MEMORANDUM
OF THE
PROGRESS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY
DURING THE LAST FORTY YEARS
OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION.

[Printed, 1 page]
MEMORANDUM

ON THE

PROGRESS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

DURING THE LAST FORTY YEARS

OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION.

BY

S. SRINIVASA RAGHAVAYANGAR, B.A., DEWAN BAHADUR, C.I.E.

Inspector-General of Registration, Madras.

MADRAS:
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS.
1893.
In July 1890, Lord Connemara entrusted to me the task of examining whether the economic condition of the Madras Presidency has, on the whole, improved or deteriorated during the last 40 or 50 years of British administration and of writing a Memorandum on the subject. I was given to understand that the conclusions arrived at should be based not only on information officially on record but also on the results of independent inquiries. To ascertain whether any and what improvement has taken place in the condition of the masses of the population, it was, of course, necessary that an idea should be formed as to their condition in the past, and, for this purpose, I had to collect and read up a great mass of old reports. This took up a deal of time, and I was able to write only the preliminary portion of this Memorandum before the end of 1890. The departure of Lord Connemara to England and pressure of other official work led to the preparation of this Memorandum being laid aside for some time, and I was able to resume the work only in the latter half of 1891. Since then I have been more or less engaged on it, but as the work has had to be carried on in addition to my other official duties, it has not been possible to finish it earlier. The interval, however, has been utilised for collecting information on such matters as prices of commodities, wages of labour, etc., in order that it might be used for testing information obtained from official sources. The Government has permitted me to add another section to this Memorandum containing suggestions as to certain special measures to be adopted for the amelioration of the agricultural classes in connection with land settlements, agricultural banks, agricultural and industrial education, etc., and to revise the statistics given in the appendices to the Memorandum.
vi

with reference to the results of the last census. This will
be done as soon as the results of the census become avail-
able, which will be very shortly, and the Memorandum will
then be issued in a complete form.

2. I have endeavoured to make the statistics given in
the memorandum as accurate as possible, but I can scarcely
hope that I have fully succeeded. The information given
as regards the state of things in former centuries, though
derived from sources which are the best available, is admit-
tedly imperfect, but this does not invalidate in any way the
general conclusions arrived at.

3. The subject being many-sided, it is, of course, not
possible in a first attempt to do more than break ground as
regards the various questions dealt with. I have, therefore,
printed as appendices to the Memorandum such official and
other papers as throw light on the questions discussed, for
purposes of easy reference in subsequent inquiries. This
accounts also for the large quantity of statistical information
and the large number of quotations given in the earlier por-
tions of my Memorandum. Much of this information is new
to the generation that is growing up, though not new to the
generation that is passing away.

4. In conclusion, I wish to point out that the subject
dealt with is the improvement in the material condition of
the Presidency, and though there are other points of view
from which the question of national well-being has to be
considered, improvement in the material condition is the
foundation on which improvement in other respects should
be built up. I venture to think that if the question be
impartially considered, there can be no two opinions as to
the very great advance made by the country during the last
40 years.

Madras,
11th April 1892.

S. S.
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The additional section containing suggestions as to measures to be adopted for the amelioration of the condition of the agricultural classes has now been completed, and the Memorandum is accordingly issued in a complete form.

I have made a few verbal changes in portions of the Memorandum already issued and added foot-notes in three or four places to make my meaning clearer on some points to prevent misapprehension. I have also given in the appendix extracts from a reply published by me in the Madras Mail to some criticisms which appeared in the Calcutta Review on the question of pressure of population and one or two important matters bearing on the condition of the agricultural population.

The statistics given in the appendices have been revised, as far as possible, with reference to the results of the last census. The Board of Revenue having furnished revised figures as regards the acreage of holdings for some of the earlier years, these have been adopted in the statement of acreage of holdings printed in the appendix. I have retained the life-table for the population of the Presidency taken from the census report of 1881, as the table prepared in connection with the census of 1891 relates to the population of the Madras city alone. The comparative table of persons classified under various occupations in 1871 and 1881 has also been retained unaltered, as owing to a radical change of classification adopted for the census of 1891, a comparison between the results of this census and those of the earlier censuses has not been found possible.

No pains have been spared to render the statistics as accurate as possible, but considering the great mass of figures
dealt with, it is not possible to say that all chances of error have been excluded. If any errors are brought to notice, I shall thankfully correct them and issue an erratum.

Though the work has outgrown the limits of a Memorandum, the original form has been retained, the object throughout being not so much to furnish cut and dry conclusions as to indicate the methods of investigation to be pursued and furnish materials as far as possible for forming a judgment as to the improvement which has taken place in the condition of the agricultural classes, and as to the further measures to be taken for their amelioration. On some of the subjects dealt with under the latter head, such as agricultural and technical education and widening the scope of local administration, my remarks are necessarily general, as my intention is to point out the necessity for increased attention in certain directions, and not to lay down the precise measures to be adopted, the determination of which must, of course, be based on a thorough investigation of the conditions of the localities to which they are to be applied. It is hardly necessary to add that the views I have expressed on these and other matters are my individual opinions submitted for the consideration of Government, and are not to be understood as reflecting the opinions of the Government itself.

I must in conclusion express my grateful acknowledgments to several gentlemen who have favoured me with the results of their observation and experience in connection with the inquiry forming the subject-matter of the Memorandum, and to Mr. Hill, the Superintendent of the Government Press, for the ready and willing assistance afforded by him in passing this work through the press. My thanks are also due to Mr. Carefo, by whose kindness I have been enabled to prefix a map of the Presidency to the Memorandum.

Palmerston, S. S.
21st May 1893.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY AND THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE IN FORMER CENTURIES</td>
<td>2-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE PROVINCE OF MYSORE</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE PROVINCE OF BENGAL</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE PROVINCE OF ORISSA</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. THE PROVINCE OF UTTAR PRADESH</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. THE PROVINCE OF WEST BENGAL</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. THE PROVINCE OF MADHYA PRADESH</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. THE PROVINCE OF MEGHALAYA</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. THE PROVINCE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. THE PROVINCE OF UTARAKHAND</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. THE PROVINCE OF HIMACHAL PRADESH</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. THE PROVINCE OF GUJARAT</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. THE PROVINCE OF MADHYA PRADESH</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. THE PROVINCE OF MAHARASHTRA</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. THE PROVINCE OF GUJARAT</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. THE PROVINCE OF KARNATAKA</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. THE PROVINCE OF TAMIL NADU</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX. THE PROVINCE OF ANDHRA PRADESH</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX. THE PROVINCE OF KOLKATA</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI. THE PROVINCE OF DHAKA</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII. THE PROVINCE OF BHOPAL</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII. THE PROVINCE OF BURDwan</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV. THE PROVINCE OF RAJASTHAN</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXX. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIV. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXV. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVI. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVII. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVIII. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XL. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLII. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIII. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIV. THE PROVINCE OF MP</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

1. The elaborate methods of Meddel settlement compared with the simpler method of Bhandy 70 100-103
2. The methods of Bhandy settlement 71 103-114
3. In Meddel, as in Bhandy, valuation of soil dependent greatly on judgment and discretion of individual assessed and not on
4. Systematic manner 72 115-116
5. There is a need for rigorous survey for fixing rates for land 73 117-118
6. The advancement of revenue in districts where method 74 119-120
7. Districts in which settlement are in progress 75 121-122
8. The question of permanent settlement of land revenue, the
9. Members of the tax paid through 76 123-124
10. Arguments for a permanent settlement 77 125-126
11. Re-valuation of the land assessed for validating the evils of pro-
12. Tend to increase revenue-collectors for the purpose in-

II.-THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PRESIDENTS ON COMMUNICATIONS 78 127-128
1. The condition of Semindia roads not improved to the extent
2. The roads in the following classes in the hands held by them
3. The roads not given special attention
4. The roads not marked along marked roads
5. The roads not marked along marked roads
6. The roads not marked along marked roads
7. The roads not marked along marked roads
8. The roads not marked along marked roads
9. The roads not marked along marked roads
10. The roads not marked along marked roads

III.-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY IN CASSAVES AND RUBBER 130-131
1. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 132-133
2. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 134-135
3. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 136-137
4. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 138-139
5. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 140-141
6. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 142-143
7. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 144-145
8. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 146-147
9. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 148-149
10. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 150-151
11. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 152-153
12. The industry of Cassava and Rubber 154-155

IV.-ABSENCE OF DIVERSITY IN CULTIVATION AND RESEARCH FOR 156-157
1. The fact connected with present population and plant-
2. The fact connected with present population and plant-
3. The fact connected with present population and plant-
4. The fact connected with present population and plant-
5. The fact connected with present population and plant-
6. The fact connected with present population and plant-
V.—CONTINUATION OF JUSTICE

APPENDIXES.


A.—Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, extracted from Annals of Deccan. Mohr, by Mr. H. Swell, M.C.R.

B.—Orders under Madras and Madras Administrations (from Records' Office).


D.—Selected from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of India, Vol. IV.

E.—Abstract from the records in public which a number of villages in the Chota now led to pay to the Tamper sangha.


A.—Extracts from official reports showing the condition of the provincial districts at the time they came under British administration.

B.—A list of Magistrates' names, headed in the villages of Begampore, to the Up arbitrarily drawn, taken from the records kept by the headmen of the villages.
be recognized as the legal rate. Dr. Burnell, in his *South Indian Palaeography*, has stated: "that the land tax (for such it originally was in South India, not rent) should amount to half the produce, has long been quoted at an instance of rapacity of Muhammadan and English Governors, from the illustrious B. Niebuhr's early letters down to modern public discussions, by people ignorant of Indian history. But it has nothing to do with either. The inscriptions at Taxila show that the indigenous Chola Kings of the 11th century took about half the produce, and E. W. Ellis long ago asserted, on other grounds, that the tax was always more than the sixth or fourth permitted by the Sanskrit lawyers. A consideration of royal grants would also conclusively show (as Sanskrit lawyers asserted) that the Government never had any right to the land."

In the Northern Orissa also the native dynasties, long before the Muhammadan conquest, appear to have taken half the gross produce as the land tax, and this rule was in force in several feudatories and principalities which had never, or only for a short time, been under Muhammadan domination—the Karnaad remnant for instance. The only instances in which the rule laid down by the Shastras was adopted in eating lands for the revenue was in South Canara, and in this case, the Shastratic rule was asserted to with a view to enhance the land tax which had till then been levied. In South Canara, cultivation has to be carried on under more difficult conditions than elsewhere. The country is extremely rocky and uneven, and, owing to excessive rainfall, cattle are scarce and cannot be employed at all seasons of the year. The ground has to be levied at great expense to make it fit for cultivation, and this operation has to be continually repeated, as, owing to heavy rainfall and mountain torrents, the land is constantly cut up into deep gullies. Reclamation of land could, under those circumstances, have been possible only if the land tax had been extremely moderate, and accordingly the original land tax appears to have been fixed at 1/4 of the gross produce till about A.D. 1550, when the country was conquered by a Pandyan prince. He ruled that the 1/4 share should be delivered in rice and not in unhusked paddy, and thus increased the tax by about 10 per cent. When the country became a dependency of Vijayanagar, the king Hari Har Roy fixed the land-tax at 1/4 of gross produce, i.e., 1/4 the king's share proper, and 1/4th the share allotted by the Shastras for the support of temples and Brahmins, thus enhancing the tax by 50 per cent. From information extracted by Dr. Buchanan from certain old accounts in the possession of a zamboona at Gokarna and given in his "Journey..."
through Mysore, Malabar and Oomara in 1869, it appears, however, that in certain parts of North Canara, according to a valuation of Krishna Rayas, the king of Vijayanagar, while the tax on rice lands was 4th of the gross produce, that on coconut plantations was quite half the gross produce.

7. The following extracts from the records of the Madura Jesuit Mission give the particulars connected with the land revenue administration of the Madura country under the rule of the Vijayanagar Kings in the 17th century: "The King of Grand Nayar of Madura has but a few domains which depend immediately on him, that is to say, which form his property (for, in this country, the great are sole proprietors, and the people are only tenants or farm- ers); all the other lands are the domains of a multitude of petty princes, or tributary lords; these latter have each in his own domain the full administration of the police and of justice, if justice there is at all; they levy contributions which comprise at least the half of the produce of the lands; of this they make three parts, the first of which is reserved as tribute to the Grand Nayar; the second is employed in supporting troops, which the lord is bound to furnish him with in case of war; the third belongs to the lord. The Grand Nayar of Madura, like those of Tanjore and Gingee, are themselves tributaries of Vijayanagar, to whom they pay, or ought to pay, each one an annual tribute of from 6 to 10 millions of francs. But they are not punctual in this payment; often they delay, and even sometimes refuse entirely; then Vijayanagar arranges or sends one of his generals at the head of a hundred thousand men to enforce payment of all arrears, with interest, and in such cases, which are frequent, it is the poor people who are to expiate the fault of their princes; the whole country is disor- dered and the population is either pillaged or massacred." The revenue administration of the Mahatta chief, Ekoji, a half-brother of Siraji, in Tanjore, appears from a letter of a Jesuit missionary in 1683 to have been, if possible, even more oppres- sive. The missionary states: "Tanjore is in the possession of Ekoji with the exception of a few provinces which have been seized by the Marava. Here is a short sketch of the adminis- tration of this country. Ekoji appropriates four-fifths of the produce. This is not all. Instead of accepting these four- fifths in kind, he insists that they should be paid in money; and as he takes care to fix the price himself much beyond that which the proprietor can realize, the result is that the sale of the entire produce does not suffice to pay the entire contri-
The cultivators then remain under the weight of a heavy debt; and often they are obliged to prove their inability to pay by submitting to the most barbarous tortures. It would be difficult for you to conceive such an oppression, and yet I must add that this tyranny is more frightful and revolting in the kingdom of Gingee. For the rest this is all I can say, for I cannot find words to express all that is horrible in it. 15

Even the rule of Tirumal Nayak, who may be fairly called the 16 magnificent, was oppressive. Tirumal Nayak was partial to Christianity and treated the Jesuit missionaries with marked kindness; and he was even suspected of having embraced Christianity secretly. And yet this is the account given by Father Drouard in a letter, dated Trichinopoly, 1659: 17

"Tirumal Nayak was not spared to enjoy the victory; he was called upon to render an account to God of the evils which his persecutions policy had done on his people and on the neighboring kingdoms. He died at the age of 75 years after a reign of 50 years. We cannot but acknowledge that he possessed great qualities; but he tarnished their glory towards the end of his life by vices and follies which nothing could justify. His reign was illustrious by works of truly royal magnificence, among them being the apposition of Madura, and, above all, the royal palace, whose colossal proportions and gigantic strength recall to memory the ancient monuments of Thebes. He loved and protected the Christian religion, the excellence of which he recognized, but never had the courage to accept the consequences of this conviction. The greatest obstacle to his conversion arose from his two hundred wives, the most distinguished of whom were buried over his funeral pile according to the barbarous custom of these nations." The Government of Oudh under the Naiks of Saiyamangalp appears to have been no better.
8. The above long extracts show not only what the real character of the administration of the Nayar dynasty, who adorned their capitals with such magnificent buildings, was, but also the enormous revenue which former Hindu rulers derived from land. According to the statements contained in the letters of the Jesuit missionaries, the three viceroyalties of Madura, Tanjore and Ganges were each bound to pay a tribute, varying between 9 and 10 millions of rupees or between £240,000 and £460,000 to the Vizianagaram sovereign, and if the Madura province, which was the most extensive of the three, paid the higher sum, it is clear that the revenue taken from the ryots of that province must have been at least three times that sum or £1,200,000. In fact, most of the lands comprised within the Madura province were in the hands of Pelegus, who, it is stated, paid to the local viceroy only one-third of the revenue of their possessions, and out of this one-third, the viceroy had to pay the tributes after defraying their own expenses. The Madura province comprised the present districts, Madura, Tindelvally, Trichinopoly and a portion of the Salem district. The land revenue of these districts aggregated now 37½ bales of rupees only, and when it is remembered that in the 16th and 17th centuries much of the country now under cultivation was covered with jungle and that the purchasing power of the precious metals was several times higher than it is at present, an idea may be formed of the large share of the gross produce which the Government of those days appropriated as revenue. It seems probable, as, indeed, the records of the Jesuit Mission state, that the tribute was seldom regularly paid, but was exacted by the Vizianagaram king by force of arms whenever he was able to do so; but the large amount of tribute fixed shows that practically, the only limit to the exactions which could be made from the ryots was their ability to pay. The amount of revenue taken by the sovereigns of the Madura and Tanjore countries would be hardly credible, were it not for the fact that there is ample evidence to show that in other parts of the peninsula the revenue taken by other sovereigns was equally great, if not greater. In Orissa, it appears that in the 12th century the Ganges dynasty had a land revenue of about £460,000, or a little less than three times the revenue derived by the British Government from the same province, while the purchasing power of the rupee was then 8 times of what it is now. The land revenue of the whole of British India is 29 millions of
tens of rupees. In the time of the Emperor Akbar, the land revenue of the territories subject to his rule, which did not extend south of the Vindhyah mountains, was 163 millions & 0 in 1694 and 175 millions in 1695. In Jehangir's time the land tax continued at 174 millions. In the earlier years of Aurangzeb's reign (1655) the land revenue was 21 millions. It rose to 344 millions in 1676 and to 398 millions in 1697. In the last year of Aurangzeb's reign (1707) the revenue fell to 90 millions. It is stated that it is extremely difficult to estimate the revenue of the empire presented to the Afghan invader, Ahmed Shah Abdali, when he entered Delhi in 1761, the land revenue of the empire was entered at 341 millions. The significance of the above figures will be rightly estimated when it is remembered that between the years 1693 and 1695 the price of wheat averaged between 18s to 22s per rupee and barley 27s 6d per rupee, i.e., the price of wheat and barley in the end of the 18th century was between one-sixth and one-seventh of what it is at present.

9. The Hindu Shastras consigned the king, who exacted more than one-sixth or one-fourth of the produce, to infamy in this world and to the torments of hell in the next, but the Muhammadan law had no such scruples. The Hindu states:

The learned in the law alleges that the utmost extent of tribute is one-half of the actual produce, nor is it allowable to exceed more; but the taking of a half is no more than strict justice and is not tyrannical, because, as it is lawful to take the whole of the person and property of infidels and distribute them

---

*The revenue of the Mogul emperor appears to have been carefully investigated by Mr. Edward Thompson in his book entitled The Revenue Revenue of the Mogul Empire. The particulars are given in the appendix to the present paper. In the years 1787 and 1788 the revenue was computed upon the basis of the population of the empire and the depression in the value of the precious metals at the present may be applied to its revenue. The present rate of taxation is reduced to a minim of coins. In the whole area under cultivation in the 18th century, the land tax per acre would be about 1 taka, which is about thirty times the tax paid in the Mogul period. The tax of 163 millions would be about 325 rupees per acre. In the Mogul period, when the empire was at its height, the tax was about 50 rupees per acre. The Mogul period was a time of great depression, and the population was not only the greatest but also the wealthiest. The tax system was therefore very simple and the revenue was mainly from land. The revenue derived from land was a great source of income, and it is estimated that it contributed about 80% of the total revenue. The revenue system was based on the assessment of land, and the assessment was made according to the quality and productivity of the land. The tax was collected from the farmers and was paid in cash. The tax was paid in kind, and the farmers were required to deliver a certain amount of grain to the government. The tax was not subject to any tax exemptions, and it was collected from all the farmers, regardless of their social status. The tax was collected from the farmers and was paid in cash.
among the Mussalmans, it follows that taking half their incomes is lawful, a fortiori. The hint given us in the lawfulness of taking the whole of the property of the infidel was of course not likely to be lost on the ever-vexed Mussalmans. Emperor Akbar abolished many vexatious taxes and fixed the land tax at about one-third of the gross produce, but his successors re-imposed all the abolished taxes. The devices resorted to for enhancing taxation were innumerable. In the provinces of Agra and Delhi the money assessment had been fixed by Todar Mall at so much per head of 3,660 square ells (each ell between 33½ to 41 inches) or nearly an acre; the tax was enhanced by the simple expedient of reducing the tax to one-third of the original dimensions.

10. In the enormous revenue which former rulers derived from land, coupled with unlimited command over forced labour, that enabled them to execute the stupendous works, whether palaces, temples, aniconic stones, which strike us with astonishment. The celebrated temple at Tanjore built by the Cholas in the 11th century is stated to have taken 12 years to complete. The architect, who designed the building and superintended its execution, was one Suna Varman of Gujjeravamsa. A village, named Sàpsuram (literally the hollow at the base of the sea-

1 From Skinner's Political Survey of the Northern Provinces. Appendix to the "Fifth Report" of the Parliamentary Committee on Indian affairs published by James Higgins, London, 1851, page 219. Colonel Wilde in his Notes on Ancient Monuments in India published by Clavell (see Jg, the ninth report of the Indian Association, 1873-74. Four of the hospices may be mentioned here as the income given in justification of their exorbitant charges.

2 From Skinner, a tax upon slaves purchased on jild which had Sidney paid baddies at the regular land tax, etc. the produce that a share of the state as well as of the grant belonged to Government.

3 In this matter it is easy or difficult of exchange on objects being or being in a currency. This was once used, permanently added, to the official currency, but with the result that the cost of certain goods was reduced. To this the same amount, and the benefit secured that was ever-outlived was collected on a still greater scale. This is the reason why Ceylon, having a large proportion of its goods in gold or silver, taxes in proportion.

4 The real value of money depends on the amount of currency in circulation. The rise or depreciation of currency is held to be an index to the condition of the country. The rise of the currency is said to be a sign of prosperity, the fall to be a sign of depression. The value of money is determined by the demand for it and the supply of it. The demand is influenced by the amount of currency in circulation and the supply by the amount of money in circulation and foreign currency in circulation. In foreign countries an appreciated standard of values is a sign of prosperity. A gold coin in the reigns of Rajahs, Thugs, and of the British Government is a sign of prosperity. The rise in the value of money from the sale of tea in India, the money from the sale of rice, etc., is a sign of prosperity.
folding, 4 miles from Tanjore, is believed to be the place where the
scaffolding, over which the block of granito, estimated to
weigh 80 tons, was carried to the top of the tower, 200 feet
high, rested. After visiting the Sun temple at Kumbak in
Orissa, Abul Fazl, the famous minister of Akbar, is stated to
have written as follows: "Near to Jagannath is the temple of
the Sun, in the erection of which was expended the whole
revenue of Orissa for 12 years. No one can behold this im-
mensely huge building without being struck with amazement." Dr.
Hunter, in his "Orissa," mentions that the eastern entrance of
the temple was till lately surmounted by a colossal slab elabor-
ately carved, and that its beauty tempted some English anti-
quarians to attempt to remove it to the Museum at Calcutta.
A grant of public money was obtained for the purpose, but it
suffered only to drag the massive block a couple of 100 yards,
where it now lies quite apart from the temple and as far as
ever from the shore. Dr. Hunter states that the builders of the
12th century had excavated it in the quarries of the Hill States
and carried it by a land journey across swamps and over un-
bridged rivers for a distance of 60 miles. It is evident that
to make this possible, human life and labour must have been
quite as cheap in the 12th century as in the time of the Pha-
rnaks when the Great Pyramid was built. Imprisonment of
labour for public works was till recently resorted to even under
British rule, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that in
previous centuries all public works were carried out by this
means. Hyder, when he invaded the Carnatic, seized many
artificers and carried them away to his own territories to work
there. Colonel Wilks, in his history of Mysore, gives an
account of the frightful oppressions caused by the imprisonment
of labour by Tipoo for carrying out the fortifications of Serrento-
patnam, where 20,000 labourers were kept employed for years.

11. In Tavernier’s account of his travels we have a bird’s
eye view of the state of India during the reign of Shub Jehan
and Aurungzeb, when the Moghul empire was at the height
of its power and glory. Tavernier was a French goldsmith, who
for purposes of trade made five voyages between 1633—1668 to
India, and resided several months and
even years there on each occasion. He visited almost all parts of India. Masulipatam was in his time a great port, and had the best anchorage on the Bay of Bengal. It was the only place from which vessels sailed for Pegu, Siam, Arrakan, Bengal, Cochin Chins, Moea, Hormuz, Madagascar, Sumatra and the Moluccas. Wheelbarrow carriages could not travel between Golconda and Masulipatam. It was with great difficulty that Tavernier was able to take a small cart to Golconda, and he was obliged to take it in pieces in several places and carry them. There were no wagons in the country between Golconda and Cape Comorin. Either oxen or pack horses were used for the conveyance of merchandise. But in default of chariots, says Tavernier, "you have the conveniences of much larger palanquins than in the rest of India; for one is carried much more easily, more quickly and at less cost." Palanquin bearers were paid Rs. 6 each per mission, and if the journey was long and likely to occupy more than 60 days, they were paid at the rate of Rs. 8. The most powerful of the sovereigns south of the Ganges was the Raja of Vellore (Vijayanagar dynasty), whose authority extended to Cape Comorin, but in his country there was no trade. Shah Jahan reigned for 40 years, less as a king over his subjects than as a father over his children. His dominions were well cultivated, but there were no roads or bridges. The journey from Surat to Agra occupied from thirty-five to forty days, and one had to pay between 40 and 45 rupees for carriage for the whole journey. Buchanapoll was a much ruined town, where, however, an enormous quantity of very transparent muslins was made and exported to Persia, Turkey, Muscovy, Poland, Arabia, Grand Cairo and other places. There was abundance of cotton in the neighbourhood of Buchanapoll. In Surat there were a great many merchants and artisans, and that was the reason why it contained some houses of stone and brick. There was a large trade in colored calicoes called chas, which were sent to Persia and Turkey. There was also made in this place a description of muslin "as fine that when it is on the person you see the skin as though it were unavowed." The muslins, however, were not allowed to export it, and the Governor sent it all for the use of the Great Moghul'sScreenshot of the mentioned content:
fixed and flagged. Pama was one of the largest towns in India. The houses, however, were not better than in the majority of other towns and were nearly all roofed with thatch or bamboo. In Desa the houses were miserable huts made of bamboo and mud. Sales were conditional on payments being made in coins coined during the current year. Foreign coins brought into the country had to be taken to the king's mint and there recast; the expenses were to be borne both in Persia and India amounting to ten per cent. These regulations were, however, generally evaded. In places where there were no money-changers, people would not take silver coins without putting them in the fire to test whether the silver was good. Bitter almonds and oranges were used as small change. Almonds were brought from Persia, and these were so bitter that there was no danger of children eating them. Thirty-five or forty almonds went to the pion which was 1/3 of a rupee. Of oranges, from 50 to 80 were exchangeable for a pice, according to the distance of the place from the coast. 2. In India," says Tavernier, "a village must be very small if it has not a money-changer, whom they call sherif, who acts as broker to make remittances of money and issue letters of exchange. As in general these changers have an understanding with the Governors of provinces, they enhance at their will the rate of exchange of the rupee for the pence and of the pence for these shillings. All the Jews who occupy themselves with money in the empire of the Grand Seigneur pay for being very sharp, but in India they would be severely punished by these money-changers." Merchants were frequently plundered by the rajahs of the territories through which they had to pass. The Rajah of Khabagh was oppressive to merchants, but since Auranjeb's came to the throne, says Tavernier, "he cut off his head and those of a large number of his subjects. They have set up towers near the town, on the high road, and these towers are covered all round by several windows where they have placed in each the head of a man at every two feet. On my last journey in 1665, it was not long since the execution had taken place when I passed by Khabagh, for all the heads were still entire and gave out an unpleasant odour." The disproportion of justice was very summary and unremembered with force. There were no jails, for the custom of the country was not to keep men in prison. Immediately the accused was taken he was examined and sentence pronounced on him and executed without delay. Tavernier went to see Moos Jumla, Nabab of Gwaldom, a place in the Coochbaha district, who was a General under the King of Golconda at first and subsequently under Emperor Aurangzeb, and to whom he had shown some
diamonds for sale and of whose abilities he speaks highly. While he was with the Nabob, it was announced that 3 prisoners had arrived. "The Nabob remained silent for half an hour without replying, writing continuously and making his secretaries write, but at length he suddenly ordered the criminals to be brought in, and after having questioned them and made them confess with their mouths the crimes of which they were accused, he remained nearly an hour without saying anything and continuing to write and making his secretaries write." Among these 3 prisoners was one who had entered a house and slain a mother and her three infants. He was condemned forthwith to have his hands and feet cut off and to be thrown into a field near the high road to end his days. Another had stolen on the high road, and the Nabob ordered him to have his stomach slit open and flung in a drain. Tavernier says that he could not ascertain what the others had done, but the heads of both of them were cut off. The men who worked at the diamond mines at Golconda earned only 20, 50, per annum, though, says Tavernier, they were men who thoroughly understood their work. The wages being so small the men did not manifest any scruple about conceal ing a stone found when they could, which they did by putting it in their mouths, as they had little or no clothing on their bodies. Tavernier gives the following account of the paucity and of the common soldiers: "One hundred of our European soldiers would scarcely have any difficulty in vanquishing 7,000 of these Indian soldiers; but it is true, on the other hand, that they would have much difficulty in accustomed themselves to so abominable a life as theirs. For the houseman, as well as the infantry, supports himself with a little flour mixed with a little water and black sugar, of which he makes balls, which consists of rice cooked with shall in water with a little salt. When eating it, they dip their fingers in melted butter. Such is the ordinary food of both soldiers and the poor people. To which it should be added that the host would kill our soldiers, who would be unable to remain in the heat of the sun as these Indians do. I should say, so prevent, that the peasants have for their sole garment a strip of cloth tied round their loins, and that they are reduced to great poverty because, if the Governors become aware that they possess any property, they seize it straightway by right or by force. You may see in India whole provinces like deserts, from whence the peasants have fled on account of the oppressions of the Governors. Under cover of the fact that they are themselves Muhammadans, they persecute the poor idolaters to the utmost, and if any of the latter become Muhammadans,
it is in order not to work any more; they become soldiers or fakirs, who are people who make profession of having renounced the world and live upon alms, but in reality they are great rascals. It is estimated that there are 800,000 Muhammadan fakirs and 1,200,000 among the idolaters. * Taverman was a devout French Protestant Christian, and he adds: "Although these idolaters are in the depths of blindness to a knowledge of the true God, that does not prevent them from living morally well; when married, they are rarely unfaithful to their wives, and adultery is very rare among them."

Section II.—The condition of the Presidency at the end of the 18th century when most of the provinces of Southern India were acquired by the British.

12. In the appendix A, section II, will be found extracts from official reports describing in some detail the state of the country at the commencement of the present century when most of the provinces of Southern India came under British occupation. In the earlier centuries, although the country had suffered from frequent wars, it had, with some intervals of anarchy, the advantage of a more or less settled government. In the 18th century, however, the complete anarchy prevailed and the condition of the people was miserable in the extreme. In the beginning of the century, the Moghul General Zulfiqar Khan, who had command of the Fayan Ghaut or the country between the Kistna and the Coleroon rivers, was engaged in incessant and destructive wars for 18 years till the death of the Emperor Aumugrebo. "The express statement," says Colonel Wilkins, of 19 active fought and three thousand coss (6,000 miles) marched by this officer in the course of six months only may afford some faint idea of the wretchedness in which the unfortunate inhabitants were involved during that period, and those instances of war, in the ordinary course of human calamity, were necessarily followed by a long and destructive famine and pestilence. Within this period Zulfiqar Khan appears to have made three different expeditions to the south of the Gavvery, leaving heavy contributions on Tenjore and Trichinopoly." Soon after the Moghul conquest the Moghul power rapidly declined under the assaults made on it by the Mahrattas. When the emperor appointed a jagirdar over a tract of country, the Mahrattas appottted another; and both of them seized the cultivators who often had no alternative left but to leave off cultivating and become plunderers in their turn. Shortly after followed the wars consequent on disputed succession to the sovran of the Deccan and the nabobship of the Carnatic and the struggle for
supremacy between the English and the French. In the lan-
guage of the "Fifth Report," when the Northern Citizens were
handed over by the Nizam to the English in 1765, "the whole
system of internal management had become disorganised. Not
only the forms but even the remembrance of civil authority
seemed to be wholly lost." The Chingleput district had almost
entirely been depopulated by the wars with Hyder, so much
so that hardly any other signs were left in many parts of the
country of its having been inhabited by human beings than the
bones of the bodies that had been massacred or the naked walls
of the houses, shrines and temples which had been burnt."
"The terrible memories of "Hyder khilafan," or the ravages of
Hyder's cavalry, still live in stories current among the common
people at the present day. Tanjore, which was in the posses-
sion of the Nabob of Arcot in the years 1774 and 1775, was
almost ruined by "his inhuman Cruelties," and, according to
Rev. Schwartz, the famous Lutheran missionary and an eye-
witness, the people would have preferred Hyder's invasion to
the Nabob's occupation. In the second year, the Nabob ex-
torted from the landholders no less than 81 lakhs of rupees
which is nearly double the present land revenue of the district.
It will have been seen from the extracts from the letters of the
Jesuit missionaries already given, that Ehoji took 89 per cent.
of the gross produce as revenue, leaving only 29 per cent. to
the mirisalars. On the accession of Traspan Singh to the
munnad the mirisalars' vomen appears to have been 30 per
cent. of the pismam and 45 per cent. of the kar crop, and the
rate for the pisman crop was raised by him and his successors
till it amounted to 40 per cent. in the time of Amir Singh.
How little the rights of the mirisalars were, owing to misgov-
ernment, understood at the time will be seen from the fact that
the English commissioners, who recorded on the resources of the
country on the deposition of Amir Singh and the installation of
Surfoji under British auspices, characterized the settlement
made by Amir Singh fixing the Government share of the
produce at 69 per cent. and the mirisalars' vomen at 40 per
cents., as a "prodigious remission." In the semi-arid and poli-
gar countries the only limit to the exactions to which the ryots
were subjected was their ability to pay; the customary share
of the produce belonging to Government was nominally half,
but additional taxes were levied on various pretexts, alleging

51 Here in the English district a large part of the population was killed in 1766.
In 1764, the year before Hyder's invasion, 900 officers of one to three gunpowder
dolls were 16,000, while in 1766 it was 600,000. The figures gradually rose again till it reached
15,000,000, which in 1798-99, 71st year 1799, page 341.
the share enjoyed by the ryots to 9 or 10. Where there were no reminders, extorts were employed, especially by Mohammedan Governments, to collect the revenue and these extorts mercilessly fleeced the people. Mr. Wallace, the Collector of Trichinopoly, writing in 1802, has given an account of the revenue administration of the district under the Nabob. The Government tax on wet lands was received in grain, and the whole of the grain produced was a strict Government monopoly, as strict, indeed, that if one ryot lent to another a small quantity of grain for consumption, he was severely fined. The ryots were compelled to pay in grain even the taxes on swarnadayam (literally money-rented) or garden lands which were ordinarily payable in money. The grain was taken from the minarars at a valuation of 7 to 8 fanams per bahan and sold back from the Government graminaries at 9 to 10 fanams per bahan. When Mr. Wallace settled the Government revenue he had to base his settlement on the prices of grain in the adjoining district of Tanjore, as the natural prices of grain in the Trichinopoly district itself could not be ascertained in consequence of the Government monopoly of grain which had long been subsisting there. Of all the portions of the Presidency the most prosperous were perhaps Malabar and South Canara, which, owing to their isolated position, had not suffered from frequent and destructive wars like other provinces. Both these districts were, however, ruined by the extortions of Hyder and Tipoo, and, more especially, by the attempt of the latter to convert all the inhabitants to Islamism. Most of the landholders in Malabar fled to Travancore and Tipoo carried away nearly 60,000 Christians of South Canara into captivity to Mysore. Colonel, afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, who was Collector of Canara, wrote: "**Canara has completely fallen from its state of prosperity. The evils which have been continually accumulating upon it, since it became a province of Mysore, have destroyed a great part of its former population and rendered its remaining inhabitants as poor as those of neighbouring countries. Its lands, which are now salable, are reduced to a very small portion and lie chiefly between the Kundapur and Chaulagarri rivers and within 5 or 6 miles of the sea. It is not to be supposed, however, that the whole of this tract can be sold, but only that salable lands are scattered throughout every part of it, thinner in some places and thicker in others, particularly in the Mangalore district. There is scarcely any salable land, even on the sea coast, any where to the northward of Kundapur, or any where inland from the end of Canara to the other, excepting on the banks of the Mangalore and some other great rivers. It is reckoned that the
population of the country has been diminished one-third within the last 40 years and there can be little doubt that its property has suffered much greater reduction. Ootyoppa, Ankaloo and Kumalappore, formerly flourishing towns, contain now only a few beggarly inhabitants. Homawon, once the second town in trade after Mangalore, has not a single house; and Mangalore itself is greatly decayed. 13

13. Dr. Buchanan, who travelled from the East to the West Coast in 1809, mentions that the country was infested by gangs of marauders to such an extent that "the smallest village of 5 or 6 houses is fortified. The defence of such a village consists of a round stone wall, perhaps 40 feet in diameter and 6 feet high. On the top of this is a parapet of mud with a door-way in it, to which the only access is by a ladder. In case of a plundering party coming near the village, the people assist this tower with their families and most valuable effects and having drawn up the ladder defend themselves with stones, which even the women throw with great force and dexterity. Larger villages have square forts, with round towers at the angles. In those still larger or in towns, the defences are more numerous and the fort serves as a citadel, while the village or petals is surrounded by a weaker defence of mud. The inhabitants consider fortifications as necessary to their existence and are at the expense of building and the risk of defending them. The country indeed, for a long series of years, has been in a constant state of warfare and the poor inhabitants have suffered too much from all partizans to trust in any. 17 The internal trade was greatly restricted by the number of chokkies or custom-houses existing in the country and the absence of a recognised currency. Every petty pedlar levied customs duty on goods passing through his estate. In the Salem district there were no less than 25 chokkies on 206 miles of road or one for every 8 miles. Colonel Read, Collector of Salem, in 1797, calculates that the customs duties alone levied on goods sent from Salem to the coast, a distance of 150 miles, added 30 per cent. to the cost price of articles exclusive of the cost of carriage, and the result was that it did not pay to send most of the articles in demand to the coast. In Salem and the Coled districts no less than 40 different descriptions of coins were current, and, as most of them did not bear to one another the relation of multiples or sub-multiples, the shires were enabled to cheat poor people right and left. Tippecanoe Sultan used to change the value of the coins in a very arbitrary manner. When he was about to pay his troops the nominal value of every coin was raised very high and kept at that level for a few days, and during
this period, the soldiery were allowed to pay off their debts at the high valuation. Under the designation mardasas, taxes were levied on all artisans and laborers, and these bore hardest on the poorest classes.

There were no courts of justice, the settlement of disputes being left entirely to the villagers themselves and the heads of castes and clans. Even in the province of Tanjore, where, owing to its comparative prosperity, it might be supposed that the necessity for regular courts of justice would have been felt, a court was established by the Raja of Tanjore only about the close of the last century at the suggestion of Herr Schwarz, Colonel Baude states: 'When the district (sola) was ceded to the Company the Chetties of certain castes, exercising judicial authority over their clients, were in the practice of levying taxes on the palika, a caste of husbandmen, on the five castes of artisans, viz., goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, and stone-cutters, and on washermen, barbers, potters, charcoalellers, and others. The Chetties likewise exacted fines for murder, theft, adultery, breach of marriage contract, also for killing bullocks, monkeys, snakes, etc. The government, in consideration of these gilvilagos, had imposed a tax on the Chetties; but, consenting that I and my assistants might administer justice with greater impartiality than the Chetties, their judicial powers were unanulled and with them the tax on castes.'

14. The early records term with evidence of the extreme poverty of the vast majority of the agricultural classes. Dr. Buchanan states that 'the peasantry here as in almost every part of India are confessedly poor. One great cause, indeed, of the poverty of the farmers and the consequent poverty of crops in many parts of India is the custom of forcing land on people who have no means of cultivating it.' Grant, in his Survey of the Northern Circars, writes in 1784 that the peasantry, 'in order to carry on the common practices of husbandry
in places where the culture is simple and the meanest as in the Ghazars, find it expedient, at the different seasons, to borrow money at high interest in proportion to the risk incurred by the lender, and never under two per cent. Sir Thomas Munro, writing in 1797, says "many of the ryots are so poor that it is always doubtful whether next year they will be in the rank of cultivators or laborers, and few of them so rich as not to be liable to be forced by one or two bad seasons to throw up a considerable part of their farms. Many of the middling class of ryots often fall from the most trifling accidents. The loss of a bullock, or of a member of the family who worked in the fields, or confinement to bed by a fit of sickness, frequently disable them from paying their usual rent during the ensuing year." The realization of Government revenue by means of torture was one of the recognized institutions of the country and the practice indeed continued, though in a mitigated form, down to 1856. Mr. Forbes, the Collector of Tanjore, writing in that year, states that "the ryot will often appear in the court house with his full liabilities in his possession, tied up in small sums about his person, to be dated out rupees by rupees according to the urgency of the demand, and will sometimes return to his village, having left a balance indigested, not because he could not pay it, but because he was not forced to do so." The above quotation will serve to show how obstart and demoralized was the condition of the agricultural classes in those days.

Section III.—The Condition of the Agricultural Classes under British Administration during the first half of the present century.

15. The bulk of the territories under the government of Madras, with the exception of the Northern Circars, the Chingleput Junggar, and a few trading settlements, were acquired by the English between the years 1752 and 1806. At the conclusion of the first war with Tippoo in 1769, the districts of Salem, Dindigul and Malabar were re-occupied. The second Mysore war in 1799 added Coonara and Coimatore. In 1800 the whole territory south of the Kistna and Tungabhadra rivers, comprising the districts of Cuddapah, Bellary, and Anapatpur and portions of Kurnool, were ceded by the Nizam. In 1799 the Raja of Tanjore resigned his sovereign rights over that province to the English, and in 1801 the Nabob of the Carnatic made over to them the districts of Nellore, North Arcot, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tanjore. The British power may thus be said to have been
fully established in this Presidency in the beginning of the century, the only territorial changes that have since occurred being the annexation of Kumaon Proper in 1838, the transfer of North Canara to the Bombay Presidency in 1863, and the addition of Bhadrachalam and Rakkalle taluks transferred from the Central Provinces to the Godavari district in 1874. Previous to the reforms in the Civil Service introduced by Lord Cornwallis, there was little choice between English administration and that of the Native Princes so far as the agricultural classes were concerned. English writers and thinkers, who were paid £100 and £200 per annum and were allowed liberty to carry on private trade, found themselves suddenly transformed into governors of provinces and were not slow to make the most of their opportunities. Within a short time, however, after Lord Cornwallis’ reforms, the administration had wonderfully improved and a succession of great administrators, among whom may be mentioned Rose, Munro, Graham, Hussey, Wallace, Hodson, Bhucknery, came to the front. Their first measures were directed towards the pacification of the country and the suppression of the power of the poligars, who, with large bands of armed followers, plundered the country, committing the greatest excesses; there were in the Ceded districts alone 80 poligars, who had under their command 30,000 armed peasantry. The poligars in the Madura and Tenavally districts especially, fought desperately for their independence, but were finally reduced to submission. Next followed settlements of land revenue, in the introduction of which many grievous mistakes were committed. The resources of the country had been brought to the last stage of exhaustion by the previous mis-government wars and famines, and, before there was time to ascertain the true revenue capabilities of the several districts, orders were received from Bengal for the immediate carrying out of the permanent settlement of the revenue with remittances if such were in existence and for counting remittances where they did not exist. The Governor-General declared that he was determined to dismiss every officer who neglected or delayed to carry out these orders. The districts of Chingleput, Salem and Dindigul were divided into a number of muttahs and sold to the highest bidders. Most of the purchasers, after pillaging the roots, failed in the course of a year or two and the whole settlement collapsed. The system of village leases was next tried, but with the same result. In the Ceded districts especially, where, in supersession of the ryotwara system introduced by Colonel, afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, village leases were introduced, the results were disastrous. It was expected that the villagers as a body would agree to the
leases, but, as the assessment was high, the leases were taken up by more speculators, the renters were ruined, the ryots impoverished, and the villages returned to Government. In the Hayadar tahsil alone Sir Thomas Munro states "nearly half the ryots had emigrated, most of the headmen were reduced to poverty, and many of them had been sent to jail. The substantial ryots, whose stock supported the agriculture of the villages, were gone." The fact was that the old assessments, which were continued in their entirety or with only slight reductions in the first years of British administration, were excessive. Under the losses systems of revenue administration which had prevailed under native governments, although the full demand was occasionally realized, the ryot had a great many opportunities of cheating the Government of its dues with the connivance of the revenue agents. Under the more regular system introduced by the British, however, opportunities for evasion and peculation were less frequent. Sir Thomas Munro calculated that out of Rs. 180, the value of the gross produce, the Government assessment was represented by Rs. 45-12-0 and the expenses of cultivation by Rs. 40, leaving a profit to the ryot of only Rs. 14-4-0. The profit was likely to be turned into loss not only in bad seasons, which were by no means infrequent, but also in good seasons when the prices of produce fell. He was of opinion that to encourage cultivation of land and give it salable value, the Government demand should be limited to one-third of the gross produce, and strong urged on Government, in 1807, the desirability of reducing the assessment on wet and dry lands by 25 and on garden lands by 33%. The Government while acquiescing in the justice of the recommendation, was unable to sanction it in consequence.

\[\text{Table:}
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Item} & \text{Value} \\
\hline
\text{Value of gross produce} & \text{Rs. 45-12-0} \\
\text{Government assessment} & \text{Rs. 14-4-0} \\
\text{Herbar charges and other losses} & \text{Rs. 10-7-6} \\
\text{Excess of cultivation} & \text{Rs. 42-8-0} \\
\text{Net profit} & \text{Rs. 9-0-0} \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

A ryot's family, consisting of five persons, will cost for grain Rs. 10. Mr. Round says: "The people round about him were his support, and were told that if he carried a valuable stock of provisions for his cattle and preserved for his pumpkin, he could not subsist. A single sheepfold will yield him Rs. 4 per annum in grain alone, and the profit he derives from this source added to the value of his various cattle will preserve the importance of his, but even these two will not always afford him the means of subsistence for 2 or 3 months in the year. He is thus forced to sell a considerable part of his stock, and thereby vitiate the value of the same. He is forced to adopt the system of selling or giving away the fruit of his labour altogether. He, in fact, says: 'The fact is that it is said that the farmers devoted themselves to cattle breeding in despair of obtaining remunerative price from agriculture.'"
of orders received from England for the remittance of an additional sum of a million sterling annually, accompanied by a threat from the Court of Directors, that unless this were done they would take the question of reducing the establishments in their own hands. When Sir Thomas Munro became Governor of Madras in 1822, he sanctioned the proposals made by himself for the reduction of assessment in the Ceded districts and granted alleviations in other districts also. These measures, though they averted the further decline of the country, had, owing to adverse circumstances, little effect in improving the condition of the ryots. Within 24 years there were no less than four famines, viz., those of 1796, of 1804-7, of 1811-12 and of 1814. Nine years later in 1833-45 occurred the famine known as the Guntur famine, which, though confined to a small area, was more destructive in its effects than that of 1816-17. The mortality and suffering 14 caused by it were terrible. In the Guntur portion of the Kistna district from one-third to half of the whole population perished.

16. From 1834 down to 1854 there was no famine of a severe type, though the country suffered from a series of unfavorable seasons. There was a severe agricultural depression on account of the low prices which then ruled of agricultural produce. This was due to causes which were in operation throughout India and were not merely confined to this Presidency. Owing to the slow development of export trade and the remittance of considerable amounts of specie to England, the currency of the country had become quite insufficient for its requirements, under the altered conditions brought about by English rule, viz., the development of internal traffic consequent on a quarter of a century of peace and the substitution of cash payments for payments in kind both in the receipt of taxes and the disbursements of Government. On this subject Mr. Peel writes, 'India does not produce the precious metals and can obtain her currency only in exchange for exports. Before the introduction of British rule there was comparatively little trade; much of what trade there was was carried on by barter, and a considerable portion of the receipts and disbursements of Government was in kind, not in

14 Reports (Addressee Oxford), Walter Cummell, who was an eyewitness, describes the horrors of this famine in Madras. (1854) (in the Kistna district) — Southern Asia, "The description of the year of Ooty," of the growing famine, which is in full agreement with the works of Nexton, so far as I have been able to collect information and examine prices. It is difficult to see how any existing body of a large extent may be exerted in relief of conditions of distress. The reports are based on the accounts of the principal traders, and are not in the least affected by the methods of obtaining them. In the Madras district the famine was not so severe, but the period was one of great distress, and for a period of several months the value of a beggar's food from 1500 to 1500 was considered to be sufficient for the existence of a family."

16. From 1834 down to 1854 there was no famine of a severe type, though the country suffered from a series of unfavorable seasons.
nab. Hence, if the circulating medium was limited in quantity, its 'duty,' that is, the number and amount of the transactions in which it had to be exchanged for goods or labour, was still more limited and prices were high. After the general introduction of British rule, a heavier 'duty' was thrown upon the circulating medium, the extension of trade, by the greater demands of the revenue, for cash (especially of the land revenue, assessments in kins being converted into assessments in cash), by the system of the British Government of paying its army and its officers in money. The circulating medium could not expand to the extent demanded by this altered state of things; importation of bullion was not sufficient to make up the amount annually withdrawn from circulation by waste, by being hoarded or by being converted into ornaments; or at any rate was not sufficient to increase the currency in proportion to the greater duty thrown on it, while at the same time, with peace and a settled government there was a great extension of cultivation and consequent increase of production. Hence prices steadily fell.  

This period was one of acute suffering to the agricultural classes and the revenues declined greatly in several districts.

17. In the reports of the Collectors on the state of the several districts during this period, and those of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the causes of the decline of the revenues in the several parts of the Presidency, we have full information regarding the condition of the ryots in those days. I shall here mention the principal facts gathered from these reports as regards typical districts. Notwithstanding the large reductions mentioned by Sir Thomas Munro in the assessment of the Ceded districts, we find the Collector of Coimbatore, Mr. Dalziel, writing to the Board in 1823 as follows: "The present system of revenue management is clearly favorable to the more substantial class of ryots in a degree beyond that of our predecessors (Hyder and Tipper), but it is to be feared that the case is different with the poorer cultivators. . . . Our system, it is true, admits of the entire remission of rent when cultivation is prevented, or crops are actually destroyed by want of water, but it does not allow much for deficient crops. . . . The ryots are more in the hands of merchants than perhaps you are prepared to hear. . . . The peasantry are too poor to more than keep up their cultivation with Takavi when they have met with no extraordinary losses.

When they have met with such losses from the death of cattle or other cause, it is impossible to repair them without assistance from Takavi." By 1854, however, the condition of the ryots in this district had considerably improved. The orders of the Court of Directors allowing to the ryots the full benefits of the improvements to land carried out by them at their own expense had led to the construction of substantial wells and the increase of the produce of lands irrigated by them. The cultivation of indigo had increased and the poorer ryots had been assisted by advances by European firms and thus freed from the clutches of usurious money-lenders. Sir Thomas Munro estimated the value of indigo exported in 1855 from the Cuddapah districts at Rs. 4,37,000. The exports in 1851 from the Cuddapah district alone were valued at Rs. 15,75,182, notwithstanding the fact that the price of indigo had decreased considerably since 1850. The cultivation of sugarcane had also considerably increased, the exports of jaggery in 1851 amounting to 17 lakhs of maunds. The trade of the district was, however, much hampered by want of roads. The Collector writes in 1852: "As present the journey to Madras is dreaded by the ryots, and they object to allow their cattle to be employed in conveying indigo and other produce to the Presidency where it is required for shipment to Europe. The small number of carts and the heavy rate for carriage together with the small quantity that can be placed on the loaded cart on account of the height of the road act as a prohibition to the export of the various kinds of oil-seeds, &c., which would find a ready market in the ports of the sea coast. In the neighbourhood of the Presidency I am informed that 50 or 55 maunds (of 20 lb.) is the usual cart-load, whilst here, with good bullocks, under 40 can only be placed in a cart. The hire per gow of 10 miles in the south is 8 annas, whilst here not less than 10 annas is accepted and they demand often 1 rupee. The hire from Cuddapah to Madras has of late been as high as 50 and 34 rupees which raises the hire of cart per gow to the exorbitant sum of about 5s. 3d., nearly tripling the current rate in the south." In the Bellary district, on the other hand, the ryots had made no progress. The incidence of the land revenue assessment, notwithstanding Sir Thomas Munro's revelations, continued, owing to the heavy fall in the prices of produce, oppressive, while this district enjoyed no special advantages like Cuddapah in regard to good subsoil water-supply, and extension of indigo cultivation. Mr. Meiller, the Collector, reported in 1845: "The universal complaint and request of the ryots is to be allowed to reduce their farms, a convincing proof that cultivation is not profitable.
Land has never been salable. Ryots, formerly substantial and capable of laying out their capital on the lands and liquidating their Sircar demands, reserving their produce until they could get a favorable price, are now sunk in debt bearing heavy interest, entirely subject to their creditors; and were it not for the aid of the Collector through his revenue subordinates, one-half, or at least one-third of the highly assessed lands would ere this have been thrown up. Husbandry is not carried on efficiently, and consequently the land seldom returns what it ought and is capable of. The number of pattah holders has increased, but they are a poor class who seek a maintenance only in husbandry with less spirit, and by no means to be compared with the substantial farmers who have fallen into difficulties and disappeared from the rent roll of the district. With regard to food and rent, the majority of them are poorly clad and ill-fed, and it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that poverty is the cause. It is no new doctrine; Sir Thomas Munro declared that the ryots of the Coled districts were the poorest of the Company's subjects. Writing in 1851, or six years later, Mr. Pelly gives the following account of the Bolhary ryots: "I find that out of the whole body of farmers only 17 per cent. are in what may be termed to be good circumstances, substantial ryots who have capital enabling them to discharge their rents without revenue to the money-lender. About 69 per cent. are obliged to borrow money by mortgaging their crops and stock and 34 per cent. are obliged to sell their crops as soon as reaped and even their stock to pay their rents." Rajahmundry, i.e., the present Godavari district, which may now be said to be the garden of the Madras Presidency, appears, from the report of Sir Henry Montgomery in 1844, to have been on the verge of ruin. Of the ten years between 1831-1840, 1831 and 1832 were famine years, in 1835, 1836 and 1837 the season is described as "unfavorable," and in 1838, 1839 and 1840 as "calamitous." The population which in 1830 had been 695,016 had decreased in 1840 to 533,836. The closing of the Government weaving factories in consequence of the abrogation of the Company's trading privileges in 1833 had thrown large numbers of weavers out of employment, and money to the extent of 7 lakhs of rupees on an average per annum, which was in circulation in connection with the maintenance of the factories, was withdrawn. The value of exports of piece-goods had decreased from Rs. 774,975 to Rs. 1,50,012. Notwithstanding a series of bad harvests, prices of grain continuously declined owing to the competition of cheap rice from Arakan. Of the condition of the ryots under the semidole Sir Henry Montgomery writes:
The system of management was based on the sole principle of extracting from the ryots the utmost possible amount of present revenue. In adverse seasons all that could be taken of the ryots was channeled on the part of the landlord whose demand purposely exceeded the means of the ryots in ordinary seasons. In years of abundant produce, the deficiency of bad seasons was made good, so that in either case the ryot was left but the barest means of subsistence. . . . The Visabhadi kist, which remained the standard check, was itself immediately heavy, exceeding the possible amount of ordinary collections and not likely to be equalled in extraordinarily favorable times, by the ever-rising value of the gross produce which itself was also over-estimated. It served, however, for a never-failing protest for the demand of balances against those who, by industry or any fortuitous circumstances, procured the means of answering it in part, and was with this view continued."

