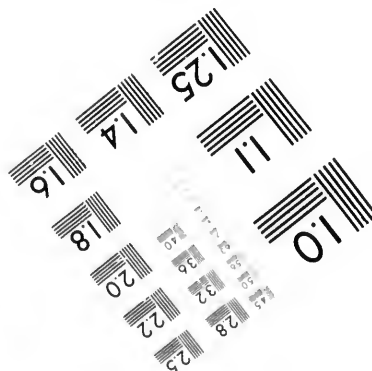
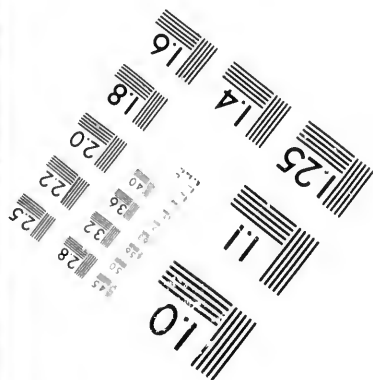
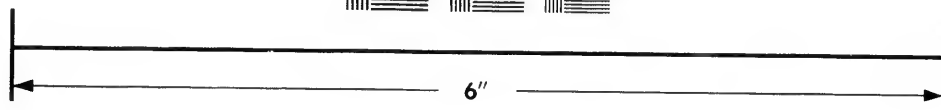
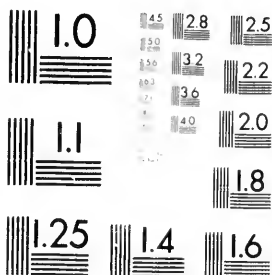


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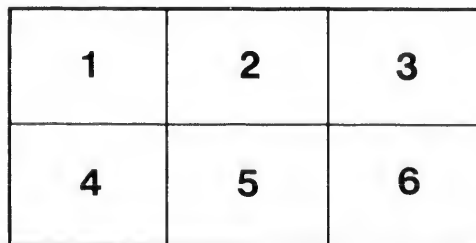
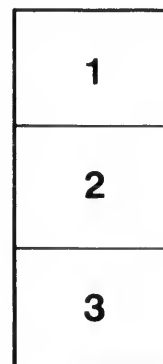
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PROPOSAL  
FOR  
AN INDIAN POLICY  
UNDER  
THE NEW REFORM PARLIAMENT.

*Read at a Meeting of the East India Association, February 1st, 1868.*

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THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF  
THE DORMANT WEALTH  
OF THE  
British Colonies and Foreign Possessions.

*Read at the Social Science Congress, Birmingham, October 6th, 1868.*

BY  
THOMAS BRIGGS.

LONDON: 1868.

64



PROPOSAL  
FOR  
AN INDIAN POLICY  
UNDER  
THE NEW REFORM PARLIAMENT.

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THE development of the agricultural resources of India is a subject of vital importance, and the way how to do it opens up so wide a field for controversy, that it is with the utmost diffidence that I am here to-night to bring the question before you.

In considering this subject, I propose to bring to your notice :—

1st. The waste land rules, as passed by Lord Canning in India during the short tenure of office of Lord Stanley, when he was Indian Secretary under Lord Derby, about 1858-9.

2nd. The veto of those rules on arrival here by Sir Charles Wood.

3rd. What would have been the probable result had these rules been allowed to pass with the hearty concurrence of the Government then in power.

1st. Waste Land :—After the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the East India Company was extinguished as a governing body, and the government of India was vested in the Crown of England, not long after Lord Stanley was appointed Indian Secretary.

He dispatched a code of rules to Lord Canning, who was then Governor-General of India, for the guidance of the Indian Council in its dealings with the Government Waste Lands. Quoting from memory, the following was the substance of these rules :—

That all waste land throughout India shall be surveyed and marked out into blocks of suitable farms, not exceeding 3,000 acres each, subdivided into blocks of 40 acres each, and that each lot shall be offered to the public, the uncleared 5s. per acre, and the cleared at 10s. per acre, in fee simple.

