

**RUIN OF
INDIAN TRADE AND INDUSTRIES**

**RUIN OF INDIAN
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By
Major B. D. BASU, I.M.S.

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To
All those who are interested
in
the Industrial Development
of India.

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APPENDIX A

Sidelights on the Ruin of Indian Shipping

Sidelights on how the ruin of Indian shipping came about are thrown by some passages in W. S. Lindsay's *History of Merchant Shipping*, Vol. II, in which it is stated :

"In 1789 the Portuguese, who once engrossed the whole of the oriental trade, had but three ships at Canton, the Dutch five, the French one, the Danes one, the United States of America fifteen, and the English East India Company forty, while British subjects residing in India had a similar number. Moreover, a very considerable portion of the trade of the East was then conducted in Indian ships, owned by the natives, by whom as many voyages were undertaken from India to China, and from the coast of Malabar to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, as in the days before the passage to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope had been discovered.

"It was not, however, until 1795 that India-built vessels were permitted to convey goods to London. In the course of that year a great number of the Company's ships having been employed in the service of the English government, instructions were sent to the presidencies to engage vessels of India built at 16*l.* per ton for rice and other dead-weight stowage, and 20*l.* for light goods to the Thames, with liberty to take back on their own account whatever merchandise they pleased to the territories of the Company, or to any place within the limits of its charter.

"Many of them having been constructed on speculation, under an impression that they would be permanently employed, although warned by Lord Cornwallis to the contrary, their owners were greatly disappointed when they found that after the immediate wants of the government and the Company had been satisfied their services

were no longer required. English shipowners in the service of the Company inflexibly maintained their monopoly, and having secured stipulations for a number of voyages during successive years, they successfully opposed for a time any innovation of a permanent character upon their chartered rights. The contest, however, which arose between the independent merchants of England, who had combined with the owners of native shipping against the Company on this point, induced the Directors to make various concessions, which were the prelude to the opening of the trade at a future period." Pp. 454 & 455.

Perhaps at that future period the "concessions" came too late so far as "the owners of native shipping" were concerned.

The same author writes in the same volume of his work :

"When, in 1796, the Company's charter was again renewed, the important provision was made that all His Majesty's subjects, residing in any part of his European dominions, were to be allowed to export to India any article of the produce or manufacture of the country where they resided, except military stores, ammunition, masts, spars, cordage, pitch, tar, and copper; and the Company's civil servants in India, as well as the free merchants resident there, were permitted to ship, on their own account and risk, all kinds of Indian goods, except calicoes, dimitics, muslins, and other piecegoods. But so jealous were the Directors of competition in their commercial operations, that they prevailed on the government to insert various clauses in the new charter whereby neither the merchants of India nor of England generally, nor any of the Company's servants, were allowed to import or export except in ships belonging to or chartered by the Company; appropriating, however, under various restrictions, three thousand tons of space in their ships for the use of private traders, at the reduced rate, in time of peace, 5*l.* outwards, and 15*l.* homewards, for every ton occupied by them in the Company's ships, but stipulating that this rate of freight might be increased

in time of war by the approbation of the Board of Control." Pp. 456-57.

It is stated further in the same book :

"Lord Melville quotes, from a letter written by the Marquess of Hastings to the Company, dated 21st of March, 1812, the following passage, "It will not be denied that the facilities granted by that Act (the Act of 1796) have not been satisfactory, at least to the merchants of this country or of India." Page 457.

APPENDIX B

The Indigenous Iron Industries of India

In Sir George Watt's *Commercial Products of India*, page 692, it is stated :

"There would seem to be "no doubt that the existing manufacture of wrought iron by a direct process was wide-spread in the country before the date of the most ancient historic records, while the manufacture of the ancient *wootz* anticipated by many centuries the cementation process, developed in Europe, for the manufacture of the finest qualities of steel." "The Native iron-smelting industry has been practically stamped out by cheap imported iron and steel within range of the railways, but it still persists in the more remote parts of the Peninsula and in some parts of the Central Provinces has shown signs of slight improvement." (*Imp. Gaz.*, 1907, iii, 145.) According to Mr. Syed Ali Belgrami, the Nizam's Dominions furnished the material from which the famous Damascus blades of the Middle Ages were made. To this day Hyderabad is noted for its swords and daggers."

It does not appear that the British Government in India ever did anything to prevent "the Native iron-smelting industry" from being "practically stamped out." But some glimpses of how the

process of stamping out was accelerated are to be found in Valentine Ball's *Jungle Life in India*, pp. 224-25, where he writes :

November 16th (1869), Doocha—

"In this village there are some native iron furnaces, the sole surviving remains of an industry now well-nigh extinct in this part of the country owing to the restrictions placed upon it by the Birbhum Company, which bought up the sole right to manufacture, and owing also to the royalty subsequently inflicted by the native landlords."

The Birbhum Company, referred to above, was a British Company. The British Government ought not to have sold the sole right to manufacture iron and steel to this company, nor allowed "the native landlords" to inflict a prohibitive royalty. Who, if any interested persons, instigated them to do so, is not stated.

Valentine Ball adds :

"To the best of my belief these furnaces are, for their size and the magnitude of their results, by far the largest and most important in the whole of India. Each furnace could make about 15 cwt. of iron per week; and the total estimated outturn in 1852 from 70 of these furnaces was put down at 1700 tons by Dr. Oldham. The *lohars* or iron-makers here were Hindoos; but further to the north, in the vicinity of the Ramgurb Hills, there is another race of iron-makers, who use the ordinary small furnaces, and are called Cols. It is probable that they are identical with the Agurians of Hazaribagh and Palamow, whom I shall describe on a future page."

APPENDIX C

How India's Indigenous Paper Industry was Ruined

In the previously mentioned work Sir George Watt gives a brief history of the manufacture and use of paper in different countries of Asia, including India. Coming to the days of the rule of the East India Company, he writes :

"One of the earliest detailed accounts of the Native methods of paper-making in India is perhaps that given by Buchanan-Hamilton (*Stat. Acc. Dinaj.*, 272-73), the material used being *jute*. Prior to 1840 India obtained a large share of its paper supplies from China. About that date interest was aroused in the subject, and both Hindu and Muhammadan factories for hand-made papers were established all over the country. During Sir Charles Wood's tenure of the office of the Secretary of State for India, an order was issued for the purchase of all the supplies required by the Government of India in Great Britain, and *this threw back very seriously the growing Indian production.*" (P. 866.)

The italics are ours.

Sir Charles Wood was the grandfather of Lord Irwin, the ex-Governor-General of India, and is generally known for his Education Despatch. But he should be remembered also for the order which contributed largely towards the decay of the indigenous paper industry of India.

APPENDIX D

How India's Indigenous Sugar Industry was Ruined

In *The Commercial Products of India* Sir George Watt writes :

"An import duty on Indian sugar, which was practically prohibitive, was imposed by Great Britain. It came to 8s. a cwt. *more than was taken on Colonial sugar.*" (P. 958.)

The italics are Sir George Watt's.

He concludes the section devoted to "Exports to Foreign Countries" with the following paragraph, which has the sideheading "Severe Blow" :

"Thus there can be no doubt that a severe blow has been dealt to the Indian sugar industry, which, but for its own immense resources and recuperative power, might have been calamitous. Had England continued to purchase Indian raw sugar, there is little doubt an immense expansion of the area of production, and an enhancement of the yield, would have been the natural consequence. All this is now changed, and sugar represents 53.3 per cent. of the total value of the articles of food and drink imported, and is the second largest single article of importation, the first being cotton piece-goods. Thus the two chief items of India's early export trade have become her greatest modern imports."

Sir George Watt's work, from which the above extracts are taken, was published in 1908 "under the authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council," and is, therefore, not a seditious book written by a pestilential agitator.

APPENDIX E

The Ruin of Indian Agriculture

BY PROF. DVIJADAS DUTTA, M.A.

“The best way of worshipping God consists in allaying the distress of the times, and in improving the condition of man. This depends, however, on the advancement of Agriculture, etc.” (*Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 12—Blochmann.)

A tea-planter was asked why he did not engage in jute or paddy cultivation. He gave a curt reply: “It would not pay, the cultivator worked for the mere wages of labour.” Though our arts and industries have been killed by foreign competition, there is little fear yet of any foreign competition in agriculture, which is already at the lowest ebb,—no, not even in regard to jute, which is so much in demand in the markets of Europe and America. But who knows what the morrow may bring forth. The opening of the Panama Canal, and the marvellous reduction of the cost of production in America from the introduction of scientific methods and improved machinery, may at any time lead to foreign competition even in agriculture, and as it has always happened—when the competition lies between science and improved machinery on the one hand, and empiricism and hand-labour on the other,—with the same fatal results as in the case of our arts and industries. There is no time for us to be asleep. (Even now Australian wheat has begun to compete

seriously with home-grown wheat in our markets). We should seriously consider and remove the causes and conditions that have led and are still leading to the ruin of Indian agriculture. However much we may try to impress other people with the high profit to be derived from agriculture, practical people shake their heads, and are sceptical. People with any capital to invest, much as they may talk of it,—never seriously think of engaging in agriculture. We are all busy convincing others, but are not convinced ourselves. 'बक हनु परे परे', that is our motto for agriculture. The Zemindar commanding the largest extent of culturable land, the mahajan capitalist rolling in gold, or the successful lawyer—with the highest education that any country can give, in fact all who have money to invest, and brains enough to direct a farm of the most improved and scientific type,—never dream of engaging in agriculture for profit, and very seldom even for a hobby. The agricultural expert, European or Indian, with the highest agricultural training that the world can give, may be busy assuring others of a profit of Rs. 250 per month from a farm of 100 bighas (capital required unknown), while for himself he hankers after a fixed monthly salary, and a cosy berth under the Government. "He came to save others, himself he cannot save."

How the agricultural outlook has changed! European experts may not be aware of it, but how can we forget what we saw with our own eyes? Fifty years ago, there was not a gentleman

owning land in the villages who had not his farm or *khamar* or *nij jot* with perhaps a small dairy which he worked by hired labour under his personal supervision. Why has he cut off his connection with practical farming, arable or dairy, and let out his land to poor ever-indebted cultivators? Why, but to gratify his love of a life free from risk or trouble, and the enjoyment of an "unearned increment," either as money-rent or produce-rent. Everybody knows that farming on one's own account by hired labour is not paying under the existing conditions of our country. Any shrewd man of business, that has money to invest, would rather invest it in loans to the cultivator at a fabulous rate of interest, ranging from 50 to 70 per cent. per annum. With such a sunny prospect of doubling his capital in two years, the village money-lender would be a fool to invest any money in farming on his own account, which cannot, under the most favourable conditions, yield a profit of more than 10 to 15 per cent. per annum. The landed-gentry, the money-lender, or the agricultural expert, one and all, in these days keep as far from practical farming as they would from the devil himself. They will sing the praises of, and go into ecstasies over the profits of agriculture, they will try by all means to tantalise others into it, but they will themselves be always on their guard, as though it were the very "pit that is bottomless." Why should it be so? Because, speaking generally, under the existing conditions, agriculture on a large scale and with profit, is

practically impossible, because Indian agriculture, like the Indian arts and industries, is now in the throes of death. Agriculture which was so profitable in India in olden times that in the *Ramayana* the farmers and stock-breeders of India are said to have been a wealthy class, so well protected by the king that they could sleep with doors wide open. "*Dhana-vantah surakshita serate bibritadvara krishigorakshajivinah,*" agriculture which found profitable occupation for the middle class gentleman even so late as half a century ago, is now in the very throes of death in this so-called agricultural country of ours. What could be the causes that have brought about so marvellous a transformation for evil in so short a time?

The reader will perhaps be surprised if he is told that India was a country of peasant-proprietors ages before Switzerland or any country in Europe, that the king in India, though he had absolute right over the lives and properties of his subjects, was not the proprietor of the land,—that he thought it unworthy of his kingly dignity to be ranked with his subjects as the proprietor of this or that patch of land, that agriculture in India was the joint duty and the joint interest of the king and his subjects, the king providing the pasture ground, the agricultural capital, and the facilities for irrigation, at the same time acting as the protector and guardian of the cultivator, and the cultivator providing the labour of agriculture, that it was as much the interest of the king as of the cultivator to obtain the maximum

yield from the soil, for instead of money-rent the king obtained a fixed share of the actual produce in kind, usually a sixth of the produce. If there was a heavy yield, the royal revenues rose; if there was a low yield, the royal revenues fell. How stand we now? The feudalism of Europe has been somewhat clumsily engrafted on the old Indian stock of peasant-proprietorship, "the Zemindar's official position as tax-collector being confused with the proprietary right of an English land-lord," (Hunter), so that the Indian cultivator is half a serf, and less than half a peasant-proprietor—crushed with the duties of both, but without the privileges of either. Let us not be contented with bare allegations, but let us go into evidence.