He, however, adds: "Though a generous and oppressive dependence of the ryot characterized the management of zamindars and propertists, yet the pressing wants of the ryot were in some degree amenable supplied. Cultivation was compulsory and maintained by reasonable advances, and though the ryot was left little more than what was absolutely necessary for his maintenance, some care was taken against the discouragement of agriculture by his distress."

Sir Henry Montgomery recommended the construction of the Godavari bridge, and from 1844 the condition of the district rapidly improved; from that year the seasons began to improve; French ships flocked to Consnada for cargoes of grain, and the large expenditure on public works afforded work to thousands of the labouring classes. Sir Walter Elliot's report on Ceded shows that the terrible famine of 1838 had utterly prostrated the district, and the epidemic which broke out in the following year and prevailed to such an extent that "a man in perfect health was hardly to be seen anywhere," rendered the recovery of the country impossible for a long series of years even under the most favorable circumstances. In Nellore, the ryots had become impoverished by the low prices of grain which ruled. Indigenous cultivation was tolerably remunerative, but sugarcane cultivation had entirely ceased, owing to its inability to compete with jaggery imported from the Ceded districts. The total cropped area of the district had, however, risen from 244,319 acres in 1801 to 389,902 acres in 1850. Garden lands had entirely ceased to be cultivated owing to the increased pressure of the assessment consequent on the fall in the price of grain. As regards North Arcot, the Collector, Mr. Boardshilo, reported: "The ryots are in worse condition than they were at
the beginning of the century. However this may be, their present condition is indubitably bad and must be improved. The great body of them are certainly poor; their food is deficient in quantity as well as quality; their clothing is scanty and poor; and their dwellings extremely mean; all this combined with gross ignorance. The unequal pressure of the assessment had the effect of throwing out of cultivation lands of the better qualities. The Collector of South Arcot, however, writing in 1840, gave a somewhat more favorable account of the ryots in his district. The population in 20 years had increased from 4,55,000 to 621,667, and cultivating ryots from 69,000 to 90,000. The price of labour had increased by 25 per cent. In the use of spring carriages, fine clothes, the style of houses, furniture and ornaments, there were indications of improvement. Agriculture was, however, in a backward condition owing to heavy and unequal assessment and tw thirds of the cultivable lands were waste. Tanjore did not suffer to the same extent as other districts from agricultural depression owing to the improvements in irrigation works carried out by the Government and increased production, and to the extension of communications and the growth of an export trade in grain with Madras and Ceylon. As regards the Coimbatore district, the Collector writing in 1840 remarks that of the previous ten seasons nine had been bad ones, and that the land revenue had fallen in consequence. There was not much variation in the value of the trade in piece-goods. The trade in coarse piece-goods exported to Bombay had improved, but that in fine goods had been annihilated by English manufactures. Prices of agricultural produce had risen owing to a succession of bad seasons. The wages of labour had also risen. "In India," the Collector remarks "greater income does not lead to improvement in the style of living, but increase of expenditure on marriages and religious ceremonies and in feeding poor relations." Rent rebate was coming into use; 30 years before they were not used by merchants. Money was said to be more easily procurable than before; the rate of interest on loans was from 12 to 18 per cent, while formerly the rates were from 24 to 30 per cent. at the security of jewels or landed property. In Malabar the population had increased from 4,55,000 in 1842 to 1,65,549 in 1847. The value of exports of cotton goods, which were mainly factored in Coimbatore, Salem, Madura and Travancore district increased from Rs. 4,363 in 1841 to Rs. 22,81,000 in 1837. The price of labour had not increased with the increase of cultivation. This result was due to the increase of population and cheapness of grain. The improved state of communications—roads and navigation—and the introduction, though on a smal
scales, of pack bullocks and carts reduced the cost of carriage of goods to 50 per cent. of what it was 20 or 30 years before. The Collector remarks that cheap prices increased the consumption of luxuries and ameliorated the condition of the lower orders. Taking the Presidency as a whole, however, there can be no doubt that between 1830 and 1850, and more especially between 1835 and 1846, the condition of the agricultural classes was wretched. For detailed particulars regarding the income and the style of living of the different classes of ryots, reference may be made to the account of Mr. Borahill in the appendix B, section III, to this memorandum.

18. The principal measures adopted by Government during this period for the development of the country and the amelioration of the condition of the agricultural classes were (1) the abolition of the water duties and of the duties on interportable trade; (2) the abolition of the tobacco monopoly in South Canara and Mahabhar and of a large number of petty and vexatious imposts; (3) the relinquishment of the right claimed by former Governments to tax improvements to lands carried out solely at the expense of the landholders; and (4) the construction of the Cauvery, Godavari and Kistna canals. Sir Charles Trevelyan's famous report on theoyer or inland transit duties in 1834 contains a graphic account of the frightful oppressions suffered by the people and the demoralisation caused by the levy of these duties. "If we were to encourage swamps," says Sir Charles Trevelyan, "we might accumulate mountains between the different districts of the country, we could not paralyse their industry so effectually as by this scheme of finance." These duties were abolished in the Madras Presidency in 1844 or ten years after the issue of Sir Charles Trevelyan's report. In the report of the Public Works Commission in 1852, we have an account of the state of communications and of the measures taken to improve them. At the time when most of the districts were acquired by the British, says this report, "there was not one complete road throughout the whole Presidency on which it would have been possible to employ wheeled carriages; their use was therefore very limited, and the distant trade of the country had nowhere the advantage of them. Trunks were used by those who collected stone for the dams and the tank embankments, and in some localities the harvest was brought in by carts upon wheels either formed of solid pieces of timber or cut from a single block of stone. These carts were drawn by several pairs of bullocks and carried nearly a ton, but they were never used for distant journeys. Even the main streets of the largest towns
were not practicable for wheeled vehicles, and when the most valuable goods were carried, they relied on the services of their villagers. The only 'made roads,' if they deserved the name, were the mountain passes which in the later years were opened for the passage of artillery, but they had generally been destroyed by the monsoon rains before the country came into the possession of the Company. The only proof of attention to the great roads was to be seen in the fine avenues of trees, which in some districts measured several hundred miles in length; but as the roadways beneath them had never been properly formed or drained, and bridges had not been built, nor care taken to keep the pathway practicable, they were roads no longer; but in most cases from being worn down by former traffic and washed by the rains of the monsoon, they had become the drays of the country that they passed and were so much more rugged than the land on either side that their only use was as a guide to travelers who took a course as nearly parallel as the ground permitted. Prior to 1823, the English Government too had paid little or no attention to the improvement of communications, and its efforts in that direction up to the date of the report of the Public Works Commission had been fitful and intermittent. The Commissioners state that in 1844 there were 3,116 miles of road called made road, but a large part of even this small extent was totally unbridged and totally unmade, consisting of tracks over a firm soil not considered to need making for the light traffic then using them; that, with the exception of the districts of Salem, Madura, Tanjore and South Canara, the roads in the several districts were practically impassable during the rainy season; and that in some parts the tracks by which the carts travel had never been made or improved, but are such as the carts are able to strike out for themselves, winding their way as best they can through the natural obstacles of the country, which are in some parts greater, in others less; in some parts rocks and hills, in others swamps and muddy streams, in others rice flats and irrigation channels. Through, or round, or over these various difficulties the carts find their way as best they can, changing their lines from time to time at particular points, as on the old tracks there become impassable, and gradually deviating more and more from a straight line. On such roads the carts can only carry one-third of the load that they could on a good road and travel one-half the distance in a day, and there are many days in a year in which they cannot travel at all, and all perishable goods, sugar, cotton and even grain are much exposed to damage. In illustration of their remarks, the Commissioners give the following:
particulars extracted from the accounts of a Madras merchant regarding the great saving effected in the cost of carriage of goods from Madras to Wallajahnger—a great centre of trade in those days—by the gradual improvement of the road between the two towns:

In 1828 the hire of a cart from Wallajahnger to Madras—a distance of 70 miles—carrying 372 catts and 390 lb. was Rs. 7.00 or Rs. 17.6-5 per ton.

In 1834 the hire of a cart from Wallajahnger to Madras—a distance of 70 miles—carrying 372 catts and 990 lb. was Rs. 4.10-0 or Rs. 10.7-5 per ton.

In 1837 the hire of a cart from Wallajahnger to Madras—a distance of 70 miles—carrying 372 catts and 990 lb. was Rs. 3.15-0 or Rs. 8.7-6-5 per ton.

In 1844 the hire of a cart from Wallajahnger to Madras—a distance of 70 miles—carrying 1,669 lb. was Rs. 4-4-0 or Rs. 10-1-13 per ton.

In 1847 the hire of a cart from Wallajahnger to Madras—a distance of 70 miles—carrying 1,669 lb. was Rs. 4.0-0 or Rs. 9.14-4 per ton.

In 1851 the hire of a cart from Wallajahnger to Madras—a distance of 70 miles—carrying 1,669 lb. was Rs. 3-15-0 or Rs. 8-1-12 per ton.

The Commissioners, among whom were Mr. Bourdillon and Sir Arthur Cotton, earnestly drew the attention of Government to the extent to which the trade of the country was being hampered by the want of communications, and urged that much greater and more generous efforts should be made for their improvement than had been done in the past. Another important question to which the Commissioners drew attention was the system of corvee or imprisonment of labour for public works. Their inquiries showed that there was no district in which labour was not obtained more or less by compulsion. "Little coercion is actually used," say the Commissioners, "but it is known that it will be used if required, and indeed the workpeople themselves from long custom consider themselves under a sort of obligation to work for Government on the established terms, but where the remuneration is inadequate, they work unwillingly and slowly." The Commissioners then recount the various ways in which the labourers were cheated of the wages due to them; first, the rate allowed was too low, as in Madura where it was fixed at one-third of the rate paid by private persons; second, the device of short measurement was adopted and the work done was undervalued; third, settlers, bricklayers in particular, were often required to leave their towns, where they could get constant work, to go to a distant part of the taluk, to be separated from their friends and to submit to privations. Fourthly, there was great delay in payment; and fifthly,
much of the wages entered in the accounts as having been paid was never really received by the labourers, who submitted to various deductions, which had become customary, in favour of officers employed on or about the work and in the disbursement of the money.

**SECTION IV.—Narration of the principal facts bearing on the condition of the Agricultural classes from the middle of the present century to the present time.**

19. There was a famine in 1854, but it was restricted in its effects to the district of Bheelary and was not of long duration; the chief losses were in cattle, four-fifths of which are stated to have died. The agricultural depression from which the country was suffering came to an end about this time, and a period of great prosperity for the agricultural classes commenced. For this there were several causes. The discovery of gold mines in Australia and California had increased the demand for Indian commodities in European countries whose stocks of gold had been enlarged, and this movement was accelerated by the Crimean war which stimulated exports of jute and oil-seeds, and by the cotton famine in England caused by the American war, which increased the demand for Indian cotton enormously. The merchandise exported from India, which amounted to only £33 millions sterling in 1840–41, rose to £38 millions in 1854–55. The result was a great influx of silver into India which she was able to obtain on advantageous terms in exchange for her commodities, as the cheap new gold had, to a considerable extent, taken the place of silver in European countries and made the latter metal available for export to this country. Further about this time rice on a large scale were raised in England for the construction of public works. For railways alone, 90 millions were raised, and it is calculated that more than half this sum was remitted to India for payment of wages to men employed on the works. The influx of all this money enabled India to replace her insufficient currency, and the prices of Indian produce rose to nearly three times of what they were in the years immediately preceding 1850. This period was also remarkable for the great reforms carried out in the internal administration of the country, which gave a great impulse to the extension of cultivation and trade. The land assessments were reduced wherever they were found to be heavy, notably in the Bellary, North Arcot, South Arcot, Trichinopoly and Nellore Districts. The effects of these reductions under the stimulus of
high prices were almost immediately felt on the average under cultivation and the amount of revenue. In South Arcot seven lakhs of rupees, amounting to nearly one-third of the revenue on cultivated lands, and 6.5 lakhs on waste lands were remitted in 1854. The area under cultivation the very next year rose from 6,52,180 to 8,10,707 acres. The Collector reported in 1857 that "the demand for fresh land, since the reduction of assessment, and especially where the reduction was most liberal, had been very great; that the relief had given a decided impetus to industry; that the condition of the people had been indisputably improved, as was evident from the substantial houses they were building in every direction and by the independent manner in which they disposed themselves; and that labour was in great demand and emigration to Bombay had ceased." The Collector of Kurnool in the same year stated that since the reduction of assessment, cultivable lands had become every year more difficult to obtain, that the revenue came in readily, and that wells, tanks of rice and indigo were increasing in number. Similar reports in regard to the favorable turn in the circumstances of the ryots were received from other Collectors also. The Collector of Chandrapur reported in 1859, "it is very gratifying to me to be able to hear testimony to the rapid increase of prosperity among the people of this district. This has been perhaps more especially apparent during the last two years and is accounted for in various ways—by the great demand for labour, by the great increase in the rate of wages and in the prices of all commodities and in the general appearance of the people. The high prices of all kinds of agricultural produce during the last five years may have aided in obtaining this result; but that the main cause is the work at Dowranahewan no one can, I think, for a moment doubt. In the Cuttackahore district the relinquishment by Government of the right to tax improvements to land effected by the ryots had led to a great extension of cultivation. Mr. E. B. Thomas, who perhaps had done more to develop the resources of this district than any other Collector, wrote in 1856, "a great many new wells continue to be dug in paddy fields, and some of the old deserted and exhausted wells are being opened, and fowls restored; and garden crops are again appearing on land long wasted; some 30 or 40 years. A great proof of the practical value and policy of the garden remissions is exhibited in lands (for new wells or with old wells in them) becoming more salable, and in dimensions now arising on old dormant claims to lands long since waste." Again in 1857 he said, "the district only wantsryo. With a moderate assessment and most of the oppressive taxes relieved, the metourba alone
remaining, improvements and investment of capital now encour-
gaged, the district holds up, though this is the fourth successive
bad year of short rain. During the last 4 years, 18 inches of
rain in the 12 months have been the maximum; this year there
were only 16 inches and the land is parched, the crops scanty;
wells nearly dry and cattle dying for want of grass and water
in huge numbers, but with good prices, great industry and
much energy among the cultivating classes, the rental, with
standing all difficulties, keeps up and is collected, without
oppression or any balances to speak of." The testimony afford-
ed by the reports of the Collectors in other districts in regard to
the improvement in the condition of the agricultural classes
which had set in about this time is equally emphatic. The
ryots were granted complete freedom in the matter of taking
up lands or relinquishing them. Numerous petty and vexatious
imports, grouped under the general head of muthaka, were
abolished. The titles to muns or favorably assessed lands
were placed on a secure basis. The Settlement Department was
organized with the professed object of alleviating the heavy
burdens on land and of removing inequalities in the assess-
ments. The revenue remitted between the years 1844 to 1869
in consequence of the above measures amounted to 65 lakhs 13
of rupees. As a consequence of the recommendations of the
Public Works Committee already referred to, greater atten-
tion was paid to the maintenance of irrigation works and the
construction of roads, railway lines and canals. The system of
improvement labour for Government works and the payment of
discretionary wages was abolished. A new Police force was
organized, which, whatever its shortcomings may be when
judged by a high standard of efficiency, is incomparably
superior to the unscrupulously corrupt Police which it superseded;
and the magistracy were relieved of police duties. In conse-
quence of the revelations of the Torture Commissioners, who
submitted their report in 1855, the employment of illegal pres-
sure and coercion, whether in the collection of Government
revenue or detection of crime, was prohibited under stringent
penalties. The revenue and magisterial establishments were
revived, the taluk and village accounts were simplified, and a
scheme of examinations for qualifying for public service was
brought into force in view to securing the services of a more
honest and capable class of officers than were available under
the old régime. All these reforms, it will be seen, were in the
direction of freeing the ryots from official dependence and

13 A detailed statement showing the revenue received is printed in the appendix B, section IV.

The extract from the report given in the appendix B, section IV.
troubles, while at the same time affording them every facility by the improvement of communications to take the produce to the best markets. Owing to the operation of the economic causes and the administrative improvements above referred to, both cultivation and trade increased enormously and the agricultural and trading classes enjoyed great prosperity. The crops in the single district of Poona made £1 million sterling by the sale of cotton in the 5 years of the American war. There was a considerable improvement in the condition of non-agricultural labourers also, as, owing to the construction of several railways and other public works, the demand for labour was great and continuous, and the rise in wages kept pace with the rise in the price of food-grains, the old system of impressment of labour at discretionary wages having, as already stated, been swept away. The Board of Revenue, Madras, instituted careful inquiries in 1863 regarding the rates of wages prevailing in the several districts in their relation to the prices of food-grains. The results were as follows. Agricultural labourers continued to be paid generally in kind and, therefore, the increase in the price of food did not materially affect their condition. Payment in money was very rare, and, where it obtained, the rates of hire had more than doubled. Grain wages also had in some instances risen, though not in the same ratio as the payment in money. In consequence of the greater demand for labour, the condition of the agricultural labourers had not deteriorated, but on the contrary had generally improved; and there was no case with other classes of labourers, whose wages had fully kept pace with the enhanced price of food, being in some cases doubled and trebled. A carpenter who would have received 4 annas before the rise of prices would not take less than 8 or 9 annas, while the hire of the common cooly had risen from 2 or 3 annas to 4 annas a day. The Board considered that this state of things was a satisfactory indication of the generally improved circumstances of the people. The only class which suffered by the high prices was the lower Government officials who, not obtaining the recent enhancement of their salaries, were in no case in a better, generally in a considerably worse, position than before. Mr. Dalrymple, writing in 1866, estimated that the riot was in twice as good a position as he was in 1854. His remarks on the condition of the general mass of the population have been extracted in the appendix E, section IV.

20. There was a drought again in 1865 and 1866 all along the East Coast of the Presidency to the north of Madras and extending as far inland as the Mysore plateau, the area affected being about 43,000
square miles and the population 6 millions. The effects of the famine were most severely felt in the Cuddapah district on account of its comparatively isolated position; in the Ceded districts, however, in which the ryots had made large gains owing to the high price of cotton which raised during the years of the American war, the famine was comparatively mild. The period of high prices continued till about 1879 when there was a sudden reaction. The boom for public works, which had caused the influx of silver into India, ceased; and remittances of large sums to England for the payment of Home charges and the interest on loans already contracted became necessary; and on account of these and other causes prices fell heavily. There was considerable uneasiness created also by the continued increase of taxation, which, though lighter than it was before 1860, was still severely felt, as the increase was synchronized with a period of falling prices. The fact was that the inflated prices of the years of the cotton famine had led to extravagance and when the reaction came the ryots were unable to adapt themselves to the altered conditions. In the Bombay Presidency especially, the agricultural classes, finding that their lands had acquired value, borrowed largely on them from Marwadi money-lenders, and the repeal of the usury laws and the enforcement by the Civil Courts of exorbitant contracts without considering whether the terms agreed to were equitable, had led to distress and riots. In the Madras Presidency, however, the agricultural classes who were not in the hands of money-lenders to the same extent did not suffer similarly. But that they felt considerably upset even in the comparatively prosperous district of Tanjore will be evident from the following remarks of the Collector of that district extracted from a report written by him in 1871. "So long as prices ruled at between dyable and treble the nomination rate, and even though the Government demand to between one-third and one-half of what it used to be, the Tanjore cultivator could well afford to pay his kists in advance and at the same time indulge in the luxuries of litigation as well as in a high style of living. A deficiency in the outturn of his harvest was then a matter of comparative indifference to him. Now, however, a marked decline in prices has considerably altered this state of things. Not even the wealthiest landed proprietors escaped the process of distress under Act II of 1864 this year, and it is a fact that in April and May the months of heavy kists, jewels of no small value came into the money market, for lands which were obtained on 13 and in several instances, as much as 24 per cent. interest.

I, of course, do not mean to say that the Government demand does not, on the whole, now leave a liberal margin of profit to
the necessities; for, as market prices still average 70 per cent. over the settlement commutation rate, they must be able to gain so much more beyond their rsukra-wazan share as originally fixed; but this estimate of their profit holds good only as regards the well irrigated delta taluks. There are parts of the district, especially those situated at the remote ends of irrigation channels, where irrigation is from its nature pro-

 curator, and the present system of conservancy under the direction of a highly centralized, but in point of numerical strength utterly inadequate, professional agency is necessarily inefficient. In such parts there can be no question that the recent high prices of agricultural produce have alone enabled the land-holders to punctually discharge the Government dues. The decline in prices, however, benefited the landless classes whose wages had risen during the years of high prices, but did not decline when the prices fell. Inquiries were instituted at this time by the Government of India regarding the pressure of taxation. The Board of Revenue reported that there can be no doubt that there is a feeling of uneasiness and perplexity abroad among the tax-payers which is strong enough to warrant grave anxiety. This feeling is the result not so much of the nature or weight of the taxes as of the rapid changes in the law which have been taking place of late years. When a tax is new it is bitterly felt, but as the people get more and more used to it, their dissatisfaction wanes away. The great bulk of the popula-

 tion being engaged in agriculture, the cultivation statistics, which are regarded with great minuteness, would show if the burden of taxation were too great; but there is no evidence that this is the case. On the other hand, any considerable fall in the prices of produce would make the burden unbearable, and it may safely be said that the load cannot be increased or even shifted without danger. The Madras Government expressed a similar opinion. It remarked in condemnation of the income-tax, in condemning which there is a very general con-

 sensus of opinion, comparatively little sorerness seems to be felt in the country at any existing Imperial taxation. The sharp duties perplex the people and probably would produce more with less annoyance, were the schedule framed on some more easily intelligible principles. The system irritates, but the tax cannot be called burdensome on the masses. The rise in prices of late years has indirectly tended to alleviate the burdens on the land, whether for local or Imperial purposes, while the concurrent improvement in wages has prevented the increase in prices from falling hard on the lower classes.
The salt-tax has probably in this Presidency been raised to the highest point at which it will not injuriously affect consumption. The greater facilities for carriage afforded by the extension of railways have, doubtless, tended and must continue to reduce the tax to the inland consumer, but consumption is nevertheless not increasing proportionately with the increase of wealth and population. The tax, however, being an indirect one, is not likely to be the subject of complaint unless enhanced to a prohibitive rate, but it is deserving of serious consideration whether it is not now so high as to be a financial mistake in this Presidency. The other Imperial taxes, except the income-tax, do not seem to call for remark; but as regards this latter tax, the opinions collected are almost universally condemnatory of it, not so much as being in its present form felt as a heavy burden, but as being unequal in incidence and incapable of fair adjustment, as calculated to demoralize those who assess and those who pay, as aggravating the burden of municipal taxation, as maintaining a feeling of distrust as to the financial policy of Government. The experiment of local taxation in much more recent introduction and the time has not yet arrived for forming a just judgment as to its merits. It cannot be doubted that the pressure of this taxation is more severely felt, and it must be confessed that the house-tax, as a method of providing funds for elementary education, beyond the limits of municipalities, is at present regarded with strong dislike by the great majority of rate-payers. The application of the tax up to the present time has been comparatively limited and its extension will be gradual and cautious.  

21. Before the country had time to recover from the shock caused by the sudden fall in prices below the inflated level they had attained in the sixties, by the new and unfamiliar forms of taxation and by the succession of laws issuing out of the legislature, it was visited with the famine of 1876–78, the most terrible in point of magnitude, intensity and duration, that was known for upwards of a century. This calamity was the result of a drought extending over three successive years and affecting a tract of country 290,000 square miles in extent with a population of 35 millions; and no country which is purely agricultural can, of course, expect to make head against a disaster so vast a scale. The area which suffered in the Madras Presidency alone was 71,000 square miles containing a population of 13 millions. Notwithstanding the gigantic efforts made by the Government, three-quarter million of persons on an average having been relieved daily for a period of 22 months, and the cost of the famine including revenue remitted amounting to
millions sterling, the loss of the population was nearly 4
millions. The progress of the agricultural classes in the
affected districts and of the landless classes in other parts of the
Presidency received a severe check, from the effects of which,
however, they have since recovered with astonishing rapidity.
It is evident from the increase in population, acresage of cul-
tivation and land revenue, and from the self-reliant manner
in which the Presidency has, during the last two years, borne
itself against the partial drought which has prevailed in several
districts.

Section V.—Statistics showing the improvement in the condition
of the people since 1850.

22. In the previous pages I have endeavoured to show in a
general manner, by the evidence of official reports and other
publications, what was the condition of the agricultural classes
both before and after the establishment of British power in this
Presidency. I will now more particularly examine what pro-
gress has been made during the last 40 years under the
following heads, viz., (a) population, (b) acresage of cultivation,
(c) prices of produce, (d) improvement in the processes of
production and in communications, (e) foreign and domestic
trade, (f) taxation, and (g) the standard of living of the differ-
cent classes of the population. I shall first mention whatstrike
me as noteworthy facts in connection with the heads above
enumerated, and then point out their bearing on the economic
condition of the people. Detailed statistics bearing on these
matters are given in appendix V.

23. A fairly accurate census was taken in 1871 and the
population of the Presidency was found to be 315 millions. Owing to the famine of
1876–78 the population decreased in 1881 to 304 millions. The loss of population was specially heavy in the districts of
Karnal, Bhiwani and Ajitpur, S혼on and Gwalior, the
percentage of loss ranging between 17 and 20. The census
taken in 1891 shows that during the last decade the population
has increased by me less than 112 millions or 156 per cent.
The rates of increase in the districts which had suffered severely
from the last famine are especially remarkable. These high
rates are no doubt mainly due to the fact that the famine
killed off disproportionately large numbers of the juvenile and
aged population, leaving among the survivors a larger propor-
tion than usual of adults of the productive ages. The rapid
recovery of the population of a country after great calamities
often to be a well-attested fact and has often been noticed,
Mr. Thorold Rogers, in his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, observes: "We learn from contemporary accounts that rapid growth of population followed on the destruction of the Black Death (in England in the 14th century). It is said that after this event double and triple births were frequent, that marriages were singularly fertile, and that in a short time the void made by the pestilence was no longer visible. The regressive check of a high standard of living was removed by the ease with which the survivors could obtain that standard and accumulate from a considerable margin beyond it. . . . I make no doubt that the population speedily righted itself, as it has done on many other occasions, when a sudden or abnormal destruction of human life has occurred in a people and the people had a recuperative power." For a consideration of the question as to what conclusions bearing on the economic condition of the people, the increase in the population during the last decade leads to, we must await the publication of the detailed result of the census. It seems, however, to be pretty clear that the normal rate of increase, viz., 8 per cent. per annum, given by the census report of this Presidency for 1881, is much below the mark. Mr. Hardy, in the chapter on the rate of increase of population contributed by him to the report on the census of British India taken in 1881, has calculated the rate of increase for the whole of the Madras Presidency to be 6 per cent., and for the tracts not afflicted with famine, 8 per cent. Between 1856 and 187, the population had increased at the rate of 1.2 per cent. That this rate must have been higher than the rate which had obtained previously when the country suffered from severe agricultural depression is evident from the fact that the proportion of the population under 30 years of age, that is, born subsequent to 1851, to the total population enumerated in 1871, was found to be as high as 61 per cent., while, according to the life table, the proportion should have been something like 65 per cent. The increase of population during the last decade has been at the rate of 14.4 per cent., and, during the last 50 years, of 94 per cent, not merely in the non-famine tracts but throughout the whole Presidency. So severe a famine as that of 1876-78 is not likely to occur except once in a century and it would probably be near the mark to assume the normal increase of population under present conditions to be not much less than 1 per cent., even making allowance for mortality from droughts and faminities, such as those that usually occur. At this rate the population will double itself in 70 years. This high rate of increase, while showing that the means of subsistence at the present day are more plentiful than in times past, shows at the same time that the pressure of
population is likely to become more severe in the future than in the past, especially when it is considered how universal is the custom of early marriages and how difficult it is to introduce salutary changes in this custom. Mr. Farr has pointed out that undue increase or decrease of population in England is capable of being remedied by regulating the number of marriages. He says: “at present (in England) one-fifth of the women who attain the age of 24-3 years never marry; if one-half of the women who attained that age never married, and if illegitimate births did not increase, the births would ultimately not exceed the deaths, and the population would remain stationary. But the same rule would be almost as effectually, and less barboured, attained though four-fifths of the women who arrived at the mean age continued to marry, if instead of beginning to marry at 18, they married under 23, and the mean age of marriage were raised to 30 years; for the interval from generation to generation would be thus extended, the children to a marriage diminished and the number of women at 30 would be reduced by the loss of the younger lives” (see Farr’s Vital Statistics). He adds that under the pressure of circumstances, the population in England, to a considerable extent, regulates itself in the manner above pointed out to prevent any impairment of the standard of living and frequently with a view to bring about a rise in that standard. Such a process of adjustment is of course much more difficult of application in India, where the marriage customs are less flexible. In England the average age of marriage for women is about 25 years, and only 18 per cent. of women of ages between 15 and 20 are married and 2 per cent. are widowed. Further, of the women who reach 50 years of age, 20 per cent. never marry. In this Presidency nearly 50 per cent. of women between the ages of 15 and 20 are married and 9 per cent. are widowed, and a considerable proportion of the widows are deserted by the customs of the country from re-marriage. I have been informed that 50 or even 60 years ago many marriages took place much later (generally after 30 years) than
they do now, while women were married as early as at present, even among the higher classes; the reason being poverty and the
difficulty of procuring sufficient money to pay to the parents of
girls for purchasing their consent to the marriage. This,
combined with the system of enforced widowed, had the effect of putting a check on the inordinate increase of popu-
lation by abridging the duration of married life. The great
disparity in the ages of the married couple which is said to
influence the sex of the offspring, possibly accounts also for the
smallness of girls which, if current belief is to be credited,
existed in former times. During later years, however, it
became quite the fashion among the well-to-do to marry their
sons while still very young, though in view of the prejudicial
effect which very early marriages have on the education of boys,
a slight change for the better has recently become perceptible.

In India as in England, increase in the means of subsistence
leads to increase in the number of marriages among the lower
classes. In England, this tendency is in some extent, coun-
tered by the example of the middle classes who postpone

---

38 Mr. Thorne Murray mentions the fact. His view with reference to the causes of the
considerable waste which takes up the children of those classes — is a general opinion among
the inhabitants that the number of cases is actually increasing more than that of
porosity. I would feel inclined to believe that the difference might be more fairly traced to
the habits of family, but it is not particularly great among those cases which fail at this
early period, but outside in every case and every district. I examined the habits of several
immigrants who have been here for many years, and have given me the results noted by
Mr. Thorne Murray. I am inclined to believe that in the case of an increase of so great
proportion as is generally assigned, it is certainly a strong argument, in favor of the popular
notions, of the same being somewhat more important after children.

40 In England the number of persons under 5 years of age who contrive marriages
appear to have increased as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons under 5 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840-42</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844-46</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-52</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increase of early marriages is caused to be entirely due to the progressive conditions
of the lower classes, as the middle classes, unlike those in India, preferring to postpone
marriages on account of the continual increase to the overhead of this.

---
marriages in order that the standard of living may not deteriorate. In India, on the contrary, with the classes corresponding to middle-classes in England, early marriage of girls is a religious obligation, and their example in this respect is the reverse of beneficial. These considerations will bring home to our minds the futility of the expectations that great changes can be produced in the condition of the masses, within the periods of time which are insufficient for effecting a transformation in deep-rooted national habits, and will enable us to estimate rightly the value of the advance made under such difficulties.

24. We have next to consider whether the increase in agricultural production has kept pace with the increase of population. According to the calculations already referred to, the population in 1856 must have amounted to 269 millions, and as there was a famine in 1854, the population in 1852 may be taken at about this figure. Between 1852 and 1891 the population has increased from 261 to 351 millions or by 30 per cent. Statistics of acreage of cultivation are not available for simultaneity and small villages, and therefore it is not possible to calculate the increase in production with any very great accuracy. Nevertheless an analysis of the statistics of acreage available in regard to ryotwar lands serves to show roughly that the increase in the cultivated area, making allowance for the increased productivity of irrigated as compared with unirrigated lands, is quite on a par with it if it does not exceed the increase in population. Excluding South Canara and Mahras, for which districts, owing to the absence of a survey, statistics of acreage are not available, the cultivation was in 1852, 182 million acres, of which 95 million acres were unirrigated. 23 million acres were irrigated from Government sources of irrigation and 4 million of acres irrigated by private sources, but were taxed at specially high rates on account of the valuable crops grown. These areas require a double correction to be applied to them, first, because they include portions of fields left waste which were charged for, though not cultivated, and which are excluded from cultivation statistics for later years, and secondly, because the areas given in the old surveys have been found, by the recent surveys, to be somewhat below the truth. On this account, in a rough calculation, it is found that 7 million of acres has to be added to the acreage of 1852, to admit of its being compared with the average of some recent years in districts which have been surveyed. In 1849 the area of cultivated lands classed as dry, i.e., not irrigated by Government sources of irrigation, was 1864
millions of acres, of which 12.94 millions were unirrigated and 1.1 million was irrigated by wells constructed by the zemindars at their own expense and 2.44 millions of acres of lands irrigated by Government sources. The increase in the area of cultivation is thus—(1) 25 per cent. in unirrigated lands, (2) 41 per cent. in lands irrigated by Government sources of irrigation, and (3) 135 per cent. in lands irrigated by private wells. Nearly the whole of the increase under the second head amounting to upwards of a million of acres is due to the extension of cultivation in tracts commanded by the great main systems—Godavari, Krishna, Cauvery, Pennar, Peri and Tannahavaram—which secure an almost unfailing supply of water, and every acre of irrigated lands in these tracts produces, on an average, not less than four times as much as they would do if they were unirrigated. Moreover the increase of production due to the great irrigation systems cannot be measured merely by the increase in the acreage of cultivation, as the increase of produce consequent on an assured supply to lands which before the amount were constructed were dependent on precarious supply of water, and an additional supply of water for a second crop to lands cultivated formerly with a single crop, amounting in all to about 1½ millions of acres, must be taken into account. Similarly, the millions acres irrigated by private wells produce as much at least as 4 millions of acres of unirrigated lands. Making allowance for these considerations and taking into account the increase in the cultivated area under such articles as cotton, indigo, groundnut, coffee, sugarcanes, tea and cinchona, it seems to me that the proportion of increase in production cannot be less than 3 or 4 times the increase in population. There are no means of making an exact calculation; all that can be stated is that the increased production is very considerable. The area under cotton, which in 1862 was a little less than a million of acres, has increased to more than 1½ millions of acres. The area under indigo has increased from about 300,000 acres to more than 500,000 acres or by 150 per cent.; groundnut which in former years was cultivated in a small extent to meet local demands has now become a very remunerative commercial crop. It is chiefly cultivated in the South Aroost district where the average under it has risen from about 6,700 acres in 1852 to 190,000 acres in 1885-90. The area under sugarcanes has risen from 38,400 to 76,000 acres. Though the acreage under this crop may appear small, the crop itself is very valuable, the value of the cuttten per acre being more than 20 times the cuttten on dry lands. The area under coffee and tea is 5,000 and 6,000 acres respectively. These crops are of course extremely valuable.
26. In this connection there are two prevalent notions which deserve some notice. These are (1) that the rainfall has sensibly diminished of late years, and (2) that the fertility of the soil, under the improvident and non-restorative systems of native cultivation, has deteriorated. Both these notions have been shown, by scientific men who have given close attention to the subject, to be unfounded to a great extent. The prevalence of these impressions is sufficiently accounted for by the habit of old people in all countries of asserting that "as the days of their youth the fields were greener and the sun warmer" (or as we should say in India, "less intense"). We have statistics of the rainfall for some stations for the last 80 years, and they do not show that there has been any appreciable diminution in the quantity of annual rainfall during this period. The complaint of deficient rainfall is also, it must be remembered, not a new one. The following passages extracted from Buchanan's "Journey" in 1659 show that people complained in much the same way then, that they do now. "Dhakreri (Cutchboree district). The people say that since the death of Hyder (i.e., since 1799 or for 15 years) they have had one year with a proper fall of rain. This year there has been abundance, but it came too late by two months." "Dharapuram. Owing to the want of rain and of stock the farmers are not able to cultivate all that they rent, &c." "Pravatpura, Girishwaru (summer season) contains the two months including the summer solstice. It is said that formerly during this period the weather used to be constantly-clouded, with a regular unremitting drenching rain; but for the last half a century such seasons have occurred only once in 4 or 5 years; and in the intervening ones, although the cloudy weather continues, the constant rain has ceased, and in its place heavy showers have come in intervals of 3 or 4 days, and these are succeeded by some thunder. Varsharuru (early season). Formerly the rains used to be incessant and heavy; of late years they have not been so copious often more than once in 4 or 5 years; still they are almost always sufficient to produce a good crop of grass and dry grains, and one crop
of rice. Prayagana has therefore been termed the chosen city of the natives of Karnataka who suffer from scarcity of rain. "

"Rahasya: Change of climate. The natives say that formerly the rains were so copious that by means of small tanks a great part of the country could be cultivated with rice. These tanks were only sufficient to contain 8 to 10 days water, and to supply the fields when such short intervals of fair weather occurred. For 40 years past, however, a change has taken place in the climate, no rice has been cultivated except by means of large reservoirs." Buchanan adds "the truth of this allegation is confirmed by the number of small tanks, the ruins of which are now visible; and by the plots of ground levelled for rice which are near these tanks and which are now quite waste." Possibly this was the result of the clearance of forests which are stated to have some effect in regulating and conserving local falls of rain but no influence in modifying the general features of climate. Dr. Brandis, who might be expected to claim for forests all the merit they could justly lay claim to, states: "There is no proof that forests modify the climate to any great extent. The great features of climate depend on cosmic causes, which are independent of local circumstances. Large extent of forests or large areas of irrigated lands may, however, have some effect in increasing the rainfall at certain seasons, and there is no doubt that in the vicinity of dense forests and on irrigated lands, the air near the ground is generally moister during the dry season and the dew heavier." In the Godavari district, where forests had been extensively cleared in recent times, Mr. Henry Forbes, the Sub-Collector, reported in 1818 that the forest had receded, but that he thought it open to question whether the diminution in the streams which came from the hills was not in the time which the stream took to exhaust itself, instead of in the body of water passing down to its bed; whether the rain was not said to be less in quantity only because, falling on the hills and no longer restrained by the trunks and roots of trees and allowed no time to percolate through the soil and fissures of rocks and to supply the reservoirs of springs, it poured down in torrents and left the water-courses dry as soon as the rains had ceased to fall. Moreover, the want of communications during the rainy season, and the difficulty in crossing unbridged rivers, and the liability of the country to inundations in past times were all calculated to produce an exaggerated impression regarding the quantity of rainfall. The accounts of famines in past centuries given in the previous portion of this memorandum will show that large portions of Southern India were liable to severe and protracted droughts quite as much in past times as at present.
Mr. Graham writing in 1797, *i.e.*, nearly a century ago, says of Salem: "A person who had not experienced the contrary would be led to suppose that the Bar'amath possessed peculiar advantages of climate, and that, lying between Mywora and the Carnatic, the sea, would experience the best effects from a participation of both monsoons. We know, however, that the rains are extremely precarious, and that when they do fall, they are either partial and scanty, or, if plentiful, that the season has passed; and the only purpose they serve, as at present, is from their violence to destroy half the tanks in the country. How often has the farmer, deceived by a passing shower, imprudently committed his seed to the ground, and how often have his hopes of a return been blasted by a succeeding drought, equally fatal to his crop as to his cattle! How frequently have we observed whole fields of grain apparently vigorous, and evincing the promise of perfection, destroyed in one night by devouring insects, and the seemingly full-cured cumb, which one would pronounce in a few days fit for reaping, exhibiting when rubbed between the hands nothing but a useless powder, the consequence of its premature formation?" I have examined the accounts given in the old reports regarding the character of the agricultural season each year from the beginning of the century, and I find that there is no reason to believe either that the rainfall has diminished or that unfavorable seasons are more frequent now than in the past. There were then as prolonged and frequent droughts as now. If the drought was of short duration and affected small portions of country, the people managed to get on; if, however, by a combination of circumstances the drought continued over two or three years and affected simultaneously large portions of the country, the result was famine. The destruction of forests appears, however, to have affected the supply of subsistence water in the vicinity of hills and led to the drying up of streams fed by springs. Mr. Brindis remarks that "in the Coimbatore district the Noyal river, the main channel of which rises in the highlands of the valley, probably has less water now in the dry season than it had 30 years ago. In the Palladam taluk the old anicuts now remaining ceased to affect this." The importance of forests in subsisting the needs of agriculture cannot of course be over-estimated, but there is, on the whole, no
reason to suppose that their clearance has diminished the rain-
fall to such an extent as materially to affect the yield of lands.

The disappearance of forests has undoubtedly improved the
public health, for many towns of country, in the Madras district
for instance, now perfectly healthy were, 60 or 70 years ago,
notoriously feverish.

26. If then, there is no sufficient evidence in regard to any
diminution in the annual rainfall, there is still
less evidence to show that there has been any
semblance of a deterioration in the productive capa-
city of lands. The arguments based on a comparison of the rates
of average outcome per acre for the several grains given in the
Ayven Akburi with the outturn assumed at the present day, will
not bear examination. According to the Ayven Akburi tables,
the average outturn per acre in the middle of the 16th century
was for rice (apparently unhulled) 1,838 lb., for wheat 1,150 lb.,
for cotton unshelled 570 lb. The averages in these tables have
been arrived at with reference to the rates for good, bad
and middling lands, but without any attempt being made to
find out under which of these classes the area predominated.
Moreover, with the immense increase in the average of culti-
vation especially of inferior soils, the average outturn must
necessarily decrease, while to establish a deterioration it must
be shown that lands under cultivation in former times yield
less now than they did before. In the case of wheat, especi-
ally, irrigation makes a great difference, the yield of irrigated
wheat being from 50 to 600 per cent, in excess of the out-
turn of unirrigated wheat. The dominions of the Emperor
Akbur did not extend to the south of the Vindhan Mountains,
and the Ayven Akburi rates cannot therefore be applied to
South India. If the rate for rice, 1,838 lb., given in these
tables refer to unhulled rice, the Madras settlement average
(1,651 lb.) is considerably higher. Cotton is frequently grown
in a mixed crop, and it is difficult to calculate its average
outturn. There is nothing, however, to show that its outturn has diminished. In a recent report on the cultivation of

Mr. Mackenzie in the Madras District Manual remarks: "It would be difficult to imagine any diminution in the amount of cultivation, for it is reported not in former
centuries, before the forests were cleared, there was a much heavier rainfall. Hence
Mrs. Caven's introduction of unirrigatable and wet rice, generating sufficient root; this
same kind of cultivation has been employed ever since the removal of the forests, and
the land, being enough to support rice and corn, and we shall see in the following chapter that
the Madras settlement describes the forests in A.D. 1475 and 1735, in former years,
that might have applied to the Vindhan forests in 1622. We cannot say therefore whether
the cultivation of rice and corn has increased or diminished."

In a note in the report of the Agricultural Inspector it is stated that the year to
which the report referred was a good year and that therefore the volumes of average yield
of cotton should be accepted with some caution.
cotton in the Tinnenburra district submitted to the Madras Agricultural Department by an Agricultural Inspector, it is stated, "cotton seeds of the best quality sell for Rs. 1,600 a quintal (5.64 acre); ordinary seeds for Rs. 1,000, while inferior seeds sell below Rs. 200. In fertile soils and under good treatment 1,000 lb, seed cotton per acre is no unusual outcome; an ordinary good yield of cotton may be taken to vary from 750 lb, to 900 lb. of seed cotton, while 600 lb. may be taken as a fair average of yield taking all soils into consideration. These figures have been arrived at from the statements of different classes of ryots and include the first and second courses of pickings. It is assumed by dealers that 6 pods (of about 33 lb, each) of seed cotton are required to produce 600 lb. of lint, and therefore the average outturn of an acre in 125 lb. of lint. In the United States, the average outturn of cotton is about 661 lb. seed cotton or 339 lb. lint per acre." In 1882 the average outturn of Tinnenburra cotton was reported to be 590 lb. of seed cotton or 25 lb. of lint. The Agricultural Inspector adds "that the outturn in Tinnenburra is somewhat greater than formerly is admitted by the ryots, and unless this were a well known fact they would make no such admission. The explanation may be found in the fact that the system of adding all kinds of earthy matter to the manures has, by which the quantity is not only largely increased but in also better decomposed, is only a recent practice. Moreover all soils are now kept much plenter than before owing to the large and better tillage." The allegation regarding the diminished outturn of lands is based to a great extent upon the prior reasoning that when the ingredients forming plant food abstracted from the soil by continuous cropping are not restored to it by artificial manuring, it must necessarily deteriorate. Recent enquiries made into agricultural practices in this country by scientific agricultural experts have, however, resulted in showing that the injurious effects attributed to native methods of agriculture are greatly exaggerated. Professor Wallace in his India in 1897 emphatically denies that the fertility of the

---

18 Mr. Nicholson in the volume "Prohibitory Note" printed in the Report of the Madras Agricultural Commission states: "In Victoria, the yield of cotton is higher. The cotton crop in Victoria is very good, the average yield per acre is about 700 lb. of seed cotton, while 400 lb. of seed cotton is the average yield per acre in Madras. The average yield in Victoria is about 25 lb. per acre. Mr. J. R. D. Cotton, Commercial Agent in the United States, makes it plain cotton that the native produce of cotton is not more than 30 lb.
soil is being exhausted by native practices. He quotes from the report of Mr. Chisholm, the Settlement Officer of Bilaspur, the following remarks as to how the outturn is affected by the continuous cropping of irrigated lands: "When fresh soil is broken up for rice cultivation, the ground can never be got into proper order during the first year, and the yield is less than in the old fields. In the second year the outturn rises about one-eighth above that of the old fields and increases gradually year by year until the fifth, when it reaches 50 per cent. above the old fields. It then commences to decline, and in about another five years has returned to the level of the old fields, and at that stage it remains unchanged for ever."

Many fields for instance are believed to have been continuously cultivated for 100 years and more, and yet they are in no way inferior to land reclaimed from the jungle but 16 years ago." Professor Wallace quoted in [1] goes on to remark that 6 lb. of nitrogen is required for an acre, produced by chemical action. Thunderstorms being common during the south-west monsoon months, India has a natural advantage over the British and American wheat growers, whose supply of nitrogen is, in a great measure, drawn from vegetable decomposition in a virgin soil, which is, in consequence of a system of close cropping, becoming exhausted. More recently, Dr. Veeck of the University of Wisconsin in [2] has expressed an opinion to a similar effect. He states: "The possibility of soil exhaustion growing on (in India) can only be determined by a careful study of what is removed from the land, and how far this is replaced by the forces of nature and by the artificial regeneration of manuring. I have mentioned the deficiency of nitrogen which I observed in the case of several Indian soils, but it is worthy of note too, how very large a proportion of the crops annually grown, also of the trees and shrubs and even of the weeds, are leguminous in character, and

[1] In an article (see appendix 2) it is recorded that a wheat crop of 88 bushels per acre has been grown on the 100 year old field this season in the same attitude as in the previous seasons.

[2] In a paper in the Indian Journal of Science, 1924, Dr. Veeck described the deficiency of nitrogen in the soil of India and discussed the policy of using leguminous crops in the rotation.
may thus, if recent investigations be correct, possibly derive their nitrogen from the atmosphere.9

Dr. Voolaker has given high praise to the native methods of cultivation which he considers are excellent, the problem of improving native agriculture being a more difficult one than the problem of improving English agriculture. The "garden" cultivation, he says, cultivates the oil of wells, presents, in his opinion, some of the most splendid features of careful and high class cultivation that one can possibly see in any part of the world.10

"Garden" cultivation has, as already remarked, greatly increased in this Presidency. To take one district, Coimbatore. The number of irrigation wells in good order, which were 22,000 in number in 1801, increased to 28,719 in 1821, to 31,507 in 1852, to 33,385 in 1882, and to 60,288 in 1888-89.11

This means an about 15 per cent. of the area under cultivation the country was quadrupled or even quintupled. It was owing to the existence of these wells that Coimbatore, through one of the distress districts in the Presidency, suffered so little from the famine of 1876-78; since the famine, cultivation by means of wells has been extending in other districts also. Dr. Bundel, who travelled through the several districts of the Presidency in 1880, writes in his report on Forest management: 12: I was much gratified to see in Bellary, Salem and other districts the large number of new wells made since the famine, and old wells deepened; and it seemed to me that the people fully recognised the value of wells for irrigation. Many of the wells in the dry inland districts are large and beautifully built, 20 feet square and 25 feet deep or more, and each well cost from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000.13

The Board's report 14 on the Revenue Settlement of the Presidency for the year ending 30th June 1889 shows that 3,176 wells were excavated in that year by Government ryots at a cost of Rs. 2,68,677; and of this number, three-fourths were in Salem, Coimbatore and Chingleput. The same report shows that in seven districts, from which alone returns had been received, the number of wells in use for supplementing irrigation from Government works was no less than 42,326, showing beyond doubt that the policy recently adopted by Government of doing away with the last remnant of restrictive regulations calculated to impede the extension of well irrigation used for the purpose of supple-

---

9 I reviewed the accounts of this village in the Coimbatore bulks, and found that the number of wells had increased from 8,089 in 1852 to 30,000 in 1852.
10 Board's official reports show that about 20,000 wells were excavated during the last ten years of the Coimbatore bulks, according to reports of 1,000 to 2,000 per annum recorded by Government, and it is found from inspection by the Commissioner of Revenue that the wells were 25 to 30 per cent. The cost of each well was estimated to be Rs. 1,000 or more.
mentioning the deficiency of irrigation from Government works and saving the Government as well as the ryots from loss, was an eminently wise one. I am informed that large numbers of wells have been excavated in the Chingleput, North Arcot, Coimbatore, Madura and Tanjore districts during the last two years with the aid of loans obtained under the very favorable rules which have been framed for the purpose. In the single taluk of Ponnai, which is liable more or less to drought, it appears that no less than 900 wells have been excavated during the last six months. This is a great boon to that taluk which will henceforth, to a great extent, be protected from the effects of partial droughts. The increase of produce under the great irrigation systems has already been noticed. Of late years considerable attention has been paid to the repair of minor irrigation works also, and when the project for the restoration of tanks throughout the Presidency at a cost of 26 lakhs of rupees, which is now under execution, is completed, there is no doubt that the efficiency of the tanks and the produce of the lands under them will be greatly increased. As regards dry or unirrigated lands, it is true that there is now less following than formerly, though the practice of leaving lands fallow prevails even now to a much greater extent than it generally supposed. Thus out of 17 millions of unirrigated lands held by Government ryots not less than 3 millions were left fallow in 1850. In the Cuddalore district one-half, and in the Tanjore district one-third of the ryots' holdings is left fallow annually.5 There is, besides, a large area of lands on the margin of cultivation which are taken up for cultivation or reclaimed by the ryots as it suits them. Cultivation under a system of fallows is of course poor and slovenly cultivation, and with the increase of population and the decrease in the area of waste, must necessarily be displaced by cultivation under improved methods. My enquiries tend to show that, under the stress of necessity and the additional incentives to individual exertion promoted by the breakup of the joint family system, greater care is now bestowed on cultivation of lands in the Tanjore district than in times past; and this is to some extent the case in other districts also. If any marked results have not been obtained in this direction, it is not because the ryots are so very unintelligent that they could not be induced to adopt improved methods of cultivation, but

5 The Madras Board of Revenue have since the above was written instigated enquiries as to the cause for such a large proportion of the land being left fallow in the Cuddalore and Tanjore districts. The result of these enquires has shown that the ryots are more informed of their duties, and that a large proportion of the lands in these districts were fallowed in the current season as well as in others, than is fallow. This will however, remain for the want of land left fallow only in a portion of the districts.
because the pressure of population has not enhanced the prices of agricultural produce to such an extent as to make intensive cultivation necessary or profitable.

27. *Prices of commodities appear to have varied enormously in different parts of the country in previous centuries owing to the difficulty of communication and general insecurity; they were comparatively high in such districts as Malabar and South Canara which exported spices much in demand in Europe, receiving in return gold and silver. In the districts in the interior, prices were exceedingly low. We find, for instance, that the commutation rate adopted by Hari Har Roy, the Vijaynagar Sovereign, for the settlement of land revenue in Canara in the middle of the 14th century was 3 kurtas for 1 sattu pagoda, or 30 seers of 30 tulas of rice per rupee, while the present price is 10

seers per rupee. Rashaham states that in the 16th century the price adopted for fixing the tax on coconut plantations was 6 pagodas or 30 seers per 1,000 coconut. The price is not much higher at present. In the Kannada country on the other hand, it will be seen from the letter of the Jangal Missionary already quoted that in 1713, 8 markals of excellent brown rice could be purchased for 1 fanam, and Mr. Nelson, the compiler of the *Madura District Manual*, says that the price is equivalent to 36 Rs. for 225 lb., or 512 seers of 80 tulas for 2 rupees, which is nearly one-twenty-third of the present price. In the Chingleput district, it appears that in 1738 paddy was sold at 20 pagodas per garro, which is about one-half of the present price. Twenty years previously, however, it would seem that this would have been reckoned a famine price. The price of paddy in the last quarter of the last century in the Ganjam district appears to have averaged 8d. per cwt., or 168 seers of 80 tulas per rupee or about one-sixth of the present price.