The policy laid down in this dispatch was felt to be so new, and of such vast consequences, that the Governor-General postponed its consideration until his return from his usual tour through the country, when he hoped to have gathered sufficient data to enable him to judge from personal observation of its probable effects.



On his return to Calcutta he explained to the Council that from personal observation he could recommend the measure as a sound one, whereupon it was passed and sent to England for confirmation. On its arrival in England, however, there had been a change of Government, and a new Indian Secretary; Sir Charles Wood was now in power, who, from motives best known to himself, put a veto upon it, and in its place introduced a measure to the following effect, namely, that no survey should take place until an intending purchaser made a selection, defining the boundaries by certain land-marks, and depositing a sum of money in the Treasury to cover the cost of survey, after which the plot in question should be surveyed, during which process the said plot should be advertised for sale by public auction.

Now, it is needless to say that this measure was practically a prohibition of the sale and development of the waste land of India, for who would be inclined to trust themselves to the safe keeping of the cobra and tiger during their sojourn in the jungle for the purpose of the selection of a plot of ground in order to embark their capital and enterprise, when after such pains and expense another person, who had not troubled himself about the matter further than to watch the day of sale advertised in the papers, might come in and overbid them?

It is enough to place these two proposals side by side in order to see which of the two would be the most likely to promote the material development of Indian agriculture, and the material prosperity of our Indian Empire.

2nd. But in the second place let us glance at the state of affairs which might have induced Sir Charles Wood to approve and urge forward the adoption of these rules as a measure of relief as well as sound policy.

We all know about the periodical famines in India, how each sweeps from the land by starvation from three-quarters to a million-and-a-half of our thrifty fellow-subjects.

We are also very forcibly made aware of several other facts much nearer home. The want of employment in our dockyards, the unprecedented increase of pauperism and crime, the dearness of the prime necessaries of life, and the consequent distress of those who possess a moderate fixed income. The empty factories, with their machinery rusting away, to be counted by scores, and the dilapidated empty cottages counted by thousands in our manufacturing districts, which before the cotton famine used to absorb and find honest and profitable employment for our surplus agricultural population.

Another matter claiming attention is the present defective land system in India, under which the Government let their lands of many miles area to one or more Zemindars for a given sum, which is the largest they can squeeze out of them. They in their turn sub-let into smaller portions, which is again and again divided to other parties, until it reaches, after five or six removes, the ryot, who is the only cultivator of the soil. The object of each party, from the Government to the ryot, is to get as much out of each bargain as they

can for the time being. There is hence no improvement in the soil, nor any in the method of cultivating it.

Again, another fact which shows the tendency of the present system, an eye-witness, who has just returned from a tour through India states that he has seen field after field with the cotton crop rotting on the ground for want of picking and housing. He was told that the ryot dare not touch it until the collector had been to fix the amount to be paid over to the Government before he could dispose of the produce.

Again, the money-lenders—in consequence of not owning the land, the ryot cannot offer better security than the crop he is about to raise, the natural result is that he is charged from 30 to 50 per cent. interest.

3rd. What might have been the probable result had these rules been allowed to pass with the hearty concurrence of the Government then in power. This is illustrated in a remarkable degree by what has been done by two Englishmen, to whom the lands of Keer Singh were granted after mutiny. The same authority quoted above says the estate, with the exception of a small portion near Jugdispore, was one vast jungle of forty square miles, and to ordinary men the gift would have proved of little value. First of all they built on a piece of rising ground near the station of Buhra a splendid house, which is described as “a castellated mansion on the left, as we approach Buhra.” They next set about clearing the land, and this has been so rapidly done that now there is not more than one-sixth remaining in jungle. Roads are constructed through it at right angles of a mile, forming squares which are subdivided by smaller roads at the half-miles, footpaths at the quarter-miles, and stone marks on marches at the eights, sixteenths, and thirty-seconds. A large quantity of drainage has been completed, and irrigation works are now being pushed on rapidly. At Jugdispore, which is eight miles from the house, there is an indigo factory at full work. We were surprised at the number of people moving about on the roads; this feeling, however, ceased when we were informed that there are now fifty villages on the estate with a population of not less than 10,000 souls. Their chief difficulty just now is to survey and let off the land to meet the applications for it. The farms vary in size from one to fifty acres, and leases are granted for three, five, and seven years at rents equal to about an eighth of the produce of the second year's cultivation. The consequence of this is that all the villagers are thriving and industrious.

