselves. They have been taxed to the utmost limit; every successive Province, as it has fallen into our possession, has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honour, dignity, or office which the lowest Englishman could be prevailed upon to accept.”¹

Elsewhere, in referring to the drain of wealth from India, Shore wrote: “The halcyon days of India are over; she has been drained of a large proportion of the wealth she once possessed; and her energies have

¹ Honourable F. J. Shore's *Notes on Indian Affairs*, London 1837, vol. II, p. 516.

412 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few."¹

John Sullivan went out to India as early as 1804, and retired from that country in 1841, after holding responsible posts as Resident at Mysore, as Collector of Coimbatour, as Member of the Madras Board, and as Member of the Madras Council. He was examined on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's charter in 1833, and he spoke feelingly on the exclusion of the people of India from all high appointments in the country.

"503. What are the disadvantages under which the natives at present feel themselves to labour with respect to the British Government ?

"Their exclusion from all offices of trust and emolument, and from that position in the administration of the country, civil and military, which they occupied under their own princes."

"509. . . . Does not the system which the natives have always enjoyed under the British Government compensate to them in a very large degree, if not entirely, for their loss of the exclusive possession of offices, to which, under the Native Government, they considered themselves to be entitled ?

"I should say that nothing can compensate them under such exclusion."²

The same witness was examined again, twenty years after, when the charter of the Company came up for renewal in 1853; and on that occasion he gave his evidence still more emphatically.

"4866. Do you suppose that they [the people of India] have traditions among them which tell them that the economic condition of the population was

¹ Shore's *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. ii. p. 28.

² Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee, 1832, vol. i. pp. 65 and 66.

better in former times under their native rulers than it is now?

"I think, generally speaking, history tells us that it was; they have been in a state of the greatest prosperity from the earliest time, as far as history tells us."

"4869. How do you account for the superior economic state of the people, and for their ability to lay out the money which they did in canals and irrigation and tanks, if they were wasting more wealth; and sacrificing more lives in wars, than we do now, specially seeing that the wars were carried on very much upon their own territories, instead of being beyond their limits?

"We have an expensive element which they were free from, which is the European element, civil and military, which swallows up so much of the revenue; from that cause our administration is so much more expensive; that, I think, is the great reason."

John Sullivan did not shrink from the logical conclusion of his opinions, when he was asked if he would restore British territory to native rule, keeping the military control of the Empire in British hands.

"4890. You would restore a great deal of territory to native rulers upon principles of justice?

"Yes.

"Because we have become possessed of them by violence or by other means without any just right or title?

"I would do so upon principles of justice and upon principles of financial economy."¹

Few of John Sullivan's contemporaries went so far as he did, but most of them knew and felt the injustice of the entire exclusion of the people of India from the control of their own affairs.

Holt Mackenzie, whose distinguished work in the

¹ Third Report of the Select Committee, 1853, pp. 19 and 20.

land revenue settlement of Northern India has been referred to in Chapter XI. of this work, recorded the following remarks in his Minute on the Revenue and the Judicial Administration of India in 1830; and this Minute was embodied in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1833.

“Nothing can be more striking than the scorn with which the people have been practically treated at the hands of even those who were actuated by the most benevolent motives; for, since the world began, there is probably no example of a Government carrying the principle of absolutism so completely through the civil administration of the country, if that can be called civil which is in its spirit so military; nay, which sets the people aside in the management of their own concerns much more than the Sepoy in the government of the army. The principle pervades every act, from the highest exercise of legislative power to the appointment of the meanest public officer. . . . It seems to be vain to think that we can by any legislative provision secure the community from extortion and vexation, if we once allow or require the Government officers to interfere perpetually in the minute details of the people’s business. We have, unfortunately, acted on an opposite principle, interfering in almost everything, neglecting popular institutions where they exist, and never attempting to create them when wanting.”¹

But the man who spoke with the greatest authority before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832 was Sir John Malcolm, whose name is connected with those of Munro and Elphinstone as builders of the British Indian Empire, and the most able and sympathetic rulers of the people in the first half of the nineteenth century. He had distinguished himself in two Mahratta wars by his success and

¹ Holt Mackenzie’s Minute, dated 1st October 1830, para. 67.

valour; he had won the confidence of the Indian soldiery as well as of the civil population by his courtesy and kindness; and after the meritorious service of over a quarter of a century he had succeeded Elphinstone in the high post of Governor of Bombay in 1827. When, therefore, he was examined as a witness before the House of Commons in 1832, he spoke, on the condition of the people of India under British rule, with a knowledge and authority which few Englishmen of his or any later time equalled, and which none ever surpassed.

" 278. In your opinion, was the substitution of our government for the misrule of the native princes the cause of greater prosperity to the agricultural and commercial part of the population ?

" I cannot answer this in every Province of India, but I shall as far as my experience enables me. I do not think the change has benefited, or could benefit, either the commercial, the monied, or the agricultural classes of many of the native States, though it may be of others. It has not happened to me ever to see countries better cultivated, and so abounding in all produce of the soil, as well as commercial wealth, than the Southern Mahratta Districts, when I accompanied the present Duke of Wellington to that country in the year 1803; I particularly here allude to those large tracts near the borders of the Krishna. Poona, the capital of the Peshwa, was a very wealthy and thriving commercial town, and there was as much cultivation in the Daccan as it was possible so arid and unfruitful a country could admit. . . .

" With respect to Malwa . . . I had ample means afforded me, as the person appointed to occupy that territory and to conduct its civil, military, and political administration, to learn all that the records of the Government could teach, and to obtain from other sources full information of this country; and I certainly

entered upon my duties with the complete conviction that commerce would be unknown, and that credit could not exist. . . . I found, to my surprise, that in correspondence with the first commercial and monied men of Rajputana, Bundelkhand, and Hindustan [Northern India], as well as with those of Gujrat, dealings in money to a large amount had continuously taken place at Ujjain and other cities, where Soucars or bankers of character and credit were in a flourishing state, and that goods to a great amount had not only continuously passed through the Province, but that the insurance offices which exist throughout all that part of India, and include the principal monied men, had never stopped their operations, though premiums rose at a period of danger to a high amount. . . . And I do not believe that in that country the introduction of our direct rule could have contributed more, nor indeed so much, to the prosperity of the commercial and agricultural interests as the establishment of the efficient rule of its former princes and chiefs. . . .

“ With respect to the Southern Mahratta Districts, of whose prosperity I have before spoken . . . I must unhesitatingly state that the provinces belonging to the family of Putwarden and some other chiefs on the banks of the Krishna present a greater agricultural and commercial prosperity than almost any I know in India. I refer this to the system of administration, which, though there may be at periods exactions, is on the whole mild and paternal; to few changes; to the complete knowledge and almost devotion of Hindus to all agricultural pursuits; to their better understanding, or at least better practice than us in many parts of the administration, particularly in raising towns and villages to prosperity; from the encouragement given to monied men and to the introduction of capital; and above all to the Jaegirdars residing on their estates, and those Provinces being administered by men of rank who live

and die on the soil, and are usually succeeded in office by their sons or near relatives. If these men exact money at times in an arbitrary manner, all their expenditure as well as all they receive is limited to their own provinces; but above all causes which promote prosperity is the invariable support given to the village and other native institutions, and to the employment, far beyond what our system admits, of all classes of the population.”¹

The evils which were thus pointed out to the Select Committee by Sir John Malcolm and other eminent witnesses were, principally, the exclusion of the people of India from all the higher services in their own country, and the remittance of a large portion of the Indian revenues out of India year after year. The natural remedies were those which had been suggested by Bishop Heber a few years before, viz, a larger employment of the people in the administration of their own concerns, and the spending of Indian revenues in India. On the first point, Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck had already given some relief; and the British Parliament, in renewing the Company's charter in 1833, enacted a famous clause which will be referred to in the next chapter, declaring the people of India to be eligible to all posts without distinction of race or creed. On the second point, Parliament gave no relief to the people of India. On the contrary, although they stopped the Company's trade from April 1834, they provided for the payment of interest on the Company's stock out of the revenues of India at 10½ per cent, as has been stated before. It was an act of injustice to India, against which a strong protest was made once more by another distinguished Englishman, when the Empire passed from the Company to the Crown in 1858.

¹ Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee, &c., 1832, vol. vi. pp. 30 and 31.

Sir George Wingate had distinguished himself in the land revenue settlements of Bombay, as we have seen in Chapter XXI. He had worked under a bad system, but had worked it with his natural kindness and consideration, and had made it a success. He had laboured for some thirty years among the people of India, and had retired to his native country ripe with the knowledge and experience of Indian affairs, honoured by the Government, and recognised popularly as the Father of the Bombay Revenue System. But the financial relations between India and England caused him solicitude and pain; and when the administration of the Empire passed to the Crown, he appealed to his countrymen for a more just and equitable treatment of India under the new arrangements which were then made.