---

27 The English example is very instructive. The current price of wheat in the beginning of the 19th century was only 4s. 6d. a quarter and in particular years it went down as low as 1s. 6d. Between 1803 and 1840, the average price was 9s. 6d. in contemporary money of the denominations of the currency. From 1852 to 1884, the average price of wheat and flour was 6d. per pound. The current importation and exportation were estimated at 100,000 and 2,000,000 bushels respectively. In the beginning of the 19th century, the present price was 8d. The current importation and exportation were estimated at 5,000,000 and 10,000,000 bushels respectively. The price, however, was under the strain of foreign competition. The wheat was brought into the country at a very low price and was sold in the market at a high price. The consequence is that high consumption, plus low import, gives the market a very strong position, robbing the manufacturer and wholesaler of a large portion of his profits. The result is that the price of wheat and flour is higher than it was formerly.
price. Comparatively high prices appear to have ruled at this time in the southern districts owing to the devastating wars and famines from which they suffered. Since the beginning of the century we have continuous records of the prices of food-grains. The old prices are, strictly speaking, not comparable with recent prices on account of the variety of the measures in terms of which the prices were quoted in the old days, and the uncertainty as to their contents, but they nevertheless give a fairly correct general idea of the changes that have occurred.

In the appendix V (C) I have given tables showing the average prices of the four principal food-grains for quinquennial periods, leaving out of account famine years. From these tables it will be seen that prices were at their lowest level for some years before 1850, in consequence of the insufficiency of the currency to meet the requirements of the country. Representing the average prices of the food-grains in the five years ending 1853 by 100, the average prices at the quinquennial periods referred to will be indicated by the numbers shown in the subjoined table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grains</th>
<th>Average for five years ending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grams</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All four grains</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table clearly brings out the following conclusions. First, from about 1828 to 1835, or for a period of nearly 50 years, the prices rapidly declined till they reached a level which was one-fourth less than the prices in the early years of the century on which the land settlements were based. The result was the acute agricultural depression already described and the collapse of the settlements; secondly, prices rose rapidly after 1850 till they reached their culmination in the five years ending 1865, when they were two-and-a-half times what they were prior to 1850 and twice as high as in the early years of

\[\text{footnote}\]

In the figures given in the table represent averages of prices collected weekly and relating to large areas of country, they must not be taken as indicating the situation of the average of prices or of any particular province of the state of any Act. I have interpreted them as giving information regarding the course of prices from the sources kept by landholders and agents. The results which are given in the appendix V (C) to (D) are confirmatory of the inference drawn from the whole given here.
the century. The causes of this sudden rise have already been mentioned; they may be briefly recapitulated as follows. The gold discoveries of America and Australia in 1848 led to a large influx of gold into Europe, raising prices and creating a demand for Indian productions. The substitution of gold for silver in the currencies of the principal European countries cheapened the latter metal and made it available for export to India. The Crimean War at the same time led to the development of the trade of India in jute and oil-seeds. The Indian Mutiny necessitated large remittances in silver for expenditure in India, and the construction of public works, especially railways, had the same effect. The American War and the consequent Cotton famine in England developed an enormous trade in the somewhat lithium damaged Indian cotton. The net imports into India of gold and silver which in the decade ending 1849 was 21 millions sterling rose successively to 70 millions in the decade ending 1859, and to 159 millions in the decade ending 1869. Thence, after 1870, prices fell by about 20 per cent. from the level they had attained in 1866, but were nevertheless nearly twice as high as in 1853, and 50 per cent. higher than in the earlier years of the century. The cotton famine was brought about of course by the combination of the causes which had led to the influx into India of the precious metals in the previous decade. The cotton famine in England ended with the American war and the United States resumed their position as the chief suppliers of cotton to England, and the loans for the construction of public works in India ceased. India, instead of receiving large sums of money, had to remit large sums in payment of interest on the obligations already contracted and to meet the increased charges incurred in England as a consequence of the emancipation of the Indian Army with that in England. The net imports of gold and silver amounted in the five years ending 1874 only to 15 and 18 millions against 20 and 50 millions respectively in the previous five years. Thenceforward, having thus accounted the last two years of drought, the average prices of the previous five years show a slight increase as compared with those in the five years ending 1874, i.e., the years immediately preceding the great famine of 1876–78.

28. The great benefits conferred on the country by the improvement of communications are too obvious to need detailed consideration. Nevertheless a few facts gleaned from the old reports will here be given to enable us to realize what immense advance there has been in this direction. Owing to
the absence of roads, pack bullocks and coolies were the only means of conveyance 60 or 70 years ago, and the cost of transport of bulky articles for long distances was consequently prohibitive. Buchanan, writing in 1800, states that the wage of a cooly in the Coimbatore district for carrying a man's load 10 miles was 2 poodi fanams or 5 annas 4 pies. The prohibition of the country led to a revival of trade and the increase in the means of conveyance, and we accordingly find that the rate was reduced to 2 annas 6 pies in 1804 and to 2 annas in 1839. The hire of a bullock carrying, say, 200 lb. 10 miles was 5 annas in 1800 and 4 annas in 1839. The Collector of Coimbatore writing in the latter year gives the following as the cost of carriage for 100 miles of 1 ton of goods by men, pack bullocks and carts—by coolies Rs. 21-14-0; by pack bullocks Rs. 10-15-0; by bullocks Rs. 8-13-0. The figures show, as might be expected, that carriage by coolies even in these days was the most expensive of all modes of conveyance.

In Nellore the cost of carrying 1 muttai of grain (742 Madras measures) was 1 star pagoda and 5 fanams or Rs. 3 for every 8 miles in 1805. Carts were not used in the district then or for a long time afterwards. The Collector writing in 1847 mentions as a novelty that he had for the first time used carts during his tours. The cost of carriage of grain by means of pack bullocks for a distance of 8 miles amounted to one-third of the value of the grain which could not therefore be profitably transported to places distant even 24 miles, unless the price at the place of import was more than double that at the place of production.

The cost of carriage of goods manufactured at Nellore was carried all the way to Madras—a distance of 110 miles—on the heads of coolies. Vellore was a great emporium of trade and consequently the cost of carriage to that station was lower than to other places. Buchanan mentions that in 1800 the hire of a bullockload of 8 manjic or 290 lb. from Bangalore to Vellore—a distance of 145 miles—was Rs. 1-4-0 or Rs. 1-8-0 according to the nature of the goods carried, and these rates, allowing for the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee, would be equivalent to Rs. 2 or Rs. 2-8-0 at the present day. In the case of grain the cost of carriage often exceeded the value of the grain.

The result was violent fluctuations in one direction or the other in prices according as the harvests were good or bad, and it often happened that, while in one tract of country people were in the midst of plenty, in an adjoining tract not far distant the inhabitants were suffering the direst distress. When the terrible famine of 1873 was raging in Guntur, there was plenty of grain in Malabar and South Canara where it was being sold...
at ordinary prices. The report of the Cotton Committee of 1848 mentions that when grain was selling at from 6s. to 8s. a quarter at Madras, the price at Poona was from 64s. to 70s. a quarter. Mr. Nicholson in his Manual of the Bombay District has so well described the revolution in trade effected by the improvement of communications in that district that his remarks may be usefully quoted here. He states: "From various reports it is known that in 1800 there were practically no roads, but merely tracks: there was not a cart in the district, and what traffic existed was carried on by pack bullocks, and by ponies and by basket boats on the Ganges. The result was not only that all imported commodities were dear, but export trade was insignificant, and only in valuable articles such as glass, spices and so forth. Grain could not be moved, so that prices depended on local scarcity or abundance, with the result that substantial crops were no worse off in bad years than in good, for storage was a necessity, so that deficient crops were supplemented from the surplus of good years, which then fetched very high prices; while in good years, especially if consecutive, the markets were glutted, prices fell heavily, and the crops which were compelled to sell in order to meet the Government and other demands were ruined by their own superabundance. This system continued for many years, so that average prices between 1810-55 were lower than at any previous time, while in times of famine, as in 1824 and 1837, the difference in prices between famine and non-famine districts was very acute. These are now (1887) in the district above 1,000 miles of metallled or gravelled roads in good order, besides numerous cross roads and village lanes and 147 miles of railways—Madras and South Indian. The result of this improvement is an immense internal traffic between the various trade centres, such as weekly market-towns and towns, and a considerable import and export trade in which thousands of tons take part with railways. Every village has several and every town hundreds of carts which are extensively built in many places. The value of the rail-borne traffic has not been ascertained, but one or two facts may be noted—(1) that in the late famine grain was poured by thousands of tons, while the price of rice at the height of famine differed from that at Tanjore, when it was supplied by only about 3½, per rupee; (2) that private trade has been so stimulated by the railway that at the least hint of scarcity in any other district or province grain is at once moved, e.g., in the early months of 1884, scarcity seemed imminent in Northern India, and the Coimbatore Railway Stations were resupplied with grain as route northwards; (3) that
trades such as the considerable tanning industry, coffee growing, etc., have been begotten by the railway, which carries the produce cheaply to the coast; (4) that upon the making of the railway, prices, to the great advantage of the grower, speedily doubled owing to export facilities; with this great rise in grain prices, land prices also rose, so that land, especially near the railways, is now worth from 6 to 10 times its value when the Madras Railway was made; (5) that the production of valuable crops has been greatly stimulated, tobacco, which has long been grown largely owing to the West Coast demand, being excepted. It is to be noted that railways cannot yet compete with carts for local traffic of say 30 miles run, owing to the necessary delay in getting train and the low rates at which rates can afford to hire out their carts during the non-cultivation season. Mr. Nicholson's observations which have reference to the Coimbatore district are equally applicable to the other parts of the Presidency. We have already seen that in the beginning of the century roads were practically non-existent, and that in 1853 there were only 3,000 miles of roads hardly deserving the name. There are now 25,000 miles of road in the Presidency maintained by the Local Fund Boards in fair order, 2,000 miles of railway, and 1,500 miles of canals. As pointed out by Mr. Nicholson, the number of carts has enormously increased coincidentally with increase in the mileage of railways. In the Presidency as a whole there were only 60,000 carts in 1850; in 1877-78 there were 324,000 and there are now 450,000 or nearly 8 times as many as in 1850. There was not a single cart in South Canara in 1838; there are now 3,000 carts. In Salsete a tax on carts at the rate of 1 rupee was levied in 1836 and the number of carts in the district was ascertained to be 1,182. The number had increased to 2,265 in 1847 and the number in use at present is 12,500. The hire of a cart which was Rs. 7 1/2 per diem in 1848 was reduced to Rs. 8 in 1847, while the load of a cart which was no more than 360 lb. at the former had increased to 1,000 lb. at the latter date. The rate in force in 1855 was thus 6 times the rate in 1847. In the latter year the purchasing power of money was 1 1/2 times at least as high as it is now, and consequently Rs. 8 then would be equivalent to Rs. 1 4 0 now. The ordinary rate of hire for a cart is 1 rupee per diem at present, and as a cart-load is about 1,000 lb. and the distance hauled every day 15 miles on an
average, this rate is equivalent to about 2.5 per ton per mile, while the cost of carriage by railways is about 8 paise per ton per mile or a little more than one-fourth of the cost of carriage by carts. The cost of carriage in boats on the canals is about half of that on railways. Confining our attention to the main railways and canals in this Presidency, the quantity of goods carried in 1888-92 was for the Madras Railway—passengers 8,000,000, and an average distance of 39.1 miles and goods 1,088,774 tons over an average distance of 106 miles; for the South Indian Railway—passengers 10,127,200 over an average distance of 35.12 miles and goods 1,349,433 tons over an average distance of 46.9 miles. In the Godavari, Krishna and Buckingham canals, the number of passengers carried was 489,000 and the tonnage of goods 36 millions. Leaving out of consideration the passenger traffic, the saving in the cost of carriage of goods alone cause by the substitution of carriage by railways and canals for conveyance by carts may roughly be estimated at 37 millions of rupees every year; this is more than one-half the current revenue of the Presidency. If the saving in time, and the diminished risk of loss by robbery and of damage by exposure to the weather be taken into account, the real saving in cost will be found to be very much greater. Of course, under the old conditions it would have been impossible to carry anything like the quantity of goods now sent from place to place, or in other words, the immense trade that now exists would not have been possible but for the extension of communications. It is a well known fact that silver has fallen considerably in value since 1874, and, under ordinary circumstances, we should have expected that the prices of the principal commodities in India would have risen in the same proportion. The cheapening of the cost of carriage has, however, been so great as to neutralise almost wholly the rise in prices, and the consequence is that the prices of food grains during recent years are slightly, if at all, in excess of the prices in 1873.

10. Even at present passengers, the risk is travelling by railway is comparatively small than the risk of travelling by other conveyances, notwithstanding the smaller railway mortality that used-only occur. The number of passengers carried by the Madras and South Indian Railways in 1889-90 was upwards of 10 millions, while the number of passengers killed or wounded was 12. In England the number of persons killed per railway mile is nearly 1 in 40,000 miles of railway passenger traffic. Mr. Henry W. W. Gower, in his work on "Locomotion and Transport," in the textile industries, stated that the average speed of railway trains is only 20 miles per hour, while the average speed of the same class of traffic on the roads is about 15 miles per hour. Even in this case the railway travel is much safer than the road. The speed of road traffic varies greatly, but the average speed of a stage-coach is about 15 miles per hour. It may be claimed that a man is safer in a railway train than he is in a stage-coach, the speed of which is very little over 10 miles per hour. Even to make this more from railway travelling equal to that from stage-coach, it would increase the present fare for 8 years. Very few short lines that ever get income by the railway.
20. The statistics available as regards the sea-borne trade of the several provinces included in this Presidency for the last century are, as might be expected, fragmentary and imperfect. In the *Political Survey of the Northern Provinces* written by Mr. Grant and printed as appendix to the *Fifth Report,* and in *Buchanan’s Journey* in 1800, we have scattered accounts of both sea-borne and inland trade which was carried on on a very small scale. According to Grant the value of the sea-borne and inland trade of the Northern Provinces amounted only to 75 lakhs of rupees made up as follows: Exports by Europeans of fine cloths manufacturers 30 lakhs; coasting trade in Madras chiefly in grain valued at 20 lakhs; exports of coarse cloths for the Eastern markets 10 lakhs; and inland trade in salt and piece-goods 10 lakhs. In 1859–60, in the single port of Calcutta, the value of the sea-borne trade amounted to 200 lakhs. Fairly reliable statistics are available in regard to sea-borne trade since the beginning of the century, and the rapid
progress made in this direction will be seen from the figures given in the subjoined table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average of 13 years</th>
<th>Foreign trade millions, Rs.</th>
<th>Coasting trade millions, Rs.</th>
<th>Total millions, Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>1,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>1,127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>1,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>1,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>1,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>1,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>1,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the year 1875-1880</td>
<td>1025</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>1,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—The figures given above under "coasting trade," represent the value of imports and exports by sea within the Presidency as well as ports in other parts of India. The figures under "foreign trade" represent the imports of one port as the exports of another; the value of imports and exports by land within the Presidency is included in the coasting trade. For instance, in the 1875-76 season, Rs. 8,000,000 were shown as a return of transit duties, which represents the aggregate value of import and export trade at between ports within the Presidency and half of it should be deducted from the total trade.

The table above shows that, during the first half of the century, there was not only no improvement in sea-borne trade, but that it showed a tendency to decline. The East India Company was deprived of its commercial privileges except as regards the China trade in 1813, and the monopoly of the China trade also was abolished in 1833. The internal trade of the country, owing to the want of communications and the levy of the oppressive transit duties, was very restricted, and the Presidency itself was suffering from agricultural depression. Since 1860, however, in consequence of the development of communications, the abolition of transit duties and customs duties on interport trade and other causes which have been already more than once referred to, the trade has advanced by leaps and bounds. This will be still more manifest if we take one port, Tuticorin for instance, and examine how its trade has progressed. In the early years of the century the trade of the whole district of Tuticorin, both by sea and land, was very small. There were only 160 days (native craft) engaged in sea traffic, and the trade was chiefly in jaggery with Madras and in cloth with Columbo. The total exports by sea and land amounted only to 14 lakhs of rupees, of which about 4 lakhs represented the Company's investments. The trade by land consisted of rice valued at Rs. 30,000 and tobacco valued at Rs. 70,000. The imports were insignificant, consisting of small quantities of pepper and occasionally opium. The progress of sea-borne trade since 1850 has been as
follows:—1850—Exports 21 lakhs of rupees, imports 2 lakhs, total 23 lakhs; 1850–51—Exports 15 lakhs, imports 2 lakhs, total 17 lakhs; 1875–76—Exports 75 lakhs, imports 51 lakhs, total 126 lakhs; 1889–90—Exports 200 lakhs and imports 52 lakhs, total 252 lakhs. In 1880 the chief articles of exports were jaggery 14 lakhs; cotton 34 lakhs; cotton goods 16,440 lakhs and miscellaneous articles 1,908 lakhs. In 1899–90 the exports were jaggery 17 lakhs; cotton 146 lakhs; cotton goods 7,16 lakhs and other articles 19,64 lakhs. The trade of the other ports of the Presidency, with the exception of Mysore, has likewise increased very considerably.

As regards inland trade, the distant traffic carried on by means of railways between groups of districts into which the Presidency is divided for purposes of registration of this traffic amounted in 1889–90 to 51.66 millions of Indian rupees as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>External trade</th>
<th>Million Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imports into Madras Presidency, excluding the chief sea-port towns</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imports into Madras chief sea-port towns</td>
<td>1,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports from Madras excluding the chief sea-port towns</td>
<td>979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports from Madras chief sea-port towns</td>
<td>1,241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal trade</th>
<th>Million Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Of Madras Presidency, excluding chief sea-port towns</td>
<td>1090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of Madras chief sea-port towns</td>
<td>1690</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The traffic borne on the Godavari, Krishna and Buckingham canals in 1889–90 was 21,44 millions of rupees valued at 641 crores of rupees and the tonnage 36,03 millions. The carriage alone of this merchandise at 4 gies per ton per mile must have cost not less than 75 lakhs of rupees. The trade with the French Settlements was valued at 2,15 crores of rupees.

Besides the above, there is an immense traffic carried on by roads which is not registered. In 1888–89 an attempt was made to register the traffic on some of the more important roads in the Ganjam, South Canara, Cuddapah, North Arvond and Madura districts. The registration was necessarily imperfect, but the quantity of the registered traffic was found to be above 4 million rupees. The traffic registered represents of course only a very small portion of the total road traffic of the

---

10 It must be noticed that the season of 1889–90 in the Mysore district was a good one, and the exports of cotton and jaggery were somewhat larger than usual.
country. Moreover, there is a large amount of petty local traffic for distribution of merchandise in retail by means of weekly fairs held in several places in the Presidency. We have no means of estimating the value of traffic which is not carried on the main lines of communication, but there can be no doubt that its aggregate amount is very large.

30. Now, of the above-mentioned sea-borne and inland traffic, it will be quite within the mark to state that nine-tenths has sprung up since 1850; and this statement is applicable in a greater degree to inland than to sea-borne traffic, as land carriage in former years owing to want of communication was more expensive than sea carriage, and the land traffic was in consequence restricted to articles of small bulk and high value. It seems almost an act of supererogation to attempt to prove that all this development of traffic has been of benefit to the country, but as the increase of traffic, and especially foreign traffic, is sometimes spoken of as if it were an evil and not a benefit by persons who ought to know better, it may not be considered altogether unnecessary to examine in what the advantages of trade consist, and whether these advantages are outweighed by any counterbalancing evils. The following remarks of Professor Thorold Rogers explain coarsely what are the advantages of trade in general and of foreign trade in particular. He says: "The economical benefits of trade and of that understanding between nations, which leads to the exchange of products, which protects merchants and merchandise and gives temporary to the foreigner, under more or less easy conditions, opportunities of commerce, are obvious and trite. The distribution of products to the greatest possible reciprocal advantage is the first and most enduring stimulus to trade. In all acts of exchange, the buyer has the strongest inducement to put what he most needs, and in commerce, both parties buy and both parties sell. Trade is again the most efficient instructor as to the natural benefits of soil, climate and material, and it teaches this with the greatest rapidity and accuracy. The greatest service which unimpeded trade does to a community which has accepted it, is that it informs the people who desire to exchange their products, what are the best kinds of material on which to exercise their industry and develop that utility which is the sole end of economical labour. Hence it supplies the answer to the important problem—Has the industry in which a country is engaged been determined on in the most productive direction, does it produce the greatest possible results with the least possible expenditure of force? Hence it acts as a stimulant for the discovery of labour—saving instruc-
ments and of cost-saving processes, for any waste is labour
needlessly and unbelievably expended. It leads to the discovery
of natural resources, as in this country (England) coal, oil and
iron, the last two of which, before certain discoveries were
made, were imported into this country. Bearing these remarks
in mind, I will endeavour to show by an analysis of the
statistics of trade in the principal articles of export and import
to what extent the country has benefited by the increase of trade.

31. Cotton.—Among the articles of export, cotton is the
most important. In 1855-56 the exports of cotton were only 21
millions lb., valued at 25 lakhs of rupees, whereas now the exports
are 98 million lb., valued at 21 lakhs of rupees; and of this
increased value a larger share reaches the cultivator now than
it did in former years. For instance, in 1848, Mr. Forbes
Watson, Reporter of the Economic Products of India, stated
that the cost of raising cotton in the Bombay Presidency was
1½d. per lb.; the cost of carriage to Bombay was 1½d. or 129
per cent. of the cost of the article at the place of production;
and freight to England and connected charges were 1½d. a lb.;
so that Indian cotton could not be sold in England at less than
4½d. a lb. The producers thus obtained for his article only about
3½ per cent. of the price at which it was sold in England, the
remainder being absorbed in the cost of carriage and the profits
of middlemen. Now owing to the great cheapening of the cost
of carriage by land by the introduction of railways, and of sea
freight by improvements in the construction of steamers; the
producer in India secures something like 66 per cent. of the
price realised in the English market. The development of the
export trade in cotton has also led to the establishment of 41
cotton presses in which the quantity of cotton pressed amounts
to 9½ million lb.

6 The figures below are calculated by an agricultural inspector in his report on
sugar cultivation in the Tota-Ryot District:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost in Rs. per lb.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exports of 9½ million lb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deductions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Produce charge</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railways charge</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight, carriage, &amp;c.</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park's profit</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest under the contract</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of production by the sub-trader</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commission charge</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total of costs</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Export duties</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total cost</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total export duties</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total value</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the value of 1 cwt. of clean cotton...
Coffee.—The cultivation and trade in coffee, as is well known, have been entirely created and developed within the last 40 years. The value of the coffee exported in 1889-90 amounted to 1½ crores of rupees. It is estimated that the amount expended on the maintenance of coffee plantations on the Nilgiris alone is 20 lakhs of rupees, of which about one-third is paid as wages to coolies and goes to support 14,000 labouring families from the plains. 23 large works for curing coffee have been established, the outturn being estimated at 1½ million lb. valued at nearly one crore of rupees. These works afford employment to 7,500 hands.

Indigo is another article of export which has rapidly progressed within the last 40 years. In 1852-56 the exports were 2.2 million lb. valued at 43 lakhs of rupees. In 1889-90 the quantity exported was 6.2 million lb. and the value 1.19 crores. The Collector of Coimbatore, in which districts indigo is extensively manufactured, writing in 1855, states that at the commencement of the century "the manufacture of indigo was in its rudest state, and the plant from which it is extracted grown to a limited extent; the cultivation of this plant was formerly confined to the south-eastern portion of the district, but now is gradually extending to the north and west. The indigo itself was manufactured in earthen pots with great labour and considerable expense, and was of inferior quality, but in later years a more improved and better system of manufacture has been introduced and the culture of the plant greatly increased. The produce of this plant from its quality is well known in the European markets, and its culture has proved of the greatest benefit to the cultivators both rich and poor, as a ready market is found for any quantity which may be grown; the poorer sorts receive advances without interest from the wealthy firms who have established indigo manufactories, and who, should their crop be insufficient to repay the advances received, are seldom pressed for payment, unless it isascertained that they are endeavouring to defraud those from whom they have received liberal advances, by disposing of their crop to another party. This system in a considerable extent relieves the poorer sorts from the exorbitant interest demanded by village brokers and creditors, and thus, instead of being ruined by usurious interest, they with a little care and management may repay all their advances from their crops during the following year, and obtain sufficient profit to satisfy the stress demand and to maintain themselves and families." The manufacture of indigo has, however, since passed entirely into the hands of natives, while the area under indigo and the production of the dye have increased. The reason why European agencies cannot
cope with natives is explained by an agent of an European firm to be that the latter can do things cheaper. They manufacture the produce of their own lands, work their own factories and are assisted by relatives and friends who are paid little or nothing, though, of course, they expect assistance in return. At an European agency the weed is purchased, and the cost of supervision and labour is very great. The weed, as is often the case, during some seasons, yields little or no dye. European agencies suffer heavy losses, while natives do not feel the loss so heavily. There are now six indigo factories and 6,300 indigo vats at work in the Presidency, the quantity of indigo manufactured being estimated at 3-8 million lb. valued at 51, lakhs of rupees. Besides the persons employed in the cultivation of the plant, the manufacture of the dye gives employment to 90,000 persons during the working season. Cultivation being perfectly voluntary, no difficulties or disturbances similar to those frequently experienced in Bengal, where indigo planters who had secured leases of land on six months tenure endeavoured to force the cultivation of indigo on tenants against their will, have ever been experienced in this Presidency. The indigo manufactured in Madras is supplementing the indigo of Bengal, and it would, doubtless, come into possession of the market were it not for the fact that Madras indigo is extensively adulterated by dealers. Indigo cultivation is very profitable to the rent not only on account of the dye, but also because it enriches the soil and increases the yield of cereals, especially rice, grown in rotation.

Note to the quantity of 613,000 cwt. valued at 104 lakhs of rupees were exported in 1855-56. The exports in 1859-60 had increased to a little less than 2 million cwt. valued at 139 crores of rupees. The trade, in earthy-nuts especially, has developed within the last few years and assumed large dimensions. Forty years ago, earthy-nuts were unknown in European commerce. The cultivation of this crop has extended rapidly in the South Aroost district where the average under this crop has increased from about 6,700 acres to 100,000 acres. As ground-nuts do not require irrigation or much care in cultivation, and as they grow on dry, sandy soil, the trade in this article has increased the profits and the value of inferior lands. Besides the exports of earthy-nuts from British ports, large quantities, the produce chiefly of the South Aroost district, are shipped from Bengal.

In 1859 and 1860 the exports were valued at 14 and 9½ million rupees, the diminished exports in the latter year being due to diminished production owing to...
Inversive agricultural season. The value of exports of vegetable oils which was 32 lakhs of rupees in 1855-56 increased in 1883-84 to 511 lakhs of rupees, which is less than half the value of exports of seeds. There are 16 lamp-oil manufactories in the Godavari district turning out about 10 lakhs' worth of oil, and there are a few mills in other districts doing a small business. The large export of seeds, however, shows that there is much scope for the establishment of additional oil-mills at convenient centres, for the substitution of exports of oils for exports of seeds will cause a saving in the cost of carriage, while providing employment to a large number of labourers in this country and enabling the pulse to utilise the refuse of the oil-mills as manure or as feed for cattle.

Sugar is both an article of export and import in this Presidency. In 1855-56 about 669,000 cwt. were exported, the value being nearly 32 lakhs of rupees. In 1888-89 the exports were nearly three times as much,—1,650,000 cwt., valued at 92 lakhs of rupees. The imports by sea in 1888-89 were valued at 54 lakhs of rupees. About 165,000 mandas or 110,000 cwt. were also received by land from Mysore; where sugar, both refined and unrefined, is extensively manufactured. There are 6 large sugar factories for the manufacture of refined sugar, and these give employment to about 2,000 persons. The art of manufacturing crystallised and refined sugar was in the beginning of the century a mystery known to very few. Buchanan states that sugar-candy made at Chikhaldharpur in Mysore is equal to the Chinese and the candied sugar is very white and fine. The art of making it is kept a secret. The price at which they sell it precludes an extensive sale. Chinese sugar-candy is sold at Seringapatam cheaper than the local produce if sold here. The Chinese sugar-candy was sold at Bangalore at 28s. 1d. per cwt., or say Rs. 30 per cwt., while the present price is not more than Rs. 20 per cwt., i.e., the present price of the article, allowing for the fall in the purchasing power of money in India, is a little more than one-fifth of what it was in the beginning of the century. The production of unrefined sugar has greatly increased, especially in the Godavari district. The sail-based, sail traffic in this article in this Presidency amounted to 13 million cwt. Iron mills are rapidly superseding the old inefficient wooden mills in extracting the juice of cane. There is great scope for the cultivation of cane and manufacture of sugar in this Presidency in the hands commanded by the great irrigation systems. Two years ago Moses Travers and Sons of London pointed out that under proper arrangements India ought to be able to produce all the refined sugar it wants, instead of exporting both crude sugar and labour to Mauritius.
and receiving back refined sugar. The explanation for this is to be found in the fact that the price of refined sugar has enormously fallen, owing to the competition of bounty-fed beet sugar in France and Germany and the difficulty of getting cane grown near factories on a sufficiently large scale to make the manufacture of sugar by improved processes profitable. This latter difficulty is not, however, very formidable, and if a satisfactory solution of the sugar bounty question in Europe is arrived at, a considerable extension of the sugar industry in this Presidency might be hoped for.16

Spices.—The trade in spices is an ancient one in this Presidency. The exports were in 1853-56 of the value of 18 lakhs, of pepper and in 1855-57, 15 lakhs.

Food-grains.—The net exports of food-grains have not increased, but on the contrary show a slight decline, owing to competition of cheap rice from Burma and Bengal.

Pierced goods.—The exports of cotton piece-goods were in 1855-56, 1,891,004 pieces and 236,140 yards valued at 21½ lakhs of rupees. In 1855-56, 1,276,015 pieces and 1,625,379 yards valued at 65 lakhs of rupees were exported. The cloths were partly the product of hand looms and cotton mills established in the country and partly foreign manufactures dyed in the country and re-exported. There were at the end of 1855-56 8 cotton mills worked by steam. The number of persons employed was 8,000, and the quantity of cotton worked up

16 A recent column published in the Native Viceroy of India, showed that the difficulties in the way of the introduction of improved methods of manufacture of sugar on an extensive scale are not insuperable.
amounted to 29½ million lb. Additional mills have since been established.

Of less important articles of export, the value of tobacco has risen from a little over 2 lakhs in 1855-56 to 17 lakhs in 1885-90, and for from 1½ a lakh to 6 lakhs. Opium is a plant very recently introduced, and the exports of this drug from this Presidency amounted to 12 lakhs of rupees. In connection with the manufacture of tobacco, there are 32 factories in which cigar to the value of upwards of 7 lakhs of rupees are manufactured.

22. The value of the sea-borne imports of the Presidency amounted in 1889-90 to 24 crores of rupees, of which 4½ crores or nearly one-half consisted of cotton manufactures. Cotton piece-goods have increased from about 28 lakhs in 1825-35 to 2½ crores in 1889-90; cotton twist from 20 lakhs to 1½ crores; metals from 1½ to 8½ lakhs; liquors from 1½ to 2½ lakhs. The other articles imported in 1889-90 were: railway materials 49 lakhs; timber and wood 8½ lakhs; hardware and cutlery 20 lakhs; coal, machinery and mill-work 84 lakhs; salt 35 lakhs; apparel 28 lakhs; betel and other nile 20 lakhs; spices and assam-nuts 19 lakhs; gunny bags 17 lakhs; stationery 1½ lakhs; provisions 14 lakhs; drugs and medicines 9 lakhs; woollen goods 8 lakhs; sugar 6 lakhs; raw silk 12 lakhs; books 3 lakhs; other minor commodities 9 lakhs. Some of the articles, such as machinery and mill-work, could not of course have been procured except by means of foreign trade. The price of cotton goods, it will be seen from the statement given in the appendix, V.-B. (g), is now about two-thirds of the price in 1800, and as the proportion of cotton goods is now only one-twentieth of what it was in 1800, it is clear that a riyat on the coast has now to give in exchange for cloth a little more than one-fourth of the quantity of grain he gave in 1800 and a ryot in the interior even less. The same proportion holds good as regards the exchangeable value of metals and other imported goods more or less. The fall in the value of imported goods has been specially great since 1875, owing to economies effected (1) in the cost of production in European countries by the adoption of labour-saving processes in the manufacture of commodities, and (2) in the cost of carriage by the opening of the Suez Canal and improvements in the construction of steamers. There are, says Sir Lyon Playfair in his book entitled Subject of 10
Social Welfare, in explanation of the causes which have brought about a temporary depression of particular trades in England, two immediate causes of depression in all machine-using countries. The first is the changes produced by science in the economy of distribution. By the opening of the Suez Canal, the old route round the Cape of Good Hope has been superseded by the shorter and more economical route through the Suez Canal. The time occupied during the voyage—from six to eight months for sailing vessels—has been shortened to thirty days. By the subdivision of iron steamers carrying the commerce of the Western Hemispheres through the Suez Canal, a tonnage estimated at two millions was practically destroyed, and vast arrangements in commercial industry were displaced. In the old system of long voyages, large storerooms of goods had to be provided for the shipping interest, not only in foreign ports, but also in England, which became the centre of banking, ware-housing and exchange. All this was altered by electricity. The discoveries and appliances in the science of electricity—the telegraph, telephone and electric lighting—have created new labour, but have at the same time displaced a great amount of other labour. In the United Kingdom upwards of 12,000 persons are employed on work depending on electricity, while probably throughout the world more than 300,000 persons win their subsistence by the recent applications of this science. The amount of labour which it has displaced cannot be calculated. The whole method of effecting exchanges has been altered, because communication with other countries is now immediate; the consumer and the producer in opposite parts of the globe making their bargains in a single hour without the intervention of mercantile agencies or the large ware-house system, which former methods of commerce required. The Suez Canal and improved telegraphy made great demands for quick and economical distribution of material. Numerous steamers were built between 1870—72 for this purpose, but so rapid were the improvements that they were all displaced two years afterwards (1875-76) and sold at half their cost. Iron has been largely substituted by steel, both on land and at sea, Reaumur's invention having destroyed waiahill; but like the phoenix new wealth has arisen from its ashes. A ship which in 1833 cost £24,000 can now be built for £14,000. The economy of fuel has been very great. Shortly before the opening of the Suez Canal, the best steamers crossing the Atlantic expended 200 tons of coal to carry an amount of cargo which can now be driven across for 25 tons. The application of compound engines to steamers has also produced an enormous economy of fuel. In 1850, the fine steamer the *Passa* carried
over cargo at an expenditure of 14,000 lb. of coal to a ton; a modern steamer does the same work for 300 or 400 lb. The effect of this economy on haulage by land and transit by sea is immense. In an experiment lately made on the London and North-Western Railway, a compound locomotive dragged a ton of goods for 1 mile by the combustion of 2 ounces of coal. In ocean navigation there is a much larger economy. A cube of coal which passes through a ring of the size of a shilling will drive a ton of cargo two miles in our most improved steamers. The cost of transit of a ton of wheat from Calcutta to England was 7s. 3d. in 1881 and 3s. 7d. in 1888. The haulage of a thousand miles from Chicago to New York brings a whole year's supply of food for one man at a cost of a single day's wages. A ton is landed for less than a farthing per mile. The fall in the prices of ocean transit from New York to Liverpool has been as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Grains per bushel</th>
<th>Flour per ton</th>
<th>Cheese</th>
<th>Linen per lb</th>
<th>Bacon and ham per ton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>93d.</td>
<td>2s.</td>
<td>50c.</td>
<td>3d.</td>
<td>4s. 5d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>95d.</td>
<td>2s.</td>
<td>50c.</td>
<td>3d.</td>
<td>4s. 5d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

India, in its neediness, has immensely benefited by these improvements. In 1856, freight from Calcutta to England was sometimes as high as 2s. 6d. a ton for wheat. In 1879 it had fallen to 2s. 0d. for transport to the Cape and to £1-10-0 for the Suez Canal. In 1889 Godwin-Austen calculated that a ton of wheat costing 41s. in India could not be landed in England at a less cost than 16s. or in other weeks, freight was 16s. per cent of the first cost of wheat at the Indian port. Mr. T. Comber, one of the witnesses examined by the English Royal Commission on the value of the precious metals, put in a statement which showed that the cost of carriage of wheat from Jabalpur to Bombay was reduced from 5s. 6d. per quarter in 1875 to 4s. 11d. in 1887 by the development of railways in India, and the sea freight from Bombay to the United Kingdom was reduced from 12s. to 4s. 6d.; the total saving in the cost of carriage from India to England being 11s. 6d. From the evidence of Mr. Winter, the Financial Secretary of the Indian Office, it appears that this saving in the cost of carriage of wheat exported from Calcutta to England was about the same. He stated that in June 1883 and June 1886 the prices of Carnarvon wheat at Calcutta were at the same level, viz., 29 rupees per munit of 80 lb. The cost of Indian wheat in London in 1881 was 4s. a quarter and 8s. 6d. in 1886, showing a difference of 10s. 6d. on 20 per cent.
In 1831 the rate of freight from India to London was 60s per ton, and 30s in 1840, a difference of 30s per ton or 6d per quarter. Between 1879 and 1886 the charge for the transport of grain by railway from Cawnpore to Calcutta was reduced to the extent of about 2s a quarter, which was equivalent to a saving to the producer in the cost of production of the same amount. There was a further reduction of about 6d a quarter in the price of gramineous crops, the total saving to the producer being thus 8s. Thefreights for rice exported from Bangkok to England have been reduced from 71s. 6d per ton in 1879 to 51s. 6d per ton in 1899; and coal freights from England to Bombay from 21s. 6d. to 17s. 6d. per ton in the case of eumacore and from 14s. to 10s. in the case of coal vessels. The Indian producer has thus doubly benefited; first by the higher value realised by him for his produce; and secondly, by the lower value paid by him for the imported commodities which he obtains at far less cost measured not merely by money values, but by actual exercise of time and labour than would have been incurred if he had produced them himself.

83. It has, however, been represented by a certain class of persons, both in India and England, that the rapid expansion of foreign trade in India, which the last 40 years have witnessed, far from being a blessing is a matter for the greatest anxiety; that much of it, instead of being brought about by the development of the resources of the country in directions which will contribute to its prosperity, is really enforced or in other words is the outcome of the necessity which its political relation with England imposes on it for finding the wherewithal to meet the necessities to be made to England, in payment of services of a non-commercial character rendered

6 It is briefly necessary to say that in comparing figures at different periods, the purchasing power of money in those periods should be taken into account. As the general level of prices of goods in the country has been raised, the result of the same price paid in the same rate in different periods must of necessity be quite different. As the general level of prices has been raised, the result of the same price paid in the same rate in different periods must of necessity be quite different. The deterioration of certain goods of primary produce, e.g. rice, in terms of other goods, e.g. gold, must, as the general level of prices has been raised, the result of the same price paid in the same rate in different periods must of necessity be quite different. The deterioration of certain goods of primary produce, e.g. rice, in terms of other goods, e.g. gold, must, as the general level of prices of goods in the country has been raised, the result of the same price paid in the same rate in different periods must of necessity be quite different.
by Englishmen temporarily resident here; that the trade is to
a great extent monopolized by foreigners, who have caused the
natives of the soil from their legitimate fields of enterprise;
that the destruction of indigenous manufactures has had the
effect of impoverishing the artisan classes and driving them
to crook on agriculture, which, owing to the capriciousness
of the seasons, is a precarious industry; and that the result is
that the population as a whole is growing poorer and poorer
every day, and losing in stamina. It is, therefore, necessary to
examine whether there is any truth in these serious statements;
to what extent the evils complained of are real, and how far
they are temporary and incidental to a period of transition from
a lower to a higher stage of industrial development, and whether
they are not outweighed by unquestionable benefits enjoyed by
the general population. In considering the above questions,
the trade of India must be dealt with as a whole.

34. The question of the international indebtedness of India
is one of great complexity, and a full con-
sideration of it in its various phases will
require more space than can be afforded in this memorandum.
I will therefore content myself with mentioning its most salient
features without entering into the minutiae of the subject. It
is a well-known fact that the value of the exports of India
habitually exceeds the value of the imports, the excess being
due mainly to remittances which India has to make to England,
not with a view to redress balance accruing in the ordinary
operations of commerce, but on account of (1) payment of
interest due on loans contracted by the Government of India
for the ordinary purposes of Government and for the construc-
tion of public works, and (2) payment for services of a
political and non-commercial character rendered by England to
India. The payments made under these heads amount to 144
millions sterling, equivalent at the rate of exchange prevailing
during the last few years to about 31 crores of rupees. Besides
these, there are the remittances in account of private capital
invested in commercial and industrial undertakings by Euro-
pans temporarily resident in India, as also of savings out
of incomes made by them in India in the various professions.
The amount of these latter remittances is not ascertainable,
there being no data for making even a rough estimate. All
these payments are made in commodities and not in money,
according to a well-known law applicable to international trade,
the operation of which may be briefly explained as follows.
The passage of money from one country to another lessens the
stock of money material in the remitting and increases the
stock in the receiving country, the result being that prices are depressed in the former, and elevated in the latter country owing to the diminution and augmentation, respectively, of the value of the currency. By this double effect, a great divergence of prices of commodities and of labour in the two countries is established, and it becomes profitable for the receiving country to secure the value of the remittances in goods instead of in money. The disadvantage of this state of things to the remitting country consists in its having to exchange its productions on less advantageous terms than it would have done, if it had no payments of a non-commercial character to make. The exact measure of this disadvantage may be seen from the following hypothetical case. Suppose a country has a currency of 200 millions sterling and that the amount is just sufficient for its requirements. If this country has to make an annual payment of a non-commercial character to another country to the extent of 20 millions sterling, the abstraction of so much money-material depresses prices and the country has to give in exchange for the commodities of other countries a larger quantity of its products than it would otherwise have to do. If the currency be replenished with a view to establish the old scale of prices, the sum of 20 millions would have to be precursed by giving in exchange for its commodities at the lowered prices, or in other words by giving a larger quantity of goods than would have had to be given at the old scale of prices. Thus, for instance, if prices were depressed one-tenth, one-ninth more of commodities would have to be given in return. In determining, therefore, whether the payments in question amount to a "drain of the resources of the remitting country" or whether they are really a "necessary outlay" incurred for securing a large net profit, the amount of such payments together with the increased cost at which the quantity of money to be replaced has to be procured—the two together constituting the maximum sacrifice incurred—will have to be taken into account. Having regard to these considerations, the following analysis will show the effect of the several items of remittances to England grouped under the general designation of "Home charges."

(a) The expenditure of 21 millions Rs., under this head comprises: (1) 1½ millions on account of interest on the debt owed by the Government of India and payments made to railway companies to make good the guaranteed interest; (2) 3½ millions on account of charges incurred in England for the army; (3) 2½ millions on account of farriour and supernumerary allowances of Indian officers; (4) ½ million on account
of general administration; and (5) 3½ million on account of miscellaneous charges including cost of stationery and stores purchased in England for the Government of India.

(6) The total debt of India amounted at the end of 1889–90 to 301 millions, of which 98 millions were in sterling and 103 millions Rs. in rupees. The whole of the sterling debt and about 75 per cent. of the rupee debt are held by Europeans. Of the total sum of 291 millions, 122 millions have been incurred for the construction of productive works—90 millions for railways and 37 millions for irrigation works—the remaining 72 millions being incurred for the purposes of general administration, principally wars and military defence works. The Government of India has further guaranteed an interest of 5 per cent. on capital amounting to 71 millions invested by certain railway companies in railways in India.

(7) The total outlay on railways in India, whether classed as productive or not, was up to the end of 1890, 213 millions Rs. The mileage open was 18,377, and 2,273 miles were under construction. The net receipts from railways amounted to about 101 millions Rs., which is 6½ per cent. on the capital cost. The loss to Government on this account is about 1½ millions Rs., and this is chiefly due to fall in the rate of exchange. During the last 10 years there has been rapid progress in railway construction, the mileage open having increased from 8,000 to 15,500 or by 94 per cent. Railways cannot be expected to commence to pay until some time after they have been completed, and, as already stated, there is a mileage of nearly 2,500 yet to be completed. Moreover, many of the lines have been undertaken not as paying concerns, but for purposes of military defence and famine protection of backward and inaccessible tracts which trade cannot reach when the bullock power of the country for draught becomes paralyzed during times of severe drought. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the railways as a whole mostly pay their way, and they would fully meet their charges and leave a surplus profit to Government but for the loss by exchange. If the traffic improves within the next 5 or 10 years by 35 per cent., which is not an improbable result, the resulting gain will be such as will repay the entire cost of construction in the course of 50 years and leave to the country a large revenue unencumbered with any charges on account of interest.

[Note: In 1881, the Government of India laid down that productive public works to be undertaken by Government should, if railways or irrigation schemes, including interest on capital cost within five years. For irrigation works the period fixed was ten years.]
(4) The amount of remittances to England on account of railways is £1 million sterling, equivalent to 8 million Rs., at the average rate of exchange. Now, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the gain to the country caused by the immense development of traffic greatly outweighs the interest payable on the railway capital, as well as the disadvantage arising from the slightly enhanced cost at which, on account of remittances to England, the productions of other countries have to be obtained by India. During the last ten years the number of passengers carried by railways in India has increased from 45 to 104 millions; the number of live stock has increased from three-quarters of a million to nearly a million; and the quantity of goods carried from 82 to 224 million tons.

The cost of carriage of this quantity of goods alone is 13 millions Rs., and as the cost of transport of goods by railway is about one-ninth of the cost of transport by ordinary carts, the saving under this head may be calculated at nearly 40 millions Rs., supposing it to be at all possible that there could have been so much merchandise to carry with the old means of conveyance. This great reduction in the cost of transport is an immense gain to the country and benefits all parties, the producers by securing to them a higher value for their commodities and the importers by enabling them to obtain the imported articles on easier terms. In the internal trade, this gain is enjoyed wholly by this country; and in foreign trade it is shared between this country and the country with which the trade is carried on. Thus, if the exchange value of Indian goods be lowered 3 per cent. on account of remittances to England of interest on railway capital, and the saving in cost of carriage and consequent increase of exchange value of the labour of the India producer be enhanced 10 per cent., there is on the whole a net gain of 8 per cent. to the country owing to the investment of foreign capital in railways. The figures taken are merely hypothetical and have been used merely for purposes of illustration, but such as they are, they probably underestimate and not overestimate the gain.

(c) Similar considerations apply also to remittances to England necessitated by the outlay on productive irrigation works. The capital laid out on the works amounted at the end of 1889-90 to 25½ millions Rs., and the net revenue from the works was 4 per cent. on the outlay. The irrigation works in the Churnery, Kistna and Godavari deltas and in Simhachal yield returns of more than 10 per cent.; and the great canals in Upper India, where they have been completed, yield a return of 4½ per cent. There would be no less whatever on this account, but on the contrary a large gain, were it not for the
capital outlay amounting to nine millions on the Orissa, Kurnool and Some canals which have proved disastrous failures. The benefit to the country by the construction of irrigation works cannot, however, be measured simply by the revenue realized by Government, inasmuch as the Government does not take the whole of the net profit due to the provision of irrigation, but only a share of it which is nominally half but really much less. For instance, the capital outlay on the Godavari and Krishna works up to the end of 1889-90 was 25 millions Rs. and the irrigation revenue derived from the works 86 lakhs of rupees. During 1876-77, when the Presidency was suffering from a severe famine, the production of rice in the Krishna and Godavari delta was valued at upwards of five millions Rs. Since 1876 the area under irrigation in the Godavari and Krishna delta has increased by upwards of 50 per cent, the increase in the past ten years amounting to 200,000 acres or upwards of 29 per cent. Allowing for the decrease in the prices of food-grains now as compared with the prices in 1876, the value of the produce in these delta due to irrigation

\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{6}} This large sum was used in public and divisible funds, and} \]

...
works may still be estimated at five millions Rupees. Even if only half of this sum be taken as the net gain to the ryots, it will be seen that the share of the profit derived by Government is only one-seventh of the total profit. In the Punjab during the four years ending 1885–88, the area under irrigation increased from 14½ million to 22½ million acres or by 57 per cent. It is hardly necessary to point out the value of irrigation works as a means of protection against famine.

(f) The remittances, necessitated by the payment of interest on the capital borrowed for productive works, are therefore, on the whole, an advantage to the country. On the contrary, these works bid fair in the course of a few years to prove highly remunerative.

(g) The ordinary debt has not increased during the last 30 years. Before the mutiny, the registered debt amounted to 31½ millions sterling. The mutiny added 38½ millions to the account, and accordingly the total debt stood at 30 millions sterling in 1866. The debt excluding sums borrowed for productive public works or transferred to that head now stands at only 7½ millions. The purposes for which the debts were incurred were mainly wars and the strengthening of the defences of the Empire owing to the advance of Russia towards the Indian frontier. The ordinary debt is less than two years' net revenue of India, and no country in the world has a lighter burden of debt. The interest on debt amounts to about 4½ millions Rupees or 19 per cent. of the net revenue of India. It is the interest on capital borrowed for productive works which is in any way injurious to the country. The debt on account of the ordinary works is removable at any time, and the difference between the annual revenue and expenditure can always be devoted to paying off the capital. The ordinary debt is a temporary advance, and the debt on account of works is a permanent one. The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(h) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(i) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(j) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(k) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(l) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(m) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(n) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(o) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(p) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(q) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(r) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(s) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(t) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(u) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(v) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(w) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(x) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(y) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.

(z) The interest on the ordinary debt is a charge on the annual income and is a permanent expenditure. The interest on the productive debt is a charge on the national capital and is a permanent expenditure.
case of the Gwalior loan), the result would no doubt be bene-
dicial, but even in that case it is better that such capital should
seek investment in industrial undertakings. If loans have to
be contracted in foreign markets, it is desirable that Govern-
ment with its superior credit should contract the loans rather
than private individuals who cannot command equally favorable
terms.

(4) There is one further consideration to be borne in mind
in connection with remittances for interest on debt, viz., that
the influx of money into the country when loans are con-
tracted and consequent rise in prices is a set-off against the
depression due to remittances on account of interest in subse-
quent years.

(5) As regards remittances made to England to meet the
charges in connection with the army, supernumerary and fur-
leave allowances of European officers employed by the Gov-
ernment of India, and the establishments of the Secretary of
State for India and his Council, amounting in all to nine
millions Rs., it is not necessary to say much, as they are all
charges necessary to secure that peace and that good go-
vernment which have rendered the increased production and
the increased trade, which have taken place within the last
forty years, possible. That the gain to the country from the
increased production and increased trade is far in excess of the
charges referred to, there cannot be the slightest doubt. The
additional production from the extension of canal irrigation
alone amounts to twenty millions Rs. I do not, of course,
mean to say that the charges are not capable of being reduced,
and that, as far as they are unnecessary or unduly high,
 persistent efforts should not be made to enforce economy.
Considering the question merely from the point of view of the
benefits conferred by foreign trade, apart from the desirability
of keeping all governmental expenditure at the lowest point
consistent with the efficient discharge of the duties which the
circumstances of this country require to be undertaken by
Government, and apart also from the higher considerations
which render it necessary that the natives of the country
should be entrusted with positions of high trust and responsi-
bility in the Civil and Military services, in a liberal and not
grudging spirit, both as a matter of justice and as a means of
accelerating the advance of the nation in moral and material
well-being, I have no hesitation in stating that the sacrifices
involved in the payment of the Home charges are repaid
manifestly by the benefits secured to the country, and that
if a saving of even a couple of millions, which is, perhaps, the utmost that could be expected, be effected in these charges, its effect on the foreign trade would hardly be appreciable.8

8. The operations of military defence is one of paramount importance, and one that is not fully accorded with the necessities of the case. We have to prepare, at a moment when the war is not yet fully anticipated, for the possible contingency of a war with any of the European powers. It is not easy to determine accurately the number of men and horses that would be required for such a contingency, but it is evident that the number would be much larger than the present force. The estimate of the cost of maintaining such a force has been made by the War Office, and it is stated that the cost would be about £10,000,000 per annum. This estimate is undoubtedly too high, as it does not take into account the savings that could be effected by the introduction of new methods of training and discipline. However, it is clear that the cost of maintaining such a force would be a considerable burden on the country, and it is desirable that every effort should be made to reduce it. This can be accomplished by the introduction of new methods of training and discipline, and by the reduction of the number of men and horses that are required. The War Office is making every effort to reduce the cost of the military establishment, and it is hoped that these efforts will be successful.
35. The private remittances to England comprise the savings of Europeans resident in India in the service of Government and in other capacities, the dividends on Indian investments due to residents in England, and remittances by banks and merchants made in the course of commercial dealings. As already stated, it is not possible to make even a rough estimate of these remittances. Calculations, based on the recorded values of exports and imports, have been found to yield results which are obviously unreliable, these values not being sufficiently accurate for purposes of calculations of this kind. The total value of imports and exports of India is 106 millions Rs., and it is obvious that even so small an error in the values declared by merchants as ½ per cent. may vitiate the result to the extent of 5 millions. Theoretically, the relation that should exist between exports and imports may be stated as follows:—The value of exports, including bullion of a country, in an average year sufficiently large to eliminate the temporary fluctuations of trade in one direction or the other, should exactly balance the average value of imports of merchandise and treasure; provided, first, the country has no share in the carrying trade; secondly, that it does not levy any duty on exports of merchandise; and thirdly, that it has not lent or borrowed from other countries, and has no money to remit or receive on account of loans or for other purposes. If the country has a share in the carrying trade, the imports will be in excess by the amount of freight earned. The same consideration applies also to export duties which will increase the imports by an equivalent amount, for, as the export duty is not included in the customs house valuation of the exported merchandise, and, as it must be eventually recovered from the foreign countries in which the exported commodities are consumed, it must, [pro tanto], increase the imports. The levy of import duties does not affect the balance of trade, as they are paid or recovered from the people of the country which imports the merchandise. The exports of a borrowing country will fall short of or exceed the imports, according as the money received, by way of loan, during the period for which the

---

36. The valuation is made under section 20 of the Customs Act VIII of 1874, which is noted below for convenience of reference.