Let us now review by way of illustration a few extracts in order to show how Lord Stanley's liberal land-policy has benefited those parts where it has had a fair trial. An Indian correspondent writes (see *Times* of 12th June, 1863):—“You would not fail to observe that the Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer in his statement of policy, emphatically dwelt on the substitution of private capital and enterprise for wasteful Government agency in the construction of public works.” . . . . “A gentleman who has just returned from

a visit to Cachar says, the whole valley is now owned by English settlers under Lord Canning's Waste Land Rules. Savage Kookees, who used to cut each other's throats and those of our subjects, are now thriving labourers in neat cottages. A valley destitute of population and worthless to the State before the mutiny, now yields a good revenue besides the purchase-money of the land, and is as smiling as an English county."

Now this district is the one where, during the transmission of Lord Canning's rules to this country for ratification, the policy was in operation, and somewhere about 100,000 acres were actually purchased and occupied under it, before news came from England of the veto.

Again, to show what the country is capable of, provided irrigation and means of transit were developed to their proper extent. A writer in the *Times*, W. B., in 1864, speaking from personal observation on the spot, says:—

"I know of no reason why (except the want of irrigation) that country should not produce cotton as good as the Egyptian. Scinde, which is as much like Egypt as one florin is like another, has by means of Well irrigation and European skill produced cotton equal in quality, according to the report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, to anything produced in Egypt; and there is enough waste land, waste labour, and waste water in the countries drained by the Indus to produce several millions of Bales. As to the quantity of waste land, the following figures are from official sources:—

	Total area in acres.	Cultivated.
Punjaub ...	... 47,062,400	14,470,185
Scinde ...	... 40,703,360	1,672,229

"Of the population of these countries the following are the last official returns:—

Punjaub and Native States connected with it, the former by						
Census of 1855-1856	...	...	...	...	...	14,766,825
Native States	...	...	...	...	...	7,154,538
Scinde ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,500,000
						24,421,363

"Of the great amount of waste labour in this population, some idea may be formed from the fact that the total exports from the Indus for the year ending April, 1863, amounted to 3,287,594*l.* only, or something less than 3*s.* per head of population, one-half of which was entirely due to the high price of cotton.

"The quantity of water running to waste is 51,500 cubic feet per second when the river is at the lowest, which quantity if it were never greater would be equal to the irrigation of 9,270,000 acres throughout the year.

"As to the cost of irrigated cotton, I stated in a former letter that Scinde might be irrigated by means of high-level canals, at a capital

cost of 3*l.* 10*s.* per acre. This is the estimate formed from ample data by one of our first hydraulic engineers.

"A charge of 25*s.* per acre for the water would give the canal owners 37¼ per cent. net. At this charge for water the cost of good cotton would be as under :—

					£	s.	d.
Land tax per acre	...	...	...	...	0	3	7
Water rate	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
Labour and seed	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
					<hr/>		
Total	...	...	...	...	£2	13	7
					<hr/>		

"Produce 400 lbs., or a fraction over 1¼*d.* per lb.

"W. B."

Here we have on the banks of a river, equal to the Mississippi in America, 87,000,000 of acres of productive soil, out of which only 16,000,000 of acres are under cultivation, all the rest being in a state of nature, although there are 24,000,000 of people ready and willing to till the soil.