“If, then, we have governed India not merely for the natives of India but for ourselves, we are clearly blamable in the sight of God and man for having contributed nothing towards defraying the cost of that government. Our fair share, represented by the degree in which British interests have decided our Indian policy, be it great or small, should have been duly paid; but this has never been done, and now there is a heavy debt which has been running up against us for many years to be settled. England was powerful and India at her feet, and little chance had the weak of enforcing payment from the strong.”

“With reference to its economical effects upon the condition of India, the tribute paid to Great Britain is by far the most objectionable feature in our existing policy. Taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effects from taxes raised in one country and spent in another. In the former case the taxes collected from the population at large are paid away to the portion of the population engaged in the service of Government, through whose

expenditure they are again returned to the industrious classes. They occasion a different distribution, but no loss of national income; and hence it is that in countries advanced in civilisation, in which the productive powers of men are augmented by mechanical contrivances and a judicious use of the powers of nature, an enormous taxation may be realised with singularly little pressure upon the community. But the case is wholly different when the taxes are not spent in the country from which they are raised. In this case they constitute no mere transfer of a portion of the national income from one set of citizens to another, but an absolute loss and extinction of the whole amount withdrawn from the taxed country. As regards its effects on national production, the whole amount might as well be thrown into the sea as transferred to another country, for no portion of it will return from the latter to the taxed country in any shape whatsoever. Such is the nature of the tribute we have so long exacted from India."

"The Indian tribute, whether weighed in the scales of justice or viewed in the light of our true interest, will be found to be at variance with humanity, with common sense, and with the received maxims of economical science. It would be true wisdom, then, to provide for the future payment of such of the home charges of the Indian Government as really form the tribute out of the Imperial Exchequer. These charges would probably be found to be the dividends on East India Stock, interest on Home Debt, the salaries of officers and establishments and cost of buildings connected with the Home Department of the Indian Government, furlough and retired pay to members of the Indian Military and Civil Services when at home, charges of all descriptions paid in this country connected with British troops serving in India, and a portion of the cost of transporting British troops to and from India."

"Were India to be relieved of this cruel burden of tribute and the whole of the taxes raised in India to be spent in India, the revenue of that country would soon acquire a degree of elasticity of which we have at present no expectation."¹

The appeal was made in vain. The home charges, which amounted to three millions when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, had risen to sixteen millions when the Great Empress passed away. So great an Economic Drain out of the resources of a land would impoverish the most prosperous countries on earth; it has reduced India to a land of famines more frequent, more widespread, and more fatal, than any known before in the history of India, or of the world.

¹ *Our Financial Relations with India*, by Major Wingate, London, 1859, pp. 56-64.

CHAPTER XXIV

ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA—FAMINE OF 1837

THE financial arrangements made at the time of the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1833 have been described in the last chapter; but other important provisions were made by the same Act which also deserve our attention.

The Province of Bengal had increased in territory by the conquests and annexations of Lord Wellesley in Northern India in 1802 and 1803. These northern tracts were now taken out of Bengal and made into a separate Province. From this time, therefore, India had four Provinces instead of three; and in the table of revenue and expenditure given in the last chapter, Northern India has been shown as a separate Province from this date.

The Governor-Generals, from the time of Warren Hastings, were technically *Governor-Generals of Bengal* with power of control over the other Provinces. The person holding the same appointment in 1834 was, by this Act, created *Governor-General of India*; and Lord William Bentinck was thus the first Governor-General of India. Each Province had hitherto made separate *Regulations* for itself; the Governor-General in Council was now empowered to pass *Acts* applicable to all India. The Council, which had hitherto consisted of four members, beside the Governor-General, was now strengthened by the appointment of a fifth member, known as the Legal Member; and Macaulay was sent out to India as the first Legal Member. The Governor-

General was empowered also to appoint Law Commissioners to draft laws for India; and Macaulay, as President of the Law Commissioners, drafted the famous Penal Code of India, which was passed into law twenty-five years later.

All restrictions on the settlement of Europeans in India were removed. Bishoprics of Madras and Bombay were created in addition to the old bishopric of Calcutta; and arrangements were made for the education of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, nominated by the Directors of the Company, at Haileybury College, before their departure for India. The control of the Company's administration of India by Commissioners appointed by the Crown, which had been provided by Pitt's India Act of 1784, was maintained.

The impossibility of administering India properly without the co-operation of the people themselves had been felt by the ablest servants of the Company; and Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck had admitted educated Indians to responsible judicial posts, as has been stated in a previous chapter. This liberal policy was now emphatically proclaimed in a famous clause of the Act which runs thus:

"And be it enacted, that no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company."

Macaulay was in the House of Commons when this Act was passed, and his famous speech on this clause has often been quoted, and will bear repetition.

"There is, however, one part of the Bill on which, after what has recently passed elsewhere, I feel myself irresistibly impelled to say a few words. I allude to that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause, which

enacts that no native of our Indian Empire shall, by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office. At the risk of being called by that nickname which is regarded as the most opprobrious of all nicknames by men of selfish hearts and contracted minds—at the risk of being called a philosopher—I must say that to the last day of my life I shall be proud of being one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause. . . .

“It was, as Bernier tells us, the practice of the miserable tyrants whom we found in India, that when they dreaded the capacity and spirit of some distinguished subject, and yet could not venture to murder him, to administer to him a daily dose of the *pousta*, a preparation of opium, the effect of which was in a few months to destroy all the bodily and mental powers of the wretch who was drugged with it, and to turn him into a helpless idiot. That detestable artifice, more horrible than assassination itself, was worthy of those who employed it. It is no model for the English nation. We shall never consent to administer the *pousta* to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. What is that power worth which is founded on vice, on ignorance, and on misery—which we can hold only by violating the most sacred duties which, as governors, we owe to the governed—which, as a people blessed with a far more than an ordinary measure of political liberty and of intellectual light, we owe to a race debased by three thousand years of despotism and priestcraft? We are free, we are civilised, to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilisation. Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them

submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us, and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour.

“The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjectures as to the fate reserved for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena; the laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown the system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk to the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable

empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."¹

The lights and shades are laid on somewhat thick in the above speech, as in all Macaulay's utterances and writings, and when he described Moghal emperors as "miserable tyrants," and spoke of "three thousand years of depotism and priestcraft," and of "the lowest depths of slavery and superstition," he only spoke with an Englishman's usual want of appreciation of the customs, institutions, and achievements of nations living outside the narrow limits of England.

There can be no doubt, however, that the new policy, which Macaulay so vigorously advocated, was the policy which England of 1833—which Englishmen who had just passed the Reform Act—wished to see introduced and pursued in India. Monopoly and exclusiveness were distasteful to Englishmen of that day; to shut out a nation from high office in their own country was obnoxious to those who had just extended their franchise; fair play even to a subject nation was the uppermost thought of all earnest reformers, and of the people at large in the British Isles. And the clause we have quoted above was the outcome of the spirit of the times—the embodiment of the policy which the British nation desired for India.

Happy it were for India if that wise and liberal plan had been consistently followed during the seventy years which have since elapsed. The rule of England would have been more popular and more successful to-day, if the people of India had been admitted to a

¹ Macaulay's Speeches. The above speech was made on the 10th July 1833, "in a thin House; a circumstance which may surprise those who are not aware that on a Wednesday, and with an Indian question on the paper, Cicero replying to Hortensius would hardly draw a quorum. Small as it was, the audience contained Lord John Russell, Peel, O'Connell, and other masters of the Parliamentary craft. . . . The Government carried every point by large majorities, and with slight modifications in detail, and none in principle, the measure became law with the almost universal approbation both of Parliament and the country."—Trevelyan's *Life of Lord Macaulay*.

proper share of the administration. And the economic condition of the people would have been better if a large portion of the Indian revenues had flowed back to the people to fructify their trades and industries. But monopoly dies hard in a country where the people have no voice; and during seventy years "that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause," so eloquently praised by Macaulay, has been virtually evaded.

"No sooner was the Act passed," wrote a Viceroy of India half a century later, "than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. Under the terms of the Act, which are studied and laid to heart by that increasing class of educated natives whose development the Government encourages without being able to satisfy the aspirations of its existing members, every such native, if once admitted to Government employment in posts previously reserved to the Covenanted Service, is entitled to expect and claim appointment in the fair course of promotion to the highest posts in that service. We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course. The application to natives of the Competitive Examination system as conducted in England, and the recent reduction in the age at which candidates can compete, are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act, and reducing it to a dead letter. Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they have uttered to the ear."¹

• ¹ Lord Lytton's Confidential Minute of 1878, quoted in Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, London, 1901, pp.