37. For the purposes of the Customs Act, the real value shall be deemed to be

38. For the purposes of the Customs Act, the real value shall be deemed to be
account is taken, exceeds or falls short of the remittances on account of interest due for previous borrowings or for other purposes. India has practically little or no share in the carrying trade, the tonnage of British Indian shipping being only the proportion of 24 per cent. to the total tonnage of the foreign trade, amounting to 1½ million tons. As regards the duty on exports, the only article that pays duty is rice, the revenue derived from this source being about 7 million Rupees. The duty on opium is an excise duty, and it is included in the values shown in the customs house returns. India has, of course, borrowed, and is borrowing largely, from England for the construction of productive works. In the statement of the trade of British India for 5 years ending 1888-89, presented to Parliament, the following account of the balance of trade, based on the statistics of 15 years ending 1885-89, is given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value (in millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imports of merchandise excluding Government taxation</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. of specie</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian securities converted for payment in England</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,151</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imports of merchandise excluding Government taxation</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. of specie</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government securities retransferred to India</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills for interest on enforced paper</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,069</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above account, the values of Government exports and imports have been excluded from the values of exports and imports of merchandise shown, as the net values of Government imports have been included in the amount of the bills drawn on India by the Secretary of State. Similarly, the loans raised in England on account of India have been excluded, as the amount of the Secretary of State's bills represents the difference between the amount of remittances to be made to England and the proceeds of the loans. The bills drawn by the Bank of England for the payment in England of interest on Indian securities converted for that purpose will increase exports from India by a corresponding amount, while the securities themselves will increase the imports or exports according as they are transferred to England or retransferred to India for cash. If, however, such securities are taken over to England by persons holding them, there will be no effect produced on the balance of trade beyond increasing the exports to the amount of the interest due on the securities.
which will have to be remitted by Government. Out of the sum of 18 millions, which the above account shows as the excess of imports above exports, about 12 millions will have to be deducted on account of the export duty on rice and the freight earned by the Indian shipping, leaving about 6 millions for 12 years, or half a million per annum, without taking account of remittances on account of private savings and profits of trade of Europeans in India. This shows either that the private capital brought into the country exceeded the amount of the savings and profits above referred to during the 12 years for which the account is made up, or that the declared values of imported and exported mercantiles are, as already observed, incorrect. Sir Richard Temple estimated the private remittances from India above referred to at 1½ millions in 1870. The salaries of Europeans employed in Government service in India aggregated 6½ millions in 1870, and if one-fifth of these salaries is remitted to England, the remittances under this head will amount to one million. These remittances, of course, stand on the same footing as forlorn of and superannuatio costs, included in the Secretary of State's drawings already referred to. As regards interest or profits on foreign capital invested in industrial undertakings in India, it may be stated that it is almost impossible that the remittances on their account can have any prejudicial effect on India. For, if the undertakings are successful, the increased conti- nuous employment provided for labour in the country must exceed greatly in value the remittances on account of interest and profits, while the influx of the capital itself will alter the balance of trade for the time in favour of India. If, on the other hand, the undertakings are unsuccessful, there will be no remittances to make, while the capital brought into the country, in so far as it has been employed in the payment of labour, will have been a gain.

The accumulations of capital in England is to grant that capital is continually falling, and by comparison the profits on investments are reduced. The interest on this profit is, we may well think, the normal expectation to industrial undertakings carried on with foreign capital in India.

Mr. Professor Moseley, of Kipling, who was connected with the Royal Commission, said, "The desire of the Government to induce Mr. Prince of Wales, presented an account of the balance of India in which he stated that the number of Indian officers in the Indian civil service, for 1½ million, on the value of imported the profits of India. This correction was 1½ from the very small number of Indian officers, but, as the subject of the inquiry, for collecting and paying, is of railway construction, in the government of railways, the Messrs. Chamberlain, both sides, is remitted, increases, and profits, etc., for all the profits and expenses for all these purposes, are to be paid out of the capital, and not of the profits. Putting this into another way, every item is paid out of the value or proceeds of the capital. If this profit can not induce sufficient amounts to pay for all these purposes, the power of the company to proceed, and to buy and sell, to pay the duties, is derived in no manner from the profit in the year of accounts generally, but from the profit of the company in the past, and from the capital, and not from the profits of the company in the year of accounts."

When it was pointed out to Mr. Moseley that India could not hardly these years for Indian
96. One further effect of the drawings of the Secretary of State requires to be noticed, viz., its influence on the rate of exchange between gold and silver. So long as the Latin Union kept up the legal relation between the value of gold and silver, the oscillations in the rate of exchange caused by the international trade balances were confined within the limits of the cost of transport of silver to France for the purpose of being coined; but when the Latin Convention was broken up, and silver was demonetized in Europe, the limits referred to were done away with. The India Council bills compete with silver as a mode of remittance, and, in so far as they displace silver they lower its value, and there is no longer any means of preventing the rate of exchange falling below a fixed level as was the case when the Latin Union was in force. There is no means of estimating to what extent the increase in the Secretary of State's drawings in recent years has contributed to the fall in the rate of exchange, but that it does exercise considerable influence there seems to be little reason to doubt. But, at the same time, it must be remembered that the portion of the Home charges and private remittances which represents investments of capital may, and in fact does, increase the exports of merchandise, so as, pro tanto, to create a balance of trade in favour of India.

Sir David Marjoribank, in his minute, appealed to the Report of the Commissioners on the Value of the Precious Metals, puts this matter in a clear light. He says:

*[Footnote: The ever-willingness of the Home's foreign clients to advance their capital at the rate of interest prevailing in India, and the readiness of the Government to accept bills for Indian produce drawn, whether in India or abroad, at the rates of exchange prevailing in India, for the nominal amount of the bills, form another line of influence which, in a case like the present, is of the highest importance. The effect of this on the commercial and financial relations of India with the rest of the world may be traced in the Report of the Commissioners on the Value of the Precious Metals, and in the evidence of Mr. Newbery, who quotes the case of a London merchant with whom he was connected, and who had paid 50 per cent. on his capital in India, and had, in consequence, had recourse to the Government for a loan of 200,000 l. for the purpose of lending on the security of his accounts with his Indian clients, at 4½ per cent. on the capital.]
A considerable amount of imports (such as railway plant and machinery) really represents the investment of English capital in India, is not paid for at the time, and, consequently, has no effect on the exchange of the year. Of course, all investments of foreign capital affect the exchange in subsequent years, when profits or interest come to be remitted from India; but such investments are generally made in industries connected with the international trade, and, so far as they increase Indian exports, they counteract the tendency to a fall in the exchange owing to the remittance of profits. It is quite possible, and even probable, that an investment of foreign capital in India might so increase the exports as to favorably influence the exchange. For example, if one million sterling is invested in jute mills, and such investment increases the exports of India by £200,000 yearly, while only necessitating a remittance of £50,000 yearly on account of profits, the international account has been altered in India's favor to the extent of £150,000, and the tendency is to raise and not to lower exchange. The investment of foreign capital in tea gardens in India is a case in point. The whole of the exports of tea from India are due to this cause and the value of these exports is much more than sufficient to cover the remittance of profits and pay for such articles of import as are required in the manufacture of tea. The international equation has, therefore, been altered to the advantage of India and not to her disadvantage by these investments.

As regards the general effect of the remittances to England on the trade of India, Sir David Barbour observes: "It is commonly said that if one country has a payment to make to another, the country which has the payment to make trades at a disadvantage. The theory, as a theory, is insurmountable. But in practice there are many more important factors which influence international trade, and, if the payment is made on account of foreign capital judiciously invested, the net effect of the whole transaction may be to improve the relative position of the country which has the payment to make."

"Payments, for which no direct commercial equivalent is received, are made in an increasing amount to England every year by foreign countries, and consequently the relative position of England in the international trade must be improving, and England should be receiving an increasing quantity of foreign produce in exchange for her exports. Yet, the facts since 1873 do not bear out this contention. If we take the price of a certain quantity of English exports in 1873 at £100, and the price of a certain quantity of English imports at the same figure, the prices of the same quantities in 1886 will be £50 and £90, respectively, according to Mr. Giffen's figures."
We thus see that if a certain quantity of English exports exchanged for a certain quantity of imports in 1873, the same quantity of exports would in 1886 have failed to exchange for the same quantity of imports in the proportion of 82 to 69. In other words, goods for goods, England was making a worse bargain internationally in 1886 than in 1873 by 11 per cent.

"It is true, that in 1873 England was exchanging her exports for foreign products on spatially favorable terms, but the figures just given show that the question of the relative indebtedness of different nations is a comparatively minor factor in determining the conditions of international trade.

"There are no figures of equal authority which can be used in determining on what terms India is now dealing with other countries as compared with former times, but all, the enquiries I have made point in the same direction, viz., that a certain quantity of Indian produce laid down at Calcutta or Bombay will, at the present time, exchange for a larger quantity of imported goods than it would have done in 1870 or 1873. The theory that India is hampered in her foreign trade by the drawings of the India Council appears, therefore, to be without foundation. That India would be worthier of those drawings council, while India retained the advantages arising from the causes which have brought about the drawings, may certainly be admitted. That India would now be importing more goods of all kinds, including silver, if the cause which has led to the drawings of the India Council and never came into operation, is not merely improved, but is absolutely opposed to the facts as far as they can be ascertained." I have ventured to italicize the last portion of the quotation as it contains the gist of the argument.

"It is true that in other parts of the manifesto it is stated that the prices of factory goods are 15 times what they were in 1874, or in other words, the contract prices of the goods of silver, as measured by the quantity of factory goods silver would purchase, has fallen 60 per cent. The fact would have been greater yet, but the frequency of the cost of transport and consequent lowering of prices of commodities has of itself been so great that it would have been impossible to have brought the price down to so low a rate. In England, prices of consumption decreased in gold 20 percent in 1874, when they were 12 percent. Indeed, they have only been the same and sometimes below the average of the last ten years. In India, it seems, there has been a great deal of disturbance in the marketing of goods, and the prices of goods do not compare with those of the same kind in England. In India, the prices of factory goods in the United Kingdom, or in other words, the average prices of factory goods in this country, have been about 50 percent higher than they were in 1874. Then, at 50 per cent, India was in a better position than in England, 1874, and in that year the prices of factory goods were considered to be too low. But the question of the comparative cost of factory goods in England and India is not the question, it is the question of the cost of factory goods in the United Kingdom, or in other words, the question of the comparative cost of factory goods in India is the question. It is not the question of the cost of factory goods in England, but the question of the cost of factory goods in India, and we shall see how the figures taken are bankrupted. They cannot serve to illustrate the principle.
37. Another proof of the fact that India has not been impoverished but enriched by foreign trade is found in the large imports of gold and silver since 1850. The value of gold imported into India from Europe and not re-exported from 1905 to 1928, a period of 23 years, has been estimated at 112 millions sterling. Mr. Cluny in his Indian explaining the Composition of Asia conjectures that this amount about 70 millions were probably taken over to China and other places. Including the gold obtained from China, Burma and other Asiatic sources, the total gold in India in 1889 is estimated at 140 millions. Since 1850 and up to the end of 1890-91, the net imports of gold have amounted to upwards of 140 millions, and nearly the whole of this amount has been imported since 1850. As gold is not used for purposes of currency in India, the imports have been made for the purpose of manufacture into ornaments or hoarding. The total annual production of gold at present is estimated at 20 millions sterling, of which one-fourth is sent to India. The total net imports of silver into India since 1850 amount to 300 millions rupees. The value of silver coined in British India has been estimated at 27 millions rupees or Rs. 1.8 per head of the population. If India had chosen to take the imports in commodities instead of in gold and silver, it would not show that she was deriving no advantage; on the contrary, it would doubtless be a great boon to the country if the value that is locked up in ornaments and coinage were turned into capital useful for industrial undertakings; but the large quantity of imports of gold and silver, amounting to a considerable proportion of the total production of the precious metals, unquestionably shows that India is not losing but gaining by international trade.

38. The complaint that European exploitation has had the effect of driving out natives from their legitimate fields of industrial enterprise is not true of the Madras Presidency, nor is it true of other parts of India to any great extent. The chief undertakings in which Europeans are engaged are the cultivation of coffee, tea and cinchona, and gold-mining, and these are all fields which were previously unoccupied, and which would not be occupied if it were not for the importation of European capital and enterprise. We have already seen that biscuit manufacture in this Presidency in which Europeans once took part has now, to a great extent, passed into the hands of the natives of the country. Coffee cultivation has not been remunerative of late years, and it has also, to a considerable extent, passed into native hands. The
natives who can work the estates cheaply have a great advantage over Europeans, and with daily increasing knowledge and experience they will doubtless take an increasing share in enterprises of this kind. The natives are also beginning to take a larger share in mercantile transactions connected with articles of export and import trade, the opening of the Suez Canal and the increase in the direct trade of India with the principal countries of Continental Europe having taken away from what of the character of monopoly which long established European houses of agency may have once possessed. Mr. Sissons in his article, 'The Cotton Industry contributed to the jubilee volume, entitled The Reign of Queen Victoria,' gives the following account of the changes that have taken place in this respect as regards the cotton trade. He states: "In many cases the cotton spinner and manufacturer of India deals directly with the cotton producer on the one hand, and the merchant shipper on the other, and in nearly all cases the old charges for brokerage and agency have experienced a considerable reduction. Fifty years ago the commission charged for selling goods in India, including guarantees of sales and discount on remittances, amounted to from 8\% to 9 per cent, to which was added about 2\% per cent. for sundry charges, landing, storing and godown rent. These are now reduced to a total of about 4 per cent., though the downward tendency of the latter charges was checked by the Indian mutiny. The charges for packing and shipments have also been diminished by 1\% or 2 per cent., while the opening of the Suez Canal and the consequent development and competition in steamer trade have produced a marvellous economy of cost and time on the old system of shipment. Mr. Gossen has observed that the carriage of a ton of goods from Manchester to Bombay, including the railway to Liverpool, the Suez Canal dues and the freight, is now little more than the price of a second-class ticket from London to Manchester. The shortening of the voyage by the substitution of steamers for sailing vessels and the adoption of the Suez Canal route instead of the old route round the Cape of Good Hope has reduced the time taken in the delivery of goods, which is equivalent to a diminution of about 2\% per cent., if the additional rent and insurance under the old system, added to the loss of interest, be taken into consideration. The increase of telegraphic communication, and to some extent the use of the telephone, have tended to destroy the old custom of keeping large stocks of goods stored in the warehouses of Manchester or in the 'godowns' in India, and sales are often made in Calcutta or Bombay of goods which have yet to be manufactured or even bleached or dyed in Lancashire.
The 'Bunias' or native dealers now send to England a considerable number of direct orders, and several of the principal 'Bunias' have their own agents or representatives in Manchester who ship direct to their orders. In the Madras town, I am informed that with the aid of the facilities afforded by the Bank of Madras and other banks for obtaining loans, native merchants with small means are in increasing numbers carrying on a trade in articles of foreign merchandise. In Coimbatore, which is daily rising in importance as a commercial centre, the competition of native merchants has led to the closing of some European firms. The direct trade of India with the countries of Continental Europe has made it more difficult for English merchants to combine in keeping natives out of mercantile pursuits in which the latter may not hitherto have had a share. For instance until April 1885, with a view to keep Indian cotton manufactures out of the China market, the freight to China was kept by a combination of English steamer companies at the prohibitive rate of Rs. 10 a ton, and repeated efforts on the part of the Bombay mill owners failed to effect a reduction lower than Rs. 12. The Italian line of steamers then stepped in and accepted freight at Rs. 8 and the consequence has been that the English companies themselves have since reduced the rate to Rs. 5.

36. There is, however, very considerable truth in the complaint that foreign trade has affected prejudicially the old manufacturing industries of the country and impoverished the classes engaged in them. The spinning and weaving trades, especially, have suffered severely from foreign competition, and the former as a separate profession is rapidly disappearing, what remains of it being confined to the spinning of fine thread for cloths of superior texture and extreme fineness such as would not be produced by machinery, and of coarse thread for coarse thick cloths woven for the use of the lower classes of the agricultural population. The demand for very costly cloths of superior texture worn by men of the higher classes has considerably fallen, not so much owing to Manchester competition as to the change of fashion, English broad cloth having, to a considerable extent, superseded them as articles of dress. On the other hand, there has been considerable extension of demand for female colored cloths made with imported fine yarn, Kormuda cloths for instance; and in particular centres of industry such as Kormada, Kottalam and other places, the position of the weavers has really improved. Large sections of the agricultural population still use coarse cloths made of country yarn which, if
somewhat dearer than machine-made cloths, are preferred to the latter as being more durable and warmer. The coarse thread is spun by the agriculturists themselves and given to weavers who weave them into cloth on being paid about one rupee or its equivalent in grain for each cloth. These cloths are extensively in use in the Ceded districts, Kurnool, Coimbatore and Salem, where the cold in the winter months is severe than in other parts of the Presidency. The amount of weaving done in the country has not probably diminished sensibly of late years, but the profits of the weavers, both on account of the Manchester competition and the additional pressure on the weaving industry due to the collapse of the spinning industry, have undeniably been much reduced. The Munnar Board of Revenue, who instituted enquiries into the condition of the weaving industry in 1871 and again in 1890, have reported to the same effect. In 1871, the number of looms at work was nearly 250,009 or nearly 42 per cent. higher than the number at work between 1867-68 and 1889-90, as ascertained for the purpose of assessing the old muttorpha tax. The returns for the earlier years, however, were imperfect and not fully to be relied on, and the Board estimated the real increase at between 20 and 25 per cent. and attributed the advance to the abolition of the vexations and imposing muttorpha tax. The total quantity of twist worked up into cloth was estimated at 31½ million lbs., of which 11½ million were imported and 20 million spun in the country. In 1889 the number of looms at work was ascertained to be 360,009 exhibiting an increase since 1871 of 7 per cent., while the increase in the population is 14 per cent. The quantity of twist worked up into cloth was estimated at 54½ million— an increase of a little less than 10 per cent.—of which 19 million were imported, 1 million was manufactured in the Indian mills and 14½ million were hand-made. Since 1871, the output of hand-made yarn has, therefore, diminished by 22½ per cent. For the whole of India the total production of cotton was estimated in 1869 at 7½ million cwt., of which 9 million were exported and 2½ million cwt. consumed in India—1 million by the Indian mills and 1½ million by the hand-looms. In 1888-89, the total production was estimated at 12½ million cwt., of which 5½ million were exported to foreign countries, 3 million were consumed by the Indian mills and 1½ million by the hand-looms in India. This shows that hand-spun yarn is being rapidly superseded by yarn made in the Indian mills, and that what the hereditary spinning classes have to fear now is not the

---

28 See Appendix V. P. 17 for a note on the condition of weavers in the Madras towns.
importance of Manchester, but that of the Indian mills. The growth of the cotton mill industry in India during the last 15 years has been truly remarkable. In 1879 the number of cotton mills in Bombay was only 12 with 3,104 spindles and 1,029 looms. The number of persons employed was 8,198 and the quantity of cotton worked up 220,000 cwt. The industry then was by no means in a thriving condition, and of the paid up capital, 11 million Rs., the then value at the market quotations the shares was only 3 million Rs., showing a loss of more than half a million. The return for capital invested was 4 per cent., while the Government stock at 4 per cent. was selling at discount. In the other Provinces there were a few mills which, however, did not do any real business. Now there are 34 mills in the whole of India with 3,274,296 spindles and 8,142 looms. The number of persons employed is 195,000, and the quantity of cotton worked up 33 million cwt. The capital invested in these mills is estimated at about 12 million Rs., a very considerable portion of which is native capital. The exports of cotton goods from India chiefly to China, Japan, and the East Coast of Africa, which amounted to 1.3 million Rs. in 1870, have increased to 9.5 million Rs. The requirements of India as regards cotton cloth have been estimated at 250 million yards, of which about 2,000 million are imported and the remainder made in the country. About 600 million yards were in 1880-91 exported from India to foreign countries, there is every prospect of the products of Indian mills not only taking entire possession, at no distant date, of the markets in China, Japan and East Africa, but also of driving out the Manchester cloth of all but the finest kinds from India. A majority of the Committee appointed by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to enquire into the causes of the rapid development of the mill industry in India, has recently reported after full investigation that the main cause, which hasurred to the increase of mills and enabled them to a great extent to supply China and Japan with yarn formerly supplied from Lancashire, is their geographical position which places them in close proximity to the cotton fields on the one hand and the consuming countries on the other. The not advantage of the Indian spinner from these circumstances over his competitor in England, after allowing for the extra outlay on machinery, and consequent enhanced interest and depreciation, as well as greater expenditure on such items as imported coal, coals, etc., was estimated by the committee as equal to at least 3½d. per lb. on the portion that is shipped to China and Japan, and 2½d. to 3½d. per lb. on what is consumed in India.
The import trade in English piece goods has for the last 5 or 6 years shown no progress. In the review of the Indian trade for 1890-91 Mr. O'Connor remarks: "It may be said that, if it had not been for the competition of the Indian mills, the trade in piece goods in 1890-91 should have been at least 10 per cent. larger than it was, and that to this extent at any rate the cloth woven in the Indian mills, or from yarn spun there, has within 5 years taken the place of imported cloths in our markets. The extent of the diminution is, however, probably greater. In other kinds of cotton goods, there has been a moderate increase, these being mainly of descriptions which are not woven in India either from locally spun or imported yarns, but these products are relatively of small dimensions. It would seem in fact that the time is not very far distant when the imports of the coarse and medium qualities which form the bulk of the trade will gradually disappear, and that the trade will be limited to the finer qualities and therefore of itself. If we look at the figures, we see that the trade in piece goods from India has been with England and the United States. The following table shows the comparative results for the years 1887-88 and 1890-91:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>1890-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The English system has an advantage in interest and depreciation and cotton, but the Indian system has a still greater advantage in wages and cost of management of the raw materials and the handwoven product. The former hands in India are not industrious or efficient as the English operatives, but in the use of wages and time, efficiency is greatly compensated by the cost of the work in the Indian system. The Indian system, although labor-saving has been more efficient than formerly, the results have been disappointing. In order to economize the labor, the hands had to be done by hand, to know done by machinery and this greatly diminishes the superior skill of the Launanderias.
small dimensions." This condition of things has, as might be naturally expected, excited the greatest alarm among the Manchester manufacturers, and in proof of it Mr. O'Connor quotes the following passages from a letter of the Commercial correspondent in London of the Times of India: "Several specimens of cloths manufactured in India were laid on the table for inspection at the meeting of the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce on Wednesday. Mr. Alexander Harrison, who presided, said that during the last ten years it has been the general opinion in Lancashire that it is impossible for mill-owners in India to make cloths of 40's or the 60's yarns, but here before their eyes were remarkably good specimens of cloths made from 40's twist and 50's Egyptian worsted. Mr. Harrison added that in his mind there never had been any insuperable difficulty that would prevent Indian manufacturers from producing fine counts, and he owned the opinion that in India in time they will grow their own cotton and weave these fine counts. The manufacturers of Lancashire should carefully watch the change of the Indian manufacturers, or they will find not only that the coarse yarn trade has gone, but that the medium trade will go also. And he urged that it is time for Lancashire manufacturers to consider their situation and to take measures to fortify themselves against encroachments on their interest." What the means referred to are intended to be, whether they are the pressure brought to bear on the Indian Government to enact stringent factory laws not suited to the condition of labour in this country, or less illegitimate methods, has not been stated; but whatever they may be, it is devoutly to be hoped that no artificial obstacles will be placed in the way of the development of the nascent factory industries in India, which may enable Indian manufacturers to regain much of the ground they have lost under the stress of Manchester competition.

40. It is clear, however, that the hereditary spinning and weaving trades have nothing to hope for in the future, even if India should manufacture all the clothing required for the use of her own population as well as to meet the demands of foreign markets. The deterioration of these classes has now been going on for over a hundred years. Mr. White (one of the members of Council of the Governor of..."
Madras), writing in 1743, states that the mortality occasioned by the famines that had occurred just then fell heavily on the weaving and spinning classes. They were in the habit of using a poverty-stricken class. The fluctuations in the weaving trade of India are very instructive. Cotton manufactures before the seventeenth century were practically unknown in England, and woollen manufacture was the great national industry, so much so, that cotton cloths were designated "linens" and raw cotton was believed to be a kind of "wool." In 1621, Mr. Mason, one of the Directors of the East India Company, estimated the annual importation at 90,000 pieces of cotton cloth, the average cost of each piece on board in India being 7s. and the selling price in England 30s. The importation in 1744-55 had increased to the value of £160,000. The silks and woollen weavers became alarmed for their trade and serious riots took place in various parts of England, and in consequence the further introduction of Indian goods into England was interdicted in 1766. In 1773, another statute was enacted, enforcing the prohibition by a penalty of £5 for each offence on the part of the wearer of Indian goods and a penalty of £20 on the seller of such goods. The exports of cotton goods to England were thus much restricted. In 1767 and 1768 Hargreaves' and Arkwright's inventions—spinning jenny and spinning frame—came into use, and England began to manufacture cotton cloth on an extensive scale. India's export trade was then confined to supplying some of the Asiatic countries, and soon after, England took possession of these markets. This dealt the first blow to the weaving classes in India and the effect of it was enhanced by the breaking up of the trading establishments of the East India Company when its trading privileges were abolished in 1813 and 1834. The rapid development of machinery and manufactures and the change with which cotton cloths were produced in England led to India being flooded with Manchester goods to the further injury of the weaving classes here. Now the tide has turned, and the development of factories in India bids fair to enable her to manufacture the goods required for her own population, even more cheaply than England, and to compete with England in foreign markets. This means that India, by means of the advantages conferred by foreign trade, has been enabled to organize her productive powers on the most economical basis; but as every factory hand will displace 50 or more weavers and spinners, it is clear that the deterioration of these classes will be even more rapid than in the past. Spinning as a byre industry may be carried on by agriculturists to provide themselves with the coarse but durable cloths which mills do.
not turn out, and the weaving of superc, cloths for women will doubtless still exist, but on the whole the trade of the hand-loom weavers will have shrunk to small dimensions. The sufferings of the weavers are great and sad, as to excite equanimity, but these sufferings are no more than have always been known to protected classes wherever labour-saving machinery has been brought into use. In England, for instance, the sufferings of weavers were even more intense than those of the corresponding classes in India, owing to the simultaneous introduction of machinery both in manufacturers and agriculture and the consequent misunderstanding of labour in both directions. A writer describing the condition of the weavers in the early years of the present century states: "The most miserable class of artisans were the hand-loom weavers, who long continued to carry on their trade at home. The use of power looms was slowly adopted; and even after they were generally introduced, the hand-loom weaver could not change his mode of life, but continued to preserve his craft at home. He could only earn miserable wages. He lived an isolated, degraded life, and was the hand-loom weavers who were the foremost in the destruction of machinery and the burning of mills. The Luddites, authors of the most destructive riots which began at Nottingham, were, for the most part, hand-loom weavers. As prices rose and distress became more general, these men were and more looked upon the machinery as the cause of all their woes, and joined energetically in their destruction." In India the abundance of waste lands and the possibility of a portion of the weaving population finding work in the cultivation of lands is some alleviation, however inadequate, of their unfortunate position.

41. Another industry which has suffered from foreign competition is the manufacture of iron. India contains an abundant supply of iron ore and native works for iron smelting were not very long ago scattered all over the Peninsula, and Indian steel was famous. Dr. Buchanan has described minutely the processes employed by native manufacturers in 1800 for smelting iron in the districts of Salem, Coimbatore, Malabar and South Canara. The charcoal used was very great in comparison with the results obtained. In Salem, it is stated that iron ore containing 72 per cent. of metal, yields only 15 per cent. of bar iron. The consumption of forage and the enormous rise in the price of charcoal have nearly extinguished this industry; and iron smelters in many regions are the hardest
worked, but the poorest among the population. The iron (which is of very good quality and superior to the imported articles) is sold at a high price; nevertheless the amount of iron produced bears but a miserable proportion to the labour, time and material expended. The class that has suffered is, however, numerically a small one, while the benefit to the general population by the fall in the price of imported iron and by the prevention of the indiscriminate felling of forests for charcoal burning has been very great. The extent of the benefit may be estimated from the following figures: During the past 15 years, the imports of iron into India have been doubled both in quantity and value, while those of steel have increased more than 15 times in quantity, but less than 4 times in value, thus showing that the value of imported steel is only about one-fourth of what it was before. The imports of hardware and cutlery have increased more than two-fold, while those of railway and rolling stock have increased more than 5 times. The imports of machinery have increased from about 5 lakhs in 1860-61, to nearly 2½ crores in 1888-89, thus showing an immense advance in the steam-power of the country. There are also indications that this country will ere long be able to manufacture iron on a larger scale than hitherto by the adoption of improved processes. The discovery of coal in various parts of the country and the methods invented for its economical use afford promise of a great future for the iron industry. Fifty years ago the Mudras Government spent considerable sums of money in subsidizing the Porto Novo Company in the hope of creating and developing an iron manufacturing industry according to European processes. The scheme failed owing to the difficulty of obtaining charcoal. Recently, however, it appears that near Pondicherry, not far from Porto Novo, extensive beds of coal, 10,000 acres in extent, capable of producing 250 millions tons have been discovered; whether this will lead to an iron manufacturing industry being re-established in those parts it is difficult to say, but considering the startling rapidity with which methods for developing and utilizing natural resources are being discovered by science at the present day, it is not too much to hope that the rich iron ores of Southern India will not long remain unutilized.

42. The shipping trade of India has suffered also. Mr. O'Conor in the Trade Report of India for 1880-81, writes: "The native craft employed in the foreign trade do not increase. They represent less than 2½ per cent. of the total tonnage. Except for intercourse with the Straits and the Malayan Archipelago,
Ceylon, the Maldives and the Coast from Karachi to Muscat, these craft will eventually disappear from the foreign carrying trade." This is not a result to be much regretted, as the employment of these small craft of burden averaging 50 tons each is not compatible with the enormous growth of the foreign trade of India, and as further it is the use of steam vessels for carriage that has developed the trade with China in Indian cotton manufactures. The small craft, however, will continue to be used in the carriage of the cheapest and bulkiest articles between the smaller ports which steamers do not enter.

48. Against the disadvantage to the indigenous industries above referred to, have to be set off the new industries which foreign trade has created. The new industries which have sprung up in the Muslim Presidency have already been noticed. Taking India as a whole, three important new industries may be mentioned, viz., jute, tea and coal. The export of jute in 1893 was 364,430 bales, valued at Rs 63 lakhs. In 1850-51 the value of the exports of raw jute amounted to 1,97,671 Rs and of manufactured jute to 216,978 Rs. In 1890-91 the values were 7.6 million Rs and 2.5 million Rs, respectively. Jute cultivation is entirely carried on by the natives of the country, without any extraneous help. Baboo Hem Chand Kurr in his report on the jute cultivation in Bengal writes: "It is usual with some to descant on the apathy, ignorance and want of enterprise of the people of this country, and of the state in particular, but the figures here given prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that they are, notwithstanding their alleged or real defects, sufficiently long-headed thoroughly to understand their interest and capable of creating and extending in five and forty years a trade to the value of nearly 45 million sterling (now 10 million Rs) without any aid from without. That they are capable, likewise, of sustaining this trade and extending it if required and made worth their while, no one will, I feel certain, venture to question. As long as the trade is profitable, they will do all that is needed, but strong common sense and long-headedness will not accept theories for facts, nor adopt new methods or systems, because they are new, or because they are told to adopt them. The new methods and systems must be proved, to be real improvements calculated for certain, to add to their profits, or they will have none of them." Tea on the other hand, is an industry created entirely by English enterprise and capital. The value of the exports amounts now to 45 million Rs. Indian and Ceylon teas have been rapidly driving the China tea out of the English market, as will be seen from the following figures. In 1864 the imports
into England were: China 80-90 and Indian 2-30; total 88-60 million lb. The imports in 1860 were: China 73-74, Indian 101-77, and Ceylon 42-19; total 218 million lb. It is stated that the tea from India produces a stronger liquid than that of China, that is, a small quantity of the former is equal for purposes of consumption to a larger quantity of the latter; and as a high import duty, amounting to nearly 25 per cent of the value is levied in England on all tea irrespective of their quality, the Indian tea is benefited. The duty which was 6d. per lb. has also been reduced to 6d. The establishment of collieries in India has been effected in recent years, the output of coal in 1889 amounting to 2 million tons and the value 89 million Rs. The average value per ton of Indian coal is 3-4 rupees while that of imported coal is 22-4 rupees, while in point of burning power the latter has an advantage of not more than one-half. As railway communications further develop, India might be expected to use her own coal for manufacturing purposes. In India there were at the end of 1899-90, 1,144 cotton-mills and 27 jute mills worked by steam, 316 cotton and jute presses, 31 rice mills, 90 saw mills, 21 sugar mills, 43 wooden mills, 6 silk mills, 3 soap factories, 6 large taneries, 48 iron and brass foundries, 14 large sugar factories, 28 tanneries, 65 cotton and jute factories, 61 oil mills, 43 door mills, 24 rice factories, 23 pottery and tile factories, 16 bone-crushing factories and 34 tobacco and cigar factories, besides a large number of indigo and tea factories worked on indigo and tea plantations. The establishment of these factories affords cogent proof of the fact that India is emancipating herself, as Mr. Wells put it, from her chronic sluggishness and entering on a new era of industrial improvement.

44. Taxation.—The growth of taxation in this Presidency has next to be considered. The principal sources of revenue are (1) the land tax and provincial rates; (2) the income-tax; (3) the salt duties; (4) the excise on spirits and drugs; (5) the customs duties; (6) the stamp duties; and (7) fees for the registration of documents. It will be convenient to take each of these sources of revenue and examine to what extent they affect the economic condition of the several classes of the population.

45. Among these sources of revenue, the land revenue is, of course, by far the most important. There has been much discussion as to whether the ryot has a right in the soil and whether the payments made by him fall under the category of tax or of rent. In the opinion of the Famine Commissioners, 1896, the land revenue is a source of income
which in India must be distinguished from taxation properly so-called, as by immemorial and unquestioned prescription, the Government is entitled to receive from the occupier of the
land whatever it requires of the surplus profit left after defraying the expenses of cultivation; and consequently land revenue may with more propriety be regarded as a rent paid by a tenant, often a highly favored tenant, to the paramount owner, than as a tax paid by the owner to the State. This extreme view of the rights of the State, which was discarded from by the Madras member of the Finance Commission, is in common with the conclusions of the best authorities, as with the practice of the English administrators in this Presidency; and indeed as regards the latter, Madras has been more fortunate than many other parts of India. Sir Thomas Munro, who is generally believed to have denied that the ryot had any rights in the soil he cultivated, says: "The ryot of India unites in his own person the characters of laborer, farmer, and landlord; he receives the wages of the laborer, the proceeds of the farmer on his stock, and a small surplus from 1 to 20 per cent. on the gross produce as rent, but on an average not more than 5 or 6 per cent." Again in another place, he remarks: "The Collector looks upon the ryot as a mere tenant, and hence he infers that the occupation of land in India may be regulated as in England. But the station of the ryot is not so low as is made by his plan. The ryot is certainly not like the landlord in England, but neither is he like the English tenant. If the name of landlord belongs to any person in India, it is to the ryot. He divides with government all the rights of the land. Whatever is not reserved by Government belongs to him. He is not a tenant at will, or for a term of years. He is not removable because another offers more." The fact is, that the relationship between the ryot and Government, or between the ryot and the Zemindar who is the assignee of the rights of Government, is not that of landlord and tenant, but that of partnership. Professors Marshall puts this matter in a

19. [Note: The text appears to be disjointed and context is lost due to the broken fragments and lack of continuation. The section refers to a case or context from a legal or historical document, mentioning a specific person or organization.]

20. [Note: Another note or reference is mentioned, possibly indicating another source or context that is not visible in the image.]
clear light. He says: "In early times, and in backward countries, even in our own age, all rights to property depend on general understandings rather than on precise facts and documents. In so far as these understandings can be reduced to definite terms and expressed in the language of modern business, they are generally to the following effect: The ownership of land is vested, not in an individual, but in a firm of which one member or group of members is the sleeping partner, while another member or group of members (it may be a whole family) is the working partner. The sleeping partner is sometimes the ruler of the State, sometimes he is an individual who inherits who was once the duty of collecting payments due to this ruler from the cultivators of a certain part of the soil, but what, in the course of silent time, has become a right of ownership, more or less definite, more or less absolute. If, as in generally the case, he retains the duty of making certain payments to the ruler of the State, the partnership may be regarded as containing three members, of whom two are sleeping partners. The sleeping partner, or one of them, is generally called the proprietor, or landlord, or landlord, or even landowner. But this is an incorrect way of speaking, if he be restrained by law, or by custom, which has the force of law, from turning the cultivator out of his holding, either by an arbitrary enhancement of the payments exacted from him or by any other means. In that case, the property in the land vested, not in him alone, but in the whole of the firm, of which he is only a sleeping partner; the payment made by the working partner is not rent at all, but is that fixed sum, or that part of the gross proceeds, as the case may be, which the constitution of the firm binds him to pay, and if in so far as custom or law, which regulates these payments, is fixed and unalterable, the theory
of rent has but little direct application." It is the fashion to say that it matters little by what name the payment made by the rent to Government is called, i.e., whether it is designated "rent" or "tax"; but, in practice, the point of view from which the question is regarded involves important consequences. "To the modern statesman," says Lord Salisbury in reference to this question, "the technical distinctions of the economical school are a solid living reality, from which he can little separate his thoughts as from his mother tongue. He may see indifferent whether we call a payment "tax" or "rent," so we get the money; but it is not indifferent what name we call it within his hearing. If we say that it is "tax," he will hold the Government in strictness entitled to all that remains after wages and profits have been paid, and he will do what he can to hasten the advent of the day in which the State shall no longer be kept by any weak consent from the enjoyment of its undoubted rights. If we made him that it is "rent," he will note the vast disproportion of its incidence as compared to that of other taxes, and his efforts will tend to remedy the inequality and to lay upon other classes and interests a more equitable share of the burden. I prefer the latter tendency to the former. As far as it is possible to change the Indian fiscal system, it is desirable that the cultivator should pay a smaller proportion of the whole national charge. It is not in itself a thrifty policy to draw the mass of revenue from the rural districts whose capital is scarce, spawning the towns where it is often redundant and runs to waste in luxury. The injury is exaggerated in the case of India, where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent." The above views of Lord Salisbury, which seem to me to be perfectly sensible, I shall have occasion to refer to again when I have to consider the effect of land settlements. When the relation between the "rent" and the Government is regarded as one of partnership, it results that the payment made by the former to the latter is neither "tax" nor "profit" but a share of the profits. As the Government, which is the "working partner," according to Professor Marshall's phraseology, has, however, power to assess the profits and determine the portion to be paid to it as its share, the public interests require that the assessment should be made with as much scrupulosity as in the case of a tax to prevent the share of the profits of the "working partner" or the private owner, being unduly abridged and the incentives to increased production being weakened, and this object is best attained by regarding the
Government assessment of land as being more in the nature of a tax than a rent.

The adjoining statement shows the average land revenue for decennial periods since the beginning of the century:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Revenue (in lakhs of Rupees)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860-61</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-79</td>
<td>2.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-89</td>
<td>4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-99</td>
<td>4.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures for the first three decades include the price of the mortmain taxes and of the revenue from the gold monopoly. Karnataka having been annexed to British territory in 1888, the revenue of that district is not included in the figures for the years previous to 1888. North Canara, on the other hand, was transferred to Bombay in 1867, and its revenue of this district is included in the figures given for the previous years. Making allowances for these circumstances, it will be seen that during the first 30 years of the century the revenue was nearly 3.4 millions Rs. When it was re-traced, that is in 1860-61 to 4.35 millions in the decade ending 1890-99 owing to the severe agricultural depression which then prevailed, that it took another 20 years to rise to the level at which it was at the beginning of the century, and that since 1890-99 it has been rapidly rising, the increase amounting to 1.15 millions Rs. or 31.5 per cent. The rise in the revenue may be due to (1) the expansion of the area under cultivation, (2) the extension of the area under irrigation, and (3) the increase in the rates of assessment imposed by the settlement department with reference to the increase in the price of agricultural produce. The following remarks will show to what extent this increase is due to each of the above causes.

The land revenue consists of two parts, one practically permanent and not liable to enhancement, and the other fluctuating. The first class comprises the offices of peripherals and semi-peripherals estates, and the revenues on such villages and on large lands found intermixed with ryotwari lands in ryotwari villages. The permanently-settled villages or zamindars cover an area of 45,000 square miles or nearly
one-third of the whole area of the Presidency. The area
under cultivation in the Presidency was estimated in 1880 at
about $44{\frac{1}{2}}$ millions of acres, or a little more than one-fourth
of ryotwar holdings, and the acreage at present is probably
somewhat more. The land area aggregates nearly $5$ million
acres, of which the portion actually cultivated may be taken
as $4$ millions. The land revenue derived from permanently-
settled estates is about $50{\frac{1}{2}}$ lakhs of rupees, from small
village $61$ lakhs, and from minor muns $2{\frac{1}{2}}$ lakhs, making
a total of $78{\frac{1}{2}}$ lakhs. The revenue payable to Government
on high lands is fixed, except that where irrigated lands are
irrigated by water derived from Government works newly
constructed, a rate-rate is levied. The rate-rate thus levied
fluctuates from year to year and may ordinarily be taken at
$7{\frac{1}{2}}$ lakhs of rupees. For the purpose of the
assessment of the Local Fund land cess, the rental of
semindari estates has been ascertained to be $161$ lakhs of
rupees; of small villages to be $41{\frac{1}{2}}$ lakhs of rupees; and of
minor muns to be $96$ lakhs of rupees. The land revenue
therefore bears the proportion of one-third, one-sixth and
one-twelfth, respectively, to the rental of semindari, small
villages and minor muns. As regards the small lands which
were held on uncertain tenure, by far the greatest portion of
them has been confirmed to the holders in perpetuity with
full rights of alienation on condition of their paying a light
quitrent. Small lands held on condition of rendering service
have also, in most districts, been enfranchised, that is to say, freed from the obligation of service and rendered heritable and transferrable property on payment of
a quit-rent amounting to five-sixths of the regulated assess-
ment. The only additional tax laid on both semindari and
small lands is the local land cess at $4{\frac{1}{2}}$ per cent of the
assessment for local improvements, which in common
with ryotwar lands is liable to pay. The semindari are
charged with only a portion of the cess at the rate of $1{\frac{1}{2}}$
per cent, on the difference between the assessment paid to
them by the ryot and the cess paid by the former to
Government, while the ryots pay at the rate of $3{\frac{1}{2}}$ per cent
on the assessment paid to the semindari. The semindari
ryots, therefore, pay the cess at only half the rates at which the
Government ryots are assessed in consideration of the fact of
the local assessment levied by semindari being much heavier
than that of ryotwar lands. The amount of the cess is $124$
lakhs of rupees, while the prices of produce, and as a conse-
quence, the annual money value of the lands have risen by
$100$ per cent since 1850.
The ryotwar land revenue, which was 3 crores of rupees in 1852-53, increased to 3.76 crores in 1872-73 and to 7.1 crores in 1883-84. As already observed, prior to 1850, the land revenue, owing to the agricultural depression and the low prices of the food-grains, pressed with extreme severity on the agricultural classes; and under the liberal policy which was inaugurated about that time, extensive reductions were made in the land assessments, the concessions granted later, a 1865 and 1858 amounting to 25 lakhs of rupees. Based on 1856 and 1872-73 further reductions of taxation were made to the extent of 3.4 crores in districts not brought up to the new settlement as shown below: the abolition of the charge system in Tarjore and Tunnerly districts, 8 lakhs; the reduction of assessment on unirrigated lands in South Arcot and Dindur, Rs. 64,000; the reduction of assessment of garden lands, 71 lakhs; the abolition of the paila tax in Nellore, Rs. 97,000; the reduction of assessment of unirrigated lands in Chingleput, Rs. 15,000; and the abolition of the tobacco monopoly, 8 lakhs of rupees. On the other hand, the increased of assessment due to the new settlement, but taking into account the land losses, was up to 1872-73, 5.75 lakhs, and in the course up to the end of 1883-84, 7 lakhs, making a total of 12.75 lakhs. On the whole, therefore, the net amount of land tax raised since 1850 is 20 lakhs. This shows that the increase in the ryotwar land revenue is entirely due to the extension of irrigation and extension of cultivation and not in any degree to the increase of tax assessment. Out of 1 crore of rupees, by which the ryotwar revenue demand in 1855-56, which is 1892-93, more than 40 lakhs are due to irrigation works provided by Government and valued as productive; irrigation works constructed since 1850, but not classified as productive, have also brought in a considerable revenue, the amount of which is not ascertainable; and there is the revenue due to the increase in the average of holdings, which has risen from less than 13 to 21 millions of acres, or by about 60 per cent. As compared with 1852-53, the rate per acre of irrigated land has fallen from 3.5 to 3.2. Of the land described from 3.5 to 3.2, 1.5 is taken for purposes of irrigation. 

The provincial rates, which allow ryotwar lands in rural tracts, are (1) the land fund land case, (2) the village advantage case, and (3) the irrigation case. The last is a voluntary cess on the amount paid in a few places to keep up an
establishment for the conservancy of, and distribution of water in, irrigation channels and may be 5% out of the calculation. Land cess is fixed for the maintenance of roads, bridges, hospitals and other services administered by the Local Fund Boards. The village service cess is utilized for the maintenance of the village establishments and superintendents in part at least the permanent and general fees, which, according to the custom of the country, the ryots were hitherto to pay for the maintenance of village servants. The two cesses on ryotwad lands amount to 225 lakhs of rupees. The whole amount is not a new charge, as the value of the old menos, customarily paid before the village cess was introduced and which are now no longer paid must be deducted. The increase in taxation on ryotwad land, taking both land revenue proper and provincial rates together, cannot be more than 20 lakhs of rupees, if even so much. Practically, therefore, the incidence of the land taxes remains the same now as it was in 1856 in nominal money value, while owing to the fall in the purchasing power of money, 21 rupees now being equivalent to 1 rupee before, a ryot has in all only one-fifth of the crop he would have had to sell formerly to discharge the Government dues.

47. The considerations referred to above clearly show that the pressure of the land tax is very much less at present than it was in the year 1850, even after making allowance for the fact that the area of land actually cultivated was in excess of the recorded area in former years. That the tax is in itself moderate is shown by the high prices obtained for acre of the land under cultivation. I have collected and given in the appendix Y-E (1) such statistics as could be obtained as regards the value of lands in a few districts from the records of the Registration department. In 1899 land ten years or more of age throughout the greater portion of the Presidency with the exception of the districts of Tanjore, Malabar, South Ceylon and the river-irrigated portion of Madras and Travancore. In the rich delta of the Kistna and the Godavari, transfers of land by sale appear to have been almost unknown till about 1850. In 1853 Sir Walter Gilmore, the Commissioner of the Northern Circars, reported that in the Kistna district land was generally unproductive, and that, in the only instances which had come to his notice, the area sold was 15 acres of dry and 561 acres of wet land, the prices obtained being Rs. 200. Again the same opinion was expressed in 1854 that the only cases of sale of assessed lands
occurred in Guzerat, where 10 acres of dry and 2 acres of wet land yielding a gross surtax of Rs. 55, and bearing an assessment of Rs. 34 fetched a price of Rs. 78. In the dry districts, such as the Coobol Districts, &c., the only lands that had any salable value were inner lands, and land irrigated by private wells or on which cotton and arable plantations had been formed, almost the entire value in those cases being due to the capital and labour laid out by the ryots in improving the lands. In the Tanjore district, the statistics given in the appendix V.-E. (4 I and 8) show that the value of lands in some places has risen to not less than ten times what it was in the early years of the century. In the district of the Kurnool and the Godavari, lands which were unsaleable before, during the last 30 years, acquired a high value, though in the former districts there are still large tracts whose owing to the sparseness of the population, the value has not risen to anything like the height it has attained in Tanjore. As regards the rise in the value of lands in the Coimbatore district, Mr. Nicholson remarks "that whereas up to 1810, or at least in 1839, only about one-eighth of the dry land, three-fourths of the gardens, and one-fifth of the wet land was salable, in 1844 the bulk of the dry land has a price ranging from Rs. 4 to Rs. 50 per acre; all gardens are salable, and are worth from Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 per acre, exclusive of the well, while the wet land is wholly salable at an average of from Rs. 25 to Rs. 300; (2) that a very large proportion of the lands bears a rental of two-thirds of the gross produce, whereas in 1839 a smaller proportion bore a rental of one-half the net produce, &c., after deducting cultivation expenses; (3) that interest had decreased, mortgages on landed property being now freely accepted at 9 per cent., whereas in 1839 interest on such transactions was from 12 to 18 per cent. and higher; (4) that trading capital now turns to land as an investment, and is willing to accept from it a return of 6 per cent., whereas in 1810 it was declared that trading capital did not invest in land; (5) that wells have increased from about 22,000 to about 60,000 in actual use, representing capital permanently sunk since 1800 of at least 100 lakhs, besides that sunk in wells not now in use; (6) that thousands of acres have been turned from dry into wet; (7) that the cultivation of very valuable products, such as sugar-cane, turmeric, coconuts, plaintains, &c., has largely increased; and (8) that in the recent unprecedented famine (1877-78), it was not the poor class who suffered severely, save only those who depended
solely on dry land." All these beneficial results have been produced by the removal of the special tax on garden cultivation in a district which is known to be one of the centers in the Presidency, and in which out of 62 years beginning with 1890 and ending with 1895 the seasons in 9 had been described as bad, in 40 as unfavourable, and only in 11 as favourable and in 2 as "bumper." Mr. Nicholson estimates the average value of wet land at Rs. 955 per acre, of dry land at Rs. 15 per acre, and of garden land at Rs. 45 per acre. The poorest lands on the margin of cultivation have of course little or no value, and, allowing for this, he puts the average value of dry land at Rs. 15 per acre. The total capitalized value of the lands under occupation he estimates at 693 crores of rupees. In the densely populated districts, such as Tanjore, lands rapidly rise in value when the prices of food grains ruled high between 1890 and 1891; since then the rise in value has not been quite so great. In other districts, however, which have been opened up by extension of communications, the rise in land values during recent years has been very great. The increase in the value of land of course is to some extent due to the fact of its being a "safe" investment. In the Tanjore district, for instance, persons investing money in land do not expect to get a greater return than 6 or 8 per cent.; and in South Coorg the return is stated to be as low as 2½ per cent. Nevertheless the rise in the price of land is a sure indication of the abundance of circulating capital and of the moderation of the land tax.

48. The proportion which the land assessment bears to the rent value of the lands is even a better gauge of the pressure of the land tax than land prices. Statistics showing this proportion for all the districts of the Presidency are not easily procurable. I have, however, obtained the required particulars for one district, viz., Coimbatore, from leases registered in 1890, and the results are given in the appendix V, p. 64. The number of leases examined was 700, of which 270 related to dry lands, 5,684 acres in extent, 301 to garden lands of 3,673 acres, and 139 to wet lands of 273 acres. In the case of dry lands the rent was 3-4 times the Government assessment, for garden it was 9-1 times and for wet lands 6 times. Of the extent of land leased out, only a small proportion of cases are written engagements exchanged, and of such written engagements only a small proportion is registered. Moreover it is only the better classes of lands that are leased out. Nevertheless, the figures above given show that the lands have not been over-assessed. In the case of dry lands leased
out, the average assessment comes to about 1 rupee, while the
average dry assessment of the district is 14 annas 10 pice.
The wet lands leased out do not seem to be of exceptionally
good quality, for while their average assessment comes to
Rs. 0.5-5, the average wet rate for the district is Rs. 7.7-0.
The following statement shows that in a considerable number
of cases the rental exceeds even ten times the assessment:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of lands</th>
<th>Dry</th>
<th>Rental</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases in which the rate stipulated to be paid is less than twice the Government assessment.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In all cases more than the lower price the Government assessment out of the rate stipulated.

40. The proportion of Government assessment to the
State of development of gross produce was estimated by the Revenue
Commission at 60 per cent, taking the
value of the gross output at 80 per cent
of rupees, and the land revenue at 9-16 o crackers. They have
excluded from land revenue 1.37 o crackers as being water
charge and not forming part of land tax gauges. Including
this amount, the proportion is 9-3 per cent. In these calcu-
lations, however, the output of favourably assessed lands
has been included.

Taking the revenue lands above, the average rate of assess-
ment for wet lands is Rs. 3 per acre and for dry lands 3 rupees
per acre, and these rates are between one-fourth and one-fifth
and one-fourth and one-sixth, respectively, of the gross out-
put according to achievement calculations after deducting
from the average output a per cent, in the case of dry lands, as allowance for vici-
situdes of season. The average output of lands is, however,
even more difficult to calculate on account of the wide variety
of soils and of seasons, the produce even in a small cycle of
years varying from almost nothing to a bumper crop; but though, as I shall have hereafter occasion to show, I do not believe that the values assigned by the settlement department to the various factors which enter into the calculation from which the Government assessment is derived are even approximately correct, there is no reason to suppose that the proportion of the assessment of ryotwae lands to the gross produce is higher than those above given. In the case of lands in the power dry districts it is very much less.

50. The Income-tax.—The revenue derived from this source amounts to 108 lakhs of rupees. The portion of the tax relating to trades is not a new one, but is the representative of the old motoria, some amount of which has already been given. Unpopular as the income-tax is, it is nothing so unassailable as the old all-consuming motoria, which, in an ably drawn up petition, presented by the Madras Native Association to the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to enquire into Indian affairs in 1862, is described as a tax on trades and occupations; embalming weavers, carpenters, all workers in metals, scribes, whether presenting shops, which are also taxed separately, or vending by the roadside, &c., &c., some paying import on their tools, others for permission to sell, attending to the most trivial articles of trade, and the cheapest thing, the mechanic can employ; the cost of which is frequently exceeded six times over by the motoria, under which the use of them is permitted.

The tax, according to Mr. Dykes, the Collector of
Salem, who was examined by the Select Committee, varied in each district and in every village, and its assessment was, in the highest degree, arbitrary. The mode of assessment was often as follows: A man's father had paid the tax and the son was generally assessed at the same amount. If the latter was considered to be an energetic man and was believed to drive a better trade, the matter was reported to the Collector the next time he visited that part of the district. If the trade was a man of any sense, I use Mr. Dykes' words, he bought off the village authorities and did not get his assessment raised, the extent of his dealings not being reported.