Now let us see what the State loses by keeping the lands in this unproductive condition. Taking round numbers :—

			Acres.
There are in the two districts upwards of	...	...	87,000,000
Deduct acres already in the people's hands	...	...	<u>16,000,000</u>
			71,000,000
This leaves in a state of nature	...	...	71,000,000
To avoid exaggeration deduct for mountain, rock, sheep, and cattle-runs, forests, rivers, public works, towns, villages, religious and educational establishments, and generally say	...	...	<u>17,000,000</u>
			54,000,000
This leaves	...	...	54,000,000

of cultivatable land to be dealt with as so much property vested in the hands of the Government in trust for the benefit of the Commonwealth; and which might be put by wise and liberal measures into the hands of thrifty agriculturalists, in portions averaging 160 acres to each family of five persons.\*

Fifty-four millions divided by 160 gives 337,500 farms of 160 acres, each occupied by five persons; this gives a population of 1,687,500. It is a moderate estimate to take five acres as the area to be brought under cultivation in each farm every year, divided thus :—Two acres for bread-stuffs (this comprises all articles of food for both man and beast except animal food), and three acres for cotton or any other

\* I would here remark that the Homestead Law of the United States of America gives all settlers 160 acres free from any payment, on condition of settling a certain distance from town or village, and clearing and cultivating 10 per cent. of it in five years; hence I take 160 acres as the basis of division into farms. Another remarkable fact with regard to Canada: since they became a Federation, their statesmen have gathered moral courage enough to copy the Homestead Law of the United States, and have passed an Act granting 100 acres on similar terms, except that 15 per cent. must be cleared in five years before they can claim their title-deeds.

fibre that may pay best for the time being. Assuming it to be three acres of cotton irrigated, giving an aggregate of 1,012,500 acres, equal to about a million bales of cotton, that would be added annually to the quantity at present under cultivation, and this would be worth at least 6*l.* per lb., or 10*l.* per bale of 400 lbs. This would give an increase in the total value of cotton for exportation of 10,000,000*l.* per annum. Being irrigated cotton, it is of good quality; and though American cotton, even before the war, was never worth less than this price in Liverpool, there would still be a large margin for profit, after considerable reduction, as the cost, on the spot, is only 1½*d.* per lb. (or a fraction over.) Thus one article of produce would add to the State no less than ten millions of wealth per annum, saying nothing of the jute, hemp, flax, sugars, coffee, rice, linseed, tobacco, wine, indigo, fruits, and all other products whose natural element is a tropical sun, all of which would be acceptable to Europeans, who would, under a system of free-trade, be glad to exchange their native products. This would give about 30*l.* profit over and above the means of living, as the two acres devoted to bread-stuffs would be ample to keep the family and provide seed for the following year.

Thirty pounds each family of five would give 6*l.* per head for one year's operations, and that the first year. India contains 200,000,000 of British subjects, which, multiplied by six, is 1,200,000,000*l.* Now, in consideration of the repeal of all other taxes and the gift of these 160 acres, it would surely not be too much to expect these people to pay by way of taxes 5 per cent. income-tax out of this wealth, the greater part of which would be raised from what before was nothing at all; that would be a revenue of 60,000,000*l.*, which is about 15,000,000*l.* more than the present revenue.\*

It might be objected that the 200,000,000 cannot all be agriculturalists. Granted; but it is fair to assume that the average income from other pursuits would be equal to that of the agricultural labourer.

The collateral issues that would arise are numerous and powerful for good. For instance, if this policy were adopted with respect to the valley of the Indus, it would without doubt attract the enterprising agricultural and trading portion of the hill-tribes of Afghanistan to till the soil in our valleys, as the same policy attracts Britons for the same end to the United States.† It would thereby strengthen the position of the Government on the North-western frontier; having secured the affections and alliance of these hardy and enterprising dwellers in the hills, we could safely defy the hostile and aggressive approaches of any enemy from that quarter. "It is painful to observe the utter indifference of the British public towards Indian matters;" but "I hope the day is not distant when the

\* These figures are put in to illustrate the virtue of an income and property over land and all other indirect taxes.