This evasion of a clause so eloquently praised in the House of Commons, and so emphatically approved of by the British nation, was not foreseen when the Act was passed in 1833. On the contrary, as has been stated before, there was every desire then, to promote education in India and to admit educated Indians to an increasing share in the higher services of their own country, without distinction of descent, creed, or colour. Englishmen desired to be just, and the people of India looked forward with a thrill of high expectation to progress and self-government under the Imperial power of a just and righteous nation.

Four years after this, Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837. It is not possible to point to any single date in the history of India when the rule of England was more sympathetic and benevolent, and evoked a higher respect and a deeper loyalty among the people. The wars of Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and Lord Amherst were over, and there was peace in the land. The blunders in civil administration had to a great extent been rectified. The people of India had been welcomed to take some share in the administration of their own concerns. Recollections of the rule of Munro in Madras, of Elphinstone in Bombay, and of Bentinck in Bengal, were fresh in men's minds. The policy of spreading English education in India had been decided upon. Wasteful expenditure had been reduced, and the Indian budget showed a surplus. A cruel and

317 and 318. The "stultifying the Act" has been so effectual and complete that the higher services in the Civil, Military, Public Works, Police, Medical, Educational, Postal, Telegraph, Forests, and all other departments in India, are almost as exclusively reserved for Europeans to-day as when the India Act of 1833 was passed. A Parliamentary Return, submitted in 1892, shows that, including all appointments carrying a pay of £100 a year or more (taking ten rupees for a pound), the pay and pensions granted to Europeans annually amount to *fourteen millions*, besides *one million* to Eurasians, while *three and a half millions* only are given to natives of India, generally holding lower posts.

oppressive land-revenue demand had been reduced, and more humane land-settlements for long terms were being made by Bird in Northern India and Wingate in Bombay. The East India Company had ceased to be traders and stood forth as administrators. The British Parliament had given its pledge to the people of India to admit them to the highest posts in their country without distinction of creed or colour. A young Queen had ascended the throne of the British Empire, and awakened in the minds of the people of India all the high hopes and aspirations which a woman's kindly providence inspires in the oriental mind.

And if this was a bright period in administrative reforms, it was no less so in literary culture. Macaulay had introduced into India something of that broad-mindedness which belongs to literature. Horace Hayman Wilson was a distinguished orientalist, and later on became a distinguished historian. Elphinstone was a man of letters, and was on the eve of publishing his famous *History of India*. Briggs had published his great work on the Indian Land-Tax, and was at work over his famous translation of Ferishta. Colonel Tod was almost a Rajput himself in his sympathies, and wrote that history of Rajasthan which is more thrilling and attractive than any romance. Grant Duff was at work over his great *History of the Mahrattas*, which will have its value for all time to come. Never did Englishmen of any generation show higher literary culture and talent in India, never did they feel a truer sympathy with the people. It is impossible to read the evidence of some of the great Indian administrators and publicists of the time, given before the Parliamentary Committees of 1831 and 1832, without feeling that they entertained a respect for the people of India in those days, and appreciated their virtues and worth.

"I have always formed a good opinion of the native character generally," said Chaplin, whose revenue work in Bombay we have reviewed in a preceding chapter; "*I think they will bear an advantageous comparison with the natives of any country in the world.*"

"Would you not be disposed to place as much confidence in the natives of India as you would in your own countrymen?" was the question that was put to John Sullivan of the Madras Civil Service. "Yes," he replied, "*if equally well treated.*"

And James Sutherland, who was for some years editor of one of the first English newspapers of Calcutta, the *Bengal Harkara*, spoke of educated Indians that "*they are as trustworthy as any men in the world.*"¹

This spirit of trust and confidence in the people evoked a warm response. The leaders of the Indian community, the social and religious reformers of India, and the distinguished Indian students who were educated in the Hindu College of Calcutta, felt a warm appreciation for English literature and thought, a deep-seated faith in the British character and the British rule. The most illustrious among them, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, founded the Brahma Somaj or Theistic Church of India, and helped in all social and educational reforms of the day; and his cordial support in abolishing the cruel rite of *Sati* was handsomely acknowledged by Lord William Bentinck. The Raja then came to England, and was present in the House of Commons when a memorial against Lord William's measure was discussed, and he had the satisfaction of seeing the decision of the Indian Government confirmed by the British Parliament. Thousands of younger Indians, fresh from English schools and colleges, imbibed the reforming spirit, the love of Western literature and thought, the faith in British

¹ Evidence of Chaplin, Sullivan, and Sutherland, given in 1831 and 1832. The italics are our own.

rule and British character, which inspired Raja Ram Roy."¹

Thus, when Queen Victoria ascended the throne of the British Empire, there was a deep, widespread, and devoted loyalty among her Indian subjects, because the policy of England had been generous and trustful. Happy it were, both for England and for India, if that generous and trustful policy had continued to the end of her long reign. For the task of Indian administration is the most momentous and difficult that the British nation has ever undertaken, and that task cannot be performed without the co-operation of the people, and without confidence and trust in the people.

The very year of the Queen's accession revealed the vast difficulties of Indian administration. Famines had followed the wars of Lord Wellesley in Bombay and in Northern India in 1803 and 1804; a fresh

¹ Sir Charles Trevelyan said in his evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the 21st June 1853: "I have never heard such pure English, either in construction or pronunciation, spoken as I have heard by the educated natives of Calcutta. They speak purer English than we speak ourselves, for they take it from the purest models; they speak the language of the *Spectator*, such English as is never spoken in England. It is one of the encouraging circumstances of our position in India that the natives have a remarkable facility for acquiring foreign languages."

In my younger days I was brought up among those who had been in school and college in 1837, when the Queen ascended the throne; and I do not exaggerate facts when I state that nothing could exceed the appreciation of English literature, thought, and character, nothing could exceed the loyalty to the British rule which these men felt and expressed in their everyday conversation. They had recollections of the times of Bentinck, Elphinstone, and Munro; they had seen Macaulay, Trevelyan, and Metcalfe; and a faith in English truth was a part of their beliefs. I have lived since with two succeeding generations of Indians—my contemporaries who were in school and college in the Sixties and the younger men who were educated in the Nineties,—and I confess I have marked in them a decadence in this faith. They point to unredeemed British pledges; they exclaim against the continued exclusiveness of British administration; they demand, as Macaulay had foreseen, some degree of self-government, some share in the control of the administration. Are they wrong? Or is the British Government unwise in evading the fulfilment of a generous pledge, and in keeping up an absolute form of government set up by Warren Hastings over a hundred years ago?

famine had occurred in Bombay in 1813; and Madras, with her wretched and oppressive land settlements, had been afflicted by famines in 1807, 1823, and 1833. And now, in the first year of the Queen's reign, Northern India, suffering equally from oppressive land settlements, was desolated by a famine more intense and more widespread than any of the preceding famines of the century. The new settlement of Robert Merttins Bird had not yet been completed; the people were resourceless and in chronic indebtedness, and a failure of rains in 1837 brought on the disastrous famine.

"I have never in my life," wrote John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence, "seen such utter desolation as that which is now spread over the Perganas of Hodal and Palwal." Deaths were numerous and were never reckoned. In Cawnpur a special establishment patrolled the streets and the river to remove the corpses. In Fatehpur and Agra similar measures were adopted. Hundreds of thousands died in obscure villages, unknown and unheeded. The dead lay on the road-side, unburied and unburnt, till they were devoured by wild animals.

Thus was a signal given at the commencement of a new reign of the difficulties which beset the administration of India, and the gravity of the distress and poverty which prevailed in the country. The reign of Queen Victoria has witnessed many changes in India. It has seen the extension of the Empire by the annexation of Sindh and the Punjab, of Oudh and the Central Provinces, of Burma and Beluchistan. It has seen the wide continent spanned by railways and connected by postal and telegraph lines. It has seen the establishment of High Courts of justice and of Universities in the different Provinces. It has witnessed the enlargement of cities, and the reclamation of great tracts of country for agriculture. It has

432 ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

witnessed the creation of Legislative Councils, of District Boards and Municipalities. It has witnessed the progress of English education in towns, and of vernacular education in villages.

Two essential reforms the reign of Queen Victoria has not witnessed. It has not admitted the people into the Executive Councils of the Empire or to any share in the control of the administration; and it has not improved the material condition of the people which can only be improved by the co-operation of the people themselves. "It is an inherent condition of human affairs," said John Stuart Mill, "that no intention, however sincere, of protecting the interests of others, can make it safe or salutary to tie up their own hands. By their own hands only can any positive and durable improvement of their circumstances in life be worked out."