We have said that in ancient India, the proprietor of the land was not the king, but the cultivator—for the land is said to belong to the man who first clears the land for purposes of cultivation—"Stharu chedasya kidaram" (Manu IX, 44) and that "the forests, hills and holy places are without a proprietor,—and do not admit of being given—"atavyoh parvatah punyastirthanya yatanane cha sarvanya svamikanyahur na cha teshu parigraha" (Usanas Sanhita, V. 16). What was the king and why was rent paid to the king? The king was the protector and guardian of the land, and the rent was paid as a contribution or fee for the help and protection given by the king. "The king deserves one-half of old buried treasure-trove, and of the minerals in the earth, as giving protection,

for he is the guardian and protector over the land"—*"Bhumeradhipatir hi sah"* VII, 39—Manu. The king is not called the Bhusvami or land-owner, but the *adhipati* or guardian and protector of the land. Says the Ramayana: "Great is the sin of the king who while accepting their tribute of the sixth (of the produce) does not protect the subjects as though they were his own sons" (VI-II-Aranya). Says Manu:—"The king who does not protect but takes the sixth share of the produce is called a carrier of all the evil of the world" (Manu VIII, 30). "The king who takes either the rent, the taxes, the presents or the fines, but does not protect, surely goes to hell" (Manu VIII, 307). Manu fixes the royal share as a "sixth, an eighth, or a twelfth" VII, 130. "The share is to be fixed so that the king as well as the worker receive their due rewards—"*yatha phalena yujyeta raja karta cha karmanam*" VII, 128. On this the commentator remarks—"The mutual claims of the king and the cultivator were so adjusted that the king might get the fruits of his supervision and the cultivators or traders the fruits of their labour in cultivation or trade." The king enjoys the sixth part (of the produce)," says the Ramayana, "how should he not protect his subjects?" "*Shar bhagasya cha bhokta san rakshate na projah katham?*" Utt., XXXI, 87. Thus we see that the rent was not an unearned increment paid by the husbandman to the king as the proprietor of particular patches of land, but as a contribution to the sovereign or over-lord of all, which he earned by

the performance of certain duties. It was a right enjoyed by the king for the performance by him of certain duties. What then were the specific duties for the performance of which the rent was paid?

The duties of the king, though generally expressed by one pregnant word, "*Rakshana-bekshana*,"—giving protection and relief, are also distinctly specified, and among other duties, the following are the principal: (1) providing pasture for the cattle. Says the Yajnavalkya Sanhita: "Grazing ground should be reserved as the villagers desire or as fixed by royal command. Between the village site and the arable fields there should be reserved a belt of 100 *Dhanus* (300 cubits) around each village—two hundred *dhanus* in the case of woody villages and four hundred *dhanus* (1 *dhanu*=3 cubits) in the case of towns (II, 169-170)." Says Manu—"There shall be reserved on all sides of each village a belt of 100 *dhanus* or three throws of the shepherd's stick, and thrice that quantity for towns, there the grazing of cattle shall not be punishable (VIII, 237)." We shall see further on that the provision of grazing ground for cattle by the State was a duty recognised even by the Mohamedan Emperors, though no doubt the extent of the land actually reserved for grazing purposes varied from time to time. There are people still living who will tell you that they themselves saw the last remains of those old grazing grounds around their village, between the arable fields and the village sites.

The second duty of the king was to provide water for irrigation purposes. The Hindu king

shared with his people certain ideas and beliefs regarding the works of merit for the other world which prompted the whole nation, irrespective of caste or class, to render yeoman's service in the cause of the country's agriculture. For every Hindu, whether king or warrior, whether priest or cultivator, the two main gateways of heaven were *Ishta* or performance of sacrifices to encourage sacred learning, and *Purta* or the excavation of tanks, wells, and canals for giving facilities for the development of agriculture: "*Vapikupa-taragadi Devatayatanani cha annapradanam aramah purtamityabhidhiyate. Ishtapurtau dwijatnam samanyau dharmasadhanau, Adhikari bhavet Sudrah purte dharmena vaidike*" (Atri, 44). The belief being universal, the duty was also enjoined by the *Sanhitas* for all, and not for the king in particular, though we find both in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, that the kings always looked upon a prolonged drought as a divine visitation for their own sins, and they moved heaven and earth for timely rains. "*Kalabarshi cha parjanya*"—when the rains set in timely, it was to the credit of the king. When king *Sambarana* with his wife *Tapati* was wandering in the forests, there was no rain in his kingdom for twelve long years, but the moment they returned, the rains set in, causing the crops to grow. We find the sage *Narada* in his enquiry as to whether the king *Yudhisthira* had been properly performing his duties to his subjects, thus enumerating the duties of the king: "Have you provided large tanks well filled with water

suitably distributed in each different part of the kingdom? For, agriculture will not thrive if it has to depend on the rains. Do you take care to see that the husbandman's stock of food or of seed does not run out?" *Kachid rashtre tatakani purnani cha brihanti cha bhagaso vinivishtani na krishirdevamatrika. Kacchin na bhaktam bijanacha karshakasyavasidati* (V. 82 Sabhaparva). Likewise also we read of King Bharata in the Ramayana providing canals large as the sea and filled with water, and in places where there was scarcity of water, he excavated many excellent tanks for drinking purposes, well-protected by raised banks" (Ayodhya, LXXX, 11 and 12). Here at Comilla where I am writing, stand some excellent tanks—the most lasting monuments of glory of the old Maharajas of Hill Tippera, and but for these the town would now have suffered from terrible water-famines year after year. But "we call our fathers fools, so wise we grow." We and our Maharajahs of now-a-days have given up, what we call, those old and foolish superstitions of our forefathers, and however much we may spend our money profitably in pyrotechnic displays for the encouragement of the sciences and the arts, for the lasting good of the country, there is no fear whatever that either we ourselves or our Maharajahs under the able guidance of ministers like ourselves, will squander away any more money needlessly in the excavation of tanks or wells, or other works of irrigation for the benefit of agriculture.

The third duty for which the king was

allowed rent, was protection from thieves and robbers, free of charge. In these days the *Rayat*, in addition to paying the rent to his land-lord, has to enter into ruinous and expensive litigation, and fight out to the bitter end, through the proverbial "law's delay," to defend his holding against trespassers, and his crops and live-stock from thieves and robbers. Indeed, it may be said that he alone supports, like Atlas of old, the huge machinery of the law courts on his own shoulders. In those golden days, however, the *Rayat* not only got justice free of cost, but in case the king failed to recover any stolen property from the thief, he had to make good its value from his own treasury. Says Manu : The property stolen by thieves, the king is to restore to all the castes." *Datavyah sarva varnebhya rajna chorair hritam dhanam*, VIII, 40. Says the Vishnu Sanhita : "Stolen property when recovered, the king should restore to all the castes. If it is not recovered, he should supply its value from his own treasury" — "*Anavaly cha svakosadeva dadyat* (III. 45) "*Chaura-hritamupajitya yatha sthanam gamayet koshadvadyat* (Goutama, Ch. X).—"Stolen property is to be recovered and restored to the owner,—or is to be paid for from the treasury." That the king really held himself bound to recover and restore all stolen property, and actually tried his best to perform that duty, will further appear from the following description in the Mahabharata of an incident in the life of Yudhishthira:—When Yudhishthira ruled, a thief stole some cows belonging to a Brahman. The

Brahman represented the matter to Arjun, saying, "The king who accounts the sixth of the produce as his share, but does not protect his subjects, is said to be responsible for all the sins of all the world." Arjuna heard it and said, "If I do not give relief to this man crying at our gate, the king shall have committed the great sin of neglect of duty." So saying Arjuna at a great personal risk entered Draupadi's room, took his bow and arrows, went with the Brahman, overtook the thieves, recovered the cattle, and restored them to the Brahman. Thus it should be quite clear that under the old Hindu law, the king who received the sixth share of the produce did not receive it as an "unearned increment" like what is enjoyed by our Zemindars, or the English landlords, but had on his part, among other responsible duties, to recover and restore stolen property free of cost.

How did agriculture flourish in Mahomedan times, it will be asked. The history of the Indian people during the Mahomedan times has yet to be written. We are still but chewing the cud of European scholars and historians, not always free from prejudice. Basing our conclusions on such materials as we are at present in possession of, we may say that so far as village life and the internal management of the Indian village communities were concerned, the Mahomedan rulers preferred to leave the old Hindu laws and village customs almost intact. They too realised their rent in kind, only the old Hindu rule of one-sixth was raised by Akbar to one-third of the actual

produce. The Emperors sometimes made hereditary grants of land or pensions for the subsistence of saints and men of learning or of the impoverished representatives of old and respectable families. "Such lands (Sayurghal) were hereditary, and differ for this reason from Jagir or tuyal lands which were conferred for a specified time on Mansabdars (leaders of armies) in lieu of salaries."—Blochmann, page 270. But the emperors did not create any hereditary middlemen or permanent rent-farmers like our Zemindars, but dealt with the husbandmen directly. In the Mahomedan times for "all land which paid rent into the Imperial Exchequer," the husbandman has his choice to pay the revenue either in ready money or by kunkoat or by Bhaoli" (Gladwin's translation of Ain-i-Akbari, p. 251). Again the Amil Guzzar or Revenue Collector is directed "not to be covetous of receiving money only, but likewise take grain." *

The manner of receiving grain is described.

- (1) Kunkut or appraisement or estimation of the grain by inspectors while the crops are standing,
 - (2) Battai or Bhaoli or division of the grain after the crop is harvested, and the grain collected into barns,
 - (3) Khetbattai or by dividing the field as soon as it is sown, and
 - (4) Lang Battai or division after the grain is gathered into heaps.
- Thus it was optional with the cultivator in Mahomedan times to pay his rent in kind, and

* With regard to Akbar, Hunter says:—"The essence of his procedure was to fix the amount which the cultivators should pay to one-third of the gross produce, leaving it to their option to pay in money or in kind.

as a fixed portion of the produce, for example, for the best quality of land or "Pooley" (i.e., what we call Dofasli) or land cultivated for every harvest, and never allowed to lie fallow."—"A third part of the medium (average) produce was the revenue settled by His Majesty (Akbar)," the second quality of "Perowaty land when cultivated paying the same revenue as pooley;"—but when not cultivated or left fallow, unlike now-a-days, no rent was charged. It was thus the common interest of the emperor and of the husbandman to extend cultivation and obtain from the soil the maximum yield it was capable of producing. Accordingly, we find the Emperor Akbar giving the following directions to the Amil Guzzar or Revenue Collector:—(1) Let him not be discouraged at the lands having fallen waste, but exert himself to bring back again into cultivation." (2) "He must assist the needy husbandman with loans of money, and receive payments at distant and convenient periods." Indeed, these loans might be repaid in ten years, and yet the total amount realised was not to be more than double the amount of the loan. (3) "When any village is cultivated to the highest degree of perfection, by the skilful management of the chief thereof, there shall be bestowed upon him some reward proportionate to his merit." (4) "If a husbandman cultivates a less quantity of land than he engaged for, but produces a good excuse for so doing let it be accepted."

We find the Mahomedan Emperor, like the old Hindu king, holding himself responsible to

the cultivator for supplying the necessary extent of grazing ground for the cultivators' cattle on reasonable terms. Accordingly, it was ruled by Akbar "If any one does not cultivate khiraja (or revenue-paying land), but keeps it for pasturage, let there be taken yearly from a buffalo 6 dams (one dam one-fortieth of a Rupee or about 2 pice), and from an ox 3 dams, but calves shall be permitted to graze without paying any duty. For every plough there shall be allowed four oxen, two cows and one buffalo,—from whom likewise *no duty shall be taken for pasturage.*" (Gladwin's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, p. 256). I need hardly say that the Mahomedan Emperors never had any faith in that most wholesome of the Hindu superstitions, which placed the highest value on the excavation (*Purta*) of "tanks and wells as passports to heaven, but the Ain-i-Akbari also speaks of irrigation at the public expense," waste lands which a Moslem has made arable by means of water brought thither at the public expense," (Gladwin, p. 340), which shows that the Mahomedan Emperors enjoying even more than we are doing this day, the benefits of the extensive works of irrigation done in the Hindu times, and still being done under those old Hindu superstitions, though they paid less attention to it, they could not have been altogether indifferent to the question of water supply by the State for purposes of agriculture.