† It is estimated from official statistics that since 1790, including their natural increase, no less than 21,000,000 Britons have settled down in the United States, out of the present population of 35,000,000.

Parliament, press, and people of this country will do their duty towards India."

Why should not 200,000,000 of our fellow-subjects, who form an integral part of the British empire, have their interests fairly represented in the Imperial Parliament?

This question is one of free-trade, that is, free-trade in the lands of India, especially the waste lands, and as such is of far vaster importance than the question of free-trade in corn; and if it ever succeeds in bringing the press, people, and Parliament to take an interest in it, it will be by the same means that were adopted then by the Free Trade League, viz. :—by meetings, agitating, and lecturing throughout the country, and pointing out plainly how it touches the pockets of all classes of society.

The Society, to promote this agitation, must exist but for one object; let it regard that, as at present paramount to all others, and let its motto be "Free-trade knows no political party." Now I believe our Association comes as near to this principle as any, judging from the rules and the inaugural address of our noble Chairman.

In conclusion, let us suppose that Lord Canning's Rules had been passed, and that the people had continued to act upon them in the same spirit as they began. What might at this moment have been the state of affairs, both in India and at home, upon a fair, moderate, and reasonable consideration of all the circumstances? We should, at any rate, have had vast tracts of country under profitable cultivation which are now lying waste; we should have had all the working classes among our Indian fellow-subjects profitably employed; we should have had plenty of inducements giving a mighty impetus to the operations of capitalists in making canals and railways, which would give large dividends through the immense traffic which would thus have been created. We may even go farther, and say that under judicious management the cultivation of these lands would have taken the special form of cotton-growing, and that India might have filled up the vacuum in the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests left by the destruction of the Southern States of America.

But if these be some of the immediate advantages which India would have derived from the adoption of such a policy, the benefits to England are not less noteworthy. Besides the consciousness that we had fairly done our duty by India, we should have had the unspeakable satisfaction of knowing that we had raised up in our own borders a cotton-field large enough to supply the whole world. Five millions of bales of cotton grown in one district in India, ginned, packed, carried to the seashore, shipped to England and all parts of the world to be spun, woven, re-shipped and carried back to the utmost bounds of the earth,—what myriads of busy hands, what manifold interests of human life, moral, social, and religious, are ultimately bound up in these! And is it not an object worthy the most strenuous endeavours of such an Association as this? and ought we not to strain every nerve by every means in our power, both singly and collectively, to bring about a consummation so devoutly to be wished?

## DISCUSSION.

## COLONEL FRENCH IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. NEALE PORTER said that the Association in his opinion were acting more usefully in discussing such subjects as the present than by discussing subjects belonging to the region of high politics and statesmanship. With respect to the emigration of Europeans to India, he thought that such emigration would never take place to any large extent on account of the climate, our colonies affording a more desirable field for the energies of Englishmen as colonists. With regard to attracting to the cultivation of the waste land of the Punjab and Scinde, the border and mountain tribes, he contended that the Government could not do more in the way of giving a fair field for any one who chose to cultivate the soil than it already did by the good government and by the fair and moderate assessment which at present existed. He found that the Imperial revenue, including land-tax or rents, raised in British India did not exceed 6s. per head, and in the Punjab it did not exceed 4s. In the general scope of Mr. Briggs's object he readily sympathised, as he did in anything that could be written or said tending to increase the happiness of our Indian fellow-subjects, for whom all Englishmen of any education and enlightenment had the greatest regard, and whose welfare they had thoroughly at heart.