Fifty years after the accession of Queen Victoria, the British nation celebrated the Jubilee of her glorious and prosperous reign. London witnessed sights in 1887 which are seldom seen even in that great metropolis. Representatives from all nations forming the great Empire were there, and took a part in the common rejoicing. India, too, had celebrations on that occasion in her thronged towns and quiet villages, but beneath this outward manifestation of joy there was a secret anxiety in the hearts of men. Poverty stalked like a grim spectre over the land. Trades and national industries had declined. Agriculture was over-taxed and led to no accumulation of wealth. Forty millions of people were living on insufficient food from year to year. A hundred millions of people were permanently on the brink of starvation. These facts made the minds of responsible men uneasy in India. An inquiry into the condition of the people was secretly commenced.

"An Inquiry into the Economic Condition of the

Agricultural and Labouring Classes in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1888," is the name of the volume in which the results of the investigations were gathered together. It is marked "Confidential," but extracts from this work have already been given to the world,¹ and it is necessary to repeat a few of the facts here. It is necessary to do so in order to show how little improvement has been effected in the material condition of the people of India during the nineteenth century, since those early years when Francis Buchanan and Bishop Heber deplored the decaying industries and the over-taxed agriculture of the country. Every minute inquiry, every reasonable test, shows, on the contrary, that the economic condition of the people has become worse; and the frequent and widespread famines of recent years bear a silent but unimpeachable testimony to this lamentable fact.

Mr. E. B. Alexander, Collector of Etawa, wrote: "In all ordinary years I should say that the cultivators live for at least one-third of the year on such advances, and in unfavourable years they have either to increase the amount of their debt to the Bohra, or to sell off jewellery, cattle, or anything else which can possibly be spared. . . .

"The landless labourer's condition must still be regarded as by no means all that could be desired. The united earnings of a man, his wife, and two children cannot be put at more than Rs.3 [4s.] a month. When prices of food grains are low or moderate, work regular, and the health of the household good, this income will enable the family to have one fairly good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their heads, and to buy cheap clothing, and occasionally a thin blanket."

¹ In William Digby's "Prosperous British India," London, 1901. My extracts are taken from this work.

Mr. White, Collector of Banda, wrote: "If I am asked whether it be true that the greater portion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food, I should say that the question is a vague one, and that I should first wish to know what is a sufficiency of food. No answer can be given but this, that a very large number of the lower classes of the population clearly demonstrate by the poorness of their physique that they are habitually half-starved, or have been in early years exposed to the severities and trials of a famine. And it will be remembered that if any young creature be starved while growing, no amount of subsequent fattening will make up for the injury to growth."

Mr. E. Rose, Collector of Ghazipur, wrote: "Where the holding is of average size and the tenant unencumbered with debt; when his rent is not excessive and there is an average outturn of produce; when, in fact, the conditions are favourable, the position of the agriculturist, whether as small proprietor or otherwise, is upon the whole a fairly comfortable one. . . .

"But unfortunately these conditions do not always exist. The holding is too small for the number of persons depending upon it; the tenant is in debt; his rent is unduly high; and now and again there comes the inevitable failure of the crops, the consequence of floods, storms, or drought. As a rule, a very large proportion of the agriculturists in a village are in debt."

Mr. A. H. Harrington, Commissioner of Fyzabad, wrote: "The same authority [W. C. Bennett] remarks, 'It is not till he has gone into these subjects in detail that a man can fully appreciate how terribly thin the line is which divides large masses of people from absolute nakedness and starvation.' I believe that this remark is true of every District of Oudh, the differences between them consisting in the greater or

smaller extent of the always large proportion which is permanently in this depressed and dangerous condition. . . .

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

"On the question, then, whether the impression that the greater proportion of the people of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food is wholly untrue . . . my own belief, after a good deal of study of the closely connected question of agricultural indebtedness (*vide* my five chapters on Economic Reform in Rural India in the *Calcutta Review*, 1882-85), is that the impression is perfectly true as regards a varying, but always considerable, part of the year in the greater part of India."

Mr. H. C. Irwin, Deputy-Commissioner of Rai Bareli, wrote: "To the main question—whether the poorer classes get enough to eat—a categorical answer is not easy. I believe that a great majority do, in ordinary times, satisfy their hunger at least once a day. That the poorer families eat as much as would be good for them I very much doubt. Hunger, as already remarked, is very much a matter of habit; and people who have felt the pinch of famine—as nearly all the poorer households must have felt it—get into the way of eating less than wealthier families."

The perusal of reports like these has a distressing effect on the mind. We confess that all the rhetorical and inflammatory discourses of platform

orators, which we ever heard or read, failed to make on our minds a tenth part of the painful impression created by these careful and sober statements of facts, from officials living and moving among the people of India. Eloquent speeches on the universal poverty of India are less realistic and less striking than a plain statement of the facts narrated above, that landless labourers with their children earn four shillings a month; that large classes attest to semi-starvation by their poor physique; that a considerable portion of the people of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food; that the poorer classes have been trained by habitual hunger and occasional famines to live their lives on less food than is needed for proper nourishment. Human eloquence is silenced in the presence of these grim, appalling facts; and the human heart throbs with a silent pain at the thought that a hundred million men and women and children live this life from day to day in India under the British rule. Flippant utterances, in Parliament and out of it, about the prosperity of India and its annual Budgets, sound like an unseasonable joke after we have perused the words of those who have lived in India and recorded what they have seen. Party controversies are hushed in the presence of this volume of human suffering, which the British nation has undertaken, as its most sacred duty, to remove.

"I believe there is very little between the poorer classes of the people and semi-starvation; but what is the remedy?" asked Mr. A. J. Lawrence, C.I.E., Commissioner of Allahabad.

The present work has been written, in vain if it does not indicate some remedies. Indeed, the remedies are obvious enough, but their application requires that high courage and devotion to the good of the Indian people which inspired Bentinck and Canning, Lawrence and Ripon, but which are rarer in the present day.

Retrenchment is the first remedy—retrenchment such as was effected by Bentinck. Reduce the enormous public debt; reduce the enormous military expenditure; and reduce that annual Economic Drain which is taking away from the people of India, year after year, the food of twenty millions of poor people without a direct equivalent.

Promotion of Agricultural Wealth is the second remedy. Limit the Land Tax by some rules, such as were proposed by Wellesley, Minto, and Hastings, by Canning, Lawrence, and Ripon; and make it possible for the people of India to accumulate wealth from the produce of the soil. And Irrigation, not guaranteed Railways, should be India's future policy.

Revival of the National Industries of the people is the third remedy. India never depended on agriculture alone under Hindu and Mahomedan rule; India cannot prosper on agriculture alone under British rule.

Admission of the people into a real share of the administration, such as was first effected by Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck, is the last remedy. Seventy years have passed since their time, and there has been virtually little advance in the policy they laid down. It is not possible to safeguard and promote the vast agricultural, industrial, and financial interests of the country without allowing the people themselves some control over the administration. The British Parliament cannot do this; the Indian Government, conducted by some of the best and greatest administrators that ever lived, has not been able to do this. Make the ablest, the most moderate, and the most experienced among the people represent their country's interests in the Executive Councils of the Empire; give them a larger representation in the Legislative Councils; and make them responsible, conjointly with British administrators, for the prevention of famines, and for the material prosperity of India.

APPENDIX

INDIA IN 1900

[The figures given in this Appendix are taken from the Statistical Abstract relating to British India presented to Parliament by command of his Majesty, 1901]

APPENDIX

A.—AREA AND POPULATION.

(Preliminary Census of 1901.)