Again even as the Hindu king was bound to see that the cultivator's stock of food or seed did not fail—" *Bhaktancha bijanacha karshakasya*

navasidati.”—so likewise did Akbar consider himself bound to see that the producer of food for the people was not left without food himself, and provided public granaries in different parts of the kingdom—a measure as effective as it was simple—for the prevention of famine:—“Granaries are erected in different parts of the kingdom from whence the cattle employed by the state are provided with subsistence. They are also applied to the relief of indigent husbandmen, and in time of scarcity the grain is sold at a low price, but the quantity is proportioned to the absolute necessities of the purchaser.”

Likewise throughout the empire a great quantity of food is dressed daily for the support of the poor and needy. “For this purpose, Akbar exacted an annual tribute of ten seers of grain from every *bigha* of cultivated land throughout the empire” (Gladwin’s *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 189).

Lastly as regards justice and the redress of wrong done to the cultivator, it must be admitted that the ideal of the Mahomedan rulers was not as high as that of the old Hindu kings, and there is no reason to think that they would consider it their duty to restore from the royal treasury, like the old Hindu kings, the value of any stolen property that they failed to recover from the thief. The Mahomedan rulers, however, considered it to be the “immediate duty of a monarch to receive complaints, and administer justice.” In this matter, he delegated his power to the Kazi who tried each case not “without painful search and minute enquiry”—though the complainant

had nothing to pay for expenses either as court-fees, process fees or lawyer's fees, etc., as in these days.

Indeed, so great was the interest in agriculture taken by the Emperor Akbar, that he tried to remove one of the most serious drawbacks that to-day hampers the progress of Indian agriculture — by helping the cultivators to get all their lands in one block. "After some time it was reported that those who held grants (Sayarghals) had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near khadisha lands (i.e., paying revenue to the Imperial Exchequer) or near the jagirs of the mansabdars or leaders of armies were exposed to vexations : and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands in one spot, which they might choose. The order proved beneficial for both parties." "It was ordered that everyone who should leave his place, should lose one-fourth of his lands, and receive a new grant" (pp. 268 and 269, Blochmann's translation). What a world of good we should be doing if we could follow this noble example of Akbar on a more extensive scale so that each husbandman of to-day might get all his arable land in one block and conveniently situated in reference to his homestead.

Thus we find that the Mahomedan Emperors like the old Hindu kings had very good reason to feel that the success of agriculture was as much their own interest as that of the *Rayat*, and that for the success of agriculture, even as the *Rayat* was

responsible to give his labour, the Emperor was also responsible to provide the capital, the facilities for irrigation, and the pasture for the cattle, that he was responsible to administer justice, and give the cultivator protection against thieves and trespassers free of cost. The rent was paid to the state as a sort of fee for the performance of these onerous duties by the state, and in no sense could it be looked upon as an "unearned increment," as enjoyed by either the feudal land-lords in England, or their Indian substitutes, the Zemindars of to-day, whom Hunter speaks of as "the mushroom creations of Mahomedan despotism"—though more correctly speaking they were created by a fiat of John Company. It was only under favourable conditions like the preceding that agriculture could flourish in India both in the Mahomedan and in the Hindu period, under the Indian Rayat, for the largest majority of whom it may be said that their only capital lay in former times as now in the strength of their own bones and muscles and their habits of industry and temperance.

What happened during the period of transition from the Mahomedan to the British rule? Akbar died in 1605 and Aurangzeb died in 1707. The puppets who succeeded Aurangzeb were rapacious debauchees unfit to rule and the Mogul Empire was destroyed by Nadir Shah in 1739. The Government may be said to have passed into the hands of the British from 1767 under Warren Hastings, who became the first Governor-General of India in 1774. In that half a century what

momentous though silent transformations took place in this country as affecting our agriculturè; India ceased to be looked upon as the country of peasant-proprietors, as it had been from the remotest antiquity. The state ceased to be the mere guardian and protector of the land, "*Bhumer adhipatir hi sah.*" The rule of *sthana ched asya kedaram,*" that the arable land is the property of the man who cleared the jungle for cultivation, ceased to have force. The forests and hills ceased to be without a proprietor, *asvamikanyahuh,* or rather ceased to be the sort of no man's property (compare the Roman *Res Nullius*) that it was from the remotest antiquity, which any intending cultivator could appropriate by reclamation, and on which neither the state nor any individual whatever had the right to levy *Nazarana*. The rent paid by the cultivator ceased to be regarded as the fee paid for certain valuable services rendered by the State for the benefit of agriculture. Says Manu :

"The king is to fix and receive the rents and taxes of his kingdom so that the king receive the fruits of supervision, and the cultivator and the trader receive the fruits of their labour of cultivation and trading" (VII 128). "*Yatha phalena yujyeta raja karta cha karmanam.*"

The king ceased to be responsible to the cultivator as before for the restoration of his stolen property free of cost. But the worst of it all was that during that time of transition, or rather anarchy from the death of Aurangzib in 1707 to the destruction of the Moghal Empire by Nadir Shah in 1739, the rapacity of those puppets

that disgraced the throne, introduced the system of the temporary farming of the revenues to irresponsible and sharking adventurers for lump sums of money. The only hope of the country, and the only redeeming feature of that farming system or rather system of contracts was that it was temporary, and when Warren Hastings became the Governor-General in 1774, it could be expected that the system of farming of the revenues would be given up. But that was not to be.

"The existing Mahomedan system was adopted in its entirety. Engagements, sometimes yearly, sometimes for a term of years, were entered into with the Zemindars, to a lump sum for the area over which they exercised control. If the offer of the Zemindar was not deemed satisfactory, another contractor was substituted in his place. For more than twenty years, these temporary engagements continued, and received the sanction of Warren Hastings" (Encyclo. British India).

This system of farming of the revenue, with its collateral system of requiring compulsory payments of rent in lump sums of money, instead of in kind as a fixed share of the produce, which is the root cause of the ruin of Indian agriculture, was only a temporary disease in the body politic in the last days of the Mahomedan rule and might have ceased and the proprietorship of the husbandman restored to him and confirmed, with a change of administration for the better. But that was not to be. Lord Cornwallis in 1793 made the system of farming of the revenues permanent, and depriving the husbandmen of their ownership of the land, raised the status of those mere contractors of the revenue into that of the modern Zemindars of Bengal—addressing them,

with what truth Lord Cornwallis alone could say,—as “the actual proprietors of the land.” Sir John Shore was right when he said in his minute of 1788 that “the rents belong to the sovereign.” But was wrong in saying that “the land (belongs) to the Zemindar.” The name Zemindar does not occur in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The Jagirs granted by the Emperors for military service, were for a prescribed period only. The English prejudices of Lord Cornwallis and his colleagues were responsible for his fatal blunder of divesting the husbandman of his right of property in the soil he cultivated, which he had enjoyed without interruption from time immemorial, thus converting him into a mere serf as in feudal Europe, to invest his “mushroom creations”—the Zemindars, with it, that they might take the place of the feudal lords. He thought India was England, the Zemindar corresponding to the English land-lord, and the rayat to the English serf or tenant-at-will.

“By two stringent regulations of 1799 and 1812, the tenant was practically put at the mercy of a rack-renting land-lord” (*Enc. British India*).

What has been the effect? The rent realised ceased to bear any fixed proportion to the actual produce of the soil, and could be realised in all its fullness even though a single ear of corn should not reward all the sweat of the brow of the toiling husbandman. The basic principle of Hindu Law, that the rent is charged by the state for the performance of certain duties by the state, most material to the success of agriculture, was gone. A fatal divorce between the right to enjoy

the rent, and the duty to help the development of agriculture has taken place. Regulation I of 1793 confers on the Zemindars the privilege of enjoying the rent "for ever," but lays on him no duty whatever to help the development of agriculture. "The Governor in Council trusts that "The proprietors of land"—meaning the Zemindars, "will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands." A very pious hope no doubt, but that was all. There was no penalty imposed if they proved unworthy of the trust. The enjoyment of the rent was all that the Zemindar cared for, and taking the example of the Zemindars for a model, the Government, too, where there were no Zemindars, forgot that the rent was a mere fee for the performance of certain duties by the state. Whatever the so-called proprietors or rather enjoyers of rent did for agriculture, they came to look upon not as the fulfilment of a bounden duty, but as a mere work of charity or philanthropy, little better than a waste of valuable money. No one who now enjoys the rent, thinks that he is bound to give a loan on easy terms to the rayat, or to provide pasture ground for the rayats' cattle, or to remit the rent, if the rayat has to use his arable land for a pasture ground or to provide facilities for irrigation. Indeed the enjoyer of the rent has quietly appropriated almost all the public pasture ground of the country. The very idea that the kings of old were bound to restore from his own treasury the value of his stolen property free of cost, to the rayat, seems to us Utopian.

We have been accustomed to see a very different spectacle. The rayat is now practically supporting on his Atlas-like shoulders, the law courts with all their huge paraphernalia, and the Zemindars and Mahajans with all their myrmidons of *amlas* and *pyadas*. Unlike the Emperor Akbar, the rent-enjoyers to-day never dream that it is their duty to give loans to the rayat, and those loans might be repaid in ten years, and yet the total interest realised never exceed the principal. They never dream that in order to be entitled to enjoy the rent, they are bound to provide free all the necessary tanks, wells and canals for purposes of irrigation. No one now has the option to pay rent in kind as a fixed share of the actual produce—either a sixth as in Hindu times, or a third as in Akbar's time. Rent has now to be paid in money—a lump sum irrespective of the actual produce of the land, regardless whether all the rayats' toils are rewarded with an ear of corn or not. Thus the rent-enjoyer has no interest whatever in securing an increase of produce or an extension of cultivation. Indeed under the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act the rent-enjoyer's interest lies in the reduction of the produce and the decline of cultivation. The law provides that if the prices of the staple food crops rise, the rent-enjoyer is entitled to an increase of rent. The prices rise when the supply fails, *i. e.*, when the crop fails, and cultivation declines. How absurd! The duties of the rent-enjoyer are thus clean swept away,—the privilege of rolling in unearned gold alone remaining.

The effect of this divorce of the privilege of enjoyment from the duty to be performed, could not but be disastrous. It has naturally become the sole ambition of every Indian of means to be the enjoyer of an "unearned increment." Agriculture which was the occupation of every householder so that the term *grihastha* or householder became a synonym for farmer, has now become distasteful to the gentlemen or the *bhadralok* class of to-day. Even as the "hart panteth after the brooks," the heart of every Bangalee gentleman, whether barrister-at-law or pleader, whether Zemindar or Mahajan, whether Judge or Magistrate or *amla*, all pant after that Lotus-Eaters' life of an enjoyer of rents without their corresponding duties, so that they and their children's children may roll in unearned gold, and sleep beside their nectar like the gods, careless of mankind. To realise his dream of life without duties more fully, the rent-enjoyer has only to screw up the money rent by hook or by crook to the highest pitch, and then sublet his right for a lump sum to a *pattanidar* who again gives a few more turns to the screw, and sublets to the *dar-pattanidar* and so on and on without end. Thus like parasite upon parasite, a whole chain of rent-enjoyers settle on the devoted head of the husbandman to divide the fruits of that poor man's labours.

Thus has this country of peasant-proprietors been transformed into one of rent-enjoyers, and to a condition much worse than feudal England which Lord Cornwallis' took for his model; for

in England the statute of *Quia Emptores* of 1285 disallowed sub-infeudation altogether, while in India Acts were passed to legalise interminable sub-infeudation, without any restriction whatever. The whole country is now become a country of the enjoyers of rent under the various denominations of *zemindar*, *pattanidar*, *dar-pattanidar*, *howladar*, *talukdar*, and what not. Thus India, which was the very queen of agricultural countries, is now become a country of crafty middlemen. India which was the country of peasant-proprietors ages before Switzerland or France or any other European country, has now become a country of the so-called proprietors of land, more interested in the failure than in the success of agriculture, and "rolling in unearned luxury" consuming the fruits of the labour of the toiling husbandman "engaged in grinding labour," "eking out a precarious existence" and having no champions or spokesmen to express his views, or protect his interests.

These then are the root causes that have led to the ruin of Indian Agriculture, and made the Indian husbandman what Lord Curzon describes him to be :

"The Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humbled, silent millions, the eighty per cent. who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of politics but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their countrymen, too often forget."

(PROF. DVIJADAS DUTTA, M.A., in *The Modern Review* August, 1913).

APPENDIX F

Indian Banking and the Ruin of Indian Industries

Banking in its modern form is a foreign institution in India. Though the main functions of banking had in the past been ably performed by indigenous bankers, that monster of finance, the Exchange and Joint Stock Bank, is of foreign origin. It was no unusual thing in the Pre-British days for a bill of exchange (or what was in action a bill of exchange) to start from Katmandu in Nepal and to be cashed in Mysore in South India, though, no doubt, it took long enough to reach its destination. The internal trade of India as well as what foreign trade there was at that time was financed by Indian bankers, *mahajans*, *Seths*, *Chetties* or whatever they were called in different parts of India. There is ample evidence to prove that individuals often deposited their savings with these bankers, and the bankers, as a normal practice, advanced large sums to traders, landlords and even to Princes for the purpose of War or Peace-economy.