Sir Thomas Munro mentions that in the Bellary district, the tax amounted to between 15 and 20 per cent. of the income in some villages and little or nothing in others, the reason for indulgent treatment in the latter cases being that the merchants were obliged to furnish at a low rate whatever articles were required for the public service, to take the Sirkar share of the crops, damaged stores, &c., at 10 per cent. above the market rate, and to pay "occasional" contributions. Sir Thomas Munro proposed to impose a uniform tax of 10 per cent. throughout the district. In one village in the Chinnahore district, barbers, carpenters and blacksmiths paid Rs. 2-5-8 each; parish labourers paid Rs. 4-2 and shoemakers paid each Rs. 2-5-2. The Public Works Commissioners of 1832 give some interesting statistics regarding the oppressive character of this tax. They state, "In connection with the important object of increasing the class of consumers not directly concerned with the growth of food, we cannot but observe that the motorphas or tax on tradesmen and artisans appears singularly objectionable..." In a country where the classes engaged in trade, manufactures and the useful arts are extremely few in number compared with those occupied in agriculture, the disadvantage of the former branches of industry is increased by a special impost levied on those engaged in them. It amounts in all to 810,000 and this trifling sum is collected from no fewer than 594,334 individuals being only 14 R. or Rs. 4d. from each contributor." The Commissioners go on to remark "a large part of the motorphas is paid by the weavers and forms an addition to the difficulties with which they have to contend in competing with the European manufacturers. In this case too the tax is more than usually iniquitous, as the amount varies with the number of hands employed by each weaver: houses are frequently entered in order to discover concealed looms, as the Indians know they are easily dismantled and put away." The grossly unequal incidence of the tax in the several districts
will be seen from the subjoined table. The number of payees of income tax in the districts referred to and the incidence per head are added for purposes of comparison:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of payees of income tax</th>
<th>Amount paid (Rs.)</th>
<th>Rate per head of paper</th>
<th>Number of payees of estate duty tax</th>
<th>Amount paid (Rs.)</th>
<th>Rate per head of paper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>280,594</td>
<td>2,647,420</td>
<td>9.38</td>
<td>2,467</td>
<td>2,621</td>
<td>9.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>43,992</td>
<td>10,279,722</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>2,487</td>
<td>26,465</td>
<td>11.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>4,009,632</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>2,043</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>13.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>12,094</td>
<td>14,097,607</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>1,059</td>
<td>28,045</td>
<td>17.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coonoor</td>
<td>35,572</td>
<td>2,019,078</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>4,672</td>
<td>12,483</td>
<td>3.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>2,032,152</td>
<td>2,032,152</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>2,032</td>
<td>30,676</td>
<td>14.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of payees of the income-tax throughout the Presidency in 1866-67 was 66,500 and the average assessment, Rs. 45-10-6 per head. Rates the income-tax, a tax on arts, trades and professions is levied in Municipal towns; the amount collected in 1866-67 was Rs. 1,800,657, and the number of payees 49,627, and the average payment Rs. 4-1-9 per head. The exemption of incomes below Rs. 500 from assessment has sustained much of the oppression and oppression incidental to the levy of a tax of this kind, and if the state of the finances permit, the limit of exemption may be extended to Rs. 1,000. If this were done, the revenue from this tax would be reduced by a fourth. This is the only direct tax paid by the official, professional and the trading classes who are bound to contribute their fair share to the public burden, and it is therefore quite sound in principle. There is no difficulty in assessing official salaries and professional incomes; and as regards trade profits, the exemption of incomes below Rs. 500 secures to a great extent from oppression the classes least able to protect themselves. The people are becoming accustomed to the tax, and, though the revenue derived is small, it is collected without much additional cost, and if, as I believe it will, the country makes a rapid advance in industrial development, this source of revenue might in course of time be expected to become important. It must, therefore, be once for all recognized as permanently incorporated into the system of taxation of the Empire and not be periodically threatened with extinction.

31. The Government salt monopoly in this Presidency was created in 1866. Previously under native Governments the manufacture of salt was carried on in some places, but on no definite system, and in other places various persons had been allowed the
privelege of manufactory without any payment. In the
Northern Provinces it was the policy of the Muhammadan Gov-
ernment to limit the manufacture of salt to its own havelly
or home farm lands, and to prohibit the making of salt in
Zemindaris. At Nowpore in 1827 the price of salt was fix-
ed 40 per ounce of 120 maunds (1 maund = 16 lbs.). The price
of salt inland was four and often eight times the price on
the coast varying according to the distance from the coast.
Before the Government monopoly came into force, the price of
salt at Calcutta in 1800 was, according to Buchanan, 8 annas a
maund. In Mangalore, Bombay salt was sold for less than
4 annas and Goa salt less than 3 annas a maund. At Tan-
bulum (near Bangalore) the price of each salt was 10 annas
8 pice per maund, and of
Malabar sea salt 2 rupees or three times as much. After
the creation of the Government monopoly the price at
the Government factories was fixed at 9 annas at first,
and it has been continually enhanced till it amounts now
to 2 rupees 13 annas. Till 1862, the manufacture of salt
except on Government account was prohibited. Between 1862
and 1866, the system of manufacture and sale of salt by
private individuals on payment of an excise duty was substi-
tuted for the Government monop-
oly system throughout the Presidency, with the exception
of half a dozen places where the old system is still main-
tained. The growth of the salt revenue since the beginning
of the century will be seen from the figures given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Quantity of Salt in millions of maunds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average of two years ending 1823-24</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1823-24</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1824-25</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1825-26</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1826-27</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1827-28</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1828-29</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1829-30</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1830-31</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1831-32</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1832-33</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1833-34</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1834-35</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1835-36</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1836-37</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1837-38</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1838-39</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1839-40</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1840-41</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1841-42</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The Government monopoly price
- Salt fixed from time to time has been

- $10$
Since 1820, the consumption of salt cannot be said to have increased as much as might be expected from the increase of population, the suppression of illicit manufacture and smuggling and the development of communications, though, of course, owing to the area supplied with Madras salt, which competes with that of Bombay, having under the ordinary conditions of trade changed from time to time, the figures above given for different years will have to be corrected to admit of their being compared with one another. The development of railways and the fall in the purchasing power of money have also doubtless made the tax less burdensome in proportion to the increase in the money rates of duty than it would otherwise have been in the inland districts. Thus in 1814, when the monopoly price of salt at the coast was 14 annas a maund, Madras sea salt was sold in Bollary at Rs. 2.8-6 per maund; and in 1856 when the Government price was Rs. 1, the price in Bollary was a little less than Rs. 2-8-0. The prices in the Cuddapah, Bellary, Kurnool, Coimbatore and Salem districts in 1862, 1873 and 1883 when the monopoly prices at the factories were Rs. 1-8-0, Rs. 2, and Rs. 2-3-6, compare as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1862</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1883</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cuddapah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurnool</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coimbatore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There can, however, be little doubt that the salt tax presses with severity on the poorer classes, especially on the sea coast, where the duty has been enhanced in recent years, and large preventive establishments have at the same time been employed to put down illicit manufacture and smuggling. There has been much discussion as regards the soundness of the policy of taxing a necessary of life like salt. The Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India, said in 1869: "On all grounds of general principle, salt is a perfectly legitimate subject of taxation. It is impossible to reach the masses of the people by direct taxes: if they are to contribute at all to the expenditure of the State, it must be through taxes levied upon some articles of universal consumption. If such taxes are fairly adjusted, a large revenue can thus be raised, not only with less consciousness on the part of the people, but with less real hardship on them than in any other
way whatever. There is no other article in India answering this description upon which any tax is levied. It appears to be the only one which at present in that country can occupy the place which is held in our own fiscal system by the great articles of consumption from which a large part of the imperial revenue is derived. I am of opinion that the salt tax in India must continue to be regarded as a legitimate important branch of the public revenue. It is the duty, however, of the Government to see that such taxes are not so heavy as to bear unjustly on the poor by amounting to a large percentage on their necessary expenditure. That the poorer classes should contribute their quota to the revenue of the country may be fully admitted, but the Salt tax is short the worst means which can be employed to draw contributions from them, and nothing but the direct necessity can, in a country like India, justify resort to taxation of this kind. The tax, taking the consumption per head in this Presidency at 16 lb. per annum, amounting to from 2½ to 3½ per cent. of the income of a poor family, which is barely sufficient in many cases for subsistence. The cost of the poorer classes is such that they have to use a much larger quantity of salt than the richer classes who use considerable quantities of sugar and of vegetables containing salt. It has been calculated that the quantity of salt required by a labouring man in this Presidency is double the quantity required by a labouring man in Northern India, part of whose diet consists of wheat; and the equalization of the salt duties throughout India has really had the effect of enhancing the duty on salt to persons who require salt to a large extent and of diminishing it to persons who require salt to a much smaller extent. The greatest objection to the salt tax is, however, the large establishments at heavy cost which it is necessary to maintain to protect the revenue. The strength of the Police force employed throughout the Presidency for the prevention and detection of crimes against life and property is 22,609 and the cost 36.1 lakhs of rupees; while the force employed for the protection of the salt and indigo revenues, that is, for the purpose of preventing people from doing what, but for these taxes, would be innocent, and even meritorious, is 5,666, the cost being 10.1 lakhs of rupees. This multiplication of Government establishments of a semi-police character with none of the responsibilities of the regular police force is to my mind a serious evil. The tendency of the Salt Department, as indeed of all depart-

6 The Salt Department has of late years recommended a revision of the old system of supervision and sale on behalf of Government and this view has been urged recently in the Administrative Report of the department for 1890-91.
ments, is naturally enough to strengthen its own hands, irrespective of other considerations, for the purpose of protecting with theoretical completeness the revenue which is charged with the duty of collecting, and it is, therefore, a matter for particular satisfaction that the Government of Madras in 1855, when the salt law was revised, resisted the attempt made by this department to have it declared by law that any earth in which salt might enter in ever so small quantities was to be regarded as contraband "sail," and any dealing with such earth including mere collection, as "illicit manufacture," even in places where there is likely to be no appreciable danger to the revenue. A further objection to the salt tax is, that it has rendered the suppression of the manufacture of earth salt in various places a necessity, thus preventing the utilization of natural resources, and has interfered with the development of the saltpetre industry and the manufacture of glass, salt being the chief material in alkali, and alkali in glass. In the Ceded Districts and Rurum alone, manufacture of earth salt amounting to 5 lakhs of maunds or nearly 6 per cent. of the entire salt production in the country was suppressed. The salt manufactured was perfectly wholesome and considerable quantities of it used to be given to cattle. This practice had now entirely ceased. The effect of the tax on public health is very prejudicial.

The chief produce for the close war, that the slight enhancement in the price of salt by the increase in cork taxes is the result of the entire system, that is Government, until the salt tax, which public opinion on its own admission is a lower level than that at which it is now, and that it is possible for Government to regulate production with reference to the varying conditions of trade without the help of the tax. In a note V. E. [appealed to this consideration, I have endeavored to show that these arrangements are improper and that it would be an error for the Government to confine itself to the present tax. The fact that it can be regulated by a tax only means that it cannot be regulated at all. The fact that it cannot be regulated means that it cannot be regulated in any adequate measure, and the result is that it is taxed to sell supplies by command. The result of these arrangements is that the tax on public health constitutes also an important consideration which ought not to be overlooked.

Dr. England is the first quarter of the century a duty of 60 per cent. brought to £1 as against 5 per cent. and 40 per cent. consumption per head was only 25 lb. The price of this consumed was 5.8 per cent. or 5.8 per cent. of the price of the salt consumed. Dr. England that reduced dung rice and higher efficiency of workmen are the results of the wire consumption of salt. As regards the Indian and the tax, it must be remembered that the prices quoted in that system are based on the latter. The prices for the latter cannot be quoted with the same amount of precision as the prices for the former, but the latter were generally more correct. He said, "I observe that several of those effects which are erroneously given to the salt law in the papers are not. First, they do not come at all, what they have bane, by the way of consumption among the salt or population. But this is a very material point of principle; it is one of the great advantages of Indian salt, which is paid without the slightest object or the slightest observation by the consumer. Even so, unless the people are so much more generally informed, and more so, that no taxes formerly levied upon the great series of consumption were added, complained.
and it seems to me to be a matter for serious consideration whether this tax should be maintained at its present high level, when so much attention is now being devoted to the improvement of the sanitation of the country and the health of the population. I would therefore venture respectfully to suggest that the gradual reduction and eventual abolition of this tax should be pressed on the attention of the Government of India, a tax on the consumption of tobacco being, if necessary imposed as a substitute. A tax on tobacco managed under a system like that in force in France will be liable to none of the objections urged against the tax on salt. The plant can grow only on particular soils and requires careful cultivation; and it will not therefore be necessary to employ as costly preventive establishments for the protection of a tax on tobacco as it is in the case of salt which forms spontaneously in many places on the coast. Any quantity of excellent tobacco might be grown on the hulks or islands in the Godavari and Kistna rivers which are at the disposal of Government and leased out annually for cultivation. Tobacco is not a bulky article like salt, does not waste in being carried inland or cost much for carriage. According to one estimate the value of the tobacco produced and consumed in the country is 6 millions Rs., and according to another it is 2½ millions. Taking the lower figure, a tax amounting to 300 per cent. on the cost price of the tobacco consumed will yield the revenue now derived from salt. Tobacco is not a necessary of life, at all events to such an extent as salt, and a large proportion of the tax will be contributed by the poorest classes, who it is considered should be called upon to bear the shock of the public burdennes.

52. The receipts from this source consist of the revenue derived from (1) country spirits; (2) toddy or fermented palm juice; (3) spirits and fermented liquors imported or made in the country according to the European methods; and (4) opium. The akhiri or revenue derived from intoxicating liquors is an ancient one in this Presidency. Tavara mentions that the King of Golconda derived a very large revenue from the

of the poor; they are not themselves conscious how severely they were affected by that tax, and how much more of the article they would otherwise have consumed if the duty had not been enforced. The multiplicity of refined taxation makes it seem very necessary to know what proportion of refined taxation makes a small increase in the price of the article. I suppose, although supporting upon that conversation which I had with Mr. Baines in the latter part of November last, in the house of an old friend of mine, that the proportion of the tax which would fall on the poor, who may really be very heavy and injurious, without the fact being perceived or understood by those on whom they fall.

64. In France the cost price of 1 lb. of tobacco appears to be 5d., and the tax levied is 4d., or more than 700 per cent. of the cost price.
consumption of toddy (fermented palm juice), notwithstanding that the use of liquors was strictly forbidden by the Muhammadan religion. Among the Hindus, drinking appears to have been general among the lower classes of the population and especially the aboriginal tribes from the earliest times. In a letter, written in 1655, by Father John DeBrito, of the Madura Jesuit Mission, to the General of the Society at Rome, he states: “The King of Marava encircled with his army, offered the wanted sacrifice to the mother of the gods and did not fail, according to his custom, to satisfy his devotion hourly with the liquor of the palm, which he styled purely the milk of the goddess. It must be observed that the Maravas do not think themselves bound to keep the law which so strictly forbids the noble castes the use of intoxicating liquor. So they have taken care to dignify in name this liquor which the other castes call the devil’s drink (potannie).” Tipu Sultan endeavoured to carry out the injunctions of the Muhammadan religion by sending an order to the effect that all the palm trees within his dominions should be cut down. The order was obeyed only in the neighbourhood of his capital. No special measures were taken by the English Government until about 1870 to check the consumption of liquors beyond farming out places of sale. Since then the liquor traffic has been brought under regulation, and consumption checked by the gradual enhancement of duty levied both on liquors manufactured in the country and imported from abroad. A detailed account of the various measures adopted for this purpose and of the success which has attended them is given in a note printed as appendix V—B (2) to this memorandum, and it is unnecessary to repeat here what is there fully stated. The facts and statistics given in the note will show beyond doubt that the allegations, sometimes made, to the effect that drunkenness is spreading both among the higher and the lower classes, and that the Government is directly interested in extending the consumption and not in checking it, are entirely untrue; so far as all events as this Presidency is concerned. As a matter of fact, the quantity of country liquor now consumed is about 1 per cent, more than what it was in 1875 as shown by the returns of liquor which has paid excise duty, while the population has increased by about 10 per cent. The real diminution in consumption is very much more than this, for there was no special preventive agency employed prior to 1884 to check illicit consumption which was then very prevalent. In Malabar, for instance, which is full of palm groves, the consumption of liquor was formerly
practically unregulated. The stringent measures adopted in recent years for concentrating distillation of liquors in a few central places and for limiting sales to licensed places have increased the price of liquor and reduced the consumption so much, that the complaints is now often made that the poorer classes suffer hardship in being deprived of toddy which, though an intoxicant, is believed, to some extent, to be a substitute for food. The number of licensed places for the sale of liquors, which had to be kept at a high level at the outset with a view to take away the inducements for illicit traffic, has since been enormously reduced. All these measures were inaugurated long before Mr. Caine interested himself in the Indian opium question, though the credit certainly belongs to him of not allowing the Government to relax its efforts in that direction. That the consumption of liquor can be regulated by increasing or diminishing the duty levied thereon is shown by the fact that it increases in prosperous years and diminishes in years of scarcity. The impression that drunkenness is spreading among the higher classes is also, to a great extent, unfounded. It is true that among the eulogized classes there is now less religious scruple than formerly in taking liquor under medical advice, when there is absolute necessity for doing so, but drunkenness is not considered among these classes less disgraceful than formerly, and the number of persons addicted to drinking is exceedingly small and has shown no tendency to increase in recent years. The returns of imported liquors show that the imports of spirits and wines have greatly fallen off during the last fifteen or twenty years. The imports of beer, however, is drunk by Europeans and Eurasians, and by the lower classes of natives on the Nigri hills, where it is superseding country spirit, the price of which has very much risen on account of the heavy duty levied on it. The duty on imported and country-made beer in proportion to its alcoholic strength is much lighter than that on spirits or even toddy, and it is very desirable that it should be raised. Mr. Caine would do a real service if he could induce the Home Government to consent to an enhancement of the import duty on beer, and the enhancement of the excise duty will follow as a matter of course.

6 The excise duty on beer is 5s. 6d. a barrel or 4½d. a gallon. The excise and import duty on beer in India is 1 shilling a gallon. Beer contains about 10 per cent alcohol, and if it were taken at the same rate as spirits, the 4½d. a gallon would be equivalent to 15s. a gallon of spirits, which will not be unprofitable. Toddy, under the present system, pays a higher duty than beer.
The sale of opium was, till 1880, unregulated, chiefly because it was not generally consumed except for medicinal purposes in the greater portion of the Presidency. Its use, however, was among the pretty general in the hill tracts of the four northern districts and on the Nigirias, the drug being considered to be a prophylactic against malarial fever. The poppy plant used to be cultivated, to a small extent, in the hill tracts, but the cultivation has been prohibited since 1880. As a new duty is levied on the transport and retail sale of opium in addition to the excise duty, the price of the drug has been considerably enhanced and its consumption has been much restricted. The total quantity consumed throughout the Presidency in only 77,000 lbs., of which 69,000 lbs. forms the consumption of the four northern districts. Of the total number of ships licensed, viz., 1,050, no less than 715 are situated within these districts.

The total revenue from the excise on spirits and drugs since the beginning of the century has been as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Million Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average of ten years ending 1829-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the revenue has risen enormously, especially during the last decade, the causes for the increase being, as already explained, due to the restriction of consumption, but the enhancement of taxation. The excise on intoxicating liquors and drugs, from an economic point of view, is a very desirable form of taxation, for whereas all taxes are objectionable, because they repress production and consumption, the objection does not apply to this tax, the restriction of consumption being the very object aimed at in regulating the traffic and the revenue derived being obtained, as it were, incidentally and not being in itself the object. To some extent, the increase in the revenue is an index to the
improved means, though not the improved education, of the working classes, from which it is almost entirely drawn. It seems to me, therefore, that it is right and proper that this revenue should be entirely at the disposal of the local Government in view of its being devoted to the amelioration of the moral and intellectual condition of the classes to whose ignorance and improvidence it owes its existence. Under present arrangements, three-fourths of the revenue is taken by the Government of India for imperial purposes, and this, I venture to submit, is not as it should be.

53. The fluctuations in the Customs revenue of the Presidency since the beginning of the century have been as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average of ten years ending</th>
<th>Revenue (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859-60</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-61</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-62</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862-63</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-64</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-67</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867-68</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-69</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In 1869-70</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decline in the revenue of the later years as compared with the revenue of the earlier years of the century is the result of the policy of freeing trade and industries from all obstacles calculated to impede their natural growth and of leaving them to their untutored development, which, under the impulsion of the free-trade principles adopted in England, has been maintained in this country during the last 40 years. The abolition of the Sayer or inland transit duties which had given rise to frightful abuses and had weighed upon the springs of industry like a dead weight, has already been referred to. In 1844, the year in which the Sayer duties were abolished, the trade between ports within British India was declared free, the revenue reequipped on both accounts being 35 lakhs of rupees. The tariff as regards foreign trade was at the same time remodeled, but the old principle of differential and discriminating duties in regard to articles imported from and exported to British territories and similar articles exported to and imported from other countries, as well as in regard to merchandise carried in British and foreign ships was still maintained. Thus the rates on metals, wrought and unwrought, the produce of the United Kingdom, or any British possession, if brought in British ships, paid a duty of 3 per cent., and if brought in ships of other
countries paid 6 per cent. Metals, the produce of foreign countries, if brought in British ships, paid 6 per cent., and if brought in ships of other countries paid 12 per cent. On cotton goods manufactured in the United Kingdom or any British possession the duty was 3 per cent., if brought in British ships and double that rate if brought in foreign ships. Similar discriminating duties were imposed on articles of export merchandise also. Cotton shipped to Europe, the United States of America and any British possession in America paid no duty, if the article was taken in British ships, and 9 annas a muid if taken in foreign ships. The export duty on cotton taken to other countries in foreign ships was 3½ or 6 a muid. These injurious restrictions, the relics of the old Colonial system, which must have prevented the development of a trade between India and foreign countries, were done away with in 1838-39, but as the necessities of Government on account of the Indian mutiny and the consequent increase of public expenditure were very great, the Customs duties were generally raised from 5 to 30 per cent. Since 1860, the returns of the tariff, with some notable exceptions, have consisted in the reduction and subsequent abolition of the duties on most articles of merchandise. The only articles on which an import duty is now levied are: (1) arms and ammunition and military stores, (2) liquors, (3) salt, and (4) petroleum; and the export list of valuable articles consists of (1) paddy and rice, and (2) opium. The import duty on arms and ammunition is not uni-quantified by political, and that on liquors by moral, considerations, the object in both cases being to prevent and not to promote their unrestricted use. The import duty on salt is necessitated by the excise duty on the same commodity, and I have already given my reasons for considering this tax to be in the highest degree objectionable. The import duty on petroleum, which is "the light of the poor," is also open to objection, but the tax is a light one, and its collection does not involve any special hardship, or additional machinery, as owing to the explosive nature of the article, its import and storage can, under any circumstances, be allowed only subject to special restrictions imposed for ensuring public safety. Among the datable articles of export tariff the duty on opium is, of course, unobjectionable, at all events from the point of view of the anti-opium society whose object it is to restrict the consumption of Indian opium in China. Sir Evelyn Baring in his financial statement for 1838-39 made the following remarks in connection with the economic objections to the Government monopoly of the drug and the moral aspects of the traffic in it.
"The economic objections to the manner in which the opium revenue is raised, whether in Bengal or Bombay, may be admitted to be considerable. In the former case, the Government itself engages in private trade—a course which is open to obvious objections. In the second case, a heavy export duty is imposed. In both cases the course adopted interferes with, and restricts the free production of, and the trade in, opium. It cannot be doubted that it would be profitable to any trader to pay for calves opium a much higher sum than is now paid by Government to cultivators of Bengal. If, therefore, supposing such a thing to be possible, no restriction were placed on the cultivation of the poppy, and if at the same time the export duty were taken off, it is certain that an immense stimulus would be given to the production of opium, and that China would be flooded with the Indian drug. Thus in direct proportion to the removal of the economic objections, the moral objections would be intensified in degree. So long, therefore, as the plea of the anti-opium society is confined to the contention that the Indian Government should cease its direct connection with the opium trade, it may be said, with perfect truth, that their policy is based purely on theory. Not only can it effect no practised good, but it almost certainly would do a great deal of harm. It would increase the consumption of opium in China. It would, by cheapening the price of the Indian drug, cause the poorer classes of the population who now smoke native opium, to substitute Indian opium in its place. It would, moreover, encourage the use of opium amongst the native populations of India, some of whom, notably the Sikhs, are already addicted to the practice; and it would result in a diminution of the fixed supply of India, by reason of the cultivation of the poppy over land on which cereals are now grown. If, therefore, the policy is not merely to be theoretical, but is to be productive of some practised good, it must aim not only at the disconnection of the Indian Government with the manufacture and sale of opium, but at the total suppression of the cultivation of the poppy." To us in Madras where the cultivation of the poppy is entirely prohibited, the interest in the opium question arises from the fact that the abolition of the export duty on the drug and the relaxation of the restrictions placed on its transport will have the effect of flooding Southern India with anoxious article and of creating a taste for it among its population, which is not now addicted to the practice of consuming opium. Further the relinquishment of the large revenue derived from the opium duty would also render the imposition of additional objectionable taxation necessary, while what is
wanted is that the salt duty should be either removed or reduced. The export duty on rice violates every principle, and is most injurious in practice. It is used to protect the ground that India enjoys a monopoly of the production of rice, but this argument, as has been repeatedly pointed out by Mr. O'Connor in his trade reviews, is not, and was never, fairly sustainable. Indian rice is used (1) for distillation, (2) for starch, and (3) for food, and in these various uses rice has to compete with several other products, and India with several other countries. The countries that enter into competition with India are Siam, Cochin-China, Japan, Java, Northern Italy, and the productions which enter into competition with rice are rice, barley, rye, potatoes, Mallow flower, and even wheat and sugar, many kinds of which are being sold in the English market as cheaply as rice, and even more cheaply. The rice used for food has to compete with European rice (that of Lombardy in particular) and with the rice of the Asiatic countries as well as with Madagascar rice and the rice produced in the Southern States of the Union. Mr. O'Connor points out that whereas 20 years ago we did a large business with China, that trade has almost ceased to exist. Cochin-China as well as Siam having driven our rice out of the market. The export duty on rice, 3 annas a pound, which amounts to 7 per cent. on the value, is a heavy one, and its retention in the tariff, while duties for less injurious in their effects have been abolished, gives occasion for valid complaint."

"The objections to the export duty on rice were very forcibly stated by the Honourable Mr. Bodd in the Legislative Council of India in 1880. He said, "I must protest to the extravagant terms against any subject which does not press this country, and I must protest against the principle. I refer to the export duty on rice. To whose mind is sound trade, sound commerce, and sound advantage a subject which should be pressing on any country that is the rival of the great competitor of the United Kingdom. At the present time the prices of rice are lower than ever they were in India, the lowest price per maund of rice is 10 rupees, it is a very low price, and I think it is a low price. The Chinese rice is very poor, the Siam rice is very poor. We have the same species in our market. It is quite true, as the Honourable Gentleman has said, that we export this species at a very low price, but that is the price at which the customers will buy it. I observe that the price of rice is very low at the present time, and it is the price at which it has always been sold and purchased. If we could raise the price of rice to a higher rate, it would be a better thing for India. But it is not fair to place this tax on rice. I do not think there is any difference. Not to consider the rice, I have considered the effect. The export duty of 3 annas per maund is a tax of 3 per cent. on the value. It is a tax which is not very serious as a tax, but it is a tax which is to be objected to. The 3 annas per maund is a tax which is to be objected to. I do not think the export duty is a tax which is to be objected to. The 3 annas per maund is a tax which is to be objected to. I do not think the export duty should be continued. The export duty should be abolished, and the tax should be removed."

"The export duty on rice was first introduced in 1861, and it has been increased since then. It is a tax which is not very serious as a tax, but it is a tax which is to be objected to. The 3 annas per maund is a tax which is to be objected to. I do not think the export duty should be continued. The export duty should be abolished, and the tax should be removed."

"I have spoken before the Board of Commissioners on the subject of the export duty, and I have said that it is a tax which is not very serious as a tax, but it is a tax which is to be objected to. The 3 annas per maund is a tax which is to be objected to. I do not think the export duty should be continued. The export duty should be abolished, and the tax should be removed."

"I have spoken before the Board of Commissioners on the subject of the export duty, and I have said that it is a tax which is not very serious as a tax, but it is a tax which is to be objected to. The 3 annas per maund is a tax which is to be objected to. I do not think the export duty should be continued. The export duty should be abolished, and the tax should be removed."

"I have spoken before the Board of Commissioners on the subject of the export duty, and I have said that it is a tax which is not very serious as a tax, but it is a tax which is to be objected to. The 3 annas per maund is a tax which is to be objected to. I do not think the export duty should be continued. The export duty should be abolished, and the tax should be removed."

"I have spoken before the Board of Commissioners on the subject of the export duty, and I have said that it is a tax which is not very serious as a tax, but it is a tax which is to be objected to. The 3 annas per maund is a tax which is to be objected to. I do not think the export duty should be continued. The export duty should be abolished, and the tax should be removed."

"I have spoken before the Board of Commissioners on the subject of the export duty, and I have said that it is a tax which is not very serious as a tax, but it is a tax which is to be objected to. The 3 annas per maund is a tax which is to be objected to. I do not think the export duty should be continued. The export duty should be abolished, and the tax should be removed."
The growth of the stamp revenue will be seen from the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Revenue (in lakhs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850-51</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-52</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-53</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853-54</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854-55</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855-56</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-57</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857-58</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858-59</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-60</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-61</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This revenue has developed rapidly since 1850 when the Code of Civil Procedure was passed, and the system of levying court fees by means of stamps on civil suits instituted was introduced. Of the sum of 60 lakhs of rupees, which is the revenue now derived from stamps, 40 lakhs are obtained from judicial stamps and 20 lakhs from general stamps. The institution fee levied on civil suits is 7% on the value of the property in litigation when it does not exceed Rs. 1,000, and the rate is reduced for higher values, the maximum fee being limited to Rs. 3,000. On criminal complaints a fee of 8% is levied. Apart from the abstract question of the propriety of taxing justice, there is little to complain of in regard to the stamp duties on judicial proceedings. The growth of the revenue is entirely due to the increase in litigation consequent on the general progress of the country and the great increase in value of moveable and immovable property, more especially the latter. The number of civil suits instituted in 1850 was 1,522, the value of the property involved being 26 lakhs. In 1859 the number of suits had increased to 254,000 and the value of the property to 3,750,000 rupees. The average value of a suit, which in 1850 was Rs. 70, is now Rs. 120. Recently the Government of India had the question of the extent to which the expenditure on the maintenance of Civil Courts was covered by the stamp duties paid by the litigants, investigated. The result was that the Madras Presidency was that the receipts were found to be very slightly in excess of the expenditure. If the scheme, which appears to be under the contemplation of Government for further improving the position and status of the District Munsifs and Sub-Judges be carried out, there will be no profit to Government, but on the other hand a slight loss. The court fees levied on suits doubtless bear hard on the poorer litigants to some extent; but the remedy for this, however, is not the abolition of the fees, but the
provision of popular and inexpensive tribunals for the settlement of petty litigation.

The duties levied under the general stamp law are not very excessive as the rule for transfers of land on sales and mortgages, which form the bulk of the transactions in regard to which duties have to be paid, is only one per cent. The provisions of the stamp law, which are based mainly on those of the corresponding English Act, are not intelligible in many respects, and this obscurity and the stringency of the provisions made for ensuring compliance with the requirements of the law sometimes work considerable hardship to ignorant and unlettered peasants who cannot afford to obtain competent legal advice when they have documents to execute. Much of this hardship has, however, been since removed by the orders issued by Government making it obligatory on officers of the Registration department to advise persons consulting them as to the stamp duty payable on documents. At present the opinion of the Registration officer is not conclusive and does not relieve the person who has acted upon it from responsibility for insufficient stamping. An alteration of the law relieving from responsibility persons whose documents have been accepted as sufficiently stamped and acted on for registration purposes by an officer of the Registration department will remove all room for complaint. I do not believe that the revenue will be in the least affected by this change of procedure, as the proceedings of the subordinate officers of the Registration department are being very closely scrutinised by the District Registrars in this respect and any laxity observed is promptly taken notice of.

55. The system of registration and authentication of documents is one of recent introduction and the fees collected are, to a great extent, devoted to the maintenance of the establishments required for the purpose. The present revenue is about 11 lakhs of rupees, of which about 8 lakhs of rupees are annually expended. Further improvements in contemplation will reduce the surplus, out of which have to be met the pecuniary liabilities as regards the officers employed in the department. The registration fee amounts to 63 per cent. of the value of the transaction in the case of sales and 66 per cent. in the case of mortgages and is therefore very moderate. On

* In India, the value of immovable property which changes hands by means of a registered sale or mortgage is assessed for duty at a rate of 1% of the value of the property.
transactions of small values, viz., those not exceeding Rs. 100 in value, the fee is comparatively high, but the minimum fee cannot well be fixed lower than 5 annas the present limit, having regard to the cost of stationary and the charges incurred for transcribing the documents in the registers. In this Presidency the convenience of the general public has been consulted by the establishment of registration offices in large numbers; and the time has arrived for making the registration of all documents relating to immovable property, even where the value is less than Rs. 100, compulsory. Under the present law, documents of this kind, except sales and gifts, are not required to be registered, but it is provided that unregistered transactions as regards such properties, even if prior in point of time, are to have no effect as against registered transactions. This leaves a considerable loophole for fraud. If this is remedied, the registration system will be capable of considerable development in directions which will admit of a complete record of transactions connected with landed properties being maintained in a readily accessible form.

54. In the appendix V.—(i) will be found a statement showing the incidence of the taxes levied in 1852-53, 1872-73, and 1889-90 per head of the population. In 1852-53, the incidence was Rs. 1-14-6, in 1872-73 Rs. 2-10-8, and in 1889-90 Rs. 2-14-5 per head, or, in other words, the rate of incidence has increased since 1852 by 51 per cent., while the purchasing power of money has fallen by 60 per cent. There can be no doubt also that of the taxes collected more is spent in promoting the public safety, health and convenience and education in this Presidency than formerly as will be seen from the following figures:—Expenditure on irrigation works 14-7 lakhs of rupees in 1889-90 against 9-7 lakhs in 1859-60; buildings and roads not including railways 58 lakhs against 7-3 lakhs; judicial establishments 41-2 lakhs against 29-0 lakhs; police 39-3 lakhs against 9-9 lakhs; education 22-9 lakhs against 1-1 lakhs; medical relief 33-3 lakhs against 1-2 lakhs; and the postal service 18-9 lakhs against 3-3 lakhs.

The development of the resources of the country by the construction and maintenance of irrigation works, canals, railways and roads has already been noted. In 1862-63 there were three public schools with an attendance of 148 pupils; in 1889-90, there were 10,223 public institutions with 817,065 pupils and 4,286 private institutions with 35,406 pupils. In 1850 there were 150 post offices con-
trolled by 30 postmasters; at the close of 1889-90 they were 1,624 imperial post offices, 1,418 letter boxes, 926 postmen, and 523 village postmen, besides 63 district post offices and 746 village postmen. The telegraph offices have of course been all established since 1850. The number of letters posted in 1883-84 was 765 millions of newspapers 0.20 millions; in 1889-90 the numbers were 48 and 3.8 millions respectively. I have no exact statistics as regards the number of hospitals and dispensaries in 1850; these institutions were maintained only at the head-quarter stations of the several districts and the rural roads had not the advantage of them. In 1850 there were 309 institutions, in which 24 millions of persons were treated, the daily average attendance being 17,000.

67. The standards of living and the general condition of the different classes of the population.—For purposes of this enquiry, the general population may roughly be divided into four main divisions: viz., 1. The agricultural classes, comprising landlords, tenants and agricultural labourers;
II, laborers not connected with land; III, the professional, mercantile and other classes owning capital other than land; IV, the artisan classes and small traders. The divisions have referred to have been very roughly made, and, in some instances, they overlap one another. A landlord is often a money-lender or trader, and an artisan frequently owns a piece of land; and a peasant proprietor skims off his small income from land by non-agricultural labour, e.g., by spinning or working on the roads during the non-agricultural season. The prosperity or the reverse of large sections of the population must also re-act on the condition of other classes, for instance, traders proper when the agricultural classes thrive and so on. Nevertheless, there is a convenience in considering the conditions of different sections of the population separately, and the main divisions above given are sufficiently accurate for the purpose in view. For the most recent information regarding the number of persons falling under each of the main divisions, we must wait till the detailed tables connected with the census taken in 1891 are published. I have given in the appendix V.-E. (a) a table extracted from the census report of 1881, showing the number of persons engaged in the several occupations in 1881 as compared with the number in 1871, but, owing to the dissimilar methods adopted in classifying occupations at the two censuses, the results shown cannot be fully relied on. Statistics as regards persons engaged in the several occupations according to the census of 1891 are not yet available.

58. There is a pretty general impression that in this Presidency land is held in small properties by paupers. There is truth in this, but not to the extent that is often supposed. Out of the 90 millions of acres forming the area of this Presidency, 37½ millions, or between one-third and one-fourth, are held by 949,000 smallholders; 12 of these smallholders hold 6½ million acres, or nearly half a million each, paying to Government a panchayat of 2 lakhs of rupees on an average; 139 smallholders hold 9½ millions of acres and pay to Government an average panchayat of 18,100 rupees; and 706 smallholders and mittadars hold 32 million acres and pay a panchayat which averages 1,000 rupees. The panchayat of the mittadars was fixed at two-thirds of the rental in the case of estates newly created at the time of the permanent settlement. A few large estates, which were held as military jagirs, pay a quit-rent. The rental of all these estates amounts to 164 lakhs of rupees, while the panchayat amounts
In 50 lakhs, or, in other words, the rental is now more than three times the pre-banish, and the seigniors have consequently enormously benefited. Between 1830 and 1850, owing to the low prices of grain which prevailed, several seigniors in the Kutta and Godavari districts were unable to meet their engagements with Government and their estates were consequently sequestered, sold by auction and purchased by Government and incorporated with ryotwar lands. But for this circumstance, nearly the whole of the rich delta of the Godavari and Kutta would, at this day, have consisted of seignior lands. The estates, which escaped this process, yield a very large revenue to their owners, who, with some exceptions, squander it in litigation and dissipation, and the benefits, which it was expected, would accrue from the permanent settlement, have not as far been realised.

Education, however, has been forced its way hitherly even among seigniors, and it may be hoped that they will, within another generation, utilize their wealth and resources in improving the condition of their tenantry and in aiding the general progress of the country.

The next class of landowners are the inamars who number 435,450 and hold between them 3-2 millions of acres or 19 acres each on an average. Out of this area, a little more than 3 millions of acres are comprised in entire inam villages and the remainder consists of petty holdings originally held on service tenure in ryotwar villages and recently unfranchised. The position of the latter does not differ materially from that of the ryotwar pattadars. The holders of whole inam villages, who generally belong to the ascendant and non-cultivating classes, are in an impoverished condition, their property having got subdivided into minute portions. The revenue paid by these estates amounts to 16 per cent. of the rental. Originally inam properties were not transferable by sale and were liable to be resummed by Government on failure of direct heirs of the holders. All these properties, with a few insignificant exceptions, have, as already observed, been freed from these restrictions and declared heritable and transferable property, subject to the payment of a light quitrent, imposed by way of compensation to the State for the exceptional right relinquished by it.

The third-class of landowners are those numbering 550, who have redeemed the land-tax by making a lump payment to Government. These proprietors consist of parcels of land forming inosi-cities or gardens attached to houses.

The fourth-class consists of purchasers of waste lands in hill tracts for the formation of plantations. The area held
under this tenure is small, and the land-tax imposed is not liable to enhancement.

The fifth and by far the most numerous class comprises the ryotwar patties or peasant proprietors. The total number of estates on this tenure is 2,960,000 and the number of owners including shareholding is 4,600,000. The total area of ryotwar villages is 59.8 million acres, from which 31 million acres must be deducted on account of unculturable waste and lands held on inam tenure; and so the number of arable acres, after taking 28.5 million acres which, at present, are considered fit for cultivation.

The area of 21.5 million acres, paying a revenue to Government including costs of a little more than Rs. 2 per acre, are comprised within ryotwar holdings, the remainder being unoccupied. The marginally noted statement shows the distribution of the ryot war patties into several grades, with reference to the amount of tax paid by them.

The revenue statistics of this Presidency do not show the distribution according to the areas, but the revenue paid is a better index to the status of a ryot than the area of holding, and the area can be roughly deduced from the revenue, by assuming that each acre pays Rs. 2 as land-tax.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Number of Patties</th>
<th>Area (acres)</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,960,000</td>
<td>59.8 million</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>21.5 million</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-50</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>28.5 million</td>
<td>85.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-100</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>14.7 million</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 100</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>2.3 million</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would be interesting to compare these results with the distribution of land among several grades of proprietors in France which is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade of Proprietor</th>
<th>Number of Proprietors</th>
<th>Area (acres)</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 acres</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-25 acres</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-100 acres</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-500 acres</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 500 acres</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If settlement calculations can be relied on, one acre of ordinary dry land, which is assessed at Rs. 1-1-0-01 per acre, gives an output of Rs. 17 taking good and bad seasons together, and 8 acres of such land would give Rs. 136. Deducting Rs. 14, the Government tax, which is a little more than 10 per cent. of the gross output, there is left about Rs. 122 for the subsistence of the family of the raste and for defraying the cultivation expenses, which are estimated at Rs. 5 per acre. Out of this, wages of labour amount to about Rs. 3, and what the raste will have to expend in cash or grain is Rs. 2 per acre or Rs. 16 for 8 acres, when he cultivates the land himself and does not employ hired labour. There is, therefore, left for subsistence about Rs. 106 or Rs. 9 a month, and this sum will enable a raste's family to subsist according to the standard of living in force among the raste population. Probably, the family will make also something by growing vegetables, keeping a cow for raising dairy products for consumption, &c., all of which will leave a margin above the cost of subsistence, but this may be neglected.

Right acre, therefore, of ordinary dry land, paying Rs. 14, on a proportionately larger area of inférieur land, paying
same amount of tax, may be taken as the area, which a ryot family must cultivate by means of the labour of its members to procure subsistence, and that, where the area of holding is less, the ryot must supplement his earnings from cultivation of his own holdings by labouring for others to procure a subsistence. Similarly, owners of land, who hold 50 acres of ordinary wet and dry land, paying to Government about Rs. 100 as land-tax, will be able just to maintain their families on the rent of the lands obtained by letting them to tenants. These are the minimum limits for obtaining a subsistence, by working in the fields in one case, and by letting the lands in the other, without other resources. Ryots holding lands, which are between 8 and 50 acres in extent, may be taken as belonging to the class of persons who cannot afford to let their lands to tenants and live solely on the rent, but will be able to hire labour for cultivation, themselves doing a portion of the work of cultivation, or, at all events, superintending its details. Their larger holdings will, of course, enable them to keep a larger number of cattle, and, provided that the families are of the average size, to save some money. Now, bearing these limits of area in mind, it will be seen...
that out of the total revenue of ryotwar holdings, 17.5 per cent., or, say, roughly, one-fifth, is contributed by agricultural labourers who must eke out a living by working for others, the small extent of land held by them being in the nature of agricultural allotments, the produce of which merely goes to supplement their earnings by labour. Another 27.7 per cent., or, roughly, one-third, is contributed by peasant proprietors who cannot afford to employ hired labour, except during the time of harvest. Another 31.4 per cent., or about one-third, is contributed by proprietors who must farm their own lands, but who can employ hired labour for carrying on some or all the manual work connected with the farm. The remainder is paid by the class who can afford to, but need not, let their lands, and subsist, not certainly in plenty, but, as I have already stated, in accordance with the standard of living usual among their class in this country. If this class were sufficiently educated, and cultivated the holdings without sub-letting them, they would be able to adopt, not indeed very expensive improvements, but such as those which small proprietors in European countries might be expected to undertake.

The number of ryots in zamindari may be estimated at about a million, but no particulars as regards the quantity of land held are available. It may, however, be presumed that the distribution among the several classes of zamindari ryots is much the same as with Government ryots with the reservation that as the incidence of the land assessment, whether paid in money or in kind, is higher in zamindari tracts than in Government lands, the average extent of land to be cultivated for subsistence must be larger and the number of ryots smaller in the former case than in the latter. In countries in which lands are held by a small number of proprietors there is a very large section of the population dependent solely on daily labour for subsistence, while in countries where small proprietors predominate the capitalist classes capable of initiating and carrying out agricultural improvements do not exist; but the labouring classes have, for the most part, the income derived from a small piece of land to supplement their earnings from daily labour. In this Presidency, it will be seen from the facts stated above that while the bulk of the area is held in small proprietorships averaging 8 acres in extent, there are nearly 1,000 landed proprietors, some of them with princely incomes. The reason for the absence of agricultural enterprise must, therefore, be sought not so much in the predominance of peasant proportions.
as in the absence of conditions which make high farming a necessity.

59. It is extremely difficult to obtain reliable information regarding the wages of agricultural labour, or to put it in a shape which will admit of the condition of the labourers in different parts of the country being compared or a decisive opinion being formed as to the extent to which their position has improved in recent years. Wages are generally stated to be paid in grain and the rates of wages are believed to have varied materially since the beginning of the century. This view of the matter, however, entirely overlooks the fact that a considerable portion of the wages has always been disbursed in the shape of poonkooch or other advantages such as huts and small allotments of land for cultivation free of rent, &c., and these additional allowances have been adjusted from time to time with reference to the demand for labour, the prices of food-grains, the efficiency of the labourer, the constancy of employment, and opportunities afforded to the labourer as well as those dependent on him for making extramana, &c. For the old years the only systematic inquiry on this subject was that of Dr. Buchanan made in 1800. It is really surprising that he should have been able, within the short period of a few months, to collect and collate the large amount of minute information regarding the agricultural condition of the several districts which is contained in the two volumes, entitled, 

"Agricultural Conditions of the Present Time, and Influence of the Present Administration on Agriculture in the United Provinces,"

generally accepted as the information is, it was obtained chiefly from the landholders who would naturally be anxious to exaggerate the expenses of cultivation, and the rates of wages given have, therefore, to be somewhat discounted on this account. In fact, Buchanan himself was fully aware of this and has mentioned several instances in which he had reason to suspect.

---

6 The following statement of wages of paddy: wages have been reported by the Department of Survey in 1832 and 1833, with a view of a better record. Between 1837 and 1838, the duties were reduced, and the customers were to be paid. The change is a return to the former system. In 1839 and 1840, the daily wages paid to a laborer was 6 small measures. Now 2 small measures are given. The procedure is, to calculate the wages of a laborer, which was 6 small measures and 6 small measures of rice. This is paid in advance by laborers and in 1839 to 1840, paid by the Board of Revenue, and the laborer is allowed to purchase rice as he may see need.
that the information furnished to him was exaggerated. Moreover, large portions of the country had been almost entirely depopulated by the Mysore wars, shortly before Buchanan visited the tracts which he has described, and consequently, there was great scarcity of labour in those places at the time. Further, agricultural labourers had to pay in those days the corvée tax, which was practically levied on their masters. For later years we have absolutely no information beyond vague statements in the settlement reports which are worse than useless; no systematic enquiry having ever been made on the subject; and it is a matter for regret that the services of the settlement-officers who have for years been working in the rural tracts and who have had exceptionally favorable opportunities for enquiries of this kind should not have been utilized for the purpose of collecting information regarding matters connected with agricultural economy. The Board of Revenue some time ago, at the instance of Government, called for reports from Collectors regarding agricultural wages in considerable detail; the results have not yet been published, but I have had the advantage of reading the reports received. I have also obtained some information from the officers of the Registration department regarding the wages now prevailing in some of the places visited by Buchanan in 1860. The following imperfect account is based on the information obtained from the sources above indicated:

Agricultural labourers are of all grades from the casual daily labourer to the metayer tenant who divides the produce of the land he cultivates with the landlord in defined proportions. This class of labourers, however, may be divided into three main divisions, viz., *first*, farm-servants more or less permanently employed and remunerated by payments in money or grain; *secondly*, casual labourers employed on agricultural work at the time of the harvest or as occasion arises and not permanently attached to the farm; and, *thirdly*, labourers on the varan or sharing system.

Of the permanent farm-servants, those who live in the master’s house and partake of the meals cooked for him are the most efficient and the best remunerated. They are, comparatively speaking, generally well fed and clothed and receiving, at the end of the year, as much as their feeding and clothing would cost or a little more. The servants employed are of the same or corresponding classes as the masters and sometimes their relations. It is stated in a report on cotton cultivation in the Timnawilly
district published by the Agricultural department that “It is noteworthy that labourers receiving part of their wages in the shape of food do more careful and willing work than labourers who get their wages in cash or kind. The Brahmans and the Pillays are not so successful in farming, because they, unlike the Naickmans and Beddis, find it inconvenient to feed their servants at home. The latter recognizing the truth of the adage ‘he who feeds well, works well’ allow their servants to consume as much as they want, and make no difference between themselves and their servants as regards the service of meals.” The remuneration of a ploughman is Rs. 30 in addition to his food which, at the high prices of food grains prevailing in the Trincomalee district, may be valued at Rs. 30. In Bellary the remuneration of a farm-servant varies from Rs. 34 to Rs. 40 per annum, or Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 plus the feeding and clothing, estimated to cost Rs. 25. The food given amounts to 11 sana or more than 3 lib. of chutia a day (a high rate) and amounts worth Rs. 5 a year. The clothing consists of cloth, a cumbil, a turban, a pair of drawers and a pair of slippers worth in all Rs. 3. These servants are not solely attached to the farm, but are expected to look after all kinds of household work. They are sometimes allowed by their employers, for marriage purposes, etc., loans ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100, which are liquidated by deductions from the salary. In the Anamalaiyur district (Gentry division), the servant is given food and chutia, the food comprising three meals a day, together with betel and tobacco, and an annual sum, ranging from Rs. 6 to Rs. 12, according to the nature and urgency of the work, character of the season and the capabilities of the labourer. Single men are preferred, and, if married, their wives are temporarily employed. In some cases, instead of an annual cash payment, a daily allowance of 1 acre (5 lb.) of grain is made in addition to food and clothing. In the Coimbatore district, this class of servants is not employed to any great extent. The servant is always an unmarried man and is provided with food stated to cost between Rs. 15 and Rs. 20, and with sundries, cloth, and occasionally blankets, costing Rs. 2. At the end of the year, he receives a present in money of from Rs. 1 to Rs. 3. In Salem, unmarried labourers, if Sudras, are fed by the yedui and are given a cloth valued at 1 rupee, a blanket worth 1 1/2 annas, and Rs. 3 on Rs. 5 at the end of the year in cash. They are allowed loans, ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50, without interest, at the commencement of service, or at the time of marriage. In the Nellor district, labourers, employed on the cultivation of garden land, are fed and
cloth and receive annually from Rs. 6 to Rs. 24, the food consisting of three meals a day and hotel and tobacco. In Viascapamun, farm-servants are not given meals, except in some places in the northem taluks, where the custom obtains of giving them two or three meals a day; where two meals are given, the annual wages are cut down by one-third, and if three meals are given by one-half. In the first case one meal consisting of a quarter of a seer of boiled rice and puzzle is given in the morning at about 8 or 9 o'clock, and the second meal consisting of a quarter of a seer (1 lb.) of rice or other flour boiled, at about 1 p.m. In the other case, the servant is fed in the morning, noon and evening, the meals being the same as those of a member of the employer's family. In Cuddapah the servant gets one local seer of food daily (1.7 Madras seers) worth Rs. 14 annually, cloth worth Rs. 4-500 and cash Rs. 8. Higher money wages are paid if the ryot is a woman who cannot herself superintend the cultivation. In a few cases, presents amounting to Rs. 1 or Rs. 3 are allowed on occasions of marriages, &c.; sometimes the servant is allowed loans, without interest, amounting to Rs. 50 or Rs. 60. But these do not form part of the service contract. If the servant has a child above five and below twelve years of age, the latter is given wages from Rs. 8 to Rs. 4-500 with three meals a day and clothes. No deduction is made in the wages for the temporary absence of labourers on account of illness and other unavoidable reasons. In North Arcot, servants in the Chittoor taluk are given three meals estimated to cost Rs. 36 a year, Rs. 6 in cash and cloth worth 1 rupee. Their presents and perquisites may amount to about Rs. 5 or Rs. 6. The examples given above will sufficiently show how difficult it is, amidst the wide variety of form, which the remuneration assumes in different parts of the country, to state in money values the earnings of the labourers. The following general deductions may, however, be drawn from the facts stated; viz., (1) permanent servants are employed only by the walk-to-do ryots and, when they are fed at the master's house, get as much food as they can possibly take; (2) the quantity of food is variously given from 3 lb. in Bellary to 1 lb. in Viascapamun, and 2 lb. of dry grain per diem and 1 lb. of rice may, on an average, be taken as ample allowance for an adult doing full work; (3) the value of the meal is estimated at from Rs. 14 to Rs. 36, per annum, the difference being due to the variation in the price of grain in the several districts, and to the money value of the grain consumed being calculated with reference to the average prices ruling at the custom stations instead of
the prices ruling in the rural tracts. The general average money value of the feeding charges of an adult labourer may be taken for the Presidency at Rs. 20 per annum; and (4) the remuneration of a permanent farm-servant may, on an average, be taken as twice the cost of his feeding and clothing expenses. The practice in the northern parts of the Vindya-paham district, where, in the case of permanent servants fed in the master’s house, the remuneration is cut down to one-half, clearly shows this.