Administrations.	Number of Divisions.	Number of Districts.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.		
				Males.	Females.	Total.
The Governor-General of India —						
Ajmere-Merwara	2	2	2,711	250,721	225,609	476,330
Berar	1	6	17,737	1,394,107	1,358,311	2,752,418
Coorg	1	1	1,582	100,214	80,247	180,461
Governors:—						
Madras	23	141	1,228	18,853,024	19,355,585	38,208,609
Bombay and Sind	4	24	122,698	9,567,625	8,975,649	18,543,274
Lieutenant-Governors:—						
Bengal	9	48	151,260	37,376,438	37,336,582	74,713,020
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	9	48	107,164	24,620,961	23,075,363	47,696,324
Punjab	6	31	110,897	12,095,711	10,353,773	22,449,484
Burma } Lower	4	19	81,160	2,852,713	2,518,615	5,371,328
} Upper	4	17	87,390	1,852,381	1,997,452	3,849,833
Chief Commissioners:—						
Central Provinces	4	18	86,617	4,841,832	5,003,486	9,845,318
Assam	2	11	52,078	3,142,561	2,979,640	6,122,201
British Baluchistan	1	2	22,400	445,603	365,208	810,811
Aden . . . . .	..	..	..	28,180	13,042	41,222
Andamans and Nicobars . . . . .	..	..	..	18,581	5,918	24,499
Total, British Territory. }	47	249	984,922	117,440,652	113,644,480	231,085,132
Native States —						
In connection with						
Bengal . . . . .	..	4	..	1,899,704	1,836,011	3,735,715
North-Western Provinces . . . . .	..	2	..	411,897	387,778	799,675
Punjab . . . . .	..	34	..	2,417,932	2,020,884	4,438,816
Central Provinces . . . . .	..	36	..	982,823	1,000,673	1,983,496
Madras . . . . .	..	5	..	2,100,313	2,000,009	4,100,322
Bombay . . . . .	..	20	..	3,504,975	3,386,716	6,891,691
Burma . . . . .	..	..	..	609,895	618,565	1,228,460
Rajputana Agency . . . . .	..	20	..	5,167,640	4,673,392	9,841,032
Central Indian Agency . . . . .	..	80	..	4,357,225	4,144,658	8,501,883
Baroda . . . . .	..	6	..	1,007,944	942,983	1,950,927
Hyderabad . . . . .	..	19	..	5,664,772	5,510,125	11,174,897
Mysore . . . . .	..	8	..	2,796,165	2,742,317	5,538,482
Kashmir . . . . .	..	..	..	1,544,412	1,361,761	2,906,173
Total, Native States } . . . . .	..	213	..	32,465,697	30,715,872	63,181,569
Grand Total, India }	47	462	..	149,906,349	144,360,352	294,266,701

B.—REVENUES AND RECEIPTS, BRITISH INDIA, DURING TEN YEARS.

REVENUES.

Years	Land Revenue	Opium.	Salt.	Stamps.	Excise.	Cust'ms.	Other Principal Heads.	Total Principal Heads of Revenue.
1890-91	16,030,139	5,252,788	5,682,245	2,712,646	3,298,520	1,162,145	5,121,673	39,260,156
1891-92	15,977,183	5,341,578	5,757,455	2,841,437	3,411,509	1,134,192	5,214,669	39,678,032
1892-93	16,603,552	5,328,787	5,770,736	2,965,693	3,494,962	1,078,422	5,469,431	40,711,583
1893-94	17,059,739	4,418,381	5,485,917	3,006,234	3,592,382	1,121,582	5,444,831	40,129,066
1894-95	16,938,848	4,882,505	5,777,166	3,083,787	3,685,118	2,569,970	5,452,687	42,390,081
1895-96	17,467,303	4,749,281	5,907,897	3,151,370	3,814,944	3,344,852	5,613,247	44,048,894
1896-97	15,982,993	4,272,825	5,614,470	3,185,162	3,742,800	2,994,318	5,669,037	41,461,605
1897-98	17,122,428	3,453,181	5,729,483	3,224,695	3,659,636	3,094,197	5,819,228	42,102,848
1898-99	18,300,208	3,816,887	6,066,581	3,198,433	3,828,948	3,201,441	6,036,720	44,455,218
1899-1900	17,205,056	4,401,982	5,850,463	3,265,476	3,859,942	3,133,791	5,937,620	43,654,330

RECEIPTS.

Year.	Interest.	Post Office, Telegraph. and Mint.	Receipts by Civil Departments.	Miscellaneous.	Railways.	Irrigation.	Buildings and Roads.	Receipts by Military Departments.	Total Revenues and Receipts.
1890-91	839,895	1,693,503	1,078,689	578,388	11,490,763	1,448,385	435,854	528,608	57,154,241
1891-92	588,858	1,717,707	1,104,227	582,130	13,292,084	1,514,693	419,275	522,132	59,419,138
1892-93	578,155	1,823,985	1,071,673	564,208	12,718,053	1,612,601	433,581	573,071	60,086,910
1893-94	582,655	1,831,604	1,087,285	584,317	13,531,292	1,530,940	446,988	561,853	60,286,200
1894-95	542,536	1,762,764	1,085,475	644,348	14,162,722	1,559,210	456,042	658,310	63,261,488
1895-96	547,694	1,892,673	1,122,608	594,153	14,572,803	1,533,301	471,606	638,966	65,422,598
1896-97	710,742	2,007,345	1,118,815	602,599	13,531,855	2,100,426	461,330	627,212	62,621,929
1897-98	580,644	2,246,857	1,148,926	594,206	14,173,861	2,379,909	443,999	585,956	64,257,206
1898-99	706,285	2,048,535	1,151,024	650,608	15,160,534	2,308,716	409,983	610,284	67,567,187
1899-1900	605,815	2,486,079	1,185,044	557,826	16,587,045	2,399,862	440,880	719,483	68,637,164

C.—PROPORTION OF REVENUES AND RECEIPTS TO
THE PEOPLE'S INCOME, BRITISH INDIA.

Total revenues and receipts, 1899-1900	£68,637,164
Population (preliminary census of 1901)	231,085,132
Incidence per head of popula- tion	Six shillings approximately
Income of the people, per head (Lord Curzon's estimate)	Forty shillings
Proportion of gross revenue and receipts to income	$\frac{6}{40}$ or over one-seventh
Net revenues, excluding receipts, 1899-1900	£43,654,330
Population (preliminary census of 1901)	231,085,132
Incidence per head of population Income of the people per head (Lord Curzon's estimate)	3s. 9d. approximately Forty shillings
Proportion of nett revenues to income	$\frac{3\frac{3}{4}}{40}$ or over one-eleventh

D.—HOME CHARGES, 1899-1900.

Indian revenues remitted to England:—	
1. Interest on debt and management of debt	£2,941,343
2. Charges on account of Departments in India (mail service, telegraph connection with India, &c.)	213,465
3. Railways (State railways, interest and an- nuities, guarantee lines, interest)	5,913,780
4. Public works (furlough, absentee allowances, &c.)	55,107
5. Marine charges	161,114
6. Military charges (payments to British ex- chequer, troop service and passage money, furlough allowances, pensions, &c.)	3,661,617
7. Civil charges (Secretary of State's establish- ment, Cooper's Hill College, furlough allowances, pensions, charities, &c.)	2,433,138
8. Stores	1,013,282
Total	<u>£16,392,846</u>

Thus the principal items are :—

Interest on debt	about 3 millions
Railways	6 "
Military charges	3½ "
Civil charges	2½ "
And stores	1 "

E.—SALARIES, &c., TO EUROPEANS IN INDIA,
1889-90.

From a return ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 17th May 1892 :—

	₹ (reckoning ₹1=10 rupees)
Salaries to officers on service.	8,771,443
Allowances to officers on leave	463,631
Pensions to officers in India	232,888
Amounts to officers in railway service	806,284
	<u>₹10,274,246</u>

NOTE.—The above figures represent salaries, &c., paid to Europeans in India drawing £100 or more a year. It does not include allowances, &c., to Europeans who have retired to England, or the pay of soldiers and constables in India drawing less than £100 a year. The figures are for 1889-90, as no later figures are available. At present a pound is worth 15 rupees, and not 10 rupees; but on the other hand, the number of Europeans employed in India has increased within the last ten years, and a compensation allowance is granted to them on account of the fall in the value of the rupee. A statement for 1899-1900, including the pay and compensation allowance of all Europeans in India, would be interesting.

F.—AREA UNDER IRRIGATION IN 1899-1900, IN ACRES.

Administrations.	Total Area under Crops.	AREA IRRIGATED					Total Area Irrigated.
		By Canal		By Tanks.	By Wells	Other Sources	
		Government.	Private.				
Bengal	65,708,800	754,577	...	...	...	...	754,577
N.W. Provinces	30,189,651	1,981,373	5,692	1,215,683	4,478,507	553,595	8,234,850
Oudh	11,413,508	...	...	976,394	1,643,178	80,453	2,700,025
Punjab	20,738,687	4,243,524	823,729	20,049	4,154,598	134,083	9,375,983
Lower Burma	6,665,639	310	1,325	...	...	3,434	5,069
Upper Burma	3,419,703	252,161	307,198	129,864	7,211	102,587	799,021
Central Provinces	17,043,937	...	810	176,187	64,188	14,079	255,264
Assam	5,321,818	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ajmere-Merwara	394,844	...	...	7,228	43,776	116	51,120
Coorg	202,541	...	1,370	...	...	...	1,370
Madras	27,785,796	2,648,160	26,280	1,832,527	1,120,804	146,986	5,783,766
Bombay and Sind	27,975,223	2,452,262	145,608	30,443	698,794	188,563	3,515,670
Berar	6,787,318	...	72	...	66,638	107	67,070
Pargana Manpur	6,868	...	...	...	324	...	324
Total	223,654,333	12,333,737	1,310,723	4,388,375	12,287,218	1,224,003	31,544,056

APPENDIX

G.—MILEAGE OF RAILWAY LINES OPEN FOR TRAFFIC
AT THE END OF 1900.