With the coming of the British and the institution of their "enforced" commerce with India, there sprang up a whole series of wholesale houses, transport organizations, bonded warehouses, etc., all over India. British Banking was at once the main spring which ran the whole mechanism and was itself run by these institutions. The result was that the financiers of India began

to feel a progressive loss of grip upon the Indian market. Wholesale houses which dealt in foreign goods got very cheap credit from these foreigners and dealers in foreign goods shared the benefit of this credit. There being large capital behind these banks (all the loot of the so-called "civil," military and mercantile officials trickled into these banks), the indigenous trader could not cope with the proteges of these banks. They could not sell their goods at fixed price nor give long credit, nor transport their goods cheaply, nor do anything easily which helped the smooth flow of trade.

It will be a long story to follow step by step the progress of marauding British Banking into the smiling and prosperous fields of Indian Industry. If told at length, it will merely repeat incidents over and over again. Tales of slowly pushing out of Indian goods from their home market, of traders going bankrupt or giving up internal commerce in order to join the slavish ranks of those who sold foreign goods; tales of bills for home-produced goods going abegging to be discounted and of bills for foreign goods being discounted for next to nothing; tales of foreign "business men" coming to India with only the pair of trousers in which they travelled as assets and being granted big over-drafts, while Indian merchant princes getting no credit anywhere; tales of indigenous traders losing all faith in their own business and going over with their deposits to foreign bankers in the hope of finding favour in the eyes of foreign business magnates. Thus slowly were Indian banking and business ground

into something too small to be ground down any further. The biggest Indian Capitalists lost their good name and foreigners became the only "Stable and safe" people. Slowly the British Banks gained the confidence of the Indian public, who poured their savings into the coffers of the aliens, who in their turn used the money to further the cause of Britain and reduce Indians to a State of abject economic slavery.

At the present moment British Bankers in India do not as a general rule give any facilities to Indian business men. They of course are very keen on getting deposits from the natives. In times of crisis British Bankers flock together; but woe betide the Indian Banker who looks for help to Britishers in time of a run or financial stringency. On the contrary, sometimes when Indian Banks go down or have a hard struggle to face, evil tongues ascribe such happenings to forces which for unknown reasons dislike prosperity in Indians.

APPENDIX G

The Rupee-Sterling Exchange and Indian Industries

India has an extensive trade with Britain. Every year Britishers buy millions of pounds worth of Indian material and Indians buy (or are forced to buy) large quantities of foreign goods as well as pay for alleged "Services" rendered to India by foreigners. So that every year a large demand is created in India for pound

sterling and, similarly, a large demand is created in Britain for Rupees. The rate at which the rupee buys pound and *vice versa* is therefore of very great importance. For if pounds sterling sell at a cheap rate it becomes easier for Indians to buy British goods and, on the other hand, if pound sells dear it becomes easier for Indians to sell goods to Britain. Now, this exchange ratio, had it been free to adjust itself to the laws of demand and supply, would have meant profit or loss to Indians or Britishers according to the vicissitudes of International trade. But if it were controlled, it could be abused. And it has been abused often and on. Let us take an instance. The British, let us say, are at one time obliged to purchase very large quantities of Indian material. When the time comes to pay for the goods, they have to buy rupees in the money market to settle their debts. Now, if by some artificial means they could be enabled to buy Rupees cheaper than they could in the open international money market, they could gain whilst Indians would be cheated. For, by this means, while the artificially created rate remains in force, Indians would be getting fewer pounds for their Rupees and thus ultimately less of British goods for their money, than they would have got normally. This artificial aid to exchange is given by selling Rupees in London (by the British Government of India) and pounds in India under official management and from state funds in India and Britain. Such things have been done more than once. Let us see what Sir Purshottamdas

Thakurdas said in his minute of dissent in the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance (Hilton Young Commission, 1926).

"4. Till 1893, India had a silver standard with free coinage of silver, and the rupee was a full value silver coin. Owing to the discarding of silver as a standard of value in leading countries in the West after the Franco-German War, wild fluctuations took place in the rates of exchange between India and gold standard countries. In response to a widespread general feeling amongst the organised sections of the commercial community in India, the Government of India proposed to the Secretary of State the stopping of the free coinage of silver with a view to the introduction of a gold standard. The Herschell Committee, to whom the proposal was referred for investigation and report, approved of the Government of India's proposals, with certain modifications. The recommendations of that Committee were accepted by Her Majesty's Government; and in 1898 the Fowler Committee was appointed to consider and report on "the proposals of the Government of India for making effective the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government in 1892 and initiated in June of that year by the closing of the Indian Mints to what is known as the free coinage of silver. That policy had for its declared object the establishment of a gold standard in India."

The Fowler Recommendations

"5. The Fowler Committee "looking forward . . . to the effective establishment in India of a gold standard and currency based on the principles of the free inflow and outflow of gold," recommended that:

(1) The Indian Mints should continue closed to the unrestricted coinage of silver and should be opened to the unrestricted coinage of gold.

(2) The sovereign should be made legal tender and a current coin.

(3) The ratio between the rupee and the pound sterling should be Rs. 15 to the pound, *i.e.*, the exchange value of the rupee should be 1s. 4d.

(4) No legal obligation to give gold for rupees for merely internal purposes should be accepted; but

(5) The profit on the coinage of rupees should be held in gold as a special reserve and made freely available for foreign remittances whenever exchange fell below gold specie point.

(6) The Government should continue to give rupees for gold, but fresh rupees should not be coined until the proportion of gold in the currency was found to exceed the requirements of the public.

"These recommendations were accepted "without qualification" by the Secretary of State, who on the 25th of July, 1899, 'requested the Government of India to make preparation for the coinage of gold.'"

Had these recommendations been given effect to, Indian exchange would have been largely free from official abuse and India would have played her own game at the International money market, without the drag of British interests or the international value of the pound. But this would not have helped the British cause; so these recommendations were not carried out; though they were officially accepted.

The abuse went on; greatly to the disadvantage of India. Ratios of exchange were fixed most arbitrarily and rupees and pounds sold by the Government to keep up these various ratios. The losses were borne *always* by the Indians. Thus in 1926, Sir P. Thakurdas said:*

* Royal Comm. on India Currency and Finance, 1926, p. 115 (1929 edition).

“The loss on sales of Reverse Bills (sale of pounds from India) in India exceeds Rs. 22 crores.” Not only did India lose in cash to maintain fictitious ratios, the loss was also indirect. For in order to maintain the pound value of the rupee, the Currency in India was deflated enormously to bring down the general level of prices. In the report quoted above, we find that in 1920, in an attempt to stabilise the rupee at 2sh. (when the actual rate was 1s. 45/16d.) the Currency was deflated “to the extent of Rs. 35 Crores.” The result was a violent disturbance in the Indian Market which caused great loss to numerous people.

The Government did not learn its lesson. In 1923-24 the market became so tight owing to deflation that the Bank Rate went up to 8 per cent. In the above Report we read : *

“In the Viceroy’s telegram to the Secretary of State, dated the 8th of October, 1924, it is admitted “that the stringency in the market is the direct outcome of Government action in contracting currency, or rather in placing strict limits on possibilities of expansion . . . We should have difficulty in refusing to provide more generously for additions to currency even if we wished to do so and there is serious risk of a financial crisis if we keep the screw on too tight.”

Again we read : †

“But deflation, and a consequent raising of exchange, has been accomplished by preventing the expansion of the currency to the extent normally required by India, as evidenced by the pre-war annual average of expansion. In fact, the Government of India themselves pleaded with the Secretary of State in paragraph 3

* Report of Royal Comm. on Ind. Curr. Fin. 1926 (1929 edition), pp. 122-23. † Ditto p. 124.

of their telegram to him of the 4th of November, 1924, when they pressed for authority to prevent the exchange rising above 1s. 6d. in the following words;

"We doubt whether sufficient weight has been given by you to the great improvement in internal economic conditions which has taken place in India, and to the check which in the last few years has been placed on the expansion of currency. In the last two years the raw materials of India have been in great demand with the result that there has been a substantial trade balance in her favour.

"In a word India has been starved of her natural currency requirements and this operation, being equivalent to deflation, has been effective in raising the rate of exchange."

The present exchange ratio is favourable to Britain. It enables her to sell more goods to India and damage Indian Industries. But its enforced existence has been the greatest obstacle to India's economic expansion. Everywhere in India people cry, there is no money to carry on trade with. The explanation is found in the above quotations.

APPENDIX H

Sale of Treasury Bills and Borrowing at High Rate

The Indian Government is a competitor with the Indian trader in the money market. Being chronically short of funds, the Government is always borrowing large sums here as well as in London. The short loans raised in India are obtained by the sale of Treasury Bills, which draws out large sums from the market to the

detriment of our trade and industry. It is sinful, the way the Government walks into a tight market and draws out money, either to meet dues or to effect contraction of Currency. Who would risk money in trade and industry, if Government Bonds yielded a high rate? Who would give short loans to traders at a fair rate if the Government were willing to accept what are tantamount to Hundis? This policy of the Government has been a great blight since the end of the War. It is the last straw that may yet break the back of the Indian Industrial Camel, which has traversed many a long decade of bad trade on an almost empty stomach.

The Government also mortgages India's Revenues at a high rate of interest. While other nations borrow at a low rate in the world's Money Markets, India borrows (is made to borrow) at a high rate in the Market where Britain reigns supreme. Often a loan raised by India has sold at a premium the day after it had been floated. Why? Because the interest was too high. Where the Government could have got the same Capital by pledging 1 per cent. or $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. less in interest, Government has pledged more. Why? Because the lenders have been mainly Britishers (usually in the first instance as underwriters). Not merely have they borrowed the money at a high rate: they have also used that money in Britain (or in India) for the purchase of goods which have not unusually been the highest priced in the world. Why? Because the sellers have been British Tradesmen!

APPENDIX I

“Specimens of Indian Textiles”— where are they ?

BY B. D. BASU, MAJOR, I.M.S.

According to Bolts, whose “Considerations on Indian Affairs” was published within ten years after the battle of Plassey :

“The oppressions and monopolies in trade which have been introduced of late years but particularly within the late seven, have been the principal causes of such a decrease in the real revenues of Bengal, as may shortly be most severely felt by the Company. For the Ryots, who are generally both land-holders and manufacturers, by the oppressions of gomastas in harassing them for goods, are frequently rendered incapable of improving their lands and even of paying their rents; for which on the other hand they are again chastised by the officers of the revenue and not infrequently have by those harpies been necessitated to sell their children in order to pay their rents or otherwise obliged to fly the country.”

Again, the same author wrote :

“We come to consider a monopoly the most cruel in its nature and most destructive in its consequences to the Company’s affairs in Bengal of all that have of late been established there. Perhaps it stands unparalleled in the history of any government that ever existed on earth, considered as a public act, and we shall not be less astonished when we consider the men who promoted it, and the reasons given by them for the establishment of such exclusive dealings in what may there be considered as necessities of life.”

It is recorded by Bolts that the Indian weavers

“Upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced upon them by the Company’s agents,

universally known in Bengal by the name of *Mutchulcahs*, have had their goods seized and sold on the spot to make good the deficiency; and the winders of raw silk, called *Nagoads*, have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind silk."

It is not necessary to mention all the measures which in the early days of the East India Company led to the ruin of Indian industries. But all those measures did not bring about the total extinction of Indian manufactures and industries. For after all knowledge is power and the manufacturers of England were ignorant of many of the processes employed by Indian artisans in the manufacture of their articles and wares.* The holding of the first International Exhibition in 1851 was not only an incentive to the manufacturers of England to produce articles for the Indian markets, but it indirectly afforded them an opportunity to learn the trade secrets of Indian crafts-men. The English manufacturers left no stone unturned to wring out of the Indian artists the secret processes by which the latter succeeded in manufacturing their beautiful articles.

A couple of years after the first International Exhibition, took place the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company. Several witnesses who appeared before the Parliamentary Committees appointed to inquire into Indian affairs gave it in their evidence that English manufac-

* "We as a manufacturing people are still far behind them (the Indians)."—Sir Thomas Munro. See *The Modern Review*, vol. II., p. 541.

turers should be afforded facilities to have an extensive market for their articles in India.

At the same time Dr. John Forbes Royle, who had been in charge of the Indian Department of the first International Exhibition, impressed upon the Court of Directors the importance of forming a Museum in London to permanently exhibit the products and manufactures of India. It is needless to say that the Court most gladly adopted his scheme, because the Museum was to be established at the expense of India and it was to afford bread and butter to a large number of the inhabitants of England. But while completing the arrangements of this Museum he died in January 1858. Dr. Forbes Watson was appointed as his successor. It was during his tenure of office that the last step leading to the destruction of Indian textile manufactures was taken.