The next class of agricultural labourers consists of those who are engaged by the month or for the cultivation season. In Coimbatore, labourers are employed by the month by ryots who have dry or garden land to cultivate. These are called pedalas and receive from 16 to 20 bushels of grain, if men, and 12 to 15, if boys, the money value being Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-3-0, in the case of a man, and from 10 annas to Rs. 1-8-0 in the case of a boy. The pedal is bound to give the whole of his time to his master. The grain given is combe, ragi or anna. A ballah is equal to two Madras measures and a man’s ration is 1 to 2 Madras measures or 1/2 to 2 lb. If a ryot has a large farm the head pedal is sometimes paid 25 bushals—value Rs. 3. At the end of the term of hiring the pedal receives Rs. 2 or two cloths. The daily wages of the labourers are thus between two and two-and-half times the daily ration. The perquisites of a pedal consist of a basketful of corn at the time of cutting, which may consist of 8 bushals of grain valued at 1 rupee and a portion of any other crop, the value amounting in all to Rs. 2. The wife of a pedal, if she works at the picking of cotton or harvesting of a crop, gets a little more than ordinary women, who get one-eighth of the pickings of cotton or a ballah of grain equivalent to from 2 annas to 2½ annas. In Salem main division, the monthly wages of an adult labourer vary from 18 to 24 vullums (each vullum measuring 3½ acres of 80 tolas each) with a cash payment varying from Rs. 23 to Rs. 31 at the end of the year. In the Subdivision, the yearly wages vary between 3 and 4 kandhunas (187 acres of 80 tolas per kandhuna) and Rs. 4 or 5 at the end of the year. In the Head Assistant’s division, 112 acres of emmuru or vanka together with 8 annas per month are given. Taking the quantity of grain required for each adult at 1 lb., the grain wages are between two and two-and-half times an adult’s ration in the first case, and between three and four times in the second and third cases. In the Nellore districts, Götur taluk, labourers are paid 3½ toomas of paddy per month or 4½ annas or 6½ lb. per day, 3 toomas in addition to one meal
a day, or \(\frac{1}{2}\) toon of cumbu or ragi or jowas or 1 toon of paddy per month in addition to two meals a day. The labourers are further allowed straw for fodder and for roofing purposes, some land free of rent for cultivation, loans without interest, proceeds in grain or money on festive occasions, and advance of pay on occasions of marriage or death in addition to other grants on help. In the Kiyali taluk, Nellore district, farm-servants are paid 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) toons of paddy or 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) toons of ragi or cholum daily. Such labourers get besides glimmerings of the threshing ground, which are estimated to amount to 15 toons a year, worth Rs. 24-5-0 to Rs. 30 according as the grain is paddy or ragi and cholum, one cumbu worth Rs. 1-0-0, and a pair of slipper. They also take, with the permission of their masters, some bundles of hay or straw. The total income is estimated as high as Rs. 30 per annum. In Cuddapah, the yearly wages amount to 856 Madras moneys, or nearly twice the daily ration.

The wages, above referred to, relate mostly to cases in which the servants employed are of the Sudra castes. Where the degraded castes, such as Parvus and Pulles, are employed, especially in wet cultivation, the wages are considerably lower. These castes were, till 1843, hereditary slaves sold with the land or mortgaged. In Maharastr, according to Buchanan, Churnars were, in 1810, the exclusive property of their masters and could be employed on any work the masters pleased, the only restriction being that a husband and wife could not be sold separately. Buchanan adds, "The master is contented as bound to give the slave a certain allowance of provisions; a man or woman, while capable of labour, receives 2 adangallis (equivalent to 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) toons of 80 tolas) of rice in the month weekly, or two-sevenths of the allowance, which I consider as reasonable for persons of all ages included. Children and old persons past labour get one-half only of this allowance, and no allowance is made whatever for infants. This would be totally inadequate to support them; but the slaves on each estate get one twenty-first part of the gross produce in order to encourage them to care and industry. A male slave annually gets 7 cubits of cloth and a woman 14 cubits. They erect for themselves huts that are little better than hovels." Both Moles, Buchanan and Wardan, the Collector of the district, in the beginning of the century, remark that, owing to ill-treatment and insufficient nourishment for generations, the Churnars have become very diminutive in size. Churnars are no longer slaves, but are treated like other ordinary coolies. They receive 2 toons of 80 tolas of paddy daily when they work for their masters, but when
there is no work on the farms they are not maintained by the masters and they are allowed to seek work elsewhere. During the time of harvest fixed wages cease and the labourers—men and women—are paid a share of the grain, generally one-tenth; in the southern part of the district it is stated that as much as one-sixth is paid. The amount earned varies according to the strength of the labourers, and is stated not to exceed one or two rupees. They are allowed, however, presents on special occasions and receive 2 parces (7½ acres) of paddy yearly, if they continue in the service of the masters. On occasions of marriages and deaths, small presents are made and, during confinement of women, a small quantity of oil and paddy, in addition to a daily subsistence allowance for a period of 25 days, is granted. Their position, as regards wages for subsistence, has, therefore, distinctly improved, though they cannot be said to have, to an appreciable extent, emerged from the position of social degradation which they have occupied for ages. In South Caunor, farm-servants (who were originally slaves), if men, get from 1 to 2 seers of clean rice, (36 tolas each) with condiments, the average rate being 1½ seer with condiments; and women and children get less; the labourers are generally given a midday meal by the masters. In addition to the daily wages, they receive annual perquisites consisting of clothes and blankets, presents of rice and other necessaries at important festivals and for marriage purposes, and they are given an allotment of rent-free land from 1 to 2 acres in extent, except on the coast of the Mangalore taluk. In the Malayalam portion of the district, the allowances to the farm-labourers do not appear to be so liberal, but, on the whole, it seems to be clear that the farm-servants are in good seasons well off in the sense that their food is insufficient for subsistence. Mr. Sturrock, who made careful enquiries on the subject, estimates the annual income of a labourer’s family at Rs. 107 and the expenditure at Rs. 76, the greater portion of the balance being expended in toddy. Buchanan, writing in 1801, stated that a male slave was allowed daily 12 lahas (2 seers) of rice or three-fourths of the allowance for a hired servant. With reference to this statement, Mr. Sturrock observes, “These rates correspond rather with my maximum rates than with those I have adopted as typical; but Dr. Buchanan seems to have got his information from the masters who would naturally mention the highest rates allowed. In the preceding paragraph, he remarks that the amount said to be paid in wages for transplanting rice seems to be exaggerated. With regard to hired servants, whose wages are said to be higher than those of the
slaves, Dr. Buchanan remarks, these wages are very high and may enable the hired servants to keep the family in the greatest abundance." In Tanjore the paanams, who is the descendant of the old hereditary slave, was paid, according to the account given by Mr. Rameswaram in 1872 (see appendix IV.F), one Madras measure of paddy per diem. The present rate, from recent reports, appears to be 1½ Madras measures per diem and in the Kumbakonam taluk it is even 1¾ Madras measures. Mr. Pennington, in 1856, estimated the whole earnings of a paanam at about 90 to 95 kalams of paddy per annum, worth as many rupees; and stated that the earnings of the whole family did not exceed Rs. 50, of which Rs. 7-5-0 must be spent on drink or the enormous toddy revenue of the Tanjore district (6½ lakhs of rupees) could not be accounted for. In many of the taluks of the district, they are allowed 40 gallons (182 acres) for house- site and 60 gallons (196 acres) more, as hereditary or plough allotment, for cultivation, the produce of which they enjoy rent free. Mr. Pennington adds, "The comparative poverty of the paanams class is attributed to their fondness for drink and a want of prudence and forethought in storing up paddy to provide against a rainy day. They are in fact the most hardworking part of the community, and live precisely like animals, being to all intents and purposes serfs attached to the soil and generally of the Pariah caste, few being Sudras." These remarks are, to a great extent, true, though their condition, so far as mere physical subsistence is concerned, has somewhat improved in recent years. Mr. Clark, who has made special inquiries into the condition of this class of labourers, writes, "In former times, the paanams were the slaves of the mirsabars, on whom they depended solely for livelihood. They were paid then as now in paddy and, during the cultivation season, were well fed, but they suffered considerably in the off-season from insufficiency of food. Their position has greatly improved during the last forty years, and, at the present time, they are as independent of the mirsabars as the parakulaks. It is beyond doubt that wages have considerably risen during recent years. For transplanting and harvest work, wages are double what they were twenty years ago, and there has been an increase in the prices paid for daily labour of every description. ... Many cases have tended to improve the condition of both tenants and labourers within the last forty years, but the facilities placed within their reach for emigrating have done more for them than anything else. Both classes emigrate, though chiefly the labourers, and all return with considerable
savings, by means of which the porakuli becomes a landlord and the labourer sets up as a tenant. The returns show that, during the last ten years, 115,000 emigrants embarked from Negapatam for the Straits Settlements, the average number per annum during the last six years being 15,000. In addition to this, the poorer classes in the south of the district emigrate in large numbers to Ceylon, but no statistics are available to show their approximate number.

As proof, however, of considerable savings remitted by emigrants from this part of the district, I am informed that the money order transactions at the Post Office at Arasalur, Patikkoil, are larger than at the head office in Tanjore. In the South Arcot and Chingleput districts, paragnals do not seem to be as well off as in Tanjore. In the Chingleput district, from Mr. Pudue’s report, written in 1860, it appears that the earnings of a paragnal and his wife averaged about 2½ kalahs of paddy or 165 pecks of 60 tobes. Now their earnings amount to 45 measures or 97½ pecks of 60 tobes, and very little is given in the shape of perquisites or extra allowances. This is a rather surprising as one would have expected that the vicinity of the town of Madras and the demand for labour there would have forced up wages. Further inquiry might show that the present rate of wages assessed is under-estimated. In consequence, Mr. Braudi, the Sub-Collector, in 1872, estimated the income of a Pullam and his wife at Rs. 48 per annum and inferred from this that, for a considerable part of the year, they could not take a full meal at all. Mr. Pudue, the Collector, who had much greater experience of the district was, however, of opinion that the position of the pullums and free labourers of the district was remarkably good; they were better fed and clothed than similar classes in any of the districts south of Madras, and their houses, as a rule, were superior to, and very different from, the squallh huts that were to be found elsewhere.

68 The Madras House of Assembly has, since the above was written, instituted, in connexion with the establishment of the Ponds in the Chingleput district, remittances into the wages paid to a Ponds agricultural labourer, and found that, including the poorest remittances, the average wages per man were averaged to 8 rupees 9½ tobes of 54. Madras rupees, or 56 pecks of paddy or 98 bushels of grain in 1863; and the recommendations that went the lower house is that “wages be reduced to 8 rupees 5 tobes 6 pecks 6 tobes of 54. Madras rupees, or 56 pecks of paddy or 98 bushels of grain.” This has been reduced to 8 rupees 4 tobes 6 pecks 6 tobes of 54. Madras rupees, and it is stated that the reduction in 1863 amounted to 8 rupees 9½ tobes 6 pecks 6 tobes of 54. Madras rupees, and that the reduction in 1863 amounted to 8 rupees 9½ tobes 6 pecks 6 tobes of 54. Madras rupees. In this instance, it is stated that the reduction in 1863 amounted to 8 rupees 9½ tobes 6 pecks 6 tobes of 54. Madras rupees. In this instance, it is stated that the reduction in 1863 amounted to 8 rupees 9½ tobes 6 pecks 6 tobes of 54. Madras rupees. In this instance, it is stated that the reduction in 1863 amounted to 8 rupees 9½ tobes 6 pecks 6 tobes of 54. Madras rupees.
Casual labourers, who are employed as occasion arises, are paid at higher rates than regular farm-servants, and, notwithstanding the irregularity of employment, they appear to be better off than the permanent class. In Coimbatore, according to Mr. Nicholson, casual wages are from 1 to 5 measures daily (5 to 9 lb.), varying with reference to season and demand—quite high wages being paid at harvest. Women find work for many months in the year on wet lands, from the collection of green manure to the work of harvest. There is less to be done in gardens and still less on dry lands except at harvest, especially that of cotton, the cost of picking which is estimated at from one-twelfth to one-eighth of the crop. Since the last famine, there has been a decided increase in the money price of work in this district; the labouring class was largely affected by the famine and consequently there is competition for labour especially in the towns where labourers are hard to get. Mr. Nicholson states that workers have even struck work on being refused the rate of 12 cubic yards of easy earth-work, 20 being a nominal rate. From 2 to 3 annas per day for ordinary unskilled male labourers and 1½ to 2 annas to females is about the average. Hence a man and his wife can earn at least 2½ annas per day or the equivalent of 12 to 15 lb. of dry grain in husk or 8 to 10 lb. without husk. When paid in grain, the wages would amount to this quantity. For well-drilling, it is usual to pay the labourers chiefly in grain, with an occasional sheep for the women, money being seldom paid by the regular ryot. Mr. Bensou says of Kuruvad, that the supply of labour is usually adequate to all rural demands, but of late years the construction of the Bellary-Kistna Railway has largely drawn on the supply and forced up rates near the places through which it runs. Of Bellary, Mr. Sabapathy Mudalchar (see appendix V-E. 1 b) says: "This year (1896) the cotton and chillum crops having been exceptionally favourable and cotton crops having ripened simultaneously in almost every place, the labouring classes were benefited thereby to an enormous extent. The wages which were paid were three times as high as those ordinarily paid before the current year." He adds that the increase in the number of cotton processes has been the cause of giving technical knowledge to numbers of male and female labourers who are now able to earn exceptionally high wages, i.e., Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per annum for a man and Rs. 6 to Rs. 10 for a woman, who do work on the piece-work system. The same remark applies more or less to the Tanjore district also. In Tanjore temporary coolies are employed by the
landholders whenever they have more work than can be done by their own servants, especially in times of reaping, digging and levelling the fields. They are mostly employed by contractors in road works and their daily wages are much higher than those of Pannails—often double.

Among agricultural labourers, the highest class consists of those who cultivate lands on the sharing system. These labourers must be men of some means; they must ordinarily have at least ploughing cattle. The sharing system does not prevail to any great extent in the dry districts, for instance, in Amaltazar. In few places of this district in which it prevails, the cultivator gets half the produce for more labour and when he contributes cattle, a still larger share. In Bholary, the varum or cultivator’s share is one-half ordinarily and two-thirds where cultivation is expensive, as when water has to be baled or land overgrown with long grass has to be broken up. The cultivation expenses are borne by the tenant and the landowner pays the assessment. In both cases village servants’ fees and the harvesting expenses are deducted from the produce before division. If the landowner contributes half the seed, he takes half the straw. In the Talasoo district the conditions are very similar. In some cases where labour is not easily procurable, the produce is equally divided after the cultivation expenses are deducted. The cultivator also pays sometimes half the assessment, getting three-quarters, or three-fifths of the produce, the landlord paying the full assessment. Sometimes, again, the arrangement is that the cultivator should take one-fourth or one-fifth of the net produce plus a fixed quantity of grain. In the case of irrigation by bailing, the landlord’s and cultivator’s shares vary two-fifths and three-fifths, respectively; the cost of seed and harvesting is shared equally. In the Cuddapah subdivision and in the Konigri taluk of the Nellore district, labourers who do not contribute anything for cultivation expenses are given, what is called, half a “bullock’s share” that is, if the rest has four bullocks, he employs four servants and gives each servant one-eight share of the produce. The “pungal” system in the Pulichintal of the Cuddapah district is somewhat similar. Bamba describes the system as it existed in 1830 as follows. The pungals go to a rich farmer and for a share of the crop undertake to cultivate his lands. The farmer lends the cattle, implements, seed and money or grain that may be required for the subsistence of the pungals. He also gives each family a house. He takes no share in the labour which
is all performed by the pungals and their wives and children; but he pays the cost out of his share on the division of the crop which takes place when it is ripe. If a ryot employs six pungals to cultivate his land, the produce is divided into 15 portions which are distributed as follows: to the ryot for Government assessment, seed, etc., 6; to the ryot for profit, 1; to the ryot for interest on money advanced 2; to the pungals 6; total 15. Out of their share, the pungals must repay the ryot the money advanced for their subsistence. The system as now practised is stated to be the following: If the ryot employs a pungal to cultivate his field, it is only when the latter is able to contribute plough-bullocks to some extent. The produce is divided into two portions, of which one-half goes to the ryot as Nishanam. The remaining half is divided between the ryot and the pungal according to the number of plough-bullocks contributed by each.

In Tanjore, the varum or porakudi system is extensively prevalent. From Mr. Wallace's report, written in 1855, it appears that in this district in 2,312 villages lands were cultivated directly by the munsadars, in 1883, lands were cultivated on the sharing system and in the remaining 1,028 villages the cultivation was conducted under both systems. The varum or share given to the porakudi varied from 22 to 50 per cent. of the gross produce. Under the Mahattia Government, which took 60 per cent. of the gross produce leaving only 40 per cent. to be divided between the munsadar and the porakudi, the share of the latter was as low as 15 per cent. The porakudi varum now varies between 30 and 50 per cent. The lower rates prevailing in the delta taluks where crop is abundant and more or less assured, and the higher rates in the upland taluks where crop is precarious. There can be no doubt that the position of the porakudi has very considerably improved, several of them having become landholders. Mr. Clark observes "they are beginning to realize the fact that they are masters of the situation and can dictate their own terms to the munsadars. Of late years some of the porakudis have refused to cultivate on the varum system, which gives to the munsadar 75 per cent. of the gross produce and have demanded a five or ten years' lease at a fixed money rent. These terms have been conceded by the munsadars in favour of the tenants insuring as the rents have been fixed on a basis of something like 65 per cent. of the gross produce instead of 75." The records of the Registration Department show that grain and money
I. Labourers, other than agricultural, are chiefly employed in towns, and their condition has distinctly improved. The rates of wages per diem for unskilled labour, according to the official returns, vary from 1 anna 9 pies in Vizagapatam to 7 annas 4 pies in Kurnool. The average rate in towns for the whole Presidency is 3 annas 9 pies, while that in rural tracts is 2 annas 9 pies. The rate for Madras town is, however, only 4 annas, and the high rate in Kurnool is evidently due to the recent opening of the Bellary-Karnal railway. Employment is fairly constant and an unskilled labourer in towns may be taken on an average to earn 3 annas per diem throughout the year, while the labourer in rural tracts earns about 2 annas. The establishment of mills, the extension of railways, the increase of trade and the large expenditure, by Government on roads and irrigation works, and by private individuals on buildings, have forced up wages both in inland and sea-port towns, as labour is much in demand at these places. Among the higher classes, it is a well-known fact that domestic servants, especially cooks and water-carriers, are hard to get, and their wages, in addition to food, have increased to three times of what they were thirty or forty years ago.

leases are rapidly supersedng cultivation on the sharing system, and this proves that the ponkadi are becoming substantial farmers able to carry on cultivation without much help from the landlords and to pay the stipulated rent in all seasons. They are also enabled to enjoy the fruits of additional labour bestowed on the cultivation of the lands without having to share them with the landlords or under the ponkadi system. The same improvement, it will be seen from the note of the District Registrar of Tenancy on the agricultural classes, printed in the appendix, V.—IV. (1 6), is observable in the condition of the corresponding cultivating class in that district also, many of whom have saved money and bought landed property; the general result being that, while the rent receiving class is somewhat going down, the cultivating class is rising gradually in importance. In the Coimbatore district, where the sharing system obtains to a considerable extent, the share of the landlord on dry lands is now one-half the gross produce instead of as in 1850 one-half of the net produce after deducting the expenses of cultivation. In the South Canara and Malabar districts, the waram system does not obtain, lands being leased out to tenants on fixed money and produce rents.
61. In the preceding paragraphs I have endeavoured to
set some of the more important points which have been
observable in the agricultural labour market. I am
aware that many of the figures I have given are not in
itself significant, but they do show that the position of
our agricultural labourers is in many respects one of
great distress and hardship. The wages paid are very
low, and the hours of labour are long. The intervals of
rest are short, and the conditions of work are bad. The
excess of deaths over births is a serious matter, and
the mortality is high. The wages are insufficient to
provide for the needs of the family, and the standard of
living is low. The conditions of work are such that
many of the labourers are forced to work under
conditions which are unhealthy and dangerous. The
wages are too low to provide for the education of the
children, and the standard of education is low. The
conditions of work are such that many of the labourers
are forced to work under conditions which are
unhealthy and dangerous. The wages are too low to
provide for the education of the children, and the
standard of education is low. The conditions of work
are such that many of the labourers are forced to work
under conditions which are unhealthy and dangerous.

62. The wages paid to agricultural labourers are very
low, and the hours of labour are long. The intervals of
rest are short, and the conditions of work are bad. The
excess of deaths over births is a serious matter, and
the mortality is high. The wages are insufficient to
due for the needs of the family, and the standard of
living is low. The conditions of work are such that
many of the labourers are forced to work under
conditions which are unhealthy and dangerous. The
wages are too low to provide for the education of the
children, and the standard of education is low. The
conditions of work are such that many of the labourers
are forced to work under conditions which are
unhealthy and dangerous. The wages are too low to
provide for the education of the children, and the
standard of education is low. The conditions of work
are such that many of the labourers are forced to work
under conditions which are unhealthy and dangerous.

63. The wages paid to agricultural labourers are very
low, and the hours of labour are long. The intervals of
rest are short, and the conditions of work are bad. The
excess of deaths over births is a serious matter, and
the mortality is high. The wages are insufficient to
due for the needs of the family, and the standard of
living is low. The conditions of work are such that
many of the labourers are forced to work under
conditions which are unhealthy and dangerous. The
wages are too low to provide for the education of the
children, and the standard of education is low. The
conditions of work are such that many of the labourers
are forced to work under conditions which are
unhealthy and dangerous. The wages are too low to
provide for the education of the children, and the
standard of education is low. The conditions of work
are such that many of the labourers are forced to work
under conditions which are unhealthy and dangerous.
per dien all through the year, or a little more than twice the
value of his daily ration, in grain, may be taken as the
average wages of an adult labourer. Servants of the degraded
castes, such as Parahs and Pallars, probably get 25 per
cent. less, as they are not allowed to enter the houses of the
ryots and attend to cattle and other household work, while
other servants, to whom the objection does not apply, prob-
bly get 25 per cent. more. Taking the labouring classes as
a whole, the improvement in their condition in recent years is
manifested, not in any clearly visible rise in the standard of
living of the lowest grades or in the comforts that they
enjoy, but in the fact of a considerable proportion of the
labourers, who, under the old conditions, would have remained
in the lowest grade, having been drafted into the next higher
grade, while a portion of the latter has gone into the grade
which is next higher, and so on. Thus, a percentage of
labourers of the pariah class, as will be seen from Mr. Clerk's
account, has gone into the grade of peasants, and a con-
siderable percentage of peasants has gone into the class of
tenants, paying definite sums in cash or kind, while a portion
of the latter has acquired landed property and become
peasants. Confining our attention to the lowest classes—
the Parahs and the Pallars—one would hardly be inclined
to believe that their condition could, at any time, have
possibly been worse than it is at present, but there is no
doubt that this was the case. The statistics, compiled in the
Census office and kindly furnished to me by Mr. H. A. Steu-
art, show that, in the three districts of Taunja, Chingleput
and South Arcot, in which these classes are found in large
numbers, a considerable proportion possesses landed prop-
erty. In Taunja, the Pallar and Pariah populations,
according to the recent census, comprises 357,700 persons;
of these, 24,600 persons, or 6 per cent. of the families,
taking 5 persons to a family, possess land. In the Chingleput
and South Arcot districts, the Pallar populations is altogether
insignificant. In the former district, of the Pariah popula-
tion amounting to 316,000, 96,000 persons, or 12 per cent.
of the families possess land. In the South Arcot district
the number of possessors of landed property is very consider-
able, being 196,000 out of a population of 383,000, or 50 per
cent. of the families. As regards the landless labourers, all
the measures of Government during the last forty or fifty
years have tended to ameliorate the condition of the lowest
dawn-trodden classes so far as it is in the power of laws or
administrative arrangements to do so; and in this respect
the policy pursued by the Indian Government has been more
liberal than that in force in England itself till within very recent times. Agricultural slavery, which, in this country, originated mainly in voluntary contract, was abolished in 1844, and labourers declared to be free to carry their labour where they pleased or to emigrate without being subjected to any harassing restrictions, such as those in force in Russia, for instance, where no passport is allowed to travel 30 miles from his own domicile without observing irksome formalities and paying from 7s. to 10s. for a passport. Labourers freely emigrate to Burma, the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Mauritius and the West Indies, and as Mr. Clerk, the Settlements Officer in Tangier, points out, very often labourers who have received advances or loans from landholders “do take their departure without payment.” The labourers are now quite aware that the higher classes dare not molest them, and the abolition of the system of coercive or compulsory labour on Government works has taken away all excuse for doing so.

The abolition of torture, as one of the recognised methods of enforcing discipline, of collecting the revenue or detecting crime, and the severity with which violations of the law in this respect have been punished, have clearly demonstrated to the labourers that the employment of the old coercive methods in the execution of work will not be tolerated by Government, and that labourers might be consigned to remain in their service, but not compelled to do so. The non-recognition of class distinctions and the special privileges claimed by missionaries to keep the lower classes out of the occupation of land, and the uniform treatment accorded to all paddies, whether recent occupants or ancient missionaries, in all administrative arrangements have raised the position of the lower classes, if they have somewhat depressed that of the higher classes. Numbers among the Parish population have enlisted as sepoys, and several have found employment in the domestic establishments of Europeans as cooks, nurses, housekeepers, gardeners, &c., and also in factories, plantations and manufactories. Missionary agencies have also done this class invaluable service by establishing schools and by teaching them to live, whenever their circumstances would permit it, in a more respectable manner than they have been accustomed to do for ages, and by interfering for their protection and advocating their cause whenever there is any real or fancied danger of their being oppressed by the classes above them.

The working of the laws of apprenticeship and indentures or lease, against combination of workmen, were all struck in England in the interest of capitalists. The last restrictions of combination laws were abolished only in 1879, and they were reduced to existence by statutory authority in 1884.
I am informed that forty or fifty years ago, in some parts of the country, landholders used to have two measures, one of the usual capacity for ordinary transactions, and the other, a somewhat smaller one, for measuring out wages to the labourers who were thus cheated out of a part of their customary due. This infamous practice has now, I believe, been completely discontinued. Further examination of the condition of this class must be the outcome of educational agencies employed in connection with missionary enterprise: and indeed, the best thing that can happen to them is conversion to either the Christian or the Muhammadan religion, for there is no hope for them within the pale of Hinduism, the ordinances of which originated in a state of things in which it was necessary for a small minority of colonists of a superior race, with a view to prevent their civilization from becoming swamped by the surrounding barbarism, to construct "moral barriers," which would absolutely prevent fusion of races. The lower classes themselves are finding out this and the work of conversion is proceeding apace in some parts of the Presidency, for instance, in Tinnevelly, Nellore, Kizhun and Malabar. Mr. Melver, in the census report of 1881, writes: "The extensive conversion to Muhammadanism of the lower castes of Hindus in Malabar has, for some years, been a matter of notoriety. The social distinctions created by caste are very marked in parts of the West Coast districts, and some of the lower castes occupy a very degraded position. The advantages which Moplahs or Hindu-sprung Mussalmans enjoy in this respect are obvious enough, and this seems at last to have dawned on the lower caste Hindus. The Moplahs were willing to receive them, and the work has of late years thriven." The increase of the Muhammadan population of Malabar in the decade ending 1881 was 12.3, while the increase in the total population was only 3.4 per cent. The Anglican missionaries in Tinnevelly, and the Bapists in Kizhun and Nellore, made large additions to their followers in the ten years ending 1881, the increase in the Christian population in the three districts in that decade being 37.4, 97.1 and 889.4 per cent., respectively, while there was an increase in the total population of Tinnevelly and Kizhun of only 0.96 and 0.82 per cent., respectively, and a decrease in Nellore of 11.4 per cent. on

---

9 An attempt was made by some philanthropic Hindu gentlemen in Bombay, under the inspiration of the late Mr. C. Douglas Clark, to organise a system of teaching for the Parsee population, but that in no instance might be made to the above ignorance and grinding Repression of this class. The attempt, however, ultimately failed.
account of the famine of 1876-78. As soon as a person of the lowest classes of the Hindu population is converted either to the Christian or the Muhammadan religion, he emerges at a bound from his position of social degradation, and is acknowledged by persons belonging to the higher classes to have done so; and he often turns the tables against the latter by calling them "Kafirs" or "Heathens." It is also noteworthy to what extent the removal of the social stigma of degradation stimulates the industrial activity of the classes who have been relieved of it. The Moguls of Malabar, for instance, are far more active, enterprising and well to do than the classes of the Hindus from whom they have ascended. The work of conversion, however, can only proceed pari passu with the improvement in the material condition of the lower classes of which it is both a consequence and a cause; for, conversion implies a desire to live a more respectable life on the part of the degraded classes than what they have been accustomed to, and the means for doing so must be within reach before the desire is felt. As regards the further amelioration of the condition of the Pariah population, which has recently excited so much public attention, it seems to me that it would be erroneous to assume that they are worse off now than they were fifty years ago, or that they are oppressed by the landholders. On the contrary, they are distinctly better off than before in the sense that they have a great many more opportunities of bettering their condition than were available under the old régime, and of which an appreciable percentage of the casts has actually availed itself. There is, however, still a large class which, though somewhat better than before, is in a deplorably miserable and degraded condition, and its amelioration must, as already observed, be brought about by educational agencies; and it is in this direction that the efforts of Government should be directed, and not, as is sometimes advocated, in the procuring of bene- fits to the labouring classes at the expense of the land-owning classes which can only have the effect of introducing among the two classes, as necessary to one another, a spirit of mutual hostility similar to what is growing up in England to the injury of both. There is one hopeful feature in the situation, viz., that the Pariahs, notwithstanding centuries of social degradation, are singularly docile, attached to their masters, amenable to instruction and not unintelligent; and there can be little doubt but that a great deal may be made of them and that their improvement is not such a difficult or hopeless undertaking as one might be inclined to think when one sees their present degraded condition in the rural parts.
When we compare the smart intelligent looking servant in an Anglo-Indian household with the "Panadi" who, in point of intelligence, does not, to all appearance, compare very favorably with the cattle he tends, we should be hardly inclined to suspect that the two belong to the same class of the population. Parasols who serve as sepoys in the Indian army have the reputation of being the best of the recruits from the population of Southern India.

62. Among the propertied classes, the military class, and more especially the Poligars who used to lead plundering expeditions, have become peaceful landholders, and, as such, while they have benefited by the rise in the prices of landed property, they have lost their old power and influence. Referring to the Poligars and the robber castes of the Tanjorely District, Bishop Caldwell says: "Of the many beneficent changes that have taken place, one of the most remarkable is that which we see in the Poligars themselves. The Polgar has become a Zemindar, and has changed his nature as well as his name. One can scarcely believe it possible that the peaceful Nayaka and Marava Zemindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent and apparently untameable chiefs, of whose deeds of violence and during the history of the last century is so full. One asks also, can it really be true that the peaceful Nayaka rajas of the present day are the lineal descendants of those fierce retainers of the Poligars who were so ready, at the merest word of their chief, to shed either their own blood or that of their chiefs' enemies? The change wrought amongst the poorer classes is not perhaps so complete, but many of them have merged their traditional occupation of watchmen in the safer and more reputable occupation of husbandmen, and it may fairly be said of the majority of the members of the caste that though once the terror of the country, they are now so amenable to law and reason as any other classes." The only question is whether, under the Roman peace established by the British Raj, the transformation above described is not too complete, and whether, while the suppression of the power of lawless chiefs and their retainers was, at the outset, undoubtedly the first condition of civilized government and general progress, the time has not now arrived for finding some means of utilizing the waning martial spirit of these classes, before it is completely crushed out, for purposes of the defence of the country in the hour of trial, when every available resource may have to be strained to the utmost. The problem is certainly a difficult
one, but it cannot be that British statesmanship will be unable to find a solution, more especially as steps have been already taken for rendering the armies, maintained by Native States effective for purposes of Imperial defence. Whether it might not be possible to introduce some plan by which the larger Zemindars, whose estates are as large as small kingdoms, might be entrusted with the duty of training a certain number of multitudes to be kept as a kind of reserve for purposes of Police and internal defence in times of danger, under strict supervision and adequate guarantees for good behaviour, it is not competent for lay men to decide; they can only note the necessity for something being done in this direction. Meanwhile, the entire closure of the military career to the junior members of Hindu and Muhammadan families of high rank and military reputation, and the necessity imposed on all of them to obtain a living entirely out of the landed estates of the heads of their families which do not grow with the growth in their numbers, or to enter a civil profession for which they may have no special aptitudes, is a serious drawback from the point of view of that many-sided development which is an essential condition of the economic progress of the country.

Another class, which has suffered under the present régime, consists of the favourites and minions of Native chiefs who had fattened on the substance of the poor and are now no longer allowed to do so. It is the existence of this class, to some extent, that gives the capital cities of Native States an appearance of greater wealth and prosperity than is the case in the cities of British territory, where wealth is more diffused and less concentrated in particular localities. The town of Tanjore is an instance. Though the Rajah of Tanjore was relieved of the administration of that province in the beginning of the century, he was paid annually for over half a century one-fifth of all its revenues for the maintenance of his court besides a fixed allowance of three and a half lakhs, and all this money was spent within that single town. Thousands of families lived on his bounty; palatial buildings sprang up in various parts of the town, and music and painting and other arts, which minister to the pleasures of a luxurious court, flourished. When the Raj became extinct, misfortune overtook the thousands of families of impregnative coöperators who had not been bred in any useful occupation, and the town has not yet recovered from the blow, while the other towns in the district have greatly increased in size and wealth. The ruined buildings in the Tanjore town no doubt...
attain its former magnificence, and place in strong relief its present decayed condition as a centre of wealth; but in point of fact, industrially speaking, the town is not now, probably, in a less flourishing condition than it was ever before.

A third class, which has increased in numbers, but has lost in individual share of the wealth of the country, consists of the Native bankers, sawars and baines. Formerly, there was no security for property except in the capital cities and their vicinity, and all the wealth was found concentrated there. A few men, who were in favour with the chiefs, monopolised all the banking business of the country, issued bills of exchange (or bawals), and earned them, and thus made colossal fortunes like the "Navakano Nanuha Chottu" of the Hindu tales. Their association with the ruling chiefs, whose necessities they fed, gave them immense power, and though they were themselves sometimes plundered, as for instance, when Hyder levied a contribution of 70 lakhs of rupees from the bankers of Mycora, they had great opportunities of enriching themselves by altering the rates of exchange for coins, of which large numbers were current. According to Mr. Gross (1787), Zemindars and others had to offer as security "seepa" or promissory notes of sawars, or other moneyed men, for about two-thirds of the revenue of the tracts of country farmed out by Government to them, Mr. White, a member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George, in 1780, mentions thus, that the low rates fixed on copper currency and the tracts of the sawars in altering the rate of exchange, the poor cultivators were defrauded of a great part of the wages of their daily labour, that the shroffs used to raise or lower, in a few days, by combination, the rates of exchange by 10 or 15 per cent., and that the evil had operated, in a material degree, to depopulate the country during the famine which had then occurred.69 The account given by Tavernier as to the rates of discount on bills of

---

69 Mr. Words, the Collector of Malabar, mentions a curious arrangement about the renting of rice (zarap repairing which was his force in England in 1662. He says: "The peasant farming the coocher, from his very particular store, pays the new bawal, which he finds coming and remaining for the period of his bawal which is limited to one year. If he introduce the new bawal, they in the Malabar of Chingleput (part of August and September), at which time it is sold for 20 bawal the bawal at the rate of 40 per cent. as the amount of the gross, and in addition to the amount of the gross, they often give a tax of one of the village of the country (in which no former interest was payable), the farmer attaches with the bawal, and disposes of the rice of the rate of 20% to the bawal, after which the price decreases in prooration to the demand, the rice might be sold at 20 rupees the tax, (beginning of March), in which month and more fair happen, when the former farmers of the bawal at 40 or 20 bawal. The rate of exchange of bawal, after the negotiation of the bawal, becomes too ruinous to act, and the money will be kept.
exchange issued by Indian bankers will show how their gains were made up. The rates of exchange for goods payable at Surat within two months were: at Lahore on Surat, 4½ per cent.; Agra 1 to 1⅔ per cent.; Surat ⅔ per cent.; Burhapore 2½ to 3 per cent.; Dacca 10 per cent.; Patna 7 to 8 per cent.; Bombay 6 per cent.; Calcutta from $ to 9 per cent.; Dacca 6 per cent.; Bijnur 8 per cent.; and Downhatabad 1 to 1½ per cent. Tavernier adds: "In some places the exchange rises 1 to 2 per cent., where there are Rajahs or petty tributary princes, who interfere with trade, each claiming that the goods ought to traverse his territory and pay him custom. There are two in particular between Agra and Ahmedabad, one of whom is the Rajah of Antawar (Dahaw or Dantewar), and the other the Rajah of Bergum (possibly Wimpole), who disturb the merchants much in reference to this matter. One may, however, avoid passing the territories of these two princes by taking another route, from Agra and Surat by way of Surat and Burhapore; but these are fertile lands, interspersed by several rivers, the greater number of which are without bridges and without boats, and it is impossible to pass until two months after the rainy season. It is for this reason that the merchants, who have to be at Surat in the season for going to sea, generally take their way through the country of these two Rajahs, because they are able to traverse it at all seasons, even in the time of the rains, which consolidate the sand with which the whole country is covered. Besides, it is not to be wondered at that the exchange is so high, for those who lend the money run, for their part, the risk that if the goods are stolen the money is lost to them." Tavernier's remarks illustrate the difficulties which trade had to contend with owing to the general insecurity of property in the country and the absence of easy communications, and they further show how it was possible for a few merchants and bankers to accumulate enormous wealth at the
expense of the general community. We thus learn that the banking firm of Jagdees Sait, of Moolahabad, was plundered, during the Mahratta invasion of 1742 of specie to the amount of 23 millions sterling. Trade in the old days was, in fact, one of peril and adventure and restricted to a few individuals, who reaped enormous profits, which were sometimes expended in the construction of almshouses and temples, caravansaries, roads and bridges. All this is now changed. The extension of the security of property to all parts of the country, the adoption of a uniform currency, the introduction of the money order system and of currency notes and State banks and the creation of a public stock in which money can be invested with perfect security, have rendered it now impossible for the money-lending classes to make the enormous gains which they did in former times. Their loss, in this respect, however, is as nothing compared with the immense gain to the public resulting from the decentralisation of money and capital, increased conveniences for the transfer of money, and the more secure investment of savings. The value of the money orders now issued at trifling cost amounts annually to 12 millions Rs for the whole of India, and 15 million Rs for the Madras Presidency; the bank notes in circulation amount to 16 millions and 2 millions respectively. The deposits in the savings banks have also increased from 0.4 millions Rs in 1857-58 to 66 millions Rs in 1885-86 for the whole of India. There can be no doubt, however, that with the increase of trade and the growth of a money economy, money-lending classes have increased in large numbers and spread all through the country instead of being confined to the towns. According to the returns of income-tax for the year 1880-81, there were in this Presidency 14,921 money-lenders with incomes exceeding Rs 500 per annum. There is no means of forming an estimate of petty money-lenders with less income than Rs 500. The tax paid by the former class amounted to nearly Rs 3,35,000, and the income assessed may be estimated at 1½ millions Rs. The income is not large as compared with incomes in European countries, but it is much larger than was the case formerly in this country, and, being made up of smaller profits that before, denotes increased activity of trade.

Other mercantile and trading classes have increased largely in numbers and are in a prosperous condition, owing to the development of trade of which a full account has already been given. As in the case of money-lenders, the income of this class is made up of small gains in a large number of transactions and not by large profits in a small
number of transactions. This is a wholesome change, for, as has been pertinently observed, the advantages of trade can no more be measured by the gains of individual traders than the advantages of learning by the salaries of schoolmasters. The gains of traders represent the sacrifice incurred for securing the advantages of trade, and the less the sacrifice and the more the volume of trade, the greater the advantage to the general community.

Among the learned professions, the official classes have also increased in numbers, owing especially to the increased activity of Local Fund administration. Barristers, vakils and other legal practitioners are rising into importance. According to the income-tax returns the income assessed, that is, of legal practitioners who get not less than Rs. 500 per annum is about 26 lakhs of rupees. 1,004 persons get an income of nearly 10 lakhs of rupees and 357 persons an income of 16 lakhs of rupees. Of the latter, 47 persons, with an income of about 6 lakhs, reside in the Presidency town, and 220 persons, with an income of 10 lakhs, reside in the coastal stations.

65. Among the artisan classes, the decline of hand-loom weavers has already been referred to. All handicrafts patronized by native courts, such as painting, manufacture of articles of luxury, pithe-work, etc., have disappeared with those courts. This change is due not so much to the competition of European manufactures as to revolution in taste. The decline of indigenous arts is certainly a matter for regret, but it is a small factor in the present economic condition of the country. As regards cotton handloom manufacture, Mr. T. N. Mukharji, in his Art Manufactures of India, says: “Notwithstanding the extent of their present production, cotton manufactures in the old style are in their last gasp. The few small pieces of wood and bamboo tied with stripes of twined silk thread, which the weaver calls his loom, and which he can as easily make himself as buy from his neighbour, the village carpenter, can no more compete with the powerful machinery than a village cart of Western Bengal can run a race with the ‘Flying Scotsman.’ Yet the worker is that cotton fabric can still be manufactured with the old primitive loom all over the country. In one sense, it is a misfortune that it should be so; for it shows the low value of human labour in India. Machinery, with all its modern improvements, seems to contend in vain with a moribund industry, that must linger on as long as the worker in it has nothing more to do than to produce from
it 4d. a day as the joint earnings of himself, his wife, a boy and a girl. These that wield the machinery should try their health together and derive means to teach the people how better to employ their hands in other crafts. Another reason why Indian looms can still compete with Lancashire goods is that the European process of manufacture has not yet been able to give the fabrics that strength for which native manufacturers have a reputation. Nor has the machinery yet been able to make those substance fabrics for which a wealthy Indian always paid a fabulous price. In the present stage of industrial development it is the useful and not the artistic and ornamental that is likely to be sought after in this country, and it is perhaps right that this should be so. When the whole community was divided into two sections, one consisting of a few individuals enormously rich and living entirely on the produce of the labour of the other consisting of an immense mass of the population in abject poverty whose property and even life were completely at their mercy, there was room for the existence of a class of handicraftsmen who could obtain a living by manufacturing articles of luxury. Now the greater diffusion of wealth and the decline of the classes who patronised them have rendered it necessary that these artisans should turn their attention to the manufacture of such articles as are in general demand among the population. When wealth increases and a class of merchant princes such as mark a high and not a low stage of industrial and commercial development springs up, there will again arise a demand for articles of luxury, though not necessarily of the old type.

The condition of black-smiths, brass-smiths, gold-smiths, carpenters and masons is very prosperous, owing to the demand for jewellery for substantial houses and for metal vessels which are coming into general use. The cheapened cost of metal including gold and silver, has created the demand for metal vessels and jewels. Since 1850, about 140 millions sterling worth of gold and a still larger value of silver have been imported into the country, and this great influx of the precious metals provides sufficient occupation for gold-smiths. The wages of artisans generally, as will be seen from the statement of wages printed in the appendix V.-E. (b), have greatly risen. Of the Coalitions District, Mr. Nicholson remarks that town wages are very high; higher indeed, considering the efficiency of the workman, than in England. Irrespective of the quantity of work; the food purchasing power of the wages of skilled labour in towns is quite equal to that of similar wages in England, where
money is much cheaper and the artisan's wants much more numerous, owing to the cold and damp climate and other demands. Ordinary carpenters can, with their daily wages, buy about 20 or 22 lb. of dry grain free of all tax (30 to 35 lb. with the tax). As the artisan's sons work with him, and as work is plentiful and the caste a small one, he is well off. Tables and chairs, which are coming into use among the educated classes, have afforded increased employment to carpenters, while they have affected prejudicially the carpet-weaving industry. Another noticeable feature in the present situation is the gradual rise of the capital artisan, who, to some extent, turns out finished products in his factory and sells them, instead of partly fashioning the materials supplied to him by persons in need of the articles and receiving the wages of labour.

94. The best means of finding out whether the economic condition of the country has improved or not is to enquire whether the standard of living has risen or not among all but the lowest classes of labourers who practically live from hand-to-mouth. There is ample evidence that this has been the case. On this point I have obtained the opinions of a number of gentlemen who have had exceptional opportunities of forming an intelligent and trustworthy opinion as to the condition of labourers in different parts of the country at the present time as compared with their condition in the old days. The facts stated in the previous portions of this memorandum place it beyond doubt that the vast majority of labourers were in a state of abject poverty amounting to almost destitution fifty years ago. In this connection refer-

The following extract from a recent report of the Commissioner of Public Debt on the condition of European Turkey shows the extent of the awakening of the mass of the population to the want of their country:

The report, in the country has induced his superiors to visit various parts of the country for the purpose of obtaining information. The Commissioner, in his report, states that the want of money is a great hindrance to the advancement of the country. He says:

In the case of the country's agriculture, the roads are in a very bad state, and the peasants are unable to produce sufficient food for themselves. The prices of grain have risen to an alarming degree, and the peasants are compelled to sell their grain at a loss. The price of flour has also risen, and the peasants are unable to afford bread to their families. The price of meat is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford meat to their families. The price of clothing is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford clothing to their families. The price of necessaries of life is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford necessaries of life to their families. The price of luxuries is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford luxuries to their families.

The Commissioner says:

The peasants are in a state of destitution, and the country is in a state of destitution. The peasants are unable to produce sufficient food for themselves, and the country is unable to produce sufficient food for itself. The roads are in a very bad state, and the peasants are unable to produce sufficient food for themselves. The price of grain is high, and the peasants are unable to afford bread to their families. The price of flour is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford bread to their families. The price of meat is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford meat to their families. The price of clothing is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford clothing to their families. The price of necessaries of life is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford necessaries of life to their families. The price of luxuries is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford luxuries to their families.

The Commissioner says:

The peasants are in a state of destitution, and the country is in a state of destitution. The peasants are unable to produce sufficient food for themselves, and the country is unable to produce sufficient food for itself. The roads are in a very bad state, and the peasants are unable to produce sufficient food for themselves. The price of grain is high, and the peasants are unable to afford bread to their families. The price of flour is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford bread to their families. The price of meat is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford meat to their families. The price of clothing is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford clothing to their families. The price of necessaries of life is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford necessaries of life to their families. The price of luxuries is also high, and the peasants are unable to afford luxuries to their families.
case should be made in particular to the description of the income and the ways of living of even the richer ryots given by Mr. Bourdillon, whose account is printed in the appendix H. It is true that there is a considerable portion of the ryot class which still answers to Mr. Bourdillon’s description, but it is also true that there is a class—a daily increasing one—which seeks and enjoys more comfort. This is evidenced in various ways. The number of houses as shown by the last census has increased in a greater ratio than the population; and tiled and terraced houses are superseding the old thatched cottages. Better clothing, especially of elegant and costly kinds for women, has come into ordinary use among the higher classes in most districts, and in the Southern districts women of the present day will not, as Mr. Senhajur, Professor of the Kumbhakonam College, observes, even look at the coarse clothing which their grandmothers wore. In the richer families servants for doing the menial work are being more largely employed than before. Much larger quantities of gold and silver jewels are now worn. Metal vessels have, to a very large extent, taken the place of earthen vessels, even among the lower classes, and rice is becoming a part of the ordinary diet of the classes which, in former days, would have used it as a luxury on special festive occasions. A great deal of money is being spent on the education of children. The money expended in schoolbooks for a single boy would formerly have sufficed to maintain two adults. It is true, at the same time, that everybody feels that his means are inadequate to the satisfaction of his wants, but this is not because his means have not increased, but because his wants have increased in a greater ratio. Formerly, none but the richest would have dreams of giving collegiate education to their children. Now persons with very small means wish to educate their sons and make great sacrifices for this purpose. Sometimes the sons turn out well, but occasionally they do not, and, in the latter case, great is the suffering inflicted on the parents. Nevertheless, the general effect, both on the parents and the sons, of this state of things, is very beneficial. Formerly, the father would have pinched himself and saved to leave his children property for subsistence. Now he saves to give them education leaving them to earn their living. Indeed, the benefits of education are so much appreciated that even if the father be not willing to educate his children, the mother insists on its being done. Lads who have been educated and who have passed University examinations are so much
sought after by parents as suitable husbands for their daughters that they command a high price in the matrimonial market. The following extracts from the report of the Bengal Salaries Commission, 1886, describing the rise in the standard of living among the official and other classes in that province, might almost, word for word, be taken as accurately portraying the condition of things in the more advanced districts in this Presidency:

"We find it quite impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the actual cost of marriages, because our informants' statements vary so much one from the other. It seems, however, that the marriage of a son does not, as a rule, cost so very much more than it did in old days; indeed, some people tell us that a father may even gain by his son's marriage. It is a strange but undoubted fact that acade-

mical distinctions command a very high price in the matrimonial market, a youth who has several 'University passes' being regarded as a very desirable partner and having to be highly paid to induce him to bow to his head in marriage. It would also seem that "Kulimah," or the practice of marrying a daughter to a man of the very highest section of one's caste, and paying a large sum for the honour of having so exalted a son-in-law, is dying out in proportion as academ-

ical honours and the success in life to which they lead are more and more valued. In other cases, however, the cost of getting a daughter married is very heavy, and at times is even ruinous, in men of limited means, such as are most of the ministerial officers; and the spread of education, so far from having led to more reasonable practices, seems rather to have exercised a contrary influence.

"Native ladies and children also now wear more clothes than formerly. Although, for obvious reasons, we cannot go deeply into this delicate subject, we have ample evidence to show that both in material, fashion, and ornamentation, female clothing is more costly than before. Children also, who even in respectable families wore no clothes at all during their early years, are now often clothed in expensive garments. It must not, however, be forgotten that some articles of clothing are cheaper than formerly, such as those made of English piece-goods and the like. It is doubtful how far this obviou\n
s counterbalance the increased outlay caused by a love of finery.

"Under the head of dress comes the important question of jewelry. This also, we think, must always have formed a serious item in Indian domestic economy, because, in days
when life and property were unsafe, a man usually invested his gain and earnings in jewelry and gold and silver orna-
ments for his women. These could be buried in the ground in time of danger or sold to procure funds in time of distress.
It seems therefore probable that the increase of expenditure under this head will be found rather in more exquisite work-
manship, the greater use of precious stones, and more valuable materials generally, than in the greater number of articles worn by native ladies. On this subject, one of the geetawans, already quoted, writes as follows: 'It would be
rudious to enumerate the different kinds of jewelry; simple
gold is now despised and a profusion of precious stones is
considered indispensable. A lady in the class of society to
which I belong would be considered poorly adorned on three
thousand rupees. Five thousand would be nearer the mark.'

"With the progress of knowledge and science the old
system of native medicine with its charms, incantations and
other superstitions is fast dying out, and resort is freely had
to the European method of treatment. The good derived
from this change is great and palpable, and no man be-
regardless even heavy expenditure to save the lives of himself or
his family. Many, however, look back, with some regret, to
the native system, which, whatever its failings, was remark-
ably cheap. There was no such thing as the settled daily
fee of a physician, much less a fee for each visit. The
remuneration of a native physician (kabira) generally de-
ended on the pecuniary means of the patient. For ordinary
cases requiring three or four days' treatment, a fee of a
couple of rupees, including the price of medicine, was
considered fair for a family man whose income was Rs. 30
or Rs. 60 per annum; at the present time and under the
altered system, four times the sum would meet the require-
ments of such a case. In modern times the same class
suffer great distress owing to their inability, for want of
means, to obtain good medical advice and medicine for their
family and children."

There can be no doubt that the higher and middle classes
live much more respectably than in the old days, and, as
there is nothing in the present regime to specially favour those
classes, and, as there are no such sharp differences in wealth
between the several grades of society as exist in European
countries, the rise in the standard of living above noticed
may be taken as an index of general property. The rise
in the standard of living is sometimes very erroneously attri-
hated to the diffusion of habits of extravagance. A sudden increase of prosperity before a taste for rational modes of enjoyment is developed, no doubt, gives rise to extravagant unproductive expenditure in particular directions, as was the case during the years of the cotton famine when the ryots, especially in the Bombay Presidency, reaped enormous profits which were spent on marriages and festivals with the result that, when the profits ceased, the inevitable crash soon followed. Then the ryote learn a lesson which will not soon be forgotten. I know that in the Tanjore district there has been a wholesome change in recent years in this respect, less being now spent on marriages and show on special occasions and more on education and substantial comforts. The show rise in the standard of living, such as has been observable of late years, cannot be the result of formation of habits of extravagance, for large sections of society cannot continue to live well, unless they have the means to do so. "An interesting German writer," says Professor Cliffe Leslie, "has reproduced one of the popular theories of Elizabeth's reign—that luxury, ostentation, and expensive habits among all classes are the causes of the modern dearth of living, and not the abundance of money. There cannot, however, be more money spent, if people have no more to spend than before. A mere change in the ideas and desires of society would add nothing to the number of pieces of money, and could not affect the sum total of the pieces. If more money were spent upon houses, furniture, and show, less would remain, if pecuniary means were not increased, to be spent upon labour and food, and the substantial necessities of life; and if the former become dearer, the latter would at the same time become cheaper. But, when people have really more money than formerly to spend, they naturally spend more than they formerly did, and their unaccustomed expenditure is considered excessive and extravagant. And, when an increase in the pecuniary incomes of large classes arises from, or accompanies, greater commercial activity and general progress, there commonly is a general taste for a better or more costly style of living than there was at a lower stage of society. There is always, it is true, much folly and vanity in human expenditure; and masses of men do not become philosophers of a sudden because they are making more money. But their state is improving on the whole when their trade is increasing, and the value of their produce rising to a level with that of the most forward communities, and when the lowest classes are breaking the shackles of barbarous custom, and furnishing life with better accommodations.
tian than servile and ignorant bards could appreciate." These remarks are, to a great extent, applicable to the transformation that is taking place in this country among the higher classes and to some slight degree among the lower classes of the population also. The desire to live in a respectable manner, to give a good education to their sons, to procure greater comfort, and it may be more expensive jewels for their wives, and to marry their daughters to young men who have received an English education and who will not treat them merely in the light of household drudges have compelled many men, who, under the old conditions, would never have thought of leaving the neighborhood of their villages, to proceed to distant parts of the Presidency in search of a competence. Even the means for making jewels is not without its good side. It is quite as legitimate, if less refined, a mode of enjoyment as costly furniture, drawn carriages, horses and dogs. The difference between the two methods of enjoyment lies in the fact that in the latter case the superfluities which constitute articles of luxury bear a smaller proportion to the capital devoted to production than in the former. Though the standard of living among the higher and middle classes in this country has risen, it is as yet nothing like what it is in European countries, and it ought to rise much higher if India is to attain to the same rank as European nations in industrial development. What is it that makes a rupee in the Coolie Districts or in Oudh so liable to suffer decrease when there is even a partial failure of crops? In the former district it is the capriciousness of the seasons and the low standard of living, and in the latter, isolation from the other parts of the country by want of communications and the low standard of living, that is the cause of the rupee's poverty and helpless condition. In countries in which people have very few wants and can live cheaply, the population increases up to the limits of bare subsistence, and, when a failure of seasons or other causes diminish in the least degree their resources, they are deprived of food and die off in large numbers.