	Miles.
Guaranteed Companies	1,305
Assisted Companies	1,514
State Lines	18,941
Native State Lines	2,873
Foreign Lines	74
Total	24,707

H.—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1899-1900.

Value of merchandise and treasure imported into and exported from British India by sea, excluding Government stores and treasures:—

Imports			Exports.			Excess of Exports over Imports.
Merchandise.	Treasure	Total.	Merchandise.	Treasure	Total.	
£ 47,141,242	£ 13,972,342	£ 61,113,584	£ 72,650,791	£ 3,300,027	£ 77,950,818	£ 16,837,234

I.—IMPORT OF PRIVATE MERCHANDISE AND TREASURE
FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, 1899-1900.

EUROPE.

Countries.	1899-1900.
United Kingdom	£40,803,321
Austria-Hungary	1,616,090
Belgium	1,224,021
Denmark	586
France	830,270
Germany	1,123,640
Greece	992
Holland	206,904
Italy	493,425

APPENDIX

447

Countries.	1899-1900.
Malta	3,537
Norway	27,339
Portugal	4,237
Russia	1,601,293
Spain	6,044
„ Gibraltar	3,502
Sweden	46,226
Turkey in Europe	93,885
Total	<u>£48,085,312</u>

AFRICA.

Abyssinia	£7,653
Cape Colony	330,876
Egypt	419,269
Madagascar	1,761
Mauritius	1,101,167
Mozambique	49,552
Natal	129,164
Réunion	287
Zanzibar	168,262
Other countries	14,670
Total	<u>£2,192,661</u>

AMERICA.

Canada	£18,110
South America	111
United States	828,073
West Indies	241
Other countries . . . . .	..
Total	<u>846,535</u>

ASIA

Aden	£169,902
Arabia	864,604
Ceylon	990,751
China, Hongkong	1,320,849
„ Treaty ports	357,332
Japan	1,537,479
Java	182,913
Maldivé Islands	4,027

Countries.	1899-1900.
Mekran and Sonmiani	51,727
Persia	632,684
Siam	63,958
Straits Settlements	1,318,972
Sumatra	11,926
Turkey in Asia	333,122
Other countries	46,632
Total	<u>£7,886,878.</u>

AUSTRALASIA.

Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand	£2,102,198
Imported <i>via</i> Suez Canal	£48,737,301
" by other routes	12,376,283
Grand Total	<u>£61,113,584</u>

NOTE.—Two-thirds of India's imports are from the United Kingdom. This includes goods of other nations sent through the United Kingdom.

J.—IMPORT OF DIFFERENT ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE, 1899-1900.

Articles.	1899-1900.
Apparel	£976,204
Arms, ammunition, &c.	168,764
Books, papers, and stationery	622,120
Building and engineering material	127,630
Carriages, carts, &c.	176,541
Chemicals	299,692
Coal, coke, &c.	540,143
Cotton: Raw	308,206
Twist and yarn	1,633,341
Manufactures	18,001,409
Drugs and medicines	336,163
Dyeing and tanning materials	428,906
Flax manufactures	98,645
Fruits and vegetables	62,304
Glass	511,101
Grain and pulse	484,662
Gums and resins	76,948
Hardware, cutlery, implements, &c.	1,060,195

APPENDIX

449

Countries.	1899-1900.
Horses	£197,934
Instruments, apparatus, and appliances	259,905
Ivory, and manufactures of	187,098
Jewellery and precious stones	734,999
Leather, and manufactures of	126,839
Liquors: Malt	303,926
Spirits, &c.	570,669
Wines	190,390
Machinery and millwork	1,694,602
Matches	231,729
Metals: Iron	1,612,932
Steel	287,234
Brass	41,156
Copper	352,758
Zinc or Spelter	92,943
Tin	92,275
Lead	104,486
Quicksilver	22,691
Unenumerated	134,028
Oils: Minerals	2,120,361
Animal and vegetable	163,754
Paints and colours, &c.	231,433
Porcelain and earthenware	132,691
Provisions	1,125,498
Railway plant and rolling stock	1,851,385
Salt	407,997
Silk: Raw	384,059
Manufactures	753,221
Spices	611,015
Sugar	2,251,086
Tea	105,762
Tobacco	222,641
Umbrellas	182,021
Wood, and manufactures of	150,394
Wool: Raw	56,969
Manufactures	1,172,001
All other articles	1,687,352
Total	<u>£47,141,242</u>

NOTE.—Twenty millions sterling of merchandise (out of a total of forty-seven millions) consist of cotton goods.

K.—EXPORT OF PRIVATE MERCHANDISE AND TREASURE
TO DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, 1899-1900.

Countries.	EUROPE.	1899-1900.
United Kingdom		£22,473,275
Austria-Hungary		1,143,895
Belgium		2,289,709
France		4,443,212
Germany		5,020,680
Greece		2,769
Holland		284,097
Italy		1,842,356
Malta		3,721
Portugal		32,947
Russia		82,703
Spain		111,307
„ Gibraltar		3,175
Sweden		3,471
Turkey in Europe		36,986
Other countries		677
Total		<u>£37,774,980</u>
	AFRICA.	
Abyssinia		£112,732
Cape Colony		195,057
Egypt		3,589,660
Madagascar		6,201
Mauritius		697,018
Mozambique		165,423
Natal		249,734
Réunion		66,022
St. Helena . . . . .		...
Zanzibar		508,978
Other countries		189,316
Total		<u>£5,774,141</u>
	AMERICA.	
Canada		£51,328
South America		1,053,515
United States		5,079,633
West Indies		86,942
Other countries		25,960
Total		<u>£6,297,378</u>

APPENDIX

451

ASIA.		
Countries.		1899-1900.
Aden		£686,420
Arabia		769,741
Ceylon		3,530,205
China, Hong-Kong		5,585,392
" Treaty ports		4,996,667
Cochin-China		103,528
Japan		4,237,663
Java		48,734
Maldivo Islands		9,391
Mekran and Somniani		86,729
Persia		807,188
Philippine Islands		5,285
Siam		87,210
Straits Settlements		6,652,080
Sumatra		5,105
Turkey in Asia		375,131
Other countries		701
Grand total		<u>£27,037,170</u>

AUSTRALASIA.

Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania,	£1,067,150
Exported <i>via</i> Suez Canal	£44,840,777
by other routes	33,110,042
Grand total	<u>£77,950,819</u>

L.—EXPORT OF DIFFERENT ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE,
1899-1900.

Articles.	1899-1900.
Animals, living	£139,233
Apparel	196,023
Coal, coke, &c.	218,877
Coffee	1,003,898
Corr. and manufactures of (excluding cordage)	259,259
Cotton: Raw	6,616,710
Twist and yarn	4,671,896
Manufactures	1,740,532
Drugs and medicines (excluding opium)	165,265
Dyeing and tanning materials:	
Indigo	1,795,097
Other sorts	461,204

Articles.	1899-1900.
Grain and pulse :	
Jawar and Bajra	£127,947
Rice	8,733,490
Wheat	2,606,331
Wheat-flour	256,625
Other sorts	344,324
Gums and resins	107,871
Hemp, raw	168,830
Hides and skins, raw, dressed, and tanned	6,975,590
Horns	124,055
Ivory, and manufactures of	31,290
Jewellery and precious stones	73,440
Jute, raw	5,381,098
„ manufactures	4,176,530
Lac (of all sorts)	757,773
Manures (chiefly animal bones)	408,581
Metals	239,484
Oil-cake	138,731
Oils	594,774
Opium	5,469,143
Provisions	499,685
Rice-bran	216,162
Saltpetre	256,196
Seeds	6,739,793
Silk, raw	477,201
„ manufactures	116,921
Spices	386,617
Sugar	301,263
Tea	6,117,986
Tobacco	122,977
Wood, and manufactures of	730,774
Wool, raw	1,201,304
„ manufactures	195,839
All other articles	1,304,262
Indian produce or manufacture	£70,455,797
Foreign ditto (re-exported)	2,194,994
Total	<u>£72,650,791</u>

NOTE.—India exports eleven millions sterling of raw cotton and cotton twist, eleven millions sterling of rice and wheat, seven millions sterling of hides, mostly raw, five millions sterling of raw jute, two millions sterling of raw silk and wool, and nearly seven millions sterling of seeds.* There is an immense opening for industries if the raw materials could be manufactured in India.