Mr. SLOAN thought that Mr. Briggs should have gone farther, and proposed that some action should be taken on the course pursued by Sir Charles Wood with reference to the steps taken by Lord Stanley. When the waste land rules first came out to India, every one hailed them as the greatest boon that could be conferred upon the country, and almost every individual, whether in the Government service or engaged in trade, looked forward to investing his savings in land. Englishmen in India, from the difficulty of acquiring anything like a landed estate, never thought of looking upon that country as a permanent residence, and the money that would have been expended in India, if they had had opportunity afforded them of beneficially investing their savings in India in land, was brought to England. Lord Canning framed a set of rules, which were afterwards set aside by Sir Charles Wood, and great indignation existed in India at the time when Sir Charles Wood's dispatch came out. Many individuals who were prepared to purchase land, and who had gone to all the expense of preliminary surveys and so on, found that the lands were to be put up to auction, and individuals who had undergone no expense whatever were allowed to bid over the heads of those who had gone to great expense in making the selection. This policy discouraged people from purchasing land. In Madras, for miles and miles together, he had travelled through a country of rich virgin loam, which would yield the highest return if the soil were cultivated; but no inducement was held out to capitalists to enter upon its cultivation. He presumed the gentleman who had last spoken was connected with the revenue system of India, and would know something of the policy which had been pursued by the East India Company.

Mr. NEALE PORTER explained that he was not in any way, nor had he ever been, connected with the public service in India; that on this particular question of Lord Canning's decree, he wrote an article in 1863 in the "Bombay Saturday Review," strongly condemning the revocation of that decree by Sir Charles Wood; and on a recent occasion he had expressed himself with some emphasis in favour of Lord Canning's view of the matter.

Mr. SLOAN, in continuation of his remarks, said that previous to 1832 the East India Company's regulations prevented any European acquiring any land in India; but by an Act of Parliament in 1832, lands were thrown open to the cultivation of Europeans. The revenue system continuing in a very bad state, attempts were made to ameliorate the condition of the ryot, the result of which was that the ryot was now in a position to acquire property to the extent of his cultivation, and even to purchase land. With respect to the climate being a bar to the cultivation of the land by Europeans, the ryot cultivated his land in the

cool of the morning till about 9 or 10 o'clock, not resuming it till after 3 o'clock, and he contended that if Europeans did the same, no difficulty would be found even in Madras, which was perhaps the hottest of the three Presidencies. Had Europeans been encouraged to become settlers in India the Indian minting would never have assumed the magnitude it did. When Lord Stanley's Waste Land Rules came out to India an association was formed, called the East India Association, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain land upon which natives might settle; but while the matter was being considered, this objectionable dispatch of Sir Charles Wood came out. He proposed that some action should be taken by the Association, for the purpose of obtaining some modification of the Waste Land Rules applicable to India, so that there should be no necessity for the land to be put to auction.

Mr. BRIGGS, in reply, remarked that if it was true that the climate was an obstacle to the cultivation of the land in India by Europeans, there was the more reason why the Government should not interpose another obstacle by the way in which they dealt with the land. He considered that the Government, holding the land as the sole land-owners of the country, was the very bane of the country, and was an injustice to the commonwealth on economical grounds. He would be ready to contract to give the Government 60,000,000*l.* instead of the 45,000,000*l.* which they now got as revenue, and he would only charge 5 per cent. upon the produce of the soil, the only tax which he would impose upon the people of India being the income and property tax. If people had 100 acres given them for nothing, or for 5*s.* an acre, they could easily pay 5 per cent. taxes to the Government instead of having to pay a half, or a third, or a fourth of the produce of the soil as it came off the land. He was of opinion that this question, relating as it did to the means of providing the natives with food, was of even more importance than the question of education. Various proposals had been made for the improvement of the welfare of the people of India, and for the development of the resources of the country; but the great question in all such proposals was from what source were the means to be provided. He thought that by giving away lands to those who would cultivate them, the means would be forthcoming for carrying out those proposals.