What this step was has been very well described by Dr. Watson himself. He wrote :

"Specimens of all the important Textile Manufactures of India existing in the Stores of the India Museum have been collected in eighteen large volumes, of which twenty sets have been prepared, each set being as nearly as possible, an exact counterpart of all the others. The eighteen volumes, forming one set, contain 700 specimens, illustrating in a complete and convenient manner, this branch of Indian Manufactures. *The twenty sets are to be distributed in Great Britain and India—thirteen in the former and seven in the latter—so that there will be twenty places, each provided with a collection exactly like all the others, and so arranged as to admit of the interchange of references when desired.*"

The passage which we have italicised in the above extract shows that the authorities did not

possess any sense of proportion when they distributed thirteen sets in Great Britain and seven only in India.

The distribution of the seven sets in India was an afterthought. It was not the original intention of the authorities, as is evident from what Dr. Forbes Watson wrote :

"The original intention was that the whole of the twenty sets should be distributed in this country (England). Further consideration, however, points to the expediency of placing a certain number of them in India : 1st, because this course will facilitate those trade operations between the two countries which it is the object of the work to promote and encourage; and 2ndly, because it is possible that the collection may be of direct use to the Indian manufacturer

"It seems to be clearly for the advantage of India that every facility should be given to the introduction, from this country, of such manufactures as can be supplied to the people there more cheaply* than by hand labour on the spot. The many will thus be benefited, and the hardships which may possibly fall upon the *few* will not be serious or long felt, since their labour will soon be diverted into new and, in all probability, more profitable channels.

* As to this cheapness it should be borne in mind that the poorer classes in India for whose benefit cloth was sought to be made cheap have always used the coarser fabrics. These products, of the handlooms, are even now cheaper than Manchester goods considering that the former last much longer. But our fabrics were formerly actually cheaper in price than English textiles, as Mr. Robert Brown said before the Lords' Committee which sat before the renewal of the E. I. Company's Charter in 1813. See the January (1908) number of this review, p. 28, and the December (1907) number, p. 545.

"The chief advantage, however, which is likely to attend the distribution in India of a certain number of the sets of Textile Specimens will, it is believed, arise from the opportunity which will thereby be afforded to the agent in India of directing the attention of his correspondent here (England) to the articles suited to the requirements of his constituents."

We have italicised the last paragraph, as in it the writer unmasks himself.

The places to which the thirteen sets were allotted in Great Britain and Ireland were as follows: Belfast; Bradford; Dublin; Edinburgh; Glasgow; Halifax; Huddersfield; Liverpool; Macclesfield; Manchester; Preston; Salford and the India Museum, London. Dr. John Forbes Watson was sorry that this distribution still left "some important places unsupplied. These are, however, in almost every instance situated near to one or other of the selected localities."

Regarding the distribution of the seven sets in India, Dr. Watson recommended that a set be placed in each of the following places, viz.: Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Kurrachee, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and lastly in Berar.

"With respect to the three last-named divisions either Allahabad, Mirzapore, or Agra in the North-Western Provinces, Umritsur or Lahore in the Punjab, and Oomrawattee or Nagpore in Berar, will probably be found the most suitable, but it may be left to the respective Governments of the divisions in question to decide on the exact locality."

The set for the North-Western (now the United) Provinces is not kept in any one of the cities recommended by Dr. Watson. It is kept in

the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, to which place it was transferred from the Allahabad Museum in September, 1878. Lucknow is not a centre of any textile industry and therefore the set is kept there!

Dr. Watson proceeded :

“Regarding the conditions on which the gift should be presented,—the first should be that due provision should be made for its permanent protection, and that freedom of access be afforded to all properly recommended and practically interested persons.

“The sets should be assigned in trust to the chief commercial authorities in the selected places, for the use not only of those connected with the district in which they are deposited, but of non-residents also, who can show a practical interest in Textile manufactures. The proposed plan of sending seven of the sets to India, diminishes the number of commercial centres in this country which will receive a copy, and it therefore becomes more necessary that those which do get one should be required to make it easy of access to agents, merchants, and manufacturers who reside in those which do not.”

It was made a condition that the authorities in the selected districts should undertake :

“That access to the work be given to any person bearing an order to that effect signed by the President, Vice-President, or Secretary of the Society of Arts; the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, or Secretaries of the Chamber of Commerce; the Chairman or Secretary of the Association of the Chambers of Commerce; the President, Vice-President or Secretary of the Cotton Supply Association, the Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Secretary of the Cotton-Brokers' Association; the Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Secretary of the Liverpool East India and China Association; by the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, or Secretaries of such other Associations for the promotion of Commerce as now exist or may hereafter be formed; and by the Reporter on the products of India.”

So it was not difficult for any one to consult the work in Great Britain. But in India the existence of this work is hardly known to 999 out of 1,000 educated persons—much less to the weavers and other uneducated artisans. It would be interesting to know if the sets deposited in India have ever been consulted by even any educated Indian. These might have been consulted by some interested Anglo-Indians but not, we think, by any educated native of this country.

Since these sets were prepared at the cost of India and now, thanks to the Swadeshi movement, an impetus has been given to the textile industry in this country, is it not time and is it not fair and just that all the thirteen sets which are in Great Britain should be brought to India and kept in important centres of commerce and industry in this country? As a first step, may we not demand that the existence of the seven sets in India should be made widely known? They should be made easily accessible to all Indians actually engaged in manufacturing textile fabrics.

These twenty sets of 18 volumes each were to be "regarded as *Twenty Industrial Museums*, illustrating the Textile Manufactures of India, and promoting trade operations between the East and West, in so far as these are concerned."

Of course, it was meant more to benefit the West than the East and this Dr. Watson himself admitted, for he wrote :

"The interests of the people in India, as well as those of the people at Home, are concerned in this

matter, and *both interests must be considered*. Our remarks in the first instance, however, will apply more particularly to the latter.

“About two hundred millions of souls form the population of what we commonly speak of as India; and, scant though the garments of the vast majority may be, an order to clothe them all would try the resources of the greatest manufacturing nation on Earth. It is clear, therefore, that India is in a position to become a magnificent customer.

“If we attempt to induce an individual or a nation to become a customer, we endeavour to make the articles which we know to be liked and needed, and these we offer for sale. We do not make an effort to impose on others *our own tastes and needs*, but we produce what will please the customer and what he wants. The British manufacturer follows this rule generally; but he seems to have failed to do so in the case of India, or to have done it with so little success, that it would almost appear as if he were incapable of *appreciating* Oriental tastes and habits.

“There are probably few things beyond the understanding of our manufacturers, but it will be admitted that some education in the matter is necessary, and that without it the value of certain characteristics of Indian ornament and form will not be properly realized. This supposes the means of such education to be readily accessible, which hitherto has not been the case, simply because manufacturers have not known with any certainty what goods were suitable. To attain to skill in meeting Eastern tastes and Eastern wants will require study and much consideration even when the means of study are supplied; but up to the present time the manufacturer has had no *ready opportunity of acquiring* a full and correct knowledge of what was wanted.

“The deficiency here alluded to, will, we believe, be supplied by these local Museums.

“The 700 Specimens (and we again point out that they are all what is called *working samples*) show what the people of India affect and deem suitable in the way

of textile fabrics, and if the supply of these is to come from Britain, they must be *imitated* there. *What is wanted and what is to be copied to meet that want, is thus accessible for study in these Museums."*

Thus it was all from motives of philanthropy that specimens of Indian textile fabrics were made accessible to the manufacturers of England.

But even up to the year 1866, the Indian weaving industry had not totally ceased to exist. For Dr. Forbes Watson wrote :

" * * * The British manufacturer must not look for his customers to the upper ten millions of India, but to the hundreds of millions in the lower grades. The plainer and cheaper stuffs of cotton, or of cotton and wool together, are those which he has the best chance of selling, and those which he would be able to sell largely, if in their manufacture he would keep well in view the requirements and tastes of the people to whom he offers them.

" We know India now-a-days as a country whose Raw Products we largely receive. We pay for these partly in *kind* and partly in *money*; but India never buys from us what will repay our purchases from her and the consequence is that we have always to send out the large difference in bullion, which never comes back to us, disappearing there as if it had been dropped into the ocean. We buy her Cotton, Indigo, Coffee, and Spices; and we sell her what we can in the shape of Textile and other Manufactures. It must not be forgotten, however, that there was a time when India supplied us largely with Textiles. It was she who sent us the famous Longcloths, and the very term *Calico* is derived from *Calicut* where they were made. She may never resume her position as an exporting manufacturer of goods of this sort. * * * This is clear, however, that it will be a benefit to the masses of the people of India to be supplied with their clothing at the cheapest possible rate—let this be done by whom it may. If Great Britain

can give Loongees, Dhotees, Sarrees, and Calicoes to India which cost less than those made by her own weavers, both countries will be benefited. * * *

"The machinery and skill of Britain may thus do a present service to India, by supplying her with material for clothing her people at a cheap rate, an end to which these *collections* must certainly lead by showing the home manufacturing what it is that the natives require." *

Regarding this act of philanthropy, one Christian officer wrote :

"Every one knows how jealously trade secrets are guarded. If you went over Messrs. Doulton's pottery works, you would be politely overlooked. Yet under the force of compulsion the Indian workman had to divulge the manner of his bleaching and other trade secrets to Manchester. A costly work was prepared by the India House Department to enable Manchester to take 20 millions a year from the poor of India: copies were gratuitously presented to Chambers of Commerce, and the Indian ryot had to pay for them. This may be political economy, but it is marvellously like something else."

(Major J. B. Keith in the *Pioneer* September 7, 1898).

"The general principle was to be that England was to force all her manufactures upon India, and not to take a single manufacture of India in return. It was true they would allow cotton to be brought; but then, having found out that they could weave, by means of machinery, cheaper than the people of India, they would say, 'Leave off weaving; supply us with the raw material, and we will weave for you.' This might be a very natural principle for merchants and manufacturers to go upon, but it was rather too much to talk of the philosophy of

* In this connection it is necessary to remind our readers what Mr. Tierney, a member of the House of Commons, said in a speech delivered in that House as far back as 1813 :

it, or to rank the supporters of it as in a peculiar degree the friends of India. If, instead of calling themselves the friends of India, they had professed themselves its enemies, what more could they do than advise the destruction of all Indian manufactures? "

It is much to be regretted that no writer on Indian economics has so far referred to the part which the holding of Exhibitions and the distribution of specimens of the textile manufactures of India have played in ruining the weaving industry of India. Perhaps the imposition of the tariff and the transit duties would not and could not have so effectually destroyed Indian industries had not the authorities made the Indian artisans betray under compulsion their trade secrets to the manufacturers of England.

Owners of cotton mills and hand-loom factories all over India should move in the matter in order that (1) the seven sets of Indian textile manufactures already in India may be made easily accessible to Indian manufacturers and (2) the thirteen sets in Great Britain may be restored to India and placed in suitable centres here. This will help greatly in the revival of genuine Indian patterns and colours.—From *The Modern Review* for December, 1908.

APPENDIX J

The Market for British Goods in India a Century ago

BY B. D. BASU, MAJOR, I.M.S.

While in the Charter Act of 1813, it was laid down that it was the duty of England "to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India," were the measures adopted by the English authorities calculated to make the people of India happy? This question can be properly answered by analysing the measures which have been mentioned in our article on "The Genesis of the British Idea of Civilising India," published in the November number.