M.—EDUCATION, 1899-1900.

Number of Scholars in Different Provinces.	Boys.	Girls.
Bengal	1,580,192	107,403
N W. Provinces	404,997	20,770
Punjab	239,624	22,695
Bombay	542,895	88,310
Madras	733,923	129,068
Burma	255,519	32,468
Central Provinces	122,798	2,103
Berar	45,427	3,128
Assam	98,930	8,738
Ajmere-Merwara	8,895	1,161
Coorg	3,683	
Total	4,037,083	425,761

NOTE.—Male population of British India, 117 millions; boys of school-going age (about $\frac{1}{4}$), 29 millions. Therefore, one boy in every seven receives instruction.

Female population of British India, 114 millions; girls of school-going age (about $\frac{1}{3}$), 14 millions. Therefore, one girl in every thirty-three receives instruction in schools; but a much larger number are instructed at home in India.

N.—EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND COST,
1899-1900.

	No of Institutions.	No of Scholars.
Colleges	179	20,744
Secondary schools	5,425	592,829
Primary schools	100,965	3,203,859
Special schools	847	31,926
Private institutions	43,153	613,486
Total	150,569	4,462,844

APPENDIX

	Cost.
From provincial revenues	£664,223
From local funds	381,338
From municipal funds	102,896
Fees	778,599
From other sources	588,211
Total	<u>£2,515,267</u>

NOTE.—Excluding grants from Local and Municipal Funds and schooling fees, the Government of India pays £664,223, or less than a hundredth part of the gross revenues and receipts of India, for education.

INDEX

- ADMINISTRATION**, 14, 56, 60, 82, 83, 162, 163, 312-344
 Agra, 172, 391
 Agricultural tenants, *see Ryots*
 Agriculture, 27, 142, 143, 203 *et seq.*, 232 *et seq.*, 276 *et seq.*
 Ahmedabad, 353
 Ahmednagar, 360
 Allahabad, 172, 173, 391, 436
 Amherst, Lord, 13, 407
 Arcot, 3, 159, 160, 199
 Arcot Nawab's debts, 98-115
 Area of India, 441
 Argaon, battle of, 11
 Arracan, 13
 Asaf-ud-Daula, Nawab, 70, 73, 74
 Assam, 13
 Assye, battle of, 11
 Auckland, Lord, 16, 309

BALAGHAT, 122
 Balwant Sing, 70
 Banda, 434
 Bangalore, 201, 205
 Baramahal, 84, 112 *et seq.*
 Barlow, Sir John, 12
 Begams of Oudh, 76
 Behar, 233 *et seq.*
 • Benares, 7, 9, 70 *et seq.*, 172, 391
 • Benfield, Paul, 107, 113 *et seq.*
 Bengal, 18-96
 Bentinck, Lord Wilham, 13, 15, 16, 138, 139, 338-344, 384-389, 407
 Bhagalpur, 240 *et seq.*
 Bhavani, Rani, 64 *et seq.*
 Bhonsla, Mahratta Chief, 11, 12
 Bird, Robert Mertins, 389-393
 Black Hole of Calcutta, 4
 Bolts, William, 25, 26
 Bombay, 3, 6, 12, 330-337, 345-383
 Briggs, 357, 372-374, 428
 Bristow, 75
 Broach, 353
 Buchanan, Dr. Francis, 196-232

 Bundelkhand, 177
 Burdwan, 19, 43, 62, 63, 64
 Burke, Edmund, 49, 50, 214, 115
 Burma, 13, 407

CALCUTTA, 3, 4
 Calicut, 83
 Campbell, Sir George, 168
 Canara, 122, 125, 126, 225 *et seq.*
 Canning, Lord, 382, 396
 Cartier, Governor of Bengal, 42
 Ceded Districts in Madras, 112, 126
 Ceded Districts in Northern India, 173 *et seq.*
 Chait Sing, 70 *et seq.*
 Chaplin, 357, 361, 362-364, 429
 Character of the people of India, 78, 258, 259, 320, 321, 322, 325, 429
 Charter of the East India Company, renewed, 9, 13, 16, 257, 268, 269, 270, 339, 398
 Chittagong, 19
 Cicacole, 116
 Civil Administration, *see Administration*
 Clavering, 63, 64
 Clive, Lord, 1-5, 19, 33, 35 *et seq.*, 116
 Clive, Lord (son of above), 121
 Coal, 286
 Cochin, 222
 Coffee, 283
 Coimbatour, 122, 155 *et seq.*, 215 *et seq.*
 Coinage, 254, 310
 Colebrooke, 178, 185, 188, 189
 Commerce, *see Trade*
 Concan, 354
 Conjeveram, 198
 Conquered Provinces in Northern India, 177
 Coorg, 13, 83
 Coote, Sir Eyre, 1, 4, 7, 112
 Copper, 287

- Corwallis, Lord, 8, 9, 12, 81-96, 405
 Cotton and cotton goods, 256, 257, 271 *et seq.*, 294 *et seq.*
 Criminal Administration, *see Administration*
 Cultivators, *see Ryots*
 Curzon, Lord, 383
 Custom Duties, *see Tariff and Transit Duties*
 Cuttack, 177, 181, 192
- DALHOUSIE, Lord, 395
 Debi Sing, 61, 62
 Debt, Public, of India, 292, 409
 Deccan, 3, 10, 122, 356, 361-365, 415, 416
 Delhi, 11, 391
 Delhi, Emperor of, 5, 6
 Dewani or Administration of Bengal, ceded to the Company, 5, 35 *et seq.*
 Dharwar, 360
 Dinajpur, 61, 62, 246 *et seq.*
 Downeswall, 186
 Drain of revenues, *see Economic Drain*
 Dual Government in Bengal, 42
 Duff, Grant, 428
 Dumbleton, 176
 Duplex, 3
 Duties, *see Transit Duties and Tariffs*
- ECONOMIC Condition of Northern India, 232-255, 432-436
 Economic Condition of Southern India, 195-231
 Economic Drain from India, 39, 40, 49, 50, 68, 85, 86, 268, 409-420
 Education, 336, 337, 341, 342, 351, 453
 Ellenborough, Lord, 306-309
 Ellis, 20, 21
 Ellor, 116
 Elphinstone, Mountstuart, 15, 330-338, 345-367, 428
 Etawa, 433
 Export Trade, *see Trade*
 Exports, 450
- FAMINES in India, 51, 52, 53, 72, 76, 112, 177, 208, 430, 431
 Farakabad, 10
 Finance, *see Revenues, Debt, Economic Drain, and Home Charges*
- Fox's India Bill, 77
 Francis, Sir Philip, 6, 54, 59, 63, 64, 71, 73, 74, 82
 Fyzabad, 434
- GAEKWAB of Baroda, 12
 Ganga Gavind Sing, 64
 Ghazipur, 434
 Gold, 239, 254, 285
 Goldfinch, 380, 381
 Goldsmid, 375, 376
 Gorakhpur, 243 *et seq.*
 Gujrat, *see Ahmedabad*
 Guntoor, 121
- HAIIDAR ALI, 5, 7, 112
 Halifax, Lord, 169, 382, 396
 Hamilton, Dr., *see Buchanan*
 Hanny, Colonel, 74, 75, 76
 Hastings, Marquis of, 12, 13, 184 *et seq.*, 341, 406
 Hastings, Warren, 6 *et seq.*, 21, 22, 28, 29, 53, 54 *et seq.*, 102, 103, 257, 265
 Haveli lands of Madras, 117 *et seq.*
 Heber, Bishop, 369, 370
 Hindu College of Calcutta, 13, 341, 429
 Hobart, Lord, 121
 Holkar, 11, 12
 Home Charges, 291, 409, 419, 443
- IDDESLEIGH, Lord, *see Northcott*
 Imports, 446-449
 Import Trade, *see Trade*
 Indian People, *see Character of the people*
 Indigo, 249, 266, 267, 278 *et seq.*, 295
 Industries, 256-290, *see Manufactures*
 Investment or merchandise bought from revenues, 48, 68, 112, 113, 263, 264, 268
 Iron, 204, 209, 218, 221
 Irrigation, 157, 197-200, 202, 204, 211, 213, 233, 247, 311, 312, 445
- JAIN temples and images, 227
 Joint Report of 1847, 376-379
 Judicial Administration, *see Administration*
 Jum, or primitive cultivation, 241
 Jute, 251