The CHAIRMAN said, though he was a military man, he had been almost all his life in the Civil Service, and had taken a great interest in the question of allowing the ryot to redeem his rent-charge. When that desirable state of things was brought about, he thought with Mr. Briggs that means would be found of carrying on a vast improvement in India. He took far less interest in the question of encouraging Europeans to settle in India than in the question of encouraging the natives to become proprietors of the soil. Still he would be glad to see Europeans settle in the country, if they found that the climate would enable them to carry on agricultural operations, as to which he had his doubts. An Englishman with plenty of money might no doubt grow indigo, or plant countless acres of mulberry trees and raise silk; but after all an Englishman was an exotic in India, who sent his children home to be educated, and who was always looking forward to leaving the country, taking with him the money he had earned there. As had been remarked by Mr. Briggs, this country was painfully indifferent to all questions relating to India. Now that Lord Stanley was in power, it would be open to him to reintroduce what Sir Charles Wood revoked. He thought that waste land ought to be put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder. If a man fixed his eye upon a plot of ground and made a tender to the Government, the Government might very fairly say, "We will not sell this to you in a hole-and-corner fashion; we will not deprive the revenues of the amount which might be paid by another in excess of the sum which you are prepared to give." He hoped that the subject would be resumed on a future occasion, for it was a most important one as regarded the stability of our rule. He would be much more disposed to rely upon natives holding their cowl from the British Government, than upon the few Europeans who might be hap-hazard scattered here and there.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Briggs for his paper.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Chairman.



THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF  
THE DORMANT WEALTH OF THE BRITISH  
COLONIES AND FOREIGN POSSESSIONS.

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IN the few observations I am about to make, I purposely avoid details and figures, and content myself with stating a few facts, and abstract propositions and fundamental principles, with the view to provoke the discussion of the question, upon which, as I conceive, hang all other questions of the day—viz., Shall the people eat the bread of honest industry, or that of pauperism and charity?

According to the laws of our Great Creator—I say it with awe and reverence—"If a man will not work, neither shall he eat."

Let us take a rapid glance at our present social condition. Amidst unbounded wealth and luxury, we behold pauperism, crime, vagrancy, destitution, and death to a fearful extent. It has been asserted that during the space of one year nearly one-third of the population of London was recently on the books receiving pauper medical aid.

To the point. Now, can the authorities in power for the time being (whoever they may be) conscientiously say to the able-bodied applicant for pauper relief:—

I. You are able to work, and there is plenty of employment in the country, and a fair day's wage for a fair day's work to be had anywhere, and the laws of God and this realm say, that if a man will not work neither shall he eat. This law it is my duty to administer, and I am bound therefore to refuse you relief.

The authorities can do nothing of the kind; they are powerless for the just and right administration of the law. And why? Because there are other laws in existence not in harmony with this fundamental law—laws passed for the regulation of our fiscal system, which interfere with the natural laws of supply and demand, and which tend to limit the field of operation, and cramp the energies of private enterprise in those parts of the British empire where the raw material for feeding and employing the people is, or might be, produced.

Thus, whilst the number of mouths and hands are increasing at a

rapid rate, the number of acres cultivated and the amount per acre produced do not increase in proportion.

India, which is destined to be the garden of the world, the cradle of the cotton plant, has been for years the home of 150,000,000 of thrifty British subjects.

The hidden resources of this fine country are allowed to lie dormant at the fearful cost of several millions of its inhabitants dying for want of the common necessities of life.

And why? Because the policy of the Government may be described as a dog-in-the-manger policy, which practically holds the lands in a state of nature, and will not alienate the soil to God's people, that the earth may bring forth her increase. Irrigation is so necessary for the soil and climate of India, that without it the crops are always precarious and stunted, but with it the increase is practically unlimited; for instance, the properly irrigated cotton crops will yield 400lbs. to the acre of good cotton. Whereas the same crop not irrigated only yields about an average of 50lbs. to the acre, and this is invariably inferior cotton.

Time and space will not admit of my going into details here, but I would refer those who wish for further information to an able paper read by General Sir Arthur Cotton, at the Indian Association, 55, Parliament Street, Westminster, which is to be found in their *Journal*, No. 1, published in March, 1868. It is headed, "The Opening of the Godavery River."