On the occasion of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1813, the natives of England were determined to create a market in India for English manufactures. It was with this object in view, it was to gain this end, that those measures were proposed which have been enumerated in the article referred to above. At that time there was no large market in India for English manufactures. Those witnesses whose opinions were worth anything mentioned in their evidence before the Houses of Parliament that India did not stand in need of English goods. Mr. Warren Hastings, who had survived his impeachment by over a quarter of a century and

had now become an octogenarian, in his evidence before the Lord's Committee, on the 5th April, 1813, said :

"British manufactures, like all other articles of commerce, must be such, as will minister either to the wants or to the luxuries of the people : * * The poor of India, who are the people, have no wants; unless the scanty rags of cloth which they wear, their huts, and simple food, may be considered as such, and those they have upon the ground which they tread upon. The next class above the poor, are the wealthy Hindoos, occupying the rank of Zemindara, and the officers of the collections : those men are as simple in their habits almost as the poor; they want nothing that our ships can furnish them. That class of the inhabitants who formerly might have been the purchasers of European merchandize, such as articles of show, furniture, and dress, have now scarcely any existence, I mean the Mahomedans; few now remain besides the pensioners that were left upon the bounty of the Government; few of whom I should suppose 'how survive.' * *

Mr. William Cowper, who had served the Company for 32 years in India, was examined by the Lords' Committee on the same date as Mr. Warren Hastings. The questions that were put to him and the answers he gave to them are reproduced below:

"Is your opinion with respect to the improbability of an extended use of European commodities by the natives of that country, founded upon any peculiarity in the character of that population?—Undoubtedly all their habits and prejudices go to prevent them from taking off such commodities in any quantities: a large proportion of those commodities they might be led to reject from their habits and prejudices; even their religion: for instance, the whole Mussalman population would never touch any thing that was made of hair, from the apprehension that it might have proceeded from the hog or swine.

and would be induced to reject every commodity of that kind, unless they could have the most perfect assurance that there was no such danger to be apprehended, and so of other fabrics; but I should apprehend that the greatest obstacle to the purchase of European commodities by the natives of India, would proceed from their poverty, which utterly puts it out of their power to indulge themselves in any such luxuries; the vast mass of the population of India are extremely poor; and the wages of labour are low. * * *

"Is the Committee to understand from you, that the improbability of which you have spoken, of an extended use of European commodities in that country, is rooted in the manners and habits of the native population? Undoubtedly in their manners and habits, and the inadequacy of their means to indulge themselves even if their manners and habits did not oppose any bar to the purchase of such commodities.

"Do you suppose that the demand for European commodities in that country on the part of the native population, is chiefly confined to a demand for luxuries?—I do; I have already stated what kind of commodities the natives (as far as they do purchase such commodities) are in the habit of purchasing, chiefly articles of European furniture. * * *

"While you resided in India, was the demand for European commodities completely supplied by the markets? During the greater part of the time I resided in India, there was generally a glut of European commodities; very many adventurers were totally ruined by the impossibility of disposing of the commodities which they imported to Calcutta."

Sir John Malcolm was also examined before the above committee.

"From your observation, do the natives appear to have any taste for European manufactures or commodities?—Many of the wealthy natives at the presidencies purchase articles of European manufacture, and broad-cloth, I believe, is sold to a very considerable extent, there not being a more general sale is to be ascribed to the

want of means of the great mass of the community to make any such purchase, and to the nature of their habits, the mode of their life, and their dress.

"Do you mean to state, that the mass of the population have no means of purchasing European commodities?—The mass of the population have no means of purchasing European commodities. * * *

"If articles of woollen manufacture should be fabricated with a view particularly to the consumption of the natives, and sent to the northern parts of India would they, in your opinion, find a market there?—It would depend, in my opinion, entirely upon their price; they have their own manufactures that answer the same purpose as our lighter woollens, these are the cumlies for the poorer, and the shawls for the superior classes; the sale of European woollen must be chiefly regulated by the ability on the part of the natives to purchase them as indeed the demand of any manufacture must depend upon its price. * * * *

"Do you believe that there is a very general desire in the natives of India to obtain various articles of European manufacture?—Certainly not general. * * * nor do I believe, from their simple attire and habits, and their attachment to the modes of their fathers, that the general mass of the people have any great desire for them, even if they had the means of purchasing them. * * * *

"Do you consider India in general as a very manufacturing country?—*I consider that the natives of India are very industrious, and very apt to learn any trade or any art that they are taught.*"

Lord Teignmouth in his examination also stated :

"That I am not aware of any manufactures in this country (England) that the natives would be likely to purchase in any considerable degree; this opinion is formed from my knowledge of their modes of living in India."

That well-known engineer, Major-General Alexander Kyd, was asked :

"Have you had an opportunity of observing how far the natives of British India shew a disposition to use European manufactures?"

In answering the above question, he said :

"Very little indeed amongst the lower classes; from the smallness of their pay, they are unable to indulge in any of our manufactures; the superior classes have got luxuries and indulgencies of their own, that generally speaking they prefer to ours : There are a few exceptions at the presidencies, where some men in imitation of their masters indulge in small articles of household furniture, glassware, lusters, and things of that sort, but to no great extent."

Sir Thomas Munro—although he was not the Governor of Madras in 1813—had served in India for more than a quarter of a century. As a witness before the Lord's Committee, he deposed :

"I see no signs among the natives of any increasing demand for our commodities : I think that when I went to India, and when I left it, a period of twenty-eight years, there was scarcely any variation. I think the cause of that does not exactly arise from what we call high prices, but from causes that are more permanent than the rate of the prices. It arises from the influence of climate, from the manners of the people, from the great skill of their own manufacturers; * * * . There are two great sources of expenditure in this country which cannot apply to India at all, these are the expenses of the table and the furniture of the house; the Hindoo has no table, he eats alone upon the bare ground, and generally in the open air : the whole equipment that he has for that purpose is perhaps an earthen platter or a small brass bason; and as far as furniture is concerned, he may be said to have no house, for his house contains none. * * * Again, those articles which he wishes for food his own country supplies, *all his clothing it supplies in much*

greater beauty and variety than any thing we can furnish him with.

"Are you of opinion that in the colder parts of the country, there is any probability of introducing to any great extent the use of English woollen manufactures?—If we could furnish our woollen manufactures as cheap as the natives can furnish their own, there would be a very considerable demand, because there is hardly a native of India that does not use woollen. I never knew a native who had not a large piece of coarse woollen of their own manufacture, which they use as the Highlanders of Scotland do a plaid; they sleep upon it, they wrap it about them when they travel; but it is so much cheaper than our manufactures, that I am afraid our woollens can never come into competition with it; there must be a very great improvement in our machinery for manufacturing woollen before we can possibly sell our woollen in India of the coarser kind of Indian woollen, which is usually worn by the peasantry and the lower classes of the people, as much as a man requires to cover him, a piece of about seven-feet long by four or five broad, is sold for about two shillings; but that is the coarsest kind: the finer kind is as fine as the boat cloaks that are commonly made here. This is of a much larger size, about ten feet long by five or six wide; it sells at from twenty or twenty-five shillings."

"According to your observation, did the market for European commodities in every part of India, while you were there, appear to you to be adequate to the demand for them?—The market is perfectly adequate to the demand; there is no obstruction to the supply in every part of India. I never was in any large village in India, in which European commodities were not exposed for sale, those commodities for which there is a demand; but they are in general trifling, some small pieces of broad cloth, some articles of cutlery, such as scissors, pen-knives, and perhaps in glassware a few small looking glasses.

"Do you think that the present system of commerce with India is fully adequate to the supply of any probable increased demand for British articles among

the natives? I think that the present supply is fully adequate to any probable increase of demand.

"Am I to understand that it is your opinion, that the natives of India, being a manufacturing people, and ingenious in manufactures, are fully adequate to supply any demands that may arise among themselves? I think they are fully competent to supply all demands that can arise among themselves, and that *the chief cause of the difficulty of exporting our manufactures to advantage for sale in that country is, that we as a manufacturing people are still far behind them.*"

Mr. William Young, who had been in the Civil Service of the East India Company for twenty years, said :

"If it is meant by European commodities, the common articles that were imported by the officers of the Company's ships, generally speaking, there was an abundant supply, * * ; if by British commodities is meant articles of British merchandize, I believe upon every occasion there was an ample supply."

Mr. Guy Lenox Prendergast, who had served in Gujarat and Bombay, appeared as a witness before the Lords' Committee. He was asked :

"While you resided in that country, did you perceive a growing use of European commodities among the natives? In that respect I did not see the smallest difference while I resided amongst them. * * *

"To what circumstance do you ascribe it, that the natives are so indifferent or averse to the use of European commodities? They are not at all necessary to their comforts or habits, they find everything they wish or want extremely cheap where they are, and their necessities do not seem to require them."

Mr. D. Haliburton, who had been long in the service of the East India Company at Madras, was questioned :

"Have you had an opportunity to observe at Madras, whether natives who are in habits of intercourse with Europeans acquire in any degree their manners or tastes?"

In reply he said :

"I think at Madras a few may perhaps have done it in some degree; the first establishment of Madras was of the date of 1620; it was the first establishment the Company had in the peninsula of Hindostan; they may be better acquainted there than in the inland parts, but still the bulk of the people remain very ignorant of the English manners, and are given very little to purchase European articles of furniture or to attend to European customs of any sort."

Mr. Graeme Mercer was originally appointed to the Medical Department in the service on the Bengal establishment, but was afterwards very frequently employed in both the Revenue and Political Department of that service. In answering the question whether, if a free trade were opened between England and India, there would be any materially increased demand among the natives of India for English manufactures or commodities, said :

"I think no sudden increased demand for the manufactures of this country would arise from such a free trade; the habits and manners of the natives are of such a nature as may be said to be nearly unchangeable; their wants from other countries are few or none; and from the period in which I have resided in India, I could perceive little or no alteration with regard to their demands for any European commodities."

Mr. Thomas Cockburn, a Madras Civilian, was asked :

"Have you had an opportunity of observing how far the natives of India discover a taste for the use of European manufactures or commodities of any kind? Very few, if any, of the British commodities can be consumed by the population of India. A few rich individuals may use carriages: some few. glasses. watches.

etc., and perhaps a little broad-cloth occasionally to cover them in the very cold weather, but in very small quantities. * * *

“Do you think there is much prospect of an extended use of European commodities among the natives of that country?—It is necessary to advert to what are the articles in use among the natives, to ascertain that point: of course, I had occasion to inquire into the expenses of native families of different description; and when I was at the head of the Board of Revenue, I conversed with some natives on the subject, who gave me, as a matter of curiosity, a statement of the expenses of a labouring man and his family, and what a family of a middling class lived on, a man capable of keeping a hackery and a pair of bullocks to carry him to his business; and it is scarcely to be believed how small the sums are in those accounts which are expended for clothing. I happen to have preserved the memorandums; I got them in the year 1802; if it is wished, I can produce them to the Committee. The whole expense of a labouring family, consisting of the man, his wife, and five children, (the eldest eight years, the youngest an infant) amounted to about £11 5s. per annum; and of that sum the whole amount expended for clothing is 17s. and a fraction. The expenses of the middling family, that is a person who is usually known by the term of a dubash, which consisted of six men, a boy five years of age, and twelve women, in all nineteen persons, amounted per annum to £193 or thereabouts; the whole amount of the clothing included in that sum, used by the family in the course of the year, amounted to about £42 sterling: and those expenses included daily charity, which forms part of the expense of a native of that quality in India. In the articles necessary to the subsistence of both families no British articles of manufacture are included, or could be necessary.”

Mr. Thomas Sydenham, who had been in the service of the East India Company for twelve years at the Presidency of Madras, on being

questioned whether he thought there was any probability of the natives of Hindustan being induced to purchase, to any extent, woollens, the manufacture of England, said :

"I think not; the woollens of this country are in use only with a few of the Hindoos, and many of the Mussalmans of high rank; but to the other classes of the community the manufacture of what is called a comely, I believe, is considered by themselves as comfortable as any kind of cloak they could have of the woollen, and must be always much cheaper."

Mr. Robert Morris, who had made several voyages to India in the capacity of a surgeon and purser on board the ships of the Company and whose time was employed in trading, in his examination, was asked :

"Did any articles enter largely into those assortments for the use of the native population of British India?—Very few, some few of iron-mongery, cutlery, hardware, a little fine glass, and a few woollens. * * *"

"Is it within your knowledge, whether during the period in which you had this commercial communication with India, there was a growing demand, on the part of the native population for European commodities?—I do not think there was, in any considerable degree. * * *"

"Do you conceive, that if the trader were to load and send his own ship with a cargo of European articles, that cargo would be likely to find a market among the natives of British India?—I do not; among the natives, not more than at present. * * *"

"Do you conceive, that in the event of an open trade, any great expectations entertained by British manufacturers of an increased market for their products in India, would be realized or disappointed?—I conceive they would be disappointed."

Mr. James Horsburgh, who was hydrographer to the East India Company, being asked :

"In the event of a free trade being opened with India is it your opinion that the demand for British goods would be increased?"

articles or manufactures in those seas would be increased to any material degree?"

said :

"I think not, without the natives are altered in disposition and habits."

Mr. Charles Buller, M. P., who had served in the Revenue Department, in Bengal, on being requested to give his opinion whether free trade with India would increase the demand among the natives of that country for European articles or manufactures, said :

"Very little, if any, I should suppose so."

The reasons he gave for his opinion were :

"From the general poverty of the people, and from their not having any wish, as I have seen, to have our articles, generally speaking."

The evidence of the Honourable Hugh Lindsay in the Marine service of the East India Company, who had made several voyages to India as Commander of a ship, is very important.