- KARNATIO, 3, 4, 5, 10, 99 *et seq.*,
122 *et seq.*, 129 *et seq.*, 199, 200
- Khandesh, 357
- Khirk, battle of, 12
- Khote tenants, 355
- Kishnagiri, 112
- Kondapilly, 116
- LABOURERS' wages, see *Wages*
- Lac-dye, 282, 295
- Lake, Lord, 11
- Lally, 4
- Land Revenue, see *Land Tax*
- Land Settlements: Bengal, 54-96; Madras, 116-173; Northern India, 172-194, 384-397; Bombay, 345-383
- Land Tax, 169, 170, 223, 224, 229, 230, 231, 358, 361, 362, 368-374, 382, 393, 396, 399-405, 442
- Laswari, battle of, 11
- Law Commissioners, 422
- Lawrence, Lord, 396, 431
- Las, Friedrich, on Indian Industries, 300-302
- Lumsden, 181
- Lytton, Lord, 426
- MACARTNEY, Lord, 111
- Macaulay T. B., 341, 342, 421-425, 428
- Mackenzie, Holt, 190, 287, 290, 303-305, 413, 414
- Madras, 3, 5, 97-160, 197, 198, 326-330
- Mahalwar Settlement, see *Land Settlements*
- Mahomed Ali, Nawab, 98 *et seq.*
- Mahomed Reza Khan, 85
- Mahrattas, 6, 10, 12, 331, 346 *et seq.*, 415
- Malabar, 128, 221 *et seq.*
- Malcolm, Sir John, 12, 258, 298, 414-417
- Malwa, 415, 416
- Mangalore, 227
- Manufactures, 27, 45, 205 *et seq.*, 235, 239, 241, 245, 248, 251, 256-290, 293 *et seq.*
- Martin, Montgomery, 232, 289, 409, 410
- Meerut, 391
- Mehidpur, battle of, 12
- Metcalfe, Sir Charles, 16, 386-388
- Middleton, 75
- Midnapur, 19, 43
- Mill, James, 30, 75
- Mill, John Stuart, *Pref.* xvi., xviii.
- Minto, Lord, 12, 181 *et seq.*
- Mirasi tenant-right in Bombay, 355, 358, 360, 362, 363
- Mirasi tenant-right in Madras, 147
- Mir Jafar, Nawab, 4, 19, 32
- Mir Kasim, Nawab, 19 *et seq.*
- Misrule and oppression, 20 *et seq.*, 36, 41, 62, 72, 76, 124, 148, 149, 154-160, 175, 194, 265-268, 314, 321, 322, 375
- Mongyhr Treaty, 28
- Monson, 63, 64
- Moplas, 222
- Mornington, Lord, see *Wellesley, Lord*
- Munro, Sir Thomas, 14, 123 *et seq.*, 135 *et seq.*, 145, 150 *et seq.*, 160 *et seq.*, 259, 266, 326 *et seq.*
- Mysore, 5, 7, 9, 13, 83, 201 *et seq.*
- NAIRS, 225
- Najim-ud-Daula, Nawab, 32, 34
- Nand Kumar, Maharaja, 85
- Nellore, 153, 154
- Nepal, 12
- Nizam of the Deccan, see *Deccan*
- Northcoote, Sir Stafford, 396
- Northern Circars, 4, 116 *et seq.*, 121
- Northern India, 172-194, 222-255, 384-397
- ONORE, 229
- Opium, 278, 287
- Oudh, 6, 7, 10, 70, 73 *et seq.*, 173
- PANDEYTS, 326, 328, 351, 352, 366
- Patna, 233
- Penal Code, 422
- Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue: Bengal, 9, 59, 84-96; Madras, 121, 131, 134; proposed for Northern India, 176 *et seq.*; proposed for all India, 396
- Peshwa, head of the Mahrattas, 11, 12
- Pigot, Lord, 107, 108
- Pindarees, 12
- Pitt's India Act, 8, 77, 116
- Plassy, battle of, 1, 4, 19
- Police Administration, see *Administration*
- Polygars, 129 *et seq.*, 146
- Pondicherry, 4
- Poona, 357 *et seq.*

Population of India, 441
 Pringle, 374
 Prinsep, H. T., 310
 Purnea, Hindu Minister, 202
 Purniya District, 251 *et seq.*

QUEEN VICTORIA, *see Victoria*

KAL-BARELI, 435
 Railways, 311, 312, 446
 Rajamandri, 116
 Ram Mohan Roy, Raja, 339, 489
 Read, Captain, 123
 Regulating Act, 6, 54
 Rents, 207, 208, 234, 243, 248, 252
 Revenue Bengal, 37, 46, 69, Madras, 113; Northern India, 175, 188; all India 291, 339-405, 442
 Richards, Robert, 371
 Ripon, Marquis of, 170, 171, 383
 Robertson, Captain, 357 *et seq.*
 Rohilkhand, 391
 Rohillas, 6
 Rumbold, Sir Thomas, 109, 120
 Rungpur, 62
 Ryots, or cultivators, 88, 89, 147-149, 161, 348, 355, 358-363
 Ryotwari Settlement, *see Land Settlements*

SAHRANPUR Rules, 395, 396
 Salaries of Europeans, 444
 Salem, 112
 Salsette, 7
 Salt, 278, 287
 Saltpetre, 283
 Sati rite, 339
 Self-government, 166, 167
 Seringapatam, 202
 Shahabad, 237
 Shore, Sir John, 9, 77, 84 *et seq.*, 172, 265
 Shore, Honourable John, 410, 411
 Silk and silk fabrics, 27, 45, 256, 273 *et seq.*, 294 *et seq.*
 Spadia, 11, 12
 Sitabaldi, battle of, 12
 Siyar Mutakharia, 22
 Sleeman, Colonel, 339
 Spinning, 235, 238, 241, 245, 248, 252
 Steam navigation, 310
 Subsidiary alliances, 10
 Sugar, 280, 294
 Suja ud-Daula, Nawab, 70

Sullivan, John, 157, 412, 413, 429
 Supreme Court, 54
 Suraj-ud Daula, Nawab, 4
 Surat, 10, 354
 Sutherland, James, 429

TANJORE, 10, 104 *et seq.*, 122, 128, 159
 Tariffs, 261 *et seq.*, 293, 294
 Tea, 267, 283 *et seq.*
 Teignmouth, Lord, *see Shore, Sir John*
 Tenants, *see Ryots*
 Tenasserim, 13
 Thomson, James, 393, 394
 Thugs, or wayside murderers, 339
 Timber, 287
 Tipu Sultan, 7, 9, 10, 83
 Tobacco, 281, 282
 Tod, James, Lt.-Colonel, 428
 Todar Mall, 84, 85
 Toll, *see Transit Duties*
 Trade, External, 291-302, 446-452
 Trade, Internal, 18 *et seq.*, 205, 236, 239, 242, 245, 246, 254, 303-312
 Trade by Company's servants, 18 *et seq.*, 40, 42
 Transit Duties, 18-32, 303-308
 Trevelyan, Sir Charles, 306, 309, 310, 343, 430
 Trichinopoly, 154
 Tucker, Henry St. George, 133, 178, 262

VANSITTART, Henry, 19, 28, 30, 31
 Vellore, 200
 Verelst, Harry, 20, 42-44, 47
 Victoria, Queen, Accession of, 427, 428
 Village Community: Bombay, 346-348, 359, 366; Madras, 118, 141, 150-152, 206; Northern India, 191, 386-388
 Village Settlements, 135 *et seq.*
 Volcker, Dr., 277, 278

WAGES of labour, 204, 207, 208, 234, 237, 241, 259, 260, 443
 Walker, Colonel, 322-324
 Wallick, Dr., 277, 284
 Wandewash, battle of, 4
 Weavers, 26, 264, 265
 Weaving, 235, 238, 241, 245, 248, 251
 Wellesley, Arthur, *see Wellington*

INDEX

459

Wellesley, Marquis of, 9-11, 122, 132, 173 <i>et seq</i> , 406	Wood, Sir Charles, } see <i>Halifax,</i> <i>Lord</i>
Wellesley, Henry, 174, 175	
Wellington, Duke of, 11	
Wilson, H. H., 30, 263, 314, 381, 382, 428	ZEMINDARS: Bengal, 55, 61, 88 <i>et</i> <i>seq</i> .; Northern India, 172; Mad- ras, 110, 111, 117, 146
Wines, 290	Zemindari Settlement, see <i>Land</i> <i>Settlements</i>
Wingate, Sir George, 375, 376, 418- 420	

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