65. Notwithstanding the great increase in population during the last decade, there is no reason to suppose that the population has as yet begun to press on the land in any part of the Presidency to such an extent as to cause any deterioration in the standard of living to which any class has hitherto been accustomed. The districts in which population is the densest are also districts in which all classes of the population, not excepting even the lowest, are comparatively
speaking, the most prosperous, while districts in which population is sparse are those in which the major part of it lives from hand-to-mouth. Tanjore, with a population as dense as 600 persons to the square mile, is a typical instance of districts of the former class, and Amantnagar and Karad, with 154 and 109 persons respectively, are examples of the latter. In Tanjore, as we have already seen, the real wages of agricultural labourers have considerably risen, and their condition has distinctly improved. The rate of increase of population in this district during the last decade, viz., 4-5 per cent., is no doubt very low as compared with the general rate for the whole Presidency, amounting to 15-5 per cent., but the reason for this is to be found not in insufficiency of the means of subsistence, but in emigration caused by the higher remuneration for labour obtainable in Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Burma, West Indies, &c. From the emigration returns it appears that the loss of population due to emigration, from 18th February 1881 to 20th February 1891, amounts to 97,257 persons, and if this number be added to the population as ascertained by the census of 1891, the real rate of increase in the Tanjore district will come out as 3-1 per cent., or double the rate shown by the census. It must also be remembered that, as emigrants are generally male adults, the effect of emigration on the birth-rate, calculated with reference to the whole population, is to depress the rates, while the effect of famine mortality, which falls heaviest on the old and the young, sparing nearly adults of the productive ages, is exactly the reverse. Thus the 97,257 emigrants, though forming only 8-5 per cent. of the total population, bear the proportion of 15 per cent. to the adult male population between the ages of 15 and 59, or, in other words, the reduction in the birth-rate due to emigration, assuming it to have operated throughout the ten years, may be taken at nearly one-fifth. The death-rates must also show an apparent increase in consequence of the larger proportion of the juvenile and aged persons left in the population, among whom the mortality, even under normal conditions, is heavy. In no district, so far as is known, is there any marked redundancy of labour in normal years, and, since the last famine, there is a deficiency of it in several districts. Even in a densely-peopled district like Vizagapatam, with 428 persons to the square mile, it has been found necessary to import thousands of labourers from such a great distance as the Punjab, for the construction of the East Coast Railway, local labour not being procurable at anything like reasonable rates. The same difficulty was felt in the
Kurnool and Kistna districts when the Bellary-Kistna Railway was under construction, large numbers of labourers had to be imported from Poona in the Bombay Presidency. In the drier districts, however, difficulty is now felt in finding labour for the construction of the Mayavaram-Mutupet Railway. There are many tracts, even in the river-irrigated parts of the Nellore and Kistna districts, where the extension of irrigation is held in check owing to the paucity of labourers for carrying on cultivation. On the whole, therefore, it seems clear that it is not so much the pressure of population as the precariousness of the seasons, which keeps down the economic condition of the ryots, especially in the districts situated on the tablelands between the Eastern and the Western Ghats.

The Kurnool district contains a population of about 818,000 persons. The area of ryotwara land under occupation is about 1,155,000 acres, and the extent of waste lands is 906,000 acres or 2 million acres in all. This gives an average 23 acres per head of the population. The average assessment of ryotwara land is nearly 1 rupee per acre corresponding to an output in dry grains, after deducting 25 per cent, on account of various losses of seasons, of 600 lbs. or 10 bushels according to the settlement calculations. Allowing even as much as 1½ lbs. per head of men, women and children—a very high all-round rate—the product of one acre per head ought to be sufficient to feed the entire population, leaving 1½ acres per head for seed, for fallows, for purchasing the other necessaries of life such as clothing and condiments and for payment of Government revenue. There is besides an additional acre per head of inferior land assessed at 3 acres 10 pies available for occupation, and there is a very great scope for extension of irrigation under the Cuddapah-Kurnool canal, should intensive cultivation in the form of application of irrigation in those sparsely-populated tracts become necessary.

The Anantapur district, which is the driest and the poorest in the Presidency, contains a population of 705,000 persons. The area of ryotwara land under occupation is 953,000 acres, besides waste lands 638,000 acres, or about 1½ million acres in all, which gives rather more than 3 acres per head. The poverty of the soil is shown by the fact that the average assessment is only 10 annas, while the average for the whole Presidency is 1 rupee. The ryot's condition is consequently more precarious in this district than in Kurnool. Nevertheless, even here the outcome in all normal years is more than sufficient to feed the population. There is a large area of unoccupied land amounting to 1 acre per head of the population, available for cultivation. The average assessment—
most of this land is 11 annas 6 pies, and it is therefore presumably not inferior in quality to the land now under occupation. This shows that the poverty of the district and the low condition of the population are due to the precariousness of the seasons and sterile soil, and that the state of things was just the same or even worse when the population was only one-half of what it is now. It must at the same time be admitted that, while it is undoubtedly true that the population has not so far trenchèd upon the means of subsistence, it is equally true that if the population increases in anything like the rate at which it has been doing during the last ten years without any corresponding increase in the productive powers of lands but also in habits of thrifts and prudence among the ryots themselves, every effort to ameliorate the condition of the masses must be hopeless and where it began. During the last ten years, there is no doubt that production has increased in a greater ratio than the population by the extension of irrigation as is evidenced by the fact that, while the land revenue demand prior to 1876 was about 450 lakhs, it is now 490 lakhs, or 40 lakhs in excess, inclusive of allowances to Hindu religious institutions deducted from the beris or the demand. Of these 40 lakhs, only about 8 lakhs represent the increase due to enhancement of the settlement rates, the remainder being due either to extension of irrigation or to cultivation of superior soils which has become profitable owing to the opening up of remote tracts by means of communications. The land revenue is also collected with the greatest ease; the area of land sold for arrears of revenue is hardly 1 per cent. of the total area of holdings, and the greater portion of such lands as are sold are generally those on the margin of cultivation, which are taken up by the ryots or relinquished at their pleasure. Till before the last two years the ryots of the greater portion of the Presidency had a run of good seasons, and the creditable self-reliance which they have shown under the adverse circumstances of the last two years affords satisfactory proof of the fact that their position has materially improved. Their resources, however, have been already strained a great deal, and another bad season next year may bring them down, and we can only hope that this may not occur. The Government has already now done nearly all that is possible for it to do in the way of extending irrigation facilities and opening up the country by the extension of railways and other communications. When the Pendiur project is completed, more than 106,000 acres in the Madura district will be efficiently irrigated, and the Meler taluk, notoriously the poorest taluk
in the districts containing a predatory population, which derives its subsistence more from other tracts than from its own soil, will be protected to a considerable extent from droughts which now occur almost every second year. The Rishikhulis irrigation project will add another 120,000 acres of permanently irrigated land to the food-producing area of the country. The tank restoration scheme which is under execution, and which has almost removed the chronic complaint about the neglect of irrigation works will improve the yield of lands now under cultivation. The large numbers of wells for irrigation, which have been excavated with advances granted by Government under the Land Improvement Loans Acts on very favorable terms, have also opened the means of protecting and tract from partial drought. The East Coast Railway will bring the very fertile and sparsely populated country of Jopore within reach of the crowded parts of the Presidency to the advantage of both and be the means of lightening the pressure of population on the latter. It is sometimes asked, can railways prevent famine? The answer is simple. Railways, by distributing the produce of tracts where the harvest has been abundant in tracts where it has been scanty, give values to produce which would have been wasted or been allowed to rot for want of an outlet and thus mitigate the effects of scarcity, and they bring fertile regions shut off from the rest of the country by want of communications within easy reach of congested tracts. The idea of bringing laborers from Poona to work on the Holkar-Kistna Railway and from the Punjab to work on the East Coast Railway would, for instance, have been counted as absurd by even the wildest visionary in the pre-railway period. Above all, railways by equalizing prices and by preventing sudden and violent alternations in the condition of the masses, who are at one time gorged with plentiful mases of subsistence and soon after suffer the direst distress—a state of things most fatal to self-reliance—have rendered the creation of the habits of foresight and prudence possible. Life has been made somewhat harder than before to the poorest landless classes in times of plenty when the pressure is not severe, while, to the cultivating and landowning classes who form the bulk of the population, the means are made available of accumulating savings; and, in times of scarcity, when the pressure on the landless classes might be expected to be severe, the burden is lightened. Doubless, when parts of the country, which have hitherto been isolated from other tracts, are suddenly placed in communication with the latter, the result often is a feeling that they are demanded of food sup-
plies which are required for their own use. This feeling soon wears away, and when these parts suffer in their turn from scarcity, the effects of which are mitigated by supplies derived from other regions, the advantages of communications become at once manifest. I suppose this has been the case with Kurnool, where the season of 1860 was excellent, but the surplus produce was drawn off by the surrounding distressen tracts, the new railway assisting in the transport of grain. In 1854, when the crop failed in the Kurnool district itself, there were no stores of grain to fall back upon, and the result was that the population was taken by surprise. I believe the present distress and visit must have, in a great measure, been due to this cause. As regards the moral benefits conferred by railways, it is sufficient to say that they are of even greater importance in stimulating the intelligence of a already inert and stay-at-home population and removing provincial prejudices, than schools and Universities.

A great deal has been done by Government indirectly to improve the position of the agricultural classes. What remains to be done is, as Mr. Nicholson has put it in his excellent report on the economic condition of the Anantpur district, "to attack the root itself directly and to bring to bear on him the force of education in agriculture and rural economy." The situation is not a hopeless one; and Sir James David, a Member of the Finance Commission, who devoted considerable attention to the investigation of the agricultural conditions of the Presidency, has told us, "it is possible to obtain such a gradual increase of production in India as would meet the present rate of increase of population for a considerable time. One bushel per acre gained gradually in a period of ten years, in addition to a moderate reclamation of cultivable land, would meet the demand of the present growth of population. Considering the generally inferior nature of the soil, and that in most parts of India two crops can be got in the year, this would seem to be a possible result. By these two methods, widely combined, the increase of population may be safely provided for several generations. The attainment of this will be vastly increased by committing to each province the responsibility of the operations necessary for its own relief and of enlisting the active assistance of the most capable native officials, municipalities and landlords in the work." The increase of production has, however, its limits, and for a permanent marked improvement in the standard of living and the general condition of the masses, a change in the national habits in regard to early marriages is a necessary requisite. I have already in my
remarks on the increase of population alluded to the difficulties in this respect. We can only hope that, as institutions and practices, which not very long ago appeared as immovable as the everlasting hills, have been undergoing transformation, the difficulties referred to will, in the course of the next half century, disappear. Meanwhile, the lower classes, to whom the difficulties are not applicable, will have an advantage over the higher classes.

66. After what has been stated above, it is hardly necessary to say much on the question which engaged the attention of the Government of India two years ago, viz., "whether the greater proportion of the population suffer from a daily insufficiency of food." It is exceedingly difficult to give a categorical answer to a question of this kind without having a definite idea as to what is meant by insufficiency of food. As to certain broad facts, however, there can be no doubt. The population is mainly agricultural and a considerable portion miserably poor, not in the sense of wanting the means of subsistence in ordinary seasons according to the standard which the conditions of climate and resulting national habits formed in the course of ages have established, but in the sense of being without resources to fall back upon when adverse seasons appear in succession. That standard includes little more than the bare necessities of life, the secondary want being few; and, when adverse seasons occur, there is a portion of the population which has to reduce its rations and live partly on wild fruits and other inexpensive food as can be picked up on the way side. This class forms the lowest stratum of the population and its condition has been described by Mr. Turmurd, the Collector of Viteggapond, in the following terms. 

He says that the people of this class require very little tallow and curry powder, as they live mainly by conji. This requires much salt to make it palatable. They use, as relish, onions and green chillies, which they procure from the farm or otherwise without buying. They generally consume ragi or combu or such other inferior grains as their employers disburse to them as wages. During the season when the palmyra bears fruit, they for the most part live on these fruits which they can, to a large extent, get gratis. In the mango fruit season they collect the wind-fallen young fruit and boil and use it for one substantial meal at least. At other times they live on sweet potatoes. They buy no fuel. The female members and children pick up here and there the droppings of cattle and dry twigs and leaves of trees and within the same as
firewood." This class can tide over one or two bad seasons, provided the failure of crop is not general. In all ordinary seasons deaths by starvation are almost unknown, and there is no lack of work to the labouring classes. The old and infirm are supported by their kin or by spontaneous charity and not left to starve, a striking contrast to the state of things in Bengal, where recent inquiries into the condition of the poor have brought to light the fact that of men and women above the age of 60 years not less than 40 per cent. have to choose between starvation and resort to the poor-houses. Curiously enough too, it is not in the districts in which famine is unknown, as for instance Malabar and Tanjore, that the lower classes of the population have the strongest physique, but in districts like Kurnool and Anantapur. Whether this is due to the dry climate of the latter districts or to the superiority of dry grains which form the staple food in these districts over rice, it is difficult to say. It is noteworthy, however, that these districts contain many malarious tracts, and rice in popular estimation is richer food than dry grains. References based on calculations of money values of earnings of labourers and cost of food in rural towns are apt to be very fallacious. In his analysis of the agricultural statistics of the Kurnool district, Mr. Boston remarks that "the whole aspect of the figures is that a vast majority of the raths in most parts of the district lead a life of poverty, and, worse, at times, be but little removed from a state of 'short commons.' Nevertheless, whilst observation confirms the general aspect of poverty, still it also shows that the people do not in their appearance record any signs of being in a chronic state of semi-starvation." Again, after describing the dwellings of the poorer classes of raths as ill-lighted, uncleaned, unventilated, dirty and uncleaned, and not water-tight — furnaces in the hot weather and stifling blankholes in the cold — he goes on to state that "it is wonderful how the people manage to exist in them, and develop a large proportion of fine men." Mr. Nicholson says much the same as regards the lowest class of labourers in the Anantapur district. According to him the people are not of weak physique. They are sturdy and well set up, the poorest classes, viz., Bopas, being particularly "lusty." The ordinary rath is a favourable specimen of a man physically, and the general impression given by the appearance of the people is that of a good physique and ability to bear toil. Ricketty children are scarce, and deformed and crippled children are especially few. The last census shows a notable decrease in the number of blind and insane persons and of
those suffering from Jeypore. In seasons where there is only a partial failure of crops, the classes who suffer and who are injured to pay tax show a strong dislike to avail themselves of the relief afforded by Government works. When there is a failure of crops for two or three seasons in succession over large areas of country simultaneously, the resources of even the better classes of labourers and ryots become exhausted, and in the dry districts almost half the population may succumb to the calamity as was the case in 1876 and 1877. The conclusions then may be stated as follows: (1) The great majority of the population is very poor when judged by a European standard; (2) compared with the condition of the people fifty years ago, as shown by the accounts given by Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Russell, Sir Henry Montgomery, Mr. Boardillon and others, whose statements have been referred to in a previous portion of this memorandum, there has certainly been improvement in the material condition of the population, the advance consisting mainly in a rise in the standard of living of the upper strata of society, and a reduction in the percentage which the lowest grades bear to the total population; (3) the very lowest classes still live a hand-to-mouth existence, but not being congregated in towns, they have a better physique than one would expect to find in them, considering their verminousness and the frequency of crop failures on which occasions they have to pick up a scanty subsistence as best they can; and (4) the economic condition of the country, as a whole, though improving, is at best a low one, and is such as to tax the energies and statesmanship of government to the utmost in devising suitable remedies for its amelioration.

87. As comparisons are often instituted between the value of trade, average income, &c., per head of the population in India and European countries, and inferences are drawn therefrom as to the relative condition of the masses of the population in these countries, it may be worth while to enquire how far these comparisons are legitimate, and subject to what qualifications the inferences based on them may be accepted.

First, as regards the value of trade: The foreign trade of India in 1880-1881 amounted to $48,400,000, or, say, less than 1s. per head of the population. The trade of England in 1884 was £419 and even of Russia £23 per head. Thus as a commercial country England is immensely ahead of India or any other country goes without saying, but the relative importance of any two countries cannot be gauged...
 Simply by comparing the values of foreign trade per head of the population, without taking the size of the countries and the omitted factor of their internal trade into account. For instance, Holland has a trade of £34 per head, or nearly double the rate for England, and from this it does not follow that its maritime greatness is twice that of England. India in point of size is as big as Europe without Russia, and if Europe minus Russia were treated as one country and its foreign trade were alone considered, that is to say, if the trade of Russia with other European countries and the trade of European countries other than Russia with non-European countries were alone taken into account, the value of trade per head of the population would come out very small. The Madras Presidency by itself is one-sixth larger in point of size than the United Kingdom, and for external trade by sea amounts to 1½ per head of the population. There is besides a large land trade with other provinces, including Native States. The distinction, in fact, between foreign and domestic trade is itself an artificial and accidental one. For instance, the trade of Tullivorth with Ceylon or Pondicherry is foreign trade; its trade with Calcutta or Bencos is domestic trade; and for commercial purposes, England itself is, or at all events was until railways were constructed, more accessible than the Punjab. This being so, it is the aggregate of foreign and domestic trade, and not the foreign trade considered by itself, that is important for the purpose for which comparisons of this kind are instituted. Another fact to be borne in mind in judging of the increase of prosperity of a country from the increase in the money-value of trade is the change in the purchasing power of money. So far as India is concerned, the purchasing power of money has fallen, and, therefore, the increase in the money-value of trade does not represent a proportionate increase in the volume of the commodities exchanged. Nevertheless, as already pointed out, the producer in India now realizes for his produce a larger value than he did in 1850 and obtains a proportionate articles much cheaper, that is, by giving a smaller quantity of his own articles in exchange, and consequently his gain has probably not been less than what it would have been if the volume had increased in proportion to the money-value of trade, the purchasing power of money itself remaining stationary.

Secondly, as regards the total income of the country and the share of it per head of the population: The total income of the United Kingdom has been estimated at £7,247...
million £, of France at 945 millions, of Russia at 948 millions and of Spain at 218 millions, the share per head of the population being 235, 257, 101 and 115, respectively.

I have made no attempt to estimate the income of India, as I do not believe that there are data for doing this with any approach to accuracy. Sir Evelyn Baring some years ago estimated the income of India at 540 millions Rs, and the rate per head as Rs. 27. The Punam Commissioners estimated the average value of agricultural production in the Madras Presidency at 90 millions, and taking the income from other sources at half of that from land, the rate per head comes out as Rs. 26. In France the non-agricultural income is stated to bear the proportion of 188 per cent. to the agricultural, in Russia 75 per cent., and in Spain 64 per cent.

The 59 per cent. assumed for India is, therefore, probably not far from the mark, but the income from land itself is estimated on very uncertain data, and it is quite as likely that the total income amounts to Rs. 36 per head as that it is Rs. 26 per head. The difference, small as it looks, is 20 per cent., and will really amount to a large percentage of error. In England the savings annually made, that is, the additions to the capital, amount to 150 millions sterling out of a total income of 1,247 millions or only 12 per cent.1

---

1 It is sometimes asserted that, taking the average of India at Rs. 27 per head of the population and the equivalent of nearly four months' wages in Europe for men, woman and children, the net income of the Indian land owner is Rs. 325 per head. This would be 235 per cent. of the net income of the English land owner. It seems probable that the proportionate cost of supporting the population in the two countries is very much the same, and therefore that the difference in the income is due to the difference in the cost of living. The returns of the English city of London for 1914 show that the cost of living in this city is 40 per cent. higher than in New York. The cost of living in India is certainly higher than in England, and therefore it may be inferred that the cost of living in India is higher than in England.

This is a very important result for sociology, although not of course not of course, for sociology, any doing life, what is it in England? At least 20 millions a year are spent in the army, 100 millions in railroads, and there is a considerable amount of property owned by the capital in the shape of new houses, furniture, etc. The growth of capital is of course much greater than in India, but the net income is much smaller, as will be seen from the following statistics of capital in England at different periods given by Sir J. Robinson:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Capital Million</th>
<th>Capital Per Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>2,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>2,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>5,800</td>
<td>5,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>14,800</td>
<td>14,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1800 the capital per head in England was only two-thirds of the annual income per head, but...
do not therefore attach much value to the estimate put forward as regards the total income of India, but assuming it to be correct, it will be seen that India shows very poorly in comparison with European countries. They can be no doubt that India is really very poor, but this is not seen so much in the hard struggle for existence of the lower classes as in the comparatively small number of wealthy persons. This will be evident when we take into account the distribution of incomes among the different classes of society. In England and Scotland, out of a total number of 114 million persons who make earnings, 14 million or nearly 10 per cent. pay income-tax, i.e., have an income of not less than £100 per annum. The average income of this class is £131 per head. It is estimated that 11 million persons or another 10 per cent. of the upper and middle classes have incomes less than £150 each. Manual labourers (15 million) or 80 per cent. get £44 each. In Ireland, on the other hand, out of 2 millions of persons who make earnings, 911,000 persons or 5 per cent. have an income of £200 each; 3 million persons or 14 per cent. have £37 each; and 1 million manual labourers or 80 per cent. earn £22 each. In France, out of 37 million persons who get incomes, 7 million persons or 20 per cent. earn £118 each, another 37 million persons or 20 per cent. earn £43; and the remaining 10 million persons or 60 per cent. earn £29. For the Madras Presidency we have no means of making any estimate which can at all be compared with those given above. The following figures, however, will serve to show how poor the greater portion of the population here is. Out of a population of nearly 35 millions there are 7 millions of heads of families allowing 5 persons to a family. The number of persons assessed to the income-tax, i.e., having non-agricultural incomes of not less than Rs. 500 per annum, is 55,269. The number of Government ryots paying not less than Rs. 250 revenue to Government, and their income from land may be estimated at twice the assessment they pay, is 8,806, including Zemindars and landlords and ryots in sepoories having large landed properties, the number of persons with incomes from land and other sources exceeding Rs. 500 per annum cannot be higher than 70,000, which is 1 per cent. of the total number of families. As there is more than one person earning income or wages in a family, it is obvious that the persons earning more than Rs. 500 cannot be even so high as 1 per cent.
Thirdly, in considering the question, whether the low money income of this country means greater hardships to the lowest classes of the population than in European countries, the bare necessities of life, both as regards quantity and money-value, required in the countries compared must be taken into account. To begin with, the quantity of food required or assimilated in this country is less than in colder climates, as shown by the fact that whereas in England a British soldier's weekly rations are fixed at 25.7 lb., the allowance for the same soldier here is 80 lb. only. Many things which are absolutely necessary in a cold climate are either not necessary here, or nature gives them gratis. Houses, clothing and fuel for protection from cold and damp are required to a much smaller extent here than in colder climates. Thus taking the family of an English labourer with an income of £60 a year, the cost of food and groceries amounts to only £100 or 60 per cent, while £60 or 10 per cent, goes for rent and £24 or 40 per cent. for clothing. In this country labourers in villages pay no house-rent; their clothing does not cost them more than Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 a year for all the members of the family. They have no fuel and hardly require any light or fire except for cooking purposes at night. From inquiries I have made I find that the cost of food in this country is ordinary housewives of the lowest classes of the population. The lowest costs of living for the lowest classes are Rs. 1-12-0 or 1 anna per head, for moderate prices per month, or Rs. 3-5-0 or 2 annas per head. In towns the cost of living may be taken at 50 per cent. more including house-rent and cost of fuel. The weekly earnings of a town labourer and of the other members of his family (say Rs. 6,) will thus maintain the family in ordinary times comfortably according to the standard of living to which it is accustomed. In London, on

---

5. I have given in the appendix V. p. (in § 8) the particulars of the cost of living of a labourer of the lowest class in the ordinary years. The lowest are Rs. 1-12-0 or Rs. 1 anna per head, for weekly or moderate prices per month, or Rs. 3-5-0 or 2 annas per head. In towns the cost of living may be taken at 50 per cent. more. The lowest costs of living for the lowest classes are Rs. 1-12-0 or 1 anna per head, for moderate prices per month, or Rs. 3-5-0 or 2 annas per head. In towns the cost of living may be taken at 50 per cent. more including house-rent and cost of fuel. The weekly earnings of a town labourer and of the other members of his family (say Rs. 6,) will thus maintain the family in ordinary times comfortably according to the standard of living to which it is accustomed.
the contrary, 10s. a week would mean almost starvation; for the
same weekly wages represent far less real wages in Eng-
land than here. About 1850, or 40 years ago, the price of
wheat was 30s. per quarter in England and not more than
6s. a quarter in India. Now the price of wheat has heavily
fallen in England owing to extensive importations, stimu-
lated by the development of railways in America and the
cheapness of ocean freights, and is now between 20s. and 30s.
a quarter, while the price of wheat in India has risen to about
10s. a quarter, but still the price of wheat in England is nearly
doubled that of India. On the whole, there is greater uni-
formity of conditions as regards wealth, or rather poverty,
in India than in England, while, on the other hand, in the
latter country, in spite of its immense wealth, the intensity
of suffering and distress is greater among the lowest classes,
owing partly to the insecurity of the climate and partly
to the conditions of social and industrial life. In ordinary
seasons, as already stated, the poor in this country have no
difficulty in finding a subsistence, and the infirm and old are
supported by relations or voluntary charity; and deaths by
starvation are unknown; and in years of famine, nearly all
suffer alike and people die in thousands. In England, though
there is incomparably greater wealth, 1,000,000 or 63 per
cent of the population receives State relief, and of the persons
above 63 years of age, nearly 40 per cent, are dependent for
subsistence on the State, having no provision to fall back upon
or relations able and willing to support them. "In England,"
says Mr. Hobson in his Problems of Poverty, "the recorded
deaths from starvation are vastly more numerous than in
any other country. In 1889 the number for England is
given as 101. In 1879, the number for London alone is 27.
This is, of course, no adequate measure of the facts. For
every recorded case there will be a hundred unrecorded
cases where starvation is the practical, immediate cause of
death. The death-rate of children in the poorer districts of
London is found to be nearly three times that which obtains
in the richer neighbourhoods. Contemporary history has no
darker page than that which records not the death-rate of
children, but the conditions of child-life in our great cities.
In setting down such facts and figures as may assist to
decently realise the nature and extent of poverty, it has
seemed best to deal exclusively with the material aspects
of poverty, which admit of some exactitude of measurement;
the ugly and degrading surroundings of a life of poverty, the
brutalising influences of the unceasing struggle for a bare
subsistence, the utter absence of a reasonable hope of improvement, in short, the whole subjective side of poverty is not less terrible because it defies statistics." On the other hand, periodic famines and wholesale destruction of life of the kind frequent in India are unknown.

Fourthly.—It is when we consider vital statistics that the low condition of this country, as compared with European countries, becomes most apparent. The expectation of life or the number of years which every person born may, on an average, expect to live is less than twenty-three years in this country, while it is nearly 45 years in England. The number that die before reaching five years is 60 out of 100 born, and 25 out of 100 in England. The number of persons dying between the ages of ten and twenty, the period in which they may industrially be expected to become most efficient, is 8 out of 50 in this country, and 8 out of 75 in England. The registration of births and deaths is very imperfect; still the rate of recorded deaths is as high as 29.6 per 1,000 of the population in the 102 municipal towns and

---

4. I have given in the appendix V to this particular the number which the following is in some European countries, but the index of mortality in this country makes very small. It will be seen that the death rates and birth rates (no. 2 to 4) are about one to three times greater than in Europe. What is more plain is the high chance of dying in the first year of life. It is true that the total number of the deaths in this country is by no means as great as in Europe, but there is the same chance of dying in the first year of life. The following considerations affect the subject here. This has been largely studied by Professor Rosario with special reference to India.

By raising money or other money in valid, by these the amount of which is taken to represent the cost of food, it is stated that the cost of food in this country is 25% above the cost of living in Europe. This is a remarkable fact, which has led to the belief that India is a country where the cost of living is higher than in Europe. The following considerations affect the subject here. This has been largely studied by Professor Rosario with special reference to India.
22.9 per 1,000 in rural parts, while the rate in such a large city as London is only 12.8 per mile. High as the mortality is in this country, there is little doubt that it is much lower than what it was formerly. Surgeon-General Sir W. J. Moore, in his address, read before the Congress of Hygiene and Demography, held recently in London, pointed out that death-rate in the army in India had been reduced from 60 to less than 14 per 1,000; European residents were so healthy that the best insurance offices were willing to issue policies to them without assessing extra premiums, and, although the system of registration was still defective, the official reports of recent years showed that the average death-rate among the native population had decreased in a few years from 38 or more to 26.67 per 1,000; many diseases were diminishing, some had been exterminated. Even in the town of Madras where the high mortality in recent years has attracted public attention, elephantiasis, a loathsome disease which was once very prevalent, has now gone out almost completely. There is still a great deal to be done by means of garrison
attention to sanitation and water-supply to improve the public health of this Presidency; but, on the whole, there is no reason to suppose that public health is worse now than in times past. Destructive as fever is, it is much less destructive now than formerly, and it is noteworthy that fever is most prevalent, not in bad, but in good agricultural seasons when the rainfall is abundant. Of all the Provinces of India, the Central Provinces, which are exceptionally favoured by the comparative fertility of a large portion of the land, show the greatest mortality. These Provinces are taxed the lightest, the revenue assessed per acre being between 3 and 8 annas and reaching 9 annas in only one district.

Lastly, if we wish to find a parallel in European countries to the state in which this country was 30 years ago, we must go back to the England of 400 years ago or at the end of the fifteenth century, which has been described by Dr. Cunningham in his Growth of English Industry and Commerce as follows: "Unless the statements of the chroniclers are greatly exaggerated, England suffered severely during the fifteenth century from two scourges which are now entirely unknown—famine and pestilence. The population was dependent on the seasons for the food-supply, and though that might be plentiful in good years, there was often a personal scarcity which was intensified in particular districts into a local famine. At such times men were driven to use scorps and roots for food and had recourse to the flesh of dogs and horses: some cases of cannibalism are reported. It was only rarely that starving people were reduced to such extremities; but there is some reason to believe that they habitually used diseased and unwholesome food, and that they were then rendered a ready prey to the ravages of pestilence. The Black death was specially terrible, but we read of many other visitations, the accounts of which are sufficiently appalling. A century during which more than twenty outbreaks of plague occurred, and have been recorded by the chroniclers, can hardly be regarded by us except as one long unbroken period of pestilence. Besides these occasional outbreaks there was chronic typhoid in the towns, and leprosy all over the country. The uncleaned and neglected soil, the shallow stagnant waters which lay upon the surface of the ground, the narrow unhealthy houses of all classes of the people; the filthy neglected streams of the town; the abundance of stale fish which was eaten; the scanty variety of vegetables which were consumed, predis-
of the agricultural and town population alike to typhoid
and left them little chance of recovery when struck
with pestilence. The small money income of those
may be judged from the fact that the bailiff in hus-
try, who was a superior servant, got yearly 26s. 8d.
and for clothing, besides meat and drink, which may be
rated at 2s. a day; the ordinary artizan had 5s. or 6s.
and the reaper 8s. a day, with meat and drink; so that
10 weeks of continuous work, the ordinary artizan would
as much as the bailiff did in a year. No sufficient data
regarding regularity of employment in those days are
available. The common servant in husbandry was paid 20s.
and his wife 14s. per annum besides their food, accord-
ing to the highest statement rate in the fifteenth century;
so that their united earnings would provide a little more
less half the usual allowance for an adult's food, and out
of this sum they had to feed their family, pay for fuel, rent
and clothing. Even if they could do not a living in the
common waste, says Dr. Cunningham, it is most unlikely that
they had a larger free income than the agricultural labourer
at the present day; we could not estimate an accurate
comparison unless we knew not only the prices of the articles
they used, but also the quality of the goods they were able to
procure. It is not easy to obtain such information in the
present day and we cannot hope to get sufficient data for
judging certainly about the distant past. So far as regu-
arity of employment and short hours are a test of the well-
being of the workman, the fifteenth century day labourer
was badly off; his summer hours lasted from five in the morning
till half-past seven at night with breaks which amounted to
two or two and a half hours in all. The conditions of the
banking business in the fourteenth century were such that
banking operations were very circumscribed. The most
striking difference between their times and ours is the entire
absence of commercial credits; there were no bank-notes
or cheques, or other instruments of credit except a few
foreign bills. Dealing for credit was little developed and
dealing in credit was unknown.

The sufferings of the people have probably never been as
severe in this country as is described above in consequence
of a less inclement climate and a more fruitful soil, but the
wonderful improvement which has taken place in England
during the last three centuries might well inspire the hope
that similar improvement here is not unattainable.
CHAPTER VI.—Certain alleged evils in the present system of land settlement and remedial measures considered.

68. In this section, I propose to make a few remarks upon certain special evils which are alleged to retard, to a greater or less extent, the progress of the condition of the masses in the population. These are, first, periodical revisions of assessment; second, the uncertainty of the tenure of ryot in semi-arid districts; third, the increasing dependence of ryots on the money lenders, the stringency and inequity of methods of revenue collection, and the absence of a developed system of credit; fourth, the decay of industries; fifth, the excessive cost of litigation; and sixth, the disintegration of village communities and the decay of the spirit of co-operation so necessary in a poor country for the purpose of carrying out large undertakings and for providing safeguards against common dangers, and the absence of machinery which would serve as a safe and trustworthy guide to Government of the necessity for undertaking legislation in matters affecting the laws of inheritances and domestic relations of the people, corresponding to the rapid changes that are taking place in their economic condition. I shall endeavour to state to what extent the evils enumerated exist and are the outcome of the present system, what measures have been taken by Government to remove them or mitigate their effects, and what further remedial measures are practicable.

I. Periodical Revisions of Land Settlement.

69. The Settlement department in this Presidency was organised in 1856, that is, at a time when it was just beginning to recover from the effects of an acute agricultural depression. The old assessments had been excessive and far beyond what the ryots could pay regularly in all seasons, and their incidence, notwithstanding the reductions made from time to time, had, owing to the general fall in the prices of produce, become oppressive. A large extent of land, often of superior quality, had fallen out of cultivation in consequence of the unequal pressure of assessments on the different classes of soil; and cultivators who were unable or unwilling to cultivate lands were forced to do so.
Persons who possessed issue or tax free lands were prohibited from cultivating such lands, unless they cultivated at the same time an equal quantity of lands paying full tax to Government; and tenure was freely resorted to for collecting the revenue. It was to put an end to this state of things, so repressive of the prosperity of the agricultural classes, and to promote agricultural enterprises, that Government undertook the survey and re-assessment of the cultivable lands throughout the Presidency. The object in view was two-fold, viz., firstly, to reduce heavy assessments and to fix a moderate tax on lands; and, secondly, to remove anomalies and inequalities in the assessments and to adjust, to some extent, the tax levied on lands of different qualities with reference to their relative productive powers. It was acknowledged that the classification of soils in relation to their productive capabilities and the ascertaining of their values for purposes of assessment was a task of enormous magnitude and difficulty, but it was expected that by fixing the assessments in a liberal manner, after making large allowances for all possible errors and miscomputations, a fair assessment could be arrived at. The spirit in which the operations connected with the revision of settlement were intended to be carried out will be seen from the following extract from the despatch sent by the Madras Government to the Court of Directors in 1856. "An exact and scientifically accurate classification, distinguishing all the minute variations of composition, quality and fertility of soil, is an operation of extreme difficulty in any country, even with all the aids that can be supplied by a high degree of scientific knowledge, accurate and practised observation, and a trustworthy agency. In this country, all these helps must in a great degree be wanting, and it is the more necessary that the Government should enter on the undertaking in a liberal spirit; and if so entered on, the difficulties will almost wholly disappear. It must be remembered that the right of the Government is not a right which consists of all the surplus produce, after paying the costs of cultivation and the profit of agricultural stock; but a land revenue only which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed as to leave a surplus or rent to the occupier, whether he in fact let the land to others or retain it in his own hands. Nor is this simply an abstract question of right; it is certain that the course here advocated is that which will give the highest land revenue, because it holds out the greatest inducements to the extended occupation of the land. It must be remembered that this Presidency contains a vast extent of unoccupied land, liable to pay revenue if cultivated, but
heretofore waste, greatly in consequence of the exorbitant assessment fixed or liable to be fixed on it; and it is certain that this land will be increasingly brought under the plough if moderately assessed. If the settlement be undertaken in this liberal and comprehensive spirit, the preliminary classification of the soil will not be difficult. Under a moderate assessment exact accuracy is immaterial, because the greatest difference of assessment which could be caused by the want of it would not be such as to render the land an unprofitable holding, or to prevent its occupation; at the utmost, it would only render such land somewhat less profitable than other land. These principles were approved in their entirety by the Home Government who went even further than the Madras Government in insisting that the agricultural classes should be treated with the utmost liberality with a view to ensure their prosperity. The Madras Government had proposed in accordance with ancient customary usage to fix the land revenue at a certain share, viz., 30 per cent. of the gross produce. The Home Government, however, ruled that the land revenue should represent a fixed proportion of the net produce. They pointed out that the proposal to take a proportion of the gross produce was inconsistent with the principle that the right of Government was not even to the whole rent, but only to a share of it; for, while as regards lands of a high degree of fertility, possessing every means of communication and in the neighbourhood of good markets, 30 per cent. of the gross produce might fall short of the share of the rent Government was entitled to, the same percentage of the gross produce might, in the case of lands less fertile and less favourably situated, considerably exceed the whole rent and trench on the profits of cultivation and wages of labour. The natural and invariable consequence of such a procedure would be to favour the most fertile lands and to press with increasing severity on the poorer lands. They further pointed out that the fact that the holdings in the country were of small extent, that the labour was in most cases performed by the ryot and his family, and that the agricultural capital employed was small, did not interfere in any way with the principles laid down, "as the produce of the land must at least be sufficient to feed and clothe the labourer and his family and to replace the cattle and agricultural implements as they become worn out; and besides this, a surplus must remain for the payment of the assessment imposed by the State." In 1808 again, Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, reaffirmed the same principles. He remarked, "I am satisfied that it is quite impossible to ascertain, with
any approach to minute accuracy, either the gross or the net produce of each field; but I am at the same time convinced that, if either or both of these objects could be accomplished, the right course would be to take a fixed proportion of the net and not the gross produce. The expenses of cultivation vary greatly in areas of land of different qualities, yielding the same quantity of gross produce; and the net produce will, of course, vary inversely in the same degree. I do not desire that the Director of Revenue Settlement should endeavour to ascertain with precision the actual net produce of each field; but that, in determining the rates of assessment for the different qualities of land, the principle which was laid down should be carefully borne in mind. In other words, a share of the net produce was to be considered as the estimated State charge, and having regard to the difficulty of calculating it accurately and to the injurious consequences of over-assessment, the tax was to be so fixed as to leave a liberal margin for miscalculations. This share of the net produce was eventually fixed at one-half. It was further ruled that the grain assessment should be computed into money-value with reference to the average price at which grain had been sold by the crops for a sufficiently long period of years, in view to taking account of the fluctuations in prices which usually occur, and that the money rates imposed should not be liable to alteration for thirty years. Another important consideration to be taken note of and allowed for in the assessment of land revenue payable in kind into a money assessment is the fact that payment, fixed with reference to each year's produce, however unintentional in other respects, has the merit of cutting upon the root to pay a small tax in years of deficient produce when the root is strengthened in his means of payment, and a proportionately higher tax when he has reaped an abundant produce and can afford to pay with ease a larger revenue.

79. These are the cardinal principles of the settlement, and they are as applicable to the Bombay as to the Madras Presidency. The instructions issued to the Madras Settlement officers for carrying out these principles require that the net produce of every variety of soil should be ascertained by a very large number of actual experiments, and the procedure prescribed for this purpose is most elaborate. The first process is to divide the soil into certain main classes according to the mechanical composition and chemical properties of the lands dealt with; there are 13 such classes recognized by the Settlement
department. Each class of soil is then subdivided into some 3 and others 5, "sorts," with reference to their degree of fertility as ascertained by an examination of the constituents of the surface soil and sub-soil, the total variety of soils dealt with being 66. All lands, whether irrigated or unirrigated, are classed under these 66 varieties of soil. But for irrigated lands, the classification is still more elaborate, because these lands are again divided into a number of groups according to the nature and efficiency of the resources of irrigation from which the lands derive their supply of water, and lands falling under each of these groups are classified under the 66 "sorts" of soil already referred to. The second process is to ascertain the grain output of the lands irrigated and unirrigated classified as above shown. For this purpose, certain prevailing dry crops in the case of dry lands, and paddy in the case of irrigated lands, are taken as standards, and the average output, in terms of these crops, of every variety of soil, is to be ascertained by actual harvest experiments conducted for a series of years. From the average output thus ascertained a deduction of from 15 to 25 per cent. is made on account of extraordinary vicissitudes of season and barren patches unavoidably measured with fields. The third process is to find the money value of the grain output. For this purpose, the average of the market prices of standard crops in the months in which the ratoons soil they produce for a number of years, generally twenty, is ascertained, and deducting from it 8 to 10 per cent. for cartage and merchant's profit, the remainder is taken to represent the ratoon's price and adopted as the commutation rate; and the grain output is converted into money at this rate. The fourth process is to ascertain by actual inquiries the expenses of cultivation for each kind of soil. The difference between the money value of the grain and the cultivation expenses is taken as the net value of each kind of soil of which a moiety represents the land tax, and a table of rates is accordingly framed.

To correct inequalities arising (1) from the adoption of a single commutation rate for an entire district or other large tract of country comprising a number of tahsils, while the price of grain often differ from village to village according to facilities of communication and proximity to markets, and (2) from the adoption of the same grain values for similar soils whose fertility may be affected by local circumstances, such as, vicinity to the sea, rivers or hills, the villages are grouped together into separate groups, and the money rates applicable to the lands classified in each group are raised or lowered according to circumstances. Minor differences in the
value of lands due to the same causes are allowed for by modifying the classification under "sorts" in each group. Thus fair land in a good situation immediately adjoining the inhabited portion of the village would be classed in the first sort "good," while good land at a great distance would be classed as "moderate." In the case of irrigated lands their classification into "sorts" also is adjusted with reference to their facilities for irrigation owing to their proximity or otherwise to the irrigation source.

The procedure prescribed in the Bombay Presidency for the valuation of soils is, on the other hand, much simpler. Lands in each village are divided into 50 classes, and their relative values are ascertained by noting their advantages in respect of irrigation, and their defects, such as (1) admixture of nodules of limestone, (2) admixture of sand, (3) sloping surface, (4) want of cohesion, (5) impermeability to water, (6) exposure to seepage from flow of water in the rains, and (7) excessive moisture from springs, each of the defects being held to lower the soil one class. The rate for the highest class of soil in each village is fixed by the Superintendent of Survey with reference to general considerations, such as climate, facilities for market communications, average prices and the prosperity or deterioration of the village under previous settlements; and the rates to be imposed on the lands of the other classes are determined by a mere arithmetical process.

The Madras settlement operations, however, though conducted under elaborate rules resolve themselves in the final results into the simple method adopted in Bombay, firstly, because, the minute and extended enquiries which they involve are in most cases impossible to carry out and have frequently been dispensed with; secondly, because, none of the data on which reliance has to be placed, such as prices of foodgrains in former years, are perfectly trustworthy, and in some cases information regarding the quotations of prices in the ryeot's selling months for the old years are entirely wanting; and thirdly, because, the determination of the rates of assessment with reference to a large number of factors, slight errors in regard to which might seriously vitiate the total result, is apt to make the assessments extensive. The late Mr. Pedler, Revenue Secretary in the India Office, has pointed this out very clearly.10 After describing the procedure prescribed for the Madras settlements by "the instrun-
tions," he goes on to say. "Such is the policy of the Madras settlement. In practice, however, it has been found impossible or dangerous to adhere to it strictly. In the first place, the difficulty of determining with accuracy the average yield of land is great: next, the only way of finding the average cost of cultivation is to ascertain what it would cost to cultivate a given holding by hired labour, and, as this labour would be needed for only a certain number of weeks or months, it is obvious that nothing would be allowed as wage for the subsistence of the cultivator and his family during the rest of the year. Hence, the first step in a Madras settlement practically is to determine, on general considerations (such as those described under Bombay), whether the tract coming under settlement requires a decrease or will bear an enhancement of its land revenue, and to what extent. The total amount of assessment to be imposed having thus been decided on, the results of the process above described are adjusted so as to yield it. The estimates of average yield are reduced to allow for error, or for exceptionally bad seasons, and the assessment rate is lowered to cover possible fluctuations of prices in the future. In practice, therefore, the elaborate process above described determines rather the relative than the absolute assessments of different classes of land, and the Madras method does not really differ very widely from that of Bombay."

71. An idea may be formed as to how greatly the rates imposed by the Settlement department may depend upon the discretion and judgment of individual officers and how little susceptible of calculation and comparison with the following instance taken from the Salem settlements. The calculated dry rates for black land are in the first group Rs. 5, Rs. 2.50 and Rs. 1 per acre respectively, according as the land is placed under the sorts "good," "middling" or "bad or indifferent." The classification under these sorts depends not only upon the quality of the soil but also upon the distance of the land from the village site and other circumstances, none of which affect the gross produce of the land and others the net produce or rent value, by increasing or diminishing the cultivation expenses or the cost of bringing the produce to market. It can be readily conceived what great difference it would make to the ryot whether his land is classified under class 4, sort 3 or class 3, sort 2, the assessment in the latter case being 150 per cent. greater than in the former, and yet in many cases it would be difficult to say whether
classification under sect 2 or sect 3 was the more correct. In large settlements, the difference in the mode of assessment by consecutive sorts of lands has been reduced by increasing the number of "sorts" from 5 to 3, but it is obvious that even a difference of 30 or 25 per cent. in the money rates must affect the result to a considerable extent.

72. It is important to bear in mind that considerations which illustrate the inherent difficulties in all land valuations, as proposals are often made for increasing or diminishing the land tax, more often the former, on the supposition that the hypothetical data assumed in settlement calculations, whose main object may be stated to be (1) to systematize the classification made by the subordinate officers for purposes of easy check by the higher officers, and (2) to regulate the relative incidence of the tax imposed upon lands of different soils in small plots of country whose conditions as regards climate, facilities for irrigation, access to markets and supply of labour are fairly homogeneous, have any precision to scientific accuracy. Thus, Mr. Goodrich, late of the Madras Civil Service, in an article entitled "Land Revenue in Madras," published in the Economists' Journal for September 1891, states that the grain valuations and their money-equivalents fixed by the Madras Settlement department are unduly low, the estimate being "whitened down by excessive allowances, or by making a fair allowance several times over in the course of the calculation." Mr. Goodrich is making these remarks entirely ignores the original instructions issued to the Settlement department when it was organized, viz., that having regard to the extreme difficulty of valuing soils, the variability of the seasons and the precariousness of the crops, the poverty of the agricultural classes and the injurious consequences of over-assessment, the assessment imposed should be extremely moderate, and that a very liberal margin should be allowed for errors and miscalculations. I agree with Mr. Goodrich in considering that on the whole the estimates of average returns of soils adopted by the Settlement department are below rather than above the mark, though one cannot be very certain about this in the case of the poorer soils, large areas of which obtain a catch-crop when they can. As regards the "excessive" allowance, it seems to me that the allowances, so far from being excessive, are barely sufficient. The deduction of from 10 to 25 per cent. from the average returns for yield of soils of season and unprofitable areas measured with holdings is, in many cases, less than
the percentage of dry lands under occupation, which though not cultivated is charged with assessment annually. The percentage for the Godavari district is 36%, for Taneelly 31.3%, for Sylhet 27.3%, for Chingleput 26% and for the whole Presidency 18%. In some of the districts, the lands are left uncropped for pastures, but this is only in a small number of cases. Then again, in fixing the commutation rate, from 8 to 30 per cent, is deducted from the average prices for cartage and merchant’s profits. The average prices are prices for the entire district, while the price in one taluk station often differs from that in another by as much as 30 per cent. To the ryots who have lands in the vicinity of the taluk stations, where prices rule high, the rate is favorable, but to the ryots in out-of-the-way parts, the commutation rates are unfavorable, and relief has to be given by reducing the rates under the system of “grouping” already alluded to. Moreover, the settlement calculations do not, ostensibly at all events, make allowances for the liability of the ryot to pay a fixed cash assessment in all seasons whether the crop he reaps is abundant, or to scanty as to be hardly sufficient for his subsistence. It is well known that poor ryots who borrow grain, from sowars or the richer ryots in the cultivation season have to repay at the harvest, i.e., in 6 or 8 months, the quantity borrowed together with an additional amount varying from 20 to 50 per cent. When the crop fails and payment has to be postponed to the next harvest, the additional quantity payable is, of course, proportionately increased. Again, as remarked by Sir Thomas Munro, “it is in the nature of assessment, proceeding from single fields to whole districts, and taking each field at its supposed average produce, to make the aggregate sum greater than what can be easily realized,” and in view of this, he used to lower the estimates of the assessors from 5 to 10 per cent. When it is remembered that a marquis has to be provided on account of all these sources of error as well as weather-chances, Mr. Godrich’s complaint as regards excessive allowances will be seen not to have much foundation. In this connection, it may be worth while noting that Mr. Puckle had obtained the sanction of Government to the lands of the Sahen district being assessed at rates favorable to the ryots. Mr. Godrich,

16 This opinion of report to the government. As regards the higher rates for the cultivation of the higher lands, the assessment is probably more than realized. The result of digging a well or two fields of Settakat in all acres to raise the thousand of assessment levied by the Board of Revenue, would be that the produce was much higher than required. As regards the high proportion of dry lands being assessed at rates favorable to the ryots, the Board of Revenue long ago, it appears, been restricting excessive and the results must be awaited.
who was entrusted with the duty of introducing the settlement plan, succeeded soon after in getting Government to reconsider its decision and consent to impose higher rates. Whether Mr. Goodrich or Mr. Puckle was right may be judged from the fact that, in the famine of 1876-78, the mortality was the heaviest in the Salem district, next after Kurund and Bolreau, amounting to 18.7 per cent of the population. The Salem district is one of the poorest in the Presidency, and in fixing the land tax it is necessary that the actual conditions of the case should not be lost sight of and that the scheme should not be based on mere theoretic considerations. In the above remarks, I have assumed that the data made use of in settlement calculations are fairly trustworthy, but for forming an idea of how extremely difficult it is to obtain even approximately correct data, and with what imperfect materials settlement officers have to deal, some further particulars given in the appendix 10 may be referred to. There is, however, a curious proposal in Mr. Goodrich's article which completely neutralizes his suggestion that the land assessments should be considerably enhanced at each revision of settlement. It is this, viz., that in settlement calculations allowance should be made for the interest on the purchase value of the ryot's holding, which he estimates as being generally thirty times its assessment. The purchase money is, of course, the capitalized annual value of the holding at the current rate of interest, and if the annual value of the holding prior to the revision of the settlement is to be secured to the ryot under all circumstances, it is obvious that the land-tax cannot be enhanced at all. Though the interest on the purchase money of the ryot's holding cannot be taken into account, there is one important item which is omitted from the estimates of expenses of cultivation framed by the Settlement Department, but which ought, properly speaking, to find a place in them, viz., forming profile as distinguished from rent property so

10. *The Outlook* 75:4, 19-31, quoting Mr. Goodrich's statement on settlement calculations in his analysis of the Administration of the Forward District. His remarks in footnote 4: "3. If it is difficult to say what allowances have been made in computing this item for the first district area in the permanent surveys, it is equally difficult to say with the present system, the ratio of the land tax in the assessment to the total produce of the ryot's holding. This ratio has of late years been found to be, at least in some cases, as high as 50 per cent, in others, as low as 10 per cent. In such areas, the amount of land tax is proportional to the produce of the holding, and the amount of land revenue is increased by a sufficient increment to make up for the reduction in the amount of the land tax. In the case of the other districts, the amount of the land tax is proportional to the produce of the holding, and the amount of land revenue is increased by a sufficient increment to make up for the reduction in the amount of the land tax. In the latter case, the amount of land tax is proportional to the produce of the holding, and the amount of land revenue is increased by a sufficient increment to make up for the reduction in the amount of the land tax. In the latter case, the amount of land tax is proportional to the produce of the holding, and the amount of land revenue is increased by a sufficient increment to make up for the reduction in the amount of the land tax. In the latter case, the amount of land tax is proportional to the produce of the holding, and the amount of land revenue is increased by a sufficient increment to make up for the reduction in the amount of the land tax. In the latter case, the amount of land tax is proportional to the produce of the holding, and the amount of land revenue is increased by a sufficient increment to make up for the reduction in the amount of the land tax.
called. The original instructions prescribing the procedure for determining the land revenue rates, already quoted, make it clear that the right of Government is to a land revenue which "ought to be so lightly assessed as to leave a surplus or rent to the occupier, whether he in fact let the land to others or retain it in his own hands." Now, rents are of three classes, viz., first, land-owners, who do not farm their lands but lease them to farmers; second, rents, who farm their own lands employing hired labour for performing the normal operations of cultivation; and third, peasant proprietors, who cultivate their lands themselves with the aid of the members of their families without employing hired labour.

In the first case, the rent is the payment made by the farmer to the land-owner which the cultivation expenses borne by the latter and the return for such permanent improvements to the land as might have been made by him. In the second and third cases, the rent would be what the land would fetch annually, had the land been let to a tenant instead of being cultivated by the owner. Where the rent is not ascertainable in this way, it must be taken to be the surplus produced after paying the cost of hired labour, other expenses of cultivation, interest on stock and farming profits, which last must at least be sufficient for the subsistence of the farmer's family, according to the standard of comfort prevailing in the class to which it belongs. In this Presidency, owing to the prevalence of peasant properties, the letting value of lands is not in the majority of cases ascertainable, and consequently the distribution of the gross produce into its three components, viz., rent, farmer's profits and expenses of cultivation, has to be arrived at by estimating separately the several items of cost. In doing this, the settlement calculations make no special allowance for farming profits.