"Can you judge, from your own experience, how far articles of European manufacture find a sale among the natives of India?—I consider that the investments are fully sufficient for the demand; indeed rather more so, as I have invariably found that there has been a glut of the market and every season I have been in India; I mean towards the latter part. "What proportion of the assortment which you usually made consisted of goods for the consumption of the native Indians, and what for the consumption of Europeans resident in India?—The investments were generally sold to people who retailed them, and I conceive that they were entirely for the consumption of the Europeans, and in a very trifling degree for the natives. * * * * "Do you imagine, or conceive, that the consumption of European manufactures is likely to be much extended among the natives?—I do

not think it is likely to be much extended. I have at various times endeavoured to obtain information on that subject with the natives, and I begged they would inquire whether any new article could be sent, and their answer was, that their retail was for the Europeans, not for the natives.

“ * * * * Is it your opinion that the exportation of European manufactures to India could ever take place with any hope of a much increased consumption amongst the natives?—As far as I can judge, I should think it will not increase.”

“ * * * * Is it your opinion, that ships going from the outports to India are likely in general to be disappointed in their expectations in respect to the sale of the cargo?—I should think to a very great degree indeed.”

Mr. Stephen Rumbold Lushington, M. P., who had served on the Madras Establishment for eleven years, gave it as his opinion, that in Southern India among the mass of the population, there was

“ no desire for European articles, and I believe there are few parts of India where the primitive manners and customs of the Hindoos are preserved so unmixed as in Tinnevely and in the Southern Provinces; I think the Hindoo there is at this day what he was two thousands years ago. * * * His diet is frugal and simple; his hut is composed of mud and cocoa tree leaves, and a few bamboos; and a small strip of cloth is all the garment that he uses. I cannot therefore trace amongst any of the classes of the population of the Southern Provinces any desire for European articles; the means of purchasing such articles they do not possess; and the price of labour is so low, the raw materials are also so cheap, that I despair that the manufactures of this country, where labour is so much higher, and the material not the produce of this country, can ever be sent there to advantage for native consumption. * * * *

“ Are not the people of India more sober and diligent, and as much employed and skilful in manufactures as the inhabitants of any country you are acquainted

with? *There can be no human beings more patient, or more industrious, or more sober, than the Hindoos; and deriving their knowledge of the arts to the object immediately before them. They are eminently skilful in the manufacture of muslins, of chintzes, of shawls, and in some sorts of silver and gold work. * * **

"Are any of our manufactures, except some trifling articles of glass in the principal towns, in demand among the Hindoos?—No. Can they not manufacture such woollen articles as they want, infinitely cheaper and more to their habits and tastes, than we can send them?—I can have no doubt of it, because their labour is so much cheaper, and their materials so much lower in price."

Mr. David Vanderheyden, M. P., who had been in the Civil Service of the East India Company on the Bengal Establishment for about twenty-five years, was one of the witnesses before the Lords' Committee.

"Are you able to state, whether the use of European commodities has been upon the whole increasing among the natives of India?—I should think not. * * *"

"Among the great mass of the population, is there any prospect of extending the consumption of European commodities?—I should think not the least, speaking of the people of all the Provinces.

"Will you state very concisely from what causes you think that event so unlikely?—I should think from their customs, manners, religion, and their very slender means of purchasing them, and their disinclination to purchase them if they had the means.

"Are the Committee to understand from you, that the contractedness of the means of the natives for the purchase of European commodities is likely to be lasting?—With the great mass of the people and the state of society, I think there is no period that we can contemplate when it will be otherwise, or that there will be any material alteration."

Mr. William Fairlie who had resided for

Agent, corroborated the statement of the previous witnesses that the natives of India did not stand in need of British manufactures.

"Is it your opinion, that according to the present system, the present demand for European manufactures and commodities in India is fully supplied?—I think there is a full supply at present; for some years before I left India, goods were generally selling at a loss; and I understand, that they are still selling at a loss. * * * *

"Will you state to the Committee, what are the European articles that are in demand among the natives of India?—The chief articles are iron, lead, copper, woollens, and some other articles; spectacles, and hinges for doors, some small articles of that kind; but they can manufacture almost every thing they want themselves.

"Will you state to the Committee, what in your opinion is the great impediment to the increase of a demand for European articles among the natives of India?—Their habits, customs, and having no use they can put them to, that I know of.

"In your opinion is the low price of labour and the poverty of the mass of the population an insuperable impediment?—It is to a certain extent, no doubt; while I was there, thirty years, I did not know a native that made any attempt to follow the customs of Europeans, neither by using the articles or following their dress; they would use woollens in a great quantity if they could afford it, but none of the common people can, their wages are very low; * * * "

Mr. Lestock Wilson was for some years Captain of an East India-man in the Company's service. In his evidence, he was asked :

"In making up your investment for the Indian market, did you chiefly use such articles as were intended for the native consumption of India, or for the consumption of European residents in that country?—A great part of a Captain's investment consists of dead weight, con-

you to deal in it; the rest is for the Europeans, I hardly know of any thing exclusively for the natives, unless it might be some articles that were intended to be manufactured in that country, either by natives or by Europeans.

"Did you find it profitable to make up a great portion of your investments of articles intended for the consumption of the natives?—My three last voyages were to Bombay and China, and I think two out of the three were unproductive, as far as the trade from Europe went, or nearly so; the profit in the other was slight.

"From your experience as a partner in a mercantile house trading with India, are you able to say, whether there be now any great demand in India for European manufactures from this country?—As a trader in a mercantile house, I am particularly situated, having a ship at this moment going out, that came home in 1810, which has since made a voyage in the company's service, and now has a right to return there; it is a teak-built ship, and probably may be sold there; there is a necessity for her returning to India, and she must return dead freighted, or in ballast, if the Company had not relaxed in the conditions of her going out with the produce and manufactures of this country; and I know, in consequence, her lading consists of a very few articles indeed that are strictly the produce of these kingdoms; I recollect but four she has, namely, empty bottles, a little ale, which is carried more to oblige a brewer, than any hope to get anything out of it; she has a little English iron, and twenty or thirty tons of chalk, which they use in a very small degree; she has been offered for freight at a very low rate, of which a very little indeed has been obtained."

Mr. William Davies was an East India merchant. So his evidence was very important.

"Can you state from your knowledge of the Indian commerce, whether the market for European goods in that country is generally over or understocked?—My opinion is, that of late it has had an ample supply; supposing the question to be whether under or over-stocked I should say that in my opinion it has been

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The following question and its answer are too valuable to be passed over :

"Are you of opinion that if a considerably increased capital were applied to the encouragement of the manufactures of India, and they were brought to Europe, they would not probably materially injure the manufactures of this country?—I think that if the exports from India of coarse cloths were greatly increased, that they might interfere with the manufactures of this country. A proof, I had cloths consigned to me from Madras which did pay the duty in England, and were sold in England, a part of which I have now in use in my own house after having been bought from a trader in London; I am speaking of coarse cotton cloths."

Mr. William Bruce Smith resided in India as a licensed merchant for forty years. So he was well qualified to state the market that existed in India for British goods.

"Had you an opportunity of observing what degree of taste the natives evinced for the use of European manufactures in that part of the country?—But very few of them used the manufactures of Europe, they had no taste for them, they did not suit them.

"Did you ever engage in any speculation, which enables you to speak particularly to this point?—I did, an investment of European articles were sent to me from Calcutta, I think it was in the year 1793, to dispose of, and none of the natives would take them and they were returned back again; there was a boat load.

"What were the articles?—Wedgewood's ware, glassware, lantern shades, and articles of that description.

"Were they exposed to the view of the natives, and recommended to them?—They were given in charge of the native shopkeepers, desiring them to be sold, if

"Do you conceive that that experiment failed from a want of demand among the natives for European manufactures?—Entirely so; native demand for.

"Is the scantiness of European manufacture permanent in its nature?—I think it is.* * *

"Do you apprehend that the consumption of European hardware could be particularly promoted in that part of the country?—They make articles for their own use so much cheaper, that I think there would be little demand for European articles.* * *

"Do the natives of rank spend much of their superfluous wealth in the purchase of European commodities?—None at all, I believe, except in a very few instances."

Sir Charles Warre Malet, Baronet, was in the service of the East India Company for 28 years and was part of the time Governor of Bombay. In his evidence he was asked :

"From your observation of the natives of Hindustan, do you think they have either any want or any desire, for European commodities in that country?—Less, perhaps, than in almost any other part of the world.* * *

"Have the mass of the Hindu population in India the means, if they have the desire, of purchasing European commodities or manufactures; by the mass of the Hindu population I mean the cultivators of the land? They certainly do not desire them, it seems a thing quite foreign to their state of society; and if they had the inclination they certainly have not the means; but all their little articles of dress are of a peculiar form and make, and quite out of the idea of anything we have, nothing we make in this country is applicable to certain parts of their dress."

"Does it appear to you that the more opulent Hindus, who have intercourse with Europeans, have much taste for European articles, or use them much?"

"In the whole course of my journey from Surat to Delhi, which is through the roof of the peninsula, and

manufactures; I may have seen here and there some glassware and some specimens of our arms, they are fond of them; but I do not remember seeing a carriage. Broad-cloth you will see, which is used in their saddlery, for their shoes, and here and there you will see it used as a cloak, with a hood thrown over their heads; but all the common people have a thing of their own called a *comely*, made of wool. I scarcely remember an article of English manufacture, except those I have mentioned, and those are very rare indeed. I carried some articles of European fabric to the Moghul and to Scindia, mostly of cutglass."

Mr. Stanley Clark was in the maritime service of the East India Company for 25 years. The questions put to him and his answers to them are reproduced below :

"In your experience of the Indian trade, have you found that any, and if any, what new articles have been called for by the demands of the natives there?—I do not recollect any articles that can be called new articles of immediate British produce, that have been called for, unless it has been, in a very small degree, some Manchester goods, but to a very little account could I find vent for them, and they were chiefly taken off by Europeans."

These and several other witnesses were also examined before the Committee of the House of Commons. It is a remarkable fact that one and all of these witnesses who had been sworn to speak the truth, were unanimous in declaring that the Indian natives did not stand in need of any of the English manufactures, that there was no market in India for English goods and that the natives were quite capable of supplying their own wants. Indians were not savages. They had their

Some of the reasons, mentioned by the witnesses, for Indians not buying English goods, were, the ability of the Indians to make all that they required much cheaper than the English, and their difference from the Europeans in religion, manners, customs and habits. By a one-sided free trade,—that is, by allowing English goods free access to India, but prohibiting the import or use of Indian goods in England or imposing prohibitive duties on such goods,—and by other means, the chief industries of India were either destroyed or materially crippled. The imparting of English education and the preaching of Christianity were calculated to change and anglicize the manners, customs, habits and religion of her inhabitants, though, no doubt, that was not the sole object in view.—From *The Modern Review* for December, 1907.

APPENDIX K

Contemporary India and America on the Eve of becoming free

BY B. D. BASU, MAJOR, I.M.S.

Our English friends, both stay-at-home Britishers as well as Anglo-Indians who feather their nests at the expense of the children of the Indian soil, are never tired of reiterating certain statements which they consider to be great discoveries and so they utter them in season and out of season in such a manner as to make one feel

is merely a geographical expression, and it did not exist as one country* until the natives of England came out here. They further say that the natives of India are not a homogeneous people, but a very heterogeneous mass, † split up into separate races and creeds and castes, and, therefore, they are not fit for any representative or democratic institutions. There being no common language, no community of interests in India, its people are incapable of feeling any sentiments of patriotism. It is the English rule that maintains peace in India, otherwise its people would cut one another's throats. These views given expression to by charitable and philanthropic white men, we are accustomed to hear from our very infancy and read in school-books written by them. We will assume for the sake

* Mr. Vincent A. Smith however says in *the Early History of India* (p. 6): "Twice, in the long series of centuries dealt with in this history, the political unity of India was nearly attained;" namely, in the reigns of Asoka and Samudragupta.

† In the course of the last Imperial Budget Debate, Sir Harvey Adamson, the Home Member of Council, said: "The honourable member (Mr. Gokhale), in his tours through India, has formulated a demand for self-government for India on lines of a self-governing Colony. We may all look forward to the day far distant when education shall have permeated throughout India, when the hundreds of races that inhabit it will have attained some measure of homogeneousness, and when such form of administration may be feasible, but to set up that type of government at the present day as a plank of practical politics is as illogical and absurd as it would be for a teacher to instruct a pupil in the differential calculus

of argument that all their statements are true. But we do not conclude therefrom that the people of India are unfit for any democratic or representative institutions or that the growth of the sentiment of common patriotism is impossible amongst them. If history shows that the people of one country under those very circumstances which now obtain in India, could exhibit patriotism when called upon by circumstances to do so, and representative government in its highest form is working successfully amongst them, there is no reason why there should be any failure in these matters in the case of India.