I am convinced that the only escape out of the difficulty is, a reversal of the Government policy, in regard to the disposal of the waste lands, and also that of constructing public works. So long as Government interferes in the operations of industry, whether it be agriculture, commerce, or manufacture, save to protect life and property, and administer justice, so long will private enterprise keep aloof as a rule.

Again, our colonial policy has been, from the beginning, one vast system of wrong, and chaos is the result. In these, as in India, the spirit of trades' unionism and monopoly has been allowed to ramify throughout the whole body politic, which tends to stunt their growth and make them puny rickety children for all time to come. This, again, is a problem connected with the land policy.

For the sake of brevity, I will lay before you as an illustration, first, the waste land policy of the United States; second, the waste land policy of the British colonies, and leave you to judge between the two.

First, in the United States, all new territories are ordered to be surveyed and marked out in what are called blocks of 640 acres, subdivided down to 40-acre blocks, the odd 40 acres to belong to religious or educational institutions. All town allotments are offered (according to Act) at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dollars per acre. All other allotments or blocks fall under what is termed the homestead law; viz., selection on the principle of first come first served. Every family settling down is entitled by law to four of these 40 acre blocks, or 160 acres, as a

free grant, on the sole condition that they clear and cultivate 10 per cent. in five years.

Second. Now contrast the above with our colonial policy, which was until very recently "one uniform price of £1 per acre."

Now, under such circumstances, can any thinking man wonder that the United States are attracting all our best operatives, especially such as take capital and enterprise with them. Can it be wondered at that three-fourths of those who go to settle down in Canada should drift away, as it were by natural process, into the United States? Can we wonder that the mother country should be necessitated to tax herself to the tune of five millions a year for the protection of her colonies (more than £1 per head of their population); whilst ship after ship, laden with our best men, is landed on the shores of the United States, to build their cities, cultivate their waste land, make their railways, &c., &c. Can it be wondered at that we should have Ireland in a state of chronic discontent and rebellion when her people can point to the homestead law of the United States and say, "There is a home, a perpetual field of employment for our children, which Great Britain cannot or will not provide, either on her own shores or that of her colonies?"

Can it be wondered at that our agricultural operatives should "frequently spend their lives in pauperism," and end their days in work-houses? Can we wonder that our dockyards are empty, and our ship-building works reduced to ruin? Can we wonder at having financial crises fraught with evils such as the present one, the magnitude of which the world's history furnishes no parallel?

It might reasonably be asked, Why cavil about where the emigrants go to so long as they are well provided for when they reach their destination, and so long as the United States are friendly towards us and peaceably inclined?

My answer to that is, first—That the United States are not at peace with us even now, and never will be at peace with us, herself, or any other nation, so long as she maintains a system of protective tariffs, or import and excise duties; and on this point the same may be said of our colonies, not that they are at actual physical war, but that the system of taxation, which they and we uphold, bears within it the germs of war, which sooner or later must break out in either civil commotion or foreign war.

I am convinced that if our Government had established the present homestead law of the United States when first we occupied that country as a British colony, and carried it out in good faith, we should never have had that war which lost us that fine country.

Second, Because the Government of the United States, in recognising the value of labour in the aggregate, has admitted in so many words, "that every labourer who comes from Europe and settles down with them adds to the wealth of the State £1,000 each. Now, considering that the United States got from us 600,000 labourers during the four years' civil war, it follows that they abstracted an amount of wealth from this country and her colonies which was equal to £600,000,000, and which may be said to have been added to their

own. This calculation is based upon the principle that, taking men in the aggregate, they produce by their labour thrice as much as they consume of the material wealth of the State.

In England the celebrated Dr. Farr only calculates £200 for each individual, on an average, of the agricultural operatives, as their value to the State.

And why this disparagement to the British labourer at home, seeing that he is worth to the United States £1,000?

Simply because, first, we have the alienation of the waste lands in our colonies and foreign possessions based upon monopoly, which impedes their development. Second, because we have not free trade in labour. And, thirdly, because we have not entire free trade in the produce of the soil and all the good things God has given to man upon earth.