Let us turn to the circumstances that existed in those British colonies which are now known as the United States of America, before their separation from England. When America was discovered by Columbus, it was inhabited by many tribes whom Christian nations designated as Indians. As America was to be colonised, so the fate of these tribes was sealed. Colonisation means displacement. So the Christian nations exterminated the aborigines of America by means of gunpowder, the sword, brandy, and sowing of diseases and dissensions amongst them. There were also many other means devised by the European colonists to encompass the ruin of the American natives which it is not necessary to refer to here. The Christian colonists did not belong to one race, one creed or to one original country. There were not respectable men entirely wanting among them, but speaking generally, it

who furnished the ranks of the colonists of America. Their character was such that no one considered them capable of self-government. We will quote here the views of some of the Christian authors who had personal knowledge of these colonies before their separation from England and formation into the United States of America.

Burnaby, an acute observer, travelled through these North American Colonies in 1759 and 1760. According to him,

Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys. Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island are not less interested in that of Connecticut. The West Indies are a common subject of emulation to them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a constant source of litigation. In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colonies, that I think, if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themselves, there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other; while the Indians and negroes would with better reason impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them altogether."

Otis, who was a well-known American patriot, wrote in 1765 :

"God forbid these ever prove undutiful to their mother-country. Whenever such a day shall come, it will be the beginning of a terrible scene. Were these colonies left to themselves to-morrow, America would be a mere shambles of blood and confusion before little more than a

The historian Lecky says :

"Great bodies of Dutch, Germans, French, Swedes, Scotch and Irish, scattered among the descendants of the English, contributed to the heterogeneous character of the colonies, and they comprised so many varieties of government, religious belief, commercial interest, and social type, that their union appeared to many incredible on the very eve of the Revolution."*

In India, there is not one common language. But that was the case in the colonies too. Lecky writes :

"Twenty-one years before New York, or, as it was then called, New Amsterdam, fell into the hands of the English, it was computed that no less than eighteen different languages were spoken in or near the town, and it continued under English rule to be one of the chief centres of foreign immigration."†

Even at the present day during the presidential election campaigns in the United States, the different parties have to publish pamphlets in 12 or 13 languages.

It is said that there is no patriotism, or community of feeling in India. But things were no better in America before the Revolution. To quote Lecky again,‡

"A country where so large a proportion of the inhabitants were recent immigrants, drawn from different nations, and professing different creeds, where, owing to the vast extent of the territory and the imperfection of the means of communication, they were thrown very slightly in contact with one another, and where the money-making spirit was peculiarly intense, was not likely to produce much patriotism or community of feeling."

* England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. IV, p. 12.

† England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. IV, p. 12.

Men like Lord Reay say that India is not fit for democratic government because its people are mostly illiterate.* But the condition of the colonies was no better. Webster, the lexicographer, writes in his Essays :

" Education is sunk to a level with the most menial services. . . . Will it be denied that before the war it was a frequent practice for gentlemen to purchase convicts who had been transported for their crimes and employ them as private tutors in their families? (pp. 17-19).

Our aristocracy and moneyed classes are charged, and justly, as lacking in public spirit. That they spend their time in idleness and worthless pursuits cannot be denied. But the aristocracy of America were no better before the Revolution. Their gentlemen class consisted of planters and farmers, regarding whom Adams writes :

" The lands are cultivated and all sorts of trades are exercised by negroes or by transported convicts, which has occasioned the planters and farmers to assume the title of gentlemen, and they hold their negroes and convicts—that is, all labouring people and tradesmen—in such contempt, that they think themselves a distinct order of beings. Hence they never will suffer their sons to labour or learn any trade, but they bring them up in idleness or, what is worse, in horse-racing, cock-fighting, and card-playing.** The object of the men of property here, the planters, etc., is universally wealth. Every way

* " Had education 'permeated throughout' England when the foundations of popular liberty were laid?" (India, April 19th, 1907). Every student of English history knows that in England the wide spread of popular

in the world is sought to get and save money; land-jobbers, speculators in land, little generosity to the public, little public spirit." (Adams' Works, II, 436).

But the Indian people at present, on the whole, are angels compared to the Christian Colonists of America, who were brutalised by their dealing in slaves and permitting slavery. They presented the spectacle of degraded humanity. Lecky writes :

"The most serious evil of the colonies was the number and force of the influences which were impelling large classes to violence and anarchy, brutalising them by accustoming them to an unrestrained exercise of power, and breaking down among them that salutary respect for authority which lies at the root of all true national greatness. The influence of negro slavery in this respect can hardly be overrated, and in the slave States a master could commit any act of violence and outrage on a negro with practical impunity.

" * * * White men planted among savages and removed from the control of European opinion seldom fail to contract the worst vices of tyrants.

" * * * * Juries in Indian cases could never be trusted, and public opinion on the frontiers looked upon Indians as little better than wild beasts. * * But the despatches of Johnson and Stuart are full of accounts of how the English settlers continually encroached on the territory which was allotted by treaty to the Indians; how the rules that had been established for the regulation of the Indian trade were systematically violated; how traders of the lowest kind went among the savages, keeping them in a state of continual drunkenness till they had induced them to surrender their land; how the goods that were sold to Indians were of the most fraudulent description; how great numbers of Indians who were perfectly peaceful, and loyal to the English, were murdered without a shadow of provocation; and how these crimes were perpetrated without punishment and almost without blame." * *

* Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV, p. 35.

If those Christian colonists who were brutalised by permitting slavery amongst them were worthy of liberty, why should not the heathen inhabitants of India where no institution like that of the slavery of Christian colonies ever existed be considered worthy of the same? Liberty alone befits a people to enjoy liberty.

Where similar causes exist, similar effects are likely to follow. The causes which brought about the American Revolution are now more or less in operation in India. The American colonies were under the protection of England. So is India a dependency of that Christian island. The Christian islanders tried to enrich themselves at the expense of the colonists by crushing their industries. The natives of England have all along been doing the same towards the people of India. Our industries are not encouraged, but have been deliberately destroyed, by Christian England,* and are at present handicapped by the philanthropists of Lancashire.

Then again one of the measures which greatly irritated the colonists was the establishment in America of a portion of the British army. The

* The real cause which led to the American Revolution was the English trade laws which crushed American industries. Arthur Young in the Preface to the *Tour in Ireland* very justly said: "Nothing can be more idle than to say that this set of men, or the other administration, or that great minister occasioned the American War. It was not the Stamp Act nor the repeal of the Stamp Act, it was neither Lord Rockingham nor Lord North, but it was that baleful spirit of commerce that wished to govern great nations on the maxims of the counter."

same is the case in India also. Ever since the Mutiny of 1857, the number of white soldiers is being increased almost every year.

The English Parliament attempted to tax the colonists and also legislate for them. The colonists were not represented in the British Parliament; so their popular watch-word was not only 'No representation, no taxation,' but also 'No representation, no legislation.' Are not the people of India treated in these matters of taxation and legislation exactly like the American colonists?

But what awakened the American colonists from their state of lethargy, and who were the mouth-pieces to give expression to their discontent? Perhaps it is not so well-known, but it should be widely known, in India, that it was the lawyers, the members of the legal profession, who helped to give voice to the discontent with which American society was seething. The most intelligent men amongst the colonists took to the study of the law. Burke said :

"In no country, perhaps, in the world, is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful, and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to Congress were lawyers." "I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations."

Noah Webster wrote in 1787 :

"Never was such a rage for the study of law. From one end of the continent to the other the students of this science are multiplying without number. An infallible proof that the business is lucrative."

The legal profession more than any other contributed to the American Revolution. Men like Jefferson, Adams, Otis, Dickenson and others, belonged to this profession.

Do we not see the same thing happening in India? The best men of our universities belong to the legal profession. Most of the delegates returned to the Indian National Congress, and members of the public bodies and assemblies of this country are lawyers. The legal profession is so much in evidence everywhere in India that our Anglo-Indian rulers and newspapers tauntingly refer to the present state of India as 'Vakil Raj.' The members of the legal profession should take this as a compliment and strive to give expression to the discontent that is prevalent in India as did Otis, Jefferson and others in America on the eve of the Revolution. They should also try to create and direct public opinion in this country.*

The colonists found themselves quite helpless and sold to England. On their awakening, the

* Lecky writes: "Few persons except lawyers had any tincture of literature, and lawyers under these circumstances had attained a greater power in this province than in any other part of the king's dominions. They had formed an association for the purpose of directing political affairs. In an assembly where the majority of the members were ignorant and simple-minded farmers, they had acquired a controlling power." "They were the chief writers in a singularly violent press. They organized and directed every opposition to the Governor, and they had attained an influence not less than that of the priesthood in a bigoted catholic country. (Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV., p. 19).

first thing they did was to boycott English goods. Lecky writes :

“The merchants of the chief towns entered into agreements to order no more goods from England, cancel all orders already given, in some cases even to send no remittances to England in payment of their debts, till the Stamp Act was repealed. * * In order that the colonies might be able to dispense with assistance from England, great efforts were made to promote manufactures. The richest citizens set the example of dressing in old or homespun clothes rather than wear new clothes imported from England; and in order to supply the deficiency of wool, a general agreement was made to abstain from eating lamb.”*

So in India also we see the Swadeshi and Boycott movements coming into existence. They are at present in their infancy, but nevertheless they are growing. It is the bounden duty of every Indian to take a solemn vow to support these movements. These movements as they spread and take root in the country are sure to ameliorate the condition of the Indian people.

We have shown the parallelism between the circumstances that existed in the American colonies on the eve of the Revolution and in India in modern times. But there is one great difference in their situation. The American colonists had not been emasculated and were in possession of arms.† The natives of India, on the other hand,

* Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV, p. 83.

† “As an American military writer truly said, the middle and lower classes in England, owing to the operation of the game laws and to the circumstances of their lives, were in general almost as ignorant of the use of a musket as of the use of a catapult. The New England

have been emasculated and are disarmed. The American colonists as a last resource appealed (or rather responded to the call) to arms, and we know with what success. But it will not be necessary for us to take up arms to secure *swaraj* for our country. The implements of peace are more effective than weapons of war. The author of "National Life and National Character" says :

"The supremacy of the inferior races in the future is likely to be achieved by industrial progress rather than by military conquest." *

Yes, in the spread of the Swadeshi movement binding all the inhabitants of India to abstain from English manufactures lies the salvation of this country.

A word to our rulers. They should take a warning from the history of the American Revolution. Had those men in Christian England who possessed political power been considerate and yielded to some of the reasonable demands of the colonists, in all probability America would not have been lost to the Crown of England.† If

yeomen were accustomed to firearms from their childhood, they were invariably skilful in the use of spade, hatchet, and pick-axe, so important in military operations; ** (Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV., p. 202).

* Pearson's National Life and National Character, p. 99.

† Lecky says that George III "espoused with passionate eagerness the American quarrel; resisted obstinately the measures of conciliation by which at one time it might easily have been stifled; envenomed it by his glaring partisanship and protracted it for several years, in opposition to the wish and even to the advice of his own favourite and responsible minister."

the present generation of Englishmen are wise and are able to read the signs of the times, they should not trifle with the new life that has come into existence in India; they should not treat the Indian people with contempt as being an inferior race and, therefore, not entitled to any political rights and privileges. The demand of New India is *Swaraj* or Self-Government; nothing short of this will satisfy India. If, as we said, the present statesmen of England are wise enough, they should grant this to India at once. No sophistry, no far-fetched arguments to prove our so-called incapacity for *Swaraj* will be of any avail. As we said before, the Christian colonists of America were, on the eve of the Revolution, no better, nay worse, than the Indians of to-day. There were many colonists who were averse to throw off the yoke of England and assume independence. What were their reasons? Lecky writes :

“Was it not likely, too, that an independent America would degenerate, as so many of the best judges had predicted, into a multitude of petty, heterogeneous, feeble, and perhaps hostile States? * * Was it not possible that the lawless and anarchical spirit which had of late years been steadily growing, * * would gain the upper hand, and that the whole fabric of society would be dissolved?*

Similar fears are professed by Anglo-Indians and entertained by many of our own countrymen. But the subsequent history of America has proved that these colonists were one and all false prophets. Their predictions have not come to be true. If India be given *Swaraj* and left alone,

* Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV., p. 223.

and if no incarnation of Satan, inspired by the doctrine of "*Divide et impera*," come to play mischief in this country, is it not likely that the predictions of the present-day Anglo-Indian bureaucrats and journalists also will be falsified? Under the flag of *Swaraj*, confederated India consisting of different provinces, races and creeds, like the United States of America, will march in the van of progress leading mankind to a higher plane of humanity and setting before the world nobler ideals to follow. That is the goal worth striving for.—From *The Modern Review* for June, 1907.