7. In a previous portion of this memorandum, I have adduced evidence to show that, notwithstanding the difficulties above alluded to in making even approximately correct land valuations, the assessments imposed by the Settlement department have not been excessive, but on the contrary have been such as to admit of the large increase which has actually taken place in the money value of landed property—an increase which is considerably higher than the increase in the prices of agricultural produce. This result is due to the fact that the Government has in all settlements hitherto made taken care to see that the aggregate revenue of the
of superior qualities and from only a small proportion of the total lands under cultivation, and the whole of the rent is not realized in adverse seasons, and consequently it would be erroneous to accept the ratios, ascertained as regards them, as applicable to all lands leased out, much less to all lands generally. From inquiries I have made, I find that in most districts, and more especially in Coimbatore and Travancore, the rental of wet lands taken as a whole is a little less than 2 times the Government assessment, and that of dry lands is about twice. The landowner has to bear a portion of the cultivation expenses in connection with farm repairs and pays the Government assessment and local taxes out of the rental. Roughly speaking, the net profit of the owner of wet lands may be stated to be half as much again as the Government assessment and that the owner of dry lands makes as much as the Government assessment. Lands in the vicinity of towns, on which market garden produce can be grown give an enormous profit, but, on the other hand, there is a large extent of land of very poor quality on which chance crops are grown. These lands which are on the margin of cultivation pay no rent, and the land tax imposed on them is not a share of the rent but a tax on the services of labour. Individual districts have, of course, been dealt with, more or less liberally, according to the circumstances of the period during which the new settlement rates were introduced and the views entertained by the officers who had a predominant influence in the decision of the question of the extent to which the tracts settled could bear increased taxation. Thus in the Travancore districts, which were settled by Mr. Pollock at a time when the country had just begun to recover from the prolonged depression from which it had suffered and when the enormous rise in prices which soon after took place could hardly be foreseen, the assessments were reduced by 25 per cent., notwithstanding that the survey disclosed an increase in the area to the extent of 13 per cent. Salem, Nellore and Chingleput, settled at the end of the period of high prices, were treated less liberally, this being the result of the re-action of the liberal assessments of the earlier period. The enhancement of the revenue in Nellore, especially, viz., 11 per cent., must be considered heavy when it is remembered that the survey, so far from disclosing any excess in the area of holdings, showed a slight deficiency. Taking all the districts in which the settlements have been completed, as a whole, the increase in the revenue due to the enhanced settlement rates does not exceed 5 per cent., which cannot be considered excessive. In special tracts and as
In this connection, it should be recalled that in the Bombay Presidency, the land has all along been assessed on the rent basis and the rent itself had the character of the equitable rent. The land was assessed as the property of Government and sold to applicants for cultivation. In the Madras Presidency, on the other hand, the land has all along been assessed on the cost of cultivation and the tenants were required to pay such fixed amount on account of the Government, in addition to the purchase price. In the Madras Presidency, the surplus produce regulated and determined by the ordinary standard of comfort of the tenant at a particular time.
among the peasantry at a particular time. If, in 1840, the
orthodox subsistence of a peasant was represented by the
then equivalent of 10 annas of grain, but in 1870 it is rep
resented by the equivalent of 29 annas, it is evident that
(assuming the efficiency of cultivation to have remained the
same), the assessment of Re. 1 on an acre with grain at Rs. 4
an acre can only rise to an assessment of Rs. 1.80 with grain
at Rs. 3, unless the standard of comfort is to be lowered.

It is in view of these considerations that the Bengal Tenancy
Act of 1856 provides that the rent of an occupancy ryot shall
not be enhanced by the landlord even with the consent of the
ryots by more than 2 annas in the rupee or 12½ per cent.,
and that the rent once fixed by contract shall not be liable to
enhancement during a period of 15 years from the date of
such contract.

74. The land assessments in 16 out of the 22 districts
have been revised in accordance with the
principles above referred to, and settlement
operations are in progress in the remaining
6 viz., South Arcot, Bellary, Anantapur,
Tirupur, Mahbub and South Cuddalore.
In South Arcot, the settlement rates have been
introduced into the two most important
nullahs, viz., Cuddalore and Vilmupuram.
The revenue from wet lands has been
increased by 3 per cent., and that from dry lands diminished by
1 per cent., the net increase on the whole being 2 per cent.,
while the excess area discovered by the Survey is 2 and 9 per
cent., respectively, in the two classes of lands. The Bellary
and Anantapur districts are, as recently remarked by Govern-
ment, "the poorest and most backward in the Presidency, the
most fertile and the most subject to drought;" and for this
reason, the Government decided to sanction a scheme for
the settlement of these districts which would have raised the
revenue by 12½ per cent. After prolonged correspondence,
the Government has accepted a modified scheme which will
have the effect of increasing the revenue in five taluks in
these two districts by 8 per cent., while the increase in the
area is only 4 per cent. There is to be practically no in-
crease in the case of wet lands, but in dry lands the revenue
is to be increased by 9 per cent. In the Tenipati taluks, the
increase is to be as much as 15 per cent. in the case of dry
lands, while the increase in the area is hardly 2 per cent. It
ventures to think that, having regard to the general poverty
of the districts and the unsatisfactory nature of the plots on
which settlement rates are based, which fact was fully brought out in
the correspondence, it is thus: the modified scheme finally sanctioned is not as liberal as the circumstances of the case require. It is true that the tasks to which the scheme sanctioned relates are the best tasks in these districts, and it may be that in the remaining tasks considerable relief from taxation will be afforded; but there is obviously great necessity for caution in enhancing the revenue even in the favorably circum-

stances tasks of these backward districts. As these two districts are the poorest in the Presidency, viz. Tungore, Malabar and South Casar are reputed to be the wealthiest and the most prosperous. The manner in which these latter districts are dealt with by the Settlement department will form a precedent for adoption in revising settlements in the case of other progressive districts, and the question, there-

fore, deserves, and will deserve, the most careful consideration. In view of the importance of the subject and of the extent to which any decision that is arrived at is likely to influence the prosperity of the agricultural classes, I beg to be permitted to make the following remarks. The Settlement department was, as will have been seen from the account already given, organized to reduce assessments in backward districts, to correct inequalities in the assessments, to promote the growth of the value of landed property and to secure the prosperity of the agricultural classes. To achieve these objects, the early settlements taxation had to be largely reduced. The methods of the Settlement depart-

ment were acknowledged to be necessarily rough, but any new adjustments of the rates of land tax on lands of different qualities was not then a matter of great consequence as the question before Government was one of relief from taxation and not the imposition of fresh burdens. No rent could, under the new settlement, be placed in a worse position than he was in previously, though in the adjustment of sharing inequalities found in the old assessments and the merging of the innumerable rates then existing in a few broad classes, one rent might receive more or less relief than another. To enormous rise in prices which subsequently took place in the decade ending 1876 rendered a large reduction in revenue unnecessary and made it possible to enhance taxation to reasonable extent, to meet the growing cost of administrative improvements, which the progress of the country is the ever widening duties and responsibilities of Government necessarily entail. The additional taxation imposed last, the whole, being moderate, and though in individuals perhaps in gen-

eral result the reduction in incomes was probably not un
in excess of what is not with in the ordinary fluctuations of fortunes and certainly not such as to cause any deterioration in the standard of living of the agricultural classes. The aspect of the question as regards the districts which remain to be settled is, however, quite different. These districts are believed to be highly taxed, and whether this is so or not, they

30 I have heard the above remarks on the assumption that the Tagalog, Hin binder and South Cauayan districts are very irregularly assessed as compared with other districts already settled by the settlement department. My belief, however, is that as regards Tagaytay as an event, that impression is, in the main, unfounded. Quality for quality, I do not think that unimproved lands in Tagaytay pay a much heavier tax than lands in other districts. The assessment being the Tagaytay, the new order consolidated, will be revised, and it is only a question of time before the Tagaytay tax payment will be reduced. I do not think that the big town of Dos Palmas and the surrounding country has been assessed, and that the assessment on the government lands lies much lower than it should. If the assessment on the government lands is allowed to remain at the present rate of 8 or 12 percent of the gross product, which the assessment is calculated to represent, it will be reduced, and the assessment on the government lands, at the present time, does not represent the true value of the land on which the tax is levied. The assessment on the government lands should be at least 25 percent of the gross product, and the assessment on the private lands at 30 percent of the gross product.
are comparatively more favoured by nature than most other parts of the Presidency with the exception of the Godavari and Kistna districts. The unfailing south-west monsoon rains, the ancient and well-ventilated districts, the ancient and well-watered districts, the state of the soil and the climate of the country, all conspire to make these districts the most fertile in the Presidency, and the most productive of all the crops and other staple productions. The rice, which is the principal crop, is grown in abundance, and the produce is sold at a high price in the market.

In conclusion, it is evident that the rice district is the most productive in the Presidency, and the most fertile in the country. The climate is healthy, and the soil is well-watered and well-drained. The rice is grown in abundance, and the produce is sold at a high price in the market. The district is well-ventilated, and the air is clean and wholesome. The people are healthy, and the mortality is low. The district is well-governed, and the administration is efficient. The district is well-watered, and the water is abundant and pure. The district is well-ventilated, and the air is healthy and wholesome.

In conclusion, it is evident that the rice district is the most productive in the Presidency, and the most fertile in the country. The climate is healthy, and the soil is well-watered and well-drained. The rice is grown in abundance, and the produce is sold at a high price in the market. The district is well-ventilated, and the air is clean and wholesome. The people are healthy, and the mortality is low. The district is well-governed, and the administration is efficient. The district is well-watered, and the water is abundant and pure. The district is well-ventilated, and the air is healthy and wholesome.
property in land from time immemorial, while in other places the bulk of the land has only recently acquired value. In wealth, intelligence and enterprise these districts stand ahead of all others and the standard of living is much higher there than elsewhere. It is also true that, if the necessities of Government require extraordinary sacrifices to be made in grave emergencies, these districts are in a better position to make these than other parts of the Presidency. But the question is whether, in ordinary times, it is desirable that the principle of "moderation," referred to by Mr. Pelzer, which has been the guiding principle in all settlements hitherto made, should be laid aside and that Government should impose additional burdens amounting, say, to 50 or 100 per cent. of the present revenue, simply in order to level up taxation so as to reach the "half-net," which the Madras Board of Revenue in 1870 pronounced to be "indeterminate," thereby causing depreciation of landed property and disturbance of the relations between landowners and mortgagees and tenants, at the imminent risk of lowering the standard of living, the raising of which within the last 40 years has been the best proof of the unambitious beneficence of British rule in this Presidency. I do not think that the question can admit of any but one answer. Irrespective of all abstract questions of right, it is obvious that the transference to the public exchequer of a moderate percentage of income of the agricultural classes, though it may cause temporary inconvenience, is not likely to have permanently injurious effects; it may, on the contrary, even call forth energy and forethought and encourage habits of prudence among these classes. The augmented resources of Government will also enable it to undertake the many reforms in administrative arrangements and in other divisions which the country stands sorely in need of, and a moderate increase of taxation will doubtless, while leaving the margin available for maintaining undiminished, and even increasing the standard of comfort, impose a salutary check to an inordinate increase of population. A sudden and great reduction of income must, however, paralyze energy and bring discontent and despair; and when a large portion of the population is subjected to this operation, its injurious consequences can readily be conceived. A landlord's income which has been, say, Rs. 2,000, Rs. 500 or Rs. 100 for 50 years may, without causing permanent hardship, be reduced perhaps to Rs. 1,500, Rs. 450, and Rs. 90, respectively, by additional taxation. The deficiency in the income, which is not much in excess of what one must be prepared for in the natural course of things, whether caused
by changes in the prices of commodities or in the value of money, may be met by effecting little economies in various directions and may even act as an incentive to exertion without compelling the persons affected to forego substantial comforts and conveniences. If the income be suddenly reduced to Rs. 1,000, Rs. 250 and Rs. 50, set in individual cases but in the case of the majority of the population which derives its subsistence from land, whether in the capacity of landlords and rent-receivers, farmers or agricultural labourers, the result cannot but be a great check to the growing prosperity of the country.

75. The obvious remedy for the evils of periodical revisions of assessment is, of course, the permanent settlement of the land tax, a settlement, so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, not of the kind made with middle-men in the early years of the century to the injury of the rights of cultivating ryots, but one with the ryot proprietors themselves. This question, as might be expected, has been much discussed during the last 30 years and a full account of the several phases in which the discussion went through will be found in Sir Archibald Oliphant's "Memorandum on the Land Settlements of the North-West Provinces." In 1892, the Secretary of State for India sent out orders directing that "a full, fair and equitable rent must be imposed on all lands under a temporary settlement," and that wherever this had been done a permanent settlement of the revenue might be made. The measure was considered to be calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India and to ensure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. These advantages were believed to be sufficiently important to justify incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue in order to obtain them. The probable effect of rapidity, the provision of which was then being vigorously pushed on, it was anticipated, would be towards the equalization of prices in different parts of India and a general improvement in the wealth of the country, rather than to give any peculiar advantage to the land-holders; and the appreciation of a fall in the value of money was considered as not being of sufficient importance to influence judgment, to any material extent, on the question. The Madras Board of Revenue in 1898 also advocated strongly a settlement in perpetuity of the land tax imposed on ryotwar holdings. The Board pointed out that "the ryot is owner of his land in a very limited and uncertain sense so long as Government
reinforces the right of raising his assessment without his consent. It may, and doubtless will be, that the Government will exercise this right with prudence and forbearance, but the uncertainty necessarily lessen the value of the land and affects the ryot's relations with his sub-tenants. The ryot will naturally be deterred from freely investing his capital in the improvement of his estate, because its value is liable to deterioration whenever Government may order, or the public may apprehend, an enhancement of the assessment, and, while deprived himself of a secure title, the ryot can give to sub-tenants no more than leases which must terminate or vary with his own, and must reserve the power of raising his rents, if and when Government raise their assessment. The growth of large estates and the creation of a class like the tenant farmers of England cannot but be impeded by such a policy." The Board accordingly recommended that the land assessments should be declared permanent, while reserving to Government the right to alter, according to circumstances, the water rates levied on lands supplied with water for purposes of irrigation from Government works. The enormous rise in the prices of agricultural produce which took place in the succeeding years, and the influence of the agitation, which was started in England about this time for the appropriation for national purposes of the "unearned increment," in the rent value of lands, had wrought a great change in the views of Government, and in 1890 the Secretary of State negatived a proposal made by the Madras Government to declare the grain valuations imposed by the Settlement department to be permanent, remarking that Her Majesty's Government felt themselves precluded from sanctioning the surrender of such a legitimate source of revenue as the Government share of the increased value which has been conferred on the land by improved administration, the construction of public works, especially works of irrigation and railways, together with the improved prices of produce." In 1871, again, the Government of India directed that the permanent settlement of estates in the North-West Provinces should not be proceeded with, the previous orders on the subject being held in abeyance. They remarked "when the question of the permanent settlement was formerly under discussion, the magnitude of the economic revolution through which India was passing was less obvious than it is now. It may be doubted whether any parallel could be found in any country of the world to the changes which have taken place during the last 10 or 15 years in India; to the diminution in the value of the precious metals and the enormous increase in the prices of agricultural produce." Sir Auckland Colvin sums
up the several stages of the discussion as follows: "With the
aspect of the day, the aspect in which the assessment of
land revenue is regarded has changed. "Increased security of
fixed property" has given way to the "just rights of the State.
"Freedom from the interference of the local officers of Govern-
ment" is now thought of little account, when compared with
"a sacrifice of any portion of that rental of the land to which the
State is entitled." The fiscal side of the question is the one
chiefly regarded in these days of peace and apparent security."76
Since Sir Auckland Titmuss wrote, the views of the Government
of India have once more, owing to the famine of 1876-78 and
the distress suffered by the agricultural classes during that
catastrophe and the fall in the prices of produce notwithstanding
the fall in the value of silver, veered round, not indeed to
the position occupied in 1862, but to a point midway between
it and that of 1871 when the theory of "unearned increment" was
in the ascendant and had taken possession of the public
mind. The orders at present in force, regulating the proce-
dure to be adopted in revising land settlements, which will be
described at length later on, are based on an attempt to
reconcile the claims of the State to share in the unearned
increment in the value of property accruing from natural
causes with the necessity for seeing that the interference
with, and consequent depression of, landed property, which
the ascertainment of the Government share must entail, is
not carried to such an extent as to discourage the investment
of capital in effecting improvements in land.

76. The question of the permanent settlement of the land
tax on ryotwar holdings is one in regard to
which the arguments pro and con may be
said to be nearly equally balanced. The
arguments in its favour may be thus succinctly stated. The
first is, that the theory of "unearned increment," in the value of
land and of the advantage of making it available for meet-
ing public expenditure, with a view to avoid the imposition of
taxation properly so called, can have but a limited application
in this country. The "true rent" of land, that is the rent
due to the inherent qualities of soil and advantages of situa-
tion, as distinguished from value imparted to it by the
application of capital or labour, is extremely difficult to discover
and is subject to constant fluctuations. There is no certain
measure of the fertility of lands, as the rent of the same land
varies according to the crops grown and the systems of
cultivation practised. There is further great difficulty in
deciding what is "normal cultivation," "normal harvests" and
"normal prices." As Professor Marshall has pointed out,
good and bad seasons come so much in cycles that many years are required to afford a trustworthy average of harvests and prices; and in those many years, the industrial environment, e.g., the local demand for the produce, the facilities for selling it in distant markets, and for competitors from a distance to compete in local markets, may have all changed. Facilities of communication especially, by equalising prices, decrease the advantages enjoyed by such districts as Finsjö, Månber and South Canada, and enhance the values of vessels in the districts which had been less favourably circumstanced owing to the difficulty of access to markets. Secondly, the possibility of determining the "economic rent" presupposes the existence of alternative occupations and the possibility of movement of farming capital and labour to them; to admit of the ascertainment of the "normal farming profits" and "normal wages." These conditions are almost entirely absent in this country, both because land can be worked as a personal monopoly in the hands of Government which has the power of enhancing the land assessments at its will, and because the manufacturing industries in this country are relatively to agriculture of little importance. Thirdly, the question as to whether the funds required for public purposes are taken out of rent or raised by taxation is of far less importance here than in England. In England, the bulk of the land is owned by a comparatively small number of persons who have benefited by the enormous rise in rent at the expense of the

---

28 It is the change of alternative occupations and the facilities for movement that appear to be necessary for a clear measure. They should be allowed in settlement and facilitated by the local authorities. This might be an extreme case of the objectives of the Committee, which holds itself to the Government under a lease, in terms of which it is used or occupied, subject to the terms of the Act, in the regulations, that be in force with the rent and for that time.

29 An increase in the cost of labor or a decrease in the cost of labor will be less in two distinct districts of equal fertility, of which one is cultivated by a large and the other by a small population, in amount of assets held by different districts is much less than that.

30 But it does not appear to be appropriate to the market prices when the average location of a given region and the land, the prices of a given region and the price of the land in the market where the prices of the region are high.

31 The market prices of different qualities, it is not by accommodation to adjust the market prices of the principle above stated, and improved, and above the cost of production of the produce, a surplus for public with a view to accomplished savings to this over which success has been accorded for.

32 But it does not appear to be appropriate to the market prices when the average location of a given region and the land, the prices of a given region and the price of the land in the market where the prices of the region are high.

33 The market prices of different qualities, it is not by accommodation to adjust the market prices of the principle above stated, and improved, and above the cost of production of the produce, a surplus for public with a view to accomplished savings to this over which success has been accorded for.
general community. In this country, on the contrary, property in land is diffused throughout the population almost to an inconvenient extent, so much so that landed properties consist mostly of “five-acre farms” and there are nearly as many properties as there are families. The rent of land, therefore, instead of going to swell the fortunes of a few is distributed over the whole population and the objection to raising the funds required for the purposes of Government by taxation of earnings instead of by appropriating the “unearned rent” is deprived of much of its force. The right of Government to increased revenue from waste lands brought under cultivation will, under the ryotawar system in force in this Presidency, of course remain intact. Moreover, the limitation of the land-tax will allow large sums for the development of taxation for local and provincial purposes on lines determined with reference to the wants and requirements of the several provinces or districts, and will, subject to the condition of contributing to the common expenses of the Empire according to actual needs, enable Local Governments to devote their energies to the improvement of the provinces committed to their care in the way best calculated to secure it, without being subjected to external interference. In this connection it must be remembered, that when the principle regulating the share of the net produce which was to represent the land-tax was settled in 1850, it was intended that the charges for the maintenance of roads and of village establishments should be met out of the Government assessment, and accordingly it was declared that the assessment included a percentage set apart for these purposes. The original principle has since so far been departed from by the development of the system of local taxation that, as regards the local Income at all events, the charges which it is intended should be met out of the Government share of the produce are now practically met out of the raiyat’s share. Various proposals on an extensive scale, such as, the improvement of village sanitation and water-supply, extension of elementary education, relief of the poor and distressed not merely in times of famine but in years of partial failure of crops, are being press ed on the attention of Local Governments, and the work and responsibilities of those Governments are being enormously increased in various directions; and if these responsibilities are to be adequately discharged, it can be done only by widening the basis of local

10 In this connection the remarks of Mr. O’Gorman on the Development of Local rents in England in his “Report on Valua on Rent” (see pages on Finance in Appendix) are of great interest and importance.
administration and, with it, of local taxation. The development of local taxation will also enable Government to call upon Zemindars who have largely benefited by the increase in the value of landed property throughout the country to contribute towards the performance of duties to their tenantry which it was incurred at the time of the permanent settlement they should discharge, but which have now practically devolved on Government. The funds raised by local taxes will probably in no way fall short of the additional revenue obtainable from periodical revisions of assessments at long intervals, while the taxes themselves would be imposed according to the exigencies of each case after full discussion.

77. I will now proceed to state the arguments telling against a permanent settlement. When government decided to introduce a permanent settlement throughout the whole of India under the orders of the Governor of Bombay issued in 1802, the Government of India was influenced chiefly by the consideration that the enormous rise in prices and the consequent increase in the rents of the landlords which had taken place in the decade ending 1870 would continue. During that period, while the silver prices of commodities had risen in India, there was no appreciable change in the relative values of gold and silver. After 1870 there was a re-action and prices fell considerably. More than 20 years have since elapsed and prices which now rule are still 15 per cent below the average of the decade ending 1870, notwithstanding that the price of silver in terms of gold has fallen by more than one-third. If it were not for the de-monetisation of silver in Europe, prices would probably have been 50 per cent below the average of the decade ending 1870. This shows that the anticipation of continued increase in the rent due to the general progress of the country has not so far been realised, and, that lost for the fall in the price of silver, owing to causes specially affecting that metal in its relation to gold, the land-tax would have had to be considerably reduced. The objection to a permanent settlement on the ground that it involves a needless sacrifice of certain increase of future revenue has not therefore much weight; and, as already shown, the additional funds found necessary for meeting the increased cost of administration, can be raised by developing the system of local taxation. The real objection is that a permanent settlement of the land revenue will be altogether one-sided. The future as regards the value of silver is entirely uncertain.
and a permanent settlement, while debarring Government from increasing the assessments if there should be a further great fall in the value of silver leading to a corresponding rise in the silver value of produce in this country, would in no way obviate the necessity for granting remissions of revenue if the price of silver should rise to its old level of 2s. per ounce; for, land assessments (even though) permanently fixed would then have become very heavy in their incidence and unrealizable except at the cost of a permanent deterioration in the condition of the agricultural classes. Another objection is that there is difficulty in fixing permanently the assessment of lands irrigated by works constructed by Government from borrowed capital. The outlay on these works is regulated by commercial principles and it would be an injustice to the general tax-payer, if the money assessment leviable on the lands irrigated be permanently fixed and made independent of the changes in the value of money instead of the payments made by the land-holders specially benefited by the works being adjusted from time to time according to circumstances with reference to the value of the benefits received. It is possible to separate the charge for water from land assessment proper, and to fix the latter permanently while the former may continue liable to alteration. As, however, the charge for water forms in the case of irrigated land the larger portion of the payment made to Government, the land-holder gains little or nothing by a permanent settlement of this kind. A third objection is that to tracts which are liable to frequent droughts a permanent settlement is unsuitable. In these tracts it is not the amount of assessment that prevails, but the collection of any assessment in adverse seasons when the crop has ceased earlier than usual, which is a serious evil, as has, in fact, often been the case. It has been repeatedly urged that the best, if not the only, way of rendering these assessments secure is by making irrigation dependent on rivers, and that the assessment should be on the value of the crops raised in the tracts. The idea that the irrigation works should be a permanent settlement, while the tracts in which they are situated should be assessed, is, on the whole, a bad one. The charge for the use of the works should also be a charge on the value of the produce raised, if the tracts can be made to bear a proportionate share of the works.
devolved on Government and the Government assessment is permitted when there is a failure of supply of water for irrigation. These considerations, however, important as they are, only limit, it seems to me, the scope of a permanent settlement, but do not show that its application to the bulk of unirrigated lands in the country is impracticable. The advantages of a permanent settlement of land revenue are so great, that I am inclined to think that it should be introduced, wherever practicable. I must, however, at the same time admit that, considering the extreme uncertainty in regard to the future value of silver and the instability of the opium revenue, the present time is very inopportune for Government to commit itself to any irrevocable decision on this question.

78. Barring a permanent settlement, the scheme of the Government of India propounded in 1883 for amending the evils incidental to periodic reviews of assessment, is undoubtedly the best that can be devised. As these orders are not as well known as they deserve to be, a summary of them will be given here. In these orders the Government of India announce that the policy of a permanent settlement, pure and simple, proposed in Sir Charles Wood's despatch in 1882, has been definitely abandoned as involving an unjustifiable sacrifice of the future resources of the State. The evils of periodic revision of assessment are at the same time admitted in the most unreserved manner. The most prominent among them are "the uneasiness arising from uncertainty, the harassment of the agricultural classes, the discontent engendered by mistaken assessments, the check to expenditure on improvements, the positive deterioration of agriculture in the last years of the term of settlement, and the heavy cost and great delay involved in the operations." In calling attention to these evils, the Government of India is careful to point out that it is not intended to disparage or undervalue in any way the work done by the Settlement departments. That department has had a gigantic task to perform and has done it in a creditable manner. It has demarcated the boundaries of every property, and provided a map of every field, and in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties has effected an official valuation of land which is as approximately correct as it is possible for an official valuation to be; and indeed without an initial valuation of this kind it would be impossible to introduce any reforms whatever in the system of settlement. The problem for solution is how best to secure to the land-holding classes a
diminution from the various incidental to a settlement without a complete sacrifice by the State of its right to a reasonable share in the increase of agricultural wealth due to cause independent of the actions of the agriculturists. One thing is quite clear, viz., that the agent in view cannot be secured so long as the valuation of the various classes of soil forms the main part of the work of a settlement officer; for, such a valuation cannot in the nature of things be effected without enquiries of a minute and prolonged, and therefore a tediousness and vexation, character; and attempts to arrive at a valuation by rough methods and hasty generalizations have very too frequently resulted in uncertainty and inequality of assessment to the injury of the agricultural classes. An absolutely equal assessment of land is, in any case, impossible, both on account of the imperfection of the data on which the valuation has to be based, and the constant variation, in the natural course of things, of the conditions which affect the valuation. The Government of India has accordingly declared that, when once the soil has been carefully classified, there should be no re-valuation when the assessment has to be revised, and that the revision of the assessment should be effected under such principles and based on such data as will enable any person investing money in landed property or in improvements to land, to forecast, with tolerable precision and without official aid, the enhancement of revenue to which he will in future be subject, in order that "certainty of assessment might become one of the inherent attributes of agricultural property." The procedure prescribed for effecting this object, so far as is applicable to the conditions of this Presidency, is as follows. The causes which contribute to an enhancement of the value of estates are: 1st, increased area brought under cultivation; 2nd, increased produce due to improvements to land, and the adoption of improved methods of cultivation; 3rd, rise in the prices of produce; and 4th, diminished expenses of cultivation or diminished cost of bringing the produce to market. In this Presidency, the question of increase of revenue due to extension of cultivation does not, so far as least at the coast districts are concerned, arise at periodical revisions of assessment, as, under the system of field assessments in force, every new field taken up for cultivation is made to pay the prescribed assessment at once. In the case, however, of estates in the Wynaad taluk of the Malabar district a large area of waste lands has been assessed at nominal rates, because to assess them at full rates while they remain unutilized would enhance the assessment on the holding far beyond its
present capabilities; and it will be a question whether, when the term of the present settlement expires, these lands will be allowed to pay pepper curm assessments, if they should, in the meanwhile, have been brought under cultivation. The same considerations will apply to large estates containing waste lands brought under the settlement now in progress in the South Canara and Malabar districts. Under the 2nd head, increased produce due to improvements effected by Government, such as the construction of irrigation works, will be charged for by the imposition of a water-rent. The increased produce arising from the improvements effected by the landowners at their own expense is, of course, to be left entirely untaxed. These improvements consist chiefly of wells and other works for irrigation, and the rule of freedom from taxation as regards these, has indeed been scrupulously observed in this Presidency since 1869; and reductions of assessment amounting to several lakhs of rupees have been granted on lands irrigated by works constructed prior to that date. In Upper India and Bombay, however, a less liberal policy appears to have prevailed till a very recent date. It further appears that in Upper India, the gradual enhancement of value of land effected by improvement in the system of cultivation and increased application of labour and skill to the operations of irrigation by the agricultural classes had formed an important item in the increment of revenue obtained by new assessments. The Governments of India has relinquished the right to tax improvements of this kind, being convinced that it is false economy to discourage in any way the employment of such increased skill and labour. It is under the 3rd head, viz., the rise in prices, that an enhancement of assessments at periodical revisions of settlement is to be mainly looked for. Here, too, the rise of prices, however small, that is to form a ground for enhancement; now, in the assessment to be enhanced in full proportion to the rise in prices. There should be a substantial rise in prices to justify an enhancement, and the Government of India has also directed that at each periodical revision a margin, say 12 per cent., of the profit arising from increase of prices, should be left untouched, “with the view both of raising the standard of living among the agricultural classes, and of meeting the increasing cost of labour, stock and implements.” In cases in which there is a fall in prices and the assessments fixed become on this account really oppressive, remissions or suspensions of revenue are to be granted at the discretion of Government, so the circumstances of the case might require. Under the 4th head, the most important consideration is the
saving in the cost of carriage of produce to market and consequent enhanced value of produce by provision of increased facilities of communication by the construction of railways or canals. The Government is of opinion that it would be best to leave these advantages untaxed with a view to avoid the minute enquiries that would otherwise be necessary. The saving in cost of cultivation by labour-saving appliances, such as improved water-lifts, will, of course, in like manner with increase of produce due to the adoption of superior methods of cultivation be left untaxed. The assessment once fixed are not to be liable to variation for 20 years. In the case of prices, an initial schedule is to be prepared with reference to which future adjustments of the revenue are to be made. This initial schedule, according to the instructions of the Government of India, is to be based, not on the prices of any one year, but on the average prices of a period of years, say ten, immediately preceding the year which is taken as the commencement of the settlement, excluding years of famine or severe scarcity. The staples which are to be taken into consideration, the market at which prices are to be registered, the period for which the average is to be calculated and such like matters, are to be decided after full discussion with the Local Governments. The Government of India further directs that in those cases in which there are interests subordinate to those of the landholders to be safeguarded (e.g., tenants in South Canara and Madras holding at fixed rates), arrangements should be made for the limitation of future enhancements of assessments according to well-recognised principles easy of application, being accompanied by similar limitation of the rents payable by tenants to land-holders. The principles enunciated by the Government of India have been accepted by the Madras Government with modifications on two points and are to be applied to revisions of assessments in all districts which have been settled by the Settlement Department. The modifications are: first, that as regards the calculation of average prices, a period of 10 years being too small to give a fair average, a longer period should be taken, the precise period being left for consideration when the time for a revision of settlement approaches; secondly, that when a substantial rise in the value of agricultural produce justifies an augmentation of the State demand, a limit to the increase to be made at any one time should be laid down. The second condition added by the Madras Government is most important and is calculated to protect agricultural classes from the hardship of large and sudden enhancements, to whatever cause they may be due.
29. It will be seen from the scheme described above, that it would be impossible to have rules regarding revisions of assessment conceived in a more liberal spirit or more calculated to minimize the annoyances to land-holders arising from the operations connected with revisions of assessment and to remove the uncertainty in the value of landed property resulting therefrom. These rules, however, are not generally known, and unless the values publicized be given to them, it is obvious that the object in view, viz., to enable persons desirous of investing money in the purchase of land or in improvements to it to forecast with reasonable certainty the changes in its value likely to result from the enhancement of Government assessment, apart from changes arising from natural causes, cannot be attained.

I beg to suggest, therefore, that the rules should be embodied in a legislative enactment, or if this is considered unadvisable, that they should be notified in the Official Gazette. Before this is done, certain preliminary questions will have to be settled. The first is the initial schedule of prices which is to be taken as the standard and with reference to which future revisions of assessment are to be regulated. The communication prices adopted for the existing settlements cannot be taken as the standards for reasons which will be apparent from the account already given in regard to the manner in which the calculations as to the land valuations made for purposes of settlement are adjusted with a view to see that the enhancements of revenue resulting therefrom do not exceed what the tenants settled may be expected from their general condition to be called upon to pay with ease. Moreover, the principle adopted in fixing the communication rates has not been uniform in all districts. In the earlier settlements, the communication rates were based on the average prices of as many years as there were accounts for. In connection with the Salem settlement, this rule was altered and it was laid down that the communication rate should be based on the average prices of 20 years ending 1864. Then again, in connection with the settlement of the Madura district, the latter rule was modified, and it was objected that the communication rate should be the average prices for the 20 years preceding the year of revision of settlement minus a percentage allowance for carriage and merchant's profits, subject to the condition that, where the rate thus deduced was higher than the lowest price which had obtained during the period of 20 years, the latter should be taken as the communication rate. This latter condition has since 1887 been dispensed with. In the earlier
settlements the prices taken were the prices of crops selling months. In recent settlements the average prices of whole years are taken subject to the deductions above referred to.

In view of these differences, it seems to me, that the computation prices should be discarded and that the average prices of 30 years prior to the existing settlements or such other period as may be considered sufficiently long for arriving at a fair average should be taken as the initial standard and compared with a similar average of the period immediately preceding the year in which the revision of settlement is undertaken. This evidently is the course enjoined by the Government of India, and is in the fairest under the circumstances.

The price lists on which future enhancements of assessment are to be based should also be published in the Official Gazette under arrangements similar to those prescribed in section 29 of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

The deduction to be made from prices for carriage and merchant's profit in order to find the producer's price and the margin to be left untouched in the increased value of produce—whether 19 per cent., as mentioned by the Government of India or other proportion—should be definitely fixed. The limit to the enhancement of assessment at any one time, suggested by the Madras Government, should likewise be laid down. When these provisions are embodied in definite rules and promulgated, the object aimed at by the Government of India in propounding the scheme above referred to will be fully acceded.

11. THE IMMORALITY OF THE TYNANT OF RYOTS IN ZIMBABWE.

80. Before the commencement of the present century the ryots in Zimbabwe, as well as the ryots who paid revenue direct to Government, were maltreated and oppressed. During the last 30 years, however, the latter class of ryots have prospered in consequence of the measures adopted from time to time

It is to be noted that the prices taken were the prices of crops selling the previous year. For finding the average price of crops there will have to be made, for the purpose of ensuring for the general advantage of parties with reference to their relative importance. Allowances will have to be made for the fact that the average is slightly above 15 between the average to enable 15 in proportion of prices payable, without taking into account the quantity sold at each price being given with all other prices (see 20) and what is the price of the price of each article in proportion of the article for a definite time of revenue. It is the former that is meant properly as settled, the latter will give a clear idea of the article under discussion. If the article is one that will give rise to any claims, and whenever other articles are included in the average the prices are liable to change in prices.
for the amelioration of their condition, as detailed in the
foregoing pages, while the former have remained in most
parts of the country in much the same condition as before.
The Zamindars ryot holds nearly one-fourth of the total
agricultural population of the Presidency, and as the question
of improving their status is now engaging the attention of
Government, the following remarks are offered for consider-
ation.

81. For a proper understanding of the relations of Zamin-
dars and ryots, it is necessary briefly to

The rights of the cul-
tivating classes in the
lands held by them
under the Hindu and
Mohammedan systems

"the cultivators who

and by ryots" is to be understood "the cultivators who

the cultivators had unlimited proprietary right or

the right of land arises from mere

and is not derived from the sovereign in the

the cultivation of the term. The share of

the cultivator's own land is not vested in him in the

the cultivators is known by the name Kudiram;

and by ryots" is to be understood "the cultivators who

the cultivators or cultivators is known by the name

and the ryots may perhaps be de-

as one of co-partnership," but it is certainly not that

under modern English law, derived from his landlord.

between the Government and the ryot may perhaps be de-

the cultivators or cultivators is known by the name

the cultivators is known by the name Kudiram;
cut away the wood and who cleared and killed it." Another
Hindu sage, Jaimini, states that the expressions magnifying
the power and glory of the king, such as that he is "lord of all,"
ought not to be understood as placing all property at his
unrestricted disposal. His kingly power is for government
of the realm and extirpation of wrong, and for that purpose
he receives taxes from husbandmen and lessees from
offenders. But right of property is not thereby vested in
him; else he would have property in houses and land appur-
taining to the subjects abiding in his dominions. The earth
is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the
fruit of their labours. "It belongs to all alike; therefore,
although the gift of a piece of ground to any individual does
take place, the whole land cannot be given by a monarch;
nor a province by a subordinate prince; but houses and
fields acquired by purchase and similar means are liable to
gift." Again, "the revenue only is to be taken by the prince;
therefore, in a gift or other alienation by him of such lands
as aforesaid, gift of lands is not effected; it is only a pro-
vision of revenue; but in purchase from the landlord,
ownership does accrue in the houses, land or other property
purchased; and through ownership thus acquired and such
objects given, the benefits to the donor of the gift of land
may really be obtained." On the other hand, the property
of the raja did not necessarily carry with it power to dispose
of it in any manner he thought fit; and this for several rea-
sons. One is that the right of individual ownership had not
in most parts of the country been developed; as lands were
held in joint-ownership by members of joint families and
village communities and regarded as constituting an "estate
dedicated equally to the support of sacrifices to the deceased
members, as to the maintenance of those living, and still to
come into life." Ancient Hindu Law accordingly required
that the deed of sale of land should be attested by the "heir,
kinship, neighbors, villagers, an officer of the sovereign
and scribe." Dr. Borrell in his South Indian Jurisprudence
concludes the results of his examination of ancient documents
and inscriptions relating to transfers of property as follows:
"Down to recent times the land in South India was held by
village communities, and thus the greatest number of existing
private deeds are of grants by Subahdars (from Sancruat
Sahibs), the heads of the community acting on its behalf.
The earliest documents of this kind, which are now in exist-

---

18 Vide Analese of the Bombay High Court at Bombay as revised by the Districts of North Canada. L.L., 121, Bombay, page 482.
ence, indicate that the earliest form of communal property (in which the common land was cultivated by all the owners in common who divided the produce) had already become uncommon; for though townships exist where this system is followed,—and there are traces of it,—yet the inscriptions indicate that the system which still exists to a great extent in South India, viz., communal lands with shifting lots exchanged periodically, was already widely practised. Under this system the rights of ownership in a township are divided into a number of shares, and these again subdivided into lots which answer to fields. And these are subdivided into lots which answer to the shares (pampa) or fractions of shares owned by the several members of the community. But the township land consisted only of the arable land; the ground on which the houses of the community were built (dravatam), that on which the serfs or artisans resided (paravi settam), the village burning ground (stikkalakal), water courses and tanks, temples, waste land (grampy stilagam land without owner) were private property, or reserved for the public use in general, and over which the members of the community had merely the right of use. What could be transferred was, therefore, a certain extent of land corresponding to a share or shares together with the undefined rights over the public property which attached to every member of the community, but which were not, and seldom are, mentioned in deeds, or to the separate property of the individual member of the family. There can be no doubt that all such transfers of either kind were illegal and void without the sanction of the community, and the Sanskrit lawyers clearly recognised this principle. The numerous attestations to transfers of property are intended to represent the co-proprietors' consent and ratification, rather than evidence of execution of the document. Even where the communal and joint family systems had given way to individual property, land might still not be transferable, both because, by heavy taxation, the value of the interest of the cultivator might have been reduced to little or nothing, and because owing to the paucity of the population and abdication of waste lands the difficulty might be not in finding lands but in finding men to cultivate them. The fact that the acquerement of the share of the sovereign and its valuation were left to his officers led to continual encroachments on the cultivator's share and thus reduced his property an uncertain one, is an objection applicable to all forms of property which were exposed to inroads of this kind. All rights
were in former times based on the authority of custom, and the ruling power professed to respect customs, even though it might violate it on special occasions. The Muhurman rule did not alter the internal constitution of villages and the rights of landed property, except by increasing the tax and diminishing the value of the ryot's interest by collecting the revenue by means of farmers. The limitation of the share of the sovereign applied of course to lands newly reclaimed from waste as well as to lands previously under cultivation. In parts of the country where joint village communities were in existence—and this was generally in tracts where lands were irrigated under great systems of irrigation—these communities claimed the right to cultivate the waste within their villages to the exclusion of strangers. In the portions of the country exposed to the ravages of frequent wars, droughts and famines, village communities would constantly tend to disappear almost as rapidly as they were formed; and the rights in cultivated land would consequently be of small value; and there would be no assertion of any right to cultivate waste lands because there was no necessity to do so. Even here, when waste land was cultivated, the right of Government was limited to taking the share recognized as due in the case of lands already under cultivation. On this point, Sir G. Campbell in his Essay on Indian Land Tenure observes: 'In no part of India and under no form of Government did the State undertake the latter functions (of letting lands at competitive rents) or any others analogous to those of an English landlord. Except in the assignment of waste land to be cultivated on the customary tenure, there never was any system of interference with the immediate possession of the soil; no letting it by competition or anything of that kind.'

82. The mohurrum and kudiwaram rights are thus the two principal independent interests in land, and all other interests are derived from, or are subordinate to, either the one or the other. The riyot or shroff or munsid was the receiver of the kudiwaram, and he might cultivate the land himself or have it cultivated by tenants in cases in which the Government share of the produce left him a kudiwaram which had a margin above the cost of the cultivator's subsistence. The tenant put in by the riyot was called a parakali or stronger cultivator. In exceptional cases, the parakali was permitted to acquire a beneficial interest in land and the status of an al-parakali, but this was not recognized as a part of the general common
law of the country. At the other end of the scale, there were the Zemindars, tahirs, and Inspectors, who derived their rights from the sovereign with jurisdiction over portions of the country which would not, under the Hindu law, affect the kollodars right vested in the ryots. The Zemindars were of very various origin. Some of them were the descendants of ancient chiefs, holding the territories assigned to them on condition of paying tribute and rendering military service. Others were revenue officers and farmers of revenue employed by the Hindu and Mahamudan Government, who had acquired power and influence which led to their being recognized as Zemindars. Others, again, were originally heads of villages or ryots or even kavalgars, taluarns, or watchmen who had collected round them armed bands of robbers and levied blackmail from the surrounding villages, and by the assistance rendered to soverigns during troublous times got themselves recognized as Poligars. In all cases, the Zeminders right extended only to the meluvaran, except in the case of Khansar, Passar or home-farm lands which were kept distinct from lands cultivated by ryots. This was the common law of the country, but in practice, of course, owing to the absence of settled authority, the ryots were grievously oppressed by the levy of illegal cesses. In a few cases, where the "sixi" or regular assessment was a fixed sum of money, the extra assessments represented the additional value of the Government share due to the rise in the value of produce, and as such was legitimate enough; but in most cases the extra assessments were purely arbitrary. In the Northern Circars, as we have already seen, the ryots share of the produce which was originally not less than one-half was, by the additional imposts levied on various produce, reduced to one-fourth or one-fifth. Mr. Strachan has given a full account of the revenue system prevailing in the Chittor polemics in his report, dated 14th July 1801. His report shows that, besides the manumal teevra which was in itself sufficiently onerous, imposts were being levied in the Venkatagiri and Kalkanitri Zemindaries under the denomination of batwara, and that most of these were arbitrary exactions which had originated within the previous 30 years. In the Rannad Zemindari also, additional cesses over and above the manumal teevra were levied, among which may be mentioned Nilsar (land-tax),Pokkalari (the straw tax), Pochakukkai (a present placed on the feet of the Zeminder) pokunu kudcha (a present made to the Zeminder when the glad

* See decision of the Madras High Court: L.L.E. VII, Madras, page 874.
tidings of the ripening of dry crops was conveyed to him),

grain fees for the maintenance of an English writer in the

establishment of the Zemindars, &c. Venkatakrishna and Kilabastri

Zemindaries are instances of Zemindaries in which the exist-

ces of a kudosamana right in the ryot is denied: in the

Hamad Zemindari, on the other hand, the right is fully

admitted and transfers of lands by sale or mortgage are

quite as common as in the Government ryotwar taluk.

89. The rights of the Zemindars to hold their estates

were, before the permanent settlement,

much more uncertain than those of the

ryots, and the object of the permanent

settlement was to place the rights of the former on a

secure basis by limiting the demands of the Government

on Zemindars on account of the revenue, in order that

the demands of the latter on the ryots might be equally

defined and limited. On the occasion of introducing the

permanent settlement in Bengal in 1792, the Court of

Directors remarked as regards the tenure of Zemindars as

follows: 'On the fullest consideration, we are inclined to

think that whatever doubt may exist, with respect to their

rights, it should be resolved in their favour, in order to

secure a fair and equal settlement of their estates.'

8 On the fullest consideration, we are inclined to

think that whatever doubt may exist, with respect to their

rights, it should be resolved in their favour, in order to

secure a fair and equal settlement of their estates.'
original character, whether as proprietors of land or collectors of revenues, or with respect to the changes which may in process of time have taken place in their situation, there can at least be little difference of opinion as to the actual condition of the Zemindars under the Mogul Government. Custom generally gave them a certain species of hereditary occupancy, but the sovereignty appears nowhere to have been vested in him by any law or compact not to deprive them of it; and the rents to be paid by them remained always to be fixed by his arbitrary will and pleasure, which were constantly exercised upon this object. If considered, therefore, as a right of property it was very imperfect and very precarious, having not at all, or but in a very small degree those qualities that confer independence and value upon the landed property of Europe. Though such be our ultimate view of this question, our originating a system of fixed equitable taxation will sufficiently show that our intention has not been to act upon the high claims of Asiatic despotism; we are, on the contrary, for establishing real permanent valuable landed rights in our provinces, and for conferring that right upon the Zemindars, but it is just that the motive of this concession should be known and that our subjects should see that they receive from the enlightened principles of a British Government what they never enjoyed under the happiest of their own. The authors of the permanent settlement inappropriately called the rights conferred on the Zemindars, "proprietary rights," being influenced by the notion fostered by modern English law, that there should be full ownership vested in some one person, and all other rights should be considered as derived from or through him. This view of the case placed the rights of the ryot at a disadvantage in that they were regarded as a sort of inferior, derivative, possessory rights. The existence of the latter rights was, however, fully acknowledged and the Government reserved to itself the fullest power to legislate, when necessary, for the protection of the ryot's rights. The Court of Directors specially cautioned the Governor-General: "to so express himself as to leave no ambiguity as to their right to interfere from time to time, as it might be necessary, for the protection of the ryot and subordinate landlords, it being their intention in the whole of this measure effectually to limit their own demands, but not to depart from their inherent right as sovereigns of being the guardians and protectors of every class of persons living under their Government;" and the Governor-General in accordance with the Court's injunctions issued, in 1799, a proclamation containing, among
other things. The following declarations addressed to the
"Zemindars, independent Talukdars and other actual
proprietors of lands," viz., "It being the duty of the ruling
power to protect all classes of people, and more particu-
larly those, who from their situation, are most helpless, the
Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem fit
and proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary
for the protection and welfare of the dependent Talukdars,
ryots and other cultivators of the soil. No Zemindar, inde-
pendent Talukdar or other actual proprietor of land, shall be
entitled on this account to make any objection to the dis-
charge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively
agreed to pay." It was further declared "that implicit
obedience be shown by the proprietors to all regulations
which had been or might be proscribed by Government, con-
cerning the rents of the ryots and the collections from under-
tenants and agents of every description as well as from all
other persons whatever." In the Madras Presidency the
permanent settlement was made on the same principles as in
Bengal. The instructions issued to Collectors for the purpose
of carrying out the permanent settlement acknowledge that
"...distinct from these (Zemindar's and Talukdar's) claims are
the rights and privileges of the cultivating ryots, who, though
they have no positive property in the soil, have a right of
occupancy as long as they cultivate to the extent of their
usual means, and give to the Siraj or proprietor, whether
in money or kind, the accustomed portion of the produce." Laws
were to be made for the protection of the ryots and
under-tenants on the one hand, and for enabling Zemindars
on the other, to recover the rents due to them. In order
that the Courts might easily determine the rents payable, the
Zemindars were to enter into specific engagements, called
putthas, with the ryots. The rents to be paid, by what-
ever rule or custom regulated, were to be given in specific
money amounts, wherever possible. In cases where the rate
only could be specified, such as when the rents were adjusted
upon a measurement of the land after cultivation, or on
survey of the crop, or when they were made payable in kind,
the rate and terms of payment and proportion of the crop to
be delivered, with every other necessary condition, were to be
clearly specified. Every Zemindar was to be required to
prepare a form of a puttha or potta, adapted to the
circumstances and usages of his Zemindari, and after obtain-
ing the Collector's signature to it in token of his apprehen-
sion, to register a copy of it in the Civil Court of the district
and deposit copies also in the principal Cutcheries of the
Zeminardi. Every ryot was also to be entitled to receive a copy on application and no patents which were not in the prescribed form were to be held void. Refusal on the part of a Zeminard to grant a patent to a ryot was to be punishable by a fine "proportioned to the expense and trouble of the ryot in consequence of such refusal." Receipts were to be printed for all rents paid, and a refusal to grant a receipt was similarly to be punished with fine equal to double the amount of the rent paid by the ryot. The installments in which the rents were payable were to be fixed with reference to time of reaping and selling the produce and a Zeminard violating this rule was liable to be sued for damages. It was hoped that in course of time, Zeminards and ryots would find it to their mutual advantage to enter into agreements in every instance for a specific sum fixed on a certain quantity of land, leaving it to the option of the latter to grow whatever crops they might consider most profitable to them. In the meantime, the ryots were to be protected from the levy of any new taxes "under any pretence whatsoever," and any Zeminard who imposed such taxes was to be made liable to a heavy penalty. The attention of the Collectors was drawn to the taxes which were already being levied, and which it was apprehended had already become oppressive and too irksome to adjust; and the hope was expressed that the Zeminards would revise the same in concert with the ryots and consolidate the whole into one specific sum, by which the rents would be much simplified, and much inconvenience to both parties be thereby obviated in future. The Government was prepared to relinquish its right to derive any revenue from the cultivation of waste lands which were "to be given up in perpetuity to the Zeminards, free of any additional assessment, with such encouragement to every proprietor to improve his estate to the utmost extent of his means, as was held out by the limitation of the public demand for ever, and the institution of regular judicial courts to support him in all his just rights, whether against individuals or the officers of Government, who might attempt in any respect to encroach upon them." The advantages expected to accrue from the improvement of those lands were stated to be "to put the Zeminard upon such respectable footing as to enable him with the greatest readiness to discharge the public demand, to secure to himself and family every necessary comfort and to have, besides, a surplus to answer any possible contingency." These instructions formed the basis of the series of regulations passed in 1862 defining the rights and liabilities of Zeminards with whom a permanent settlement was entered.
into, both as regards Government and the ryots who were placed under them. The Zemindars were, of course, in accordance with the erroneous ideas as to the rights of ryots prevailing at the time, declared to be "proprietors of the soil" (section 3 of Regulation 25 of 1802). The safeguards provided for the protection of the ryots were these: First, it was made imperative on the part of the Zeminder to offer pattaah to his ryots (and to exchange munalsahs with them) clearly specifying the rent demandable from them, within six months from the date of the permanent settlement. These pattaahs and munalsahs were to be signed and registered, not by the Collector as originally contemplated, but by the kurnum of the village who, by another regulation passed at this time, was made independent of the Zeminder on the one hand, and the Collector on the other (section 14 of Regulation 25 of 1802 and section 6 of Regulation 30 of 1802). The expectation was that by insisting on the terms as regards rent, &c., being reduced to writing with the mutual consent of the parties interested, and registered in the office of a village officer who was supposed to be placed in a position in which he would not be amenable to the influence of the Zeminder, the rights of the ryot would be secured and the Courts would be furnished with the means of deciding readily disputes regarding rates of rent between Zemindars and ryots; secondly, Zemindars were required to consolidate rents and imposts of all kinds customarily levied from ryots into one specific sum within two years from the date of the permanent settlement and enter it in the pattaah; and if the Zemindars neglected to do so, the rents and cesses were not to be enforceable in a Court of Law (section 6 of Regulation 30 of 1802); thirdly, Zemindars were forbidden to impose any new cesses or taxes on the ryots, under any name or pretexts, and the levy of any sum other than those included in the consolidated amount entered in the pattaah was made punishable with fine equal to three times the amount levied unauthorizely (section 7 of Regulation 30 of 1802); fourthly, it was laid down that if disputes arose between Zemindars and ryots regarding rates of assessment, in money, or of division in kind, the rates were to be determined according to the rates prevailing in the cultivated lands in the year preceding the permanent settlement of the revenue of the estate; and where these rates might not be ascertainable, according to the rates established for lands of the same description and quality as those respecting which the dispute arose (section 9 of Regulation 30 of 1802). By these provisions it was thought that, though cesses which previous to the permanent settlement had been
unauthorisedly imposed might be perpetuated, the imposition of any further cesses subsequently would be prevented and that the adoption of the rates levied in the year previous to the year of the permanent settlement, would in most cases obviate the necessity for enquiry into difficult questions of vague and undefined usage or regards rates of rents. On the other hand, the powers conferred on the Zemindars for the recovery of their rents were the following: first, they were authorized to distrain for rent the immovable property of the ryots, with the exception of lands, houses, articles of trade or manufacture, and also ploughs, implements of husbandry, ploughing cattle or seed grain so long as other property might be forthcoming (sections 2, 3 and 4 of Regulation 26 of 1802); secondly, they had power to eject from their lands the ryots who refused to accept the puchkas offered to them in the presence of witnesses, and to grant the lands to other persons (section 10 of Regulation 99 of 1802); thirdly, where a person who made default in the payment of rent had by grant or established usage of the country a transferable right in the land, the Zemindar might apply to the Court to sell such right in satisfaction of the rent due; and where the defaulter was a leaseholder or other tenant having a right of occupancy only so long as he paid the rent, without right of property or possession, the Zemindar could eject him of his own authority (Regulation 28 of 1802, section 34, clause 7); fourthly, Zemindars were empowered to summon, and, if necessary, compel the attendance of ryots for the adjustment of their rents, or for recovering lands, or for "any other lawful purpose." These powers were exercisable without any previous application to the Courts, but for abuse of these powers the Zemindars were liable to fine and damages (section 34, clause 8 of Regulation 29 of 1802). Zemindars were prohibited from confining or inflicting corporal punishment on ryots on pain of prosecution in a Criminal Court (section 26 of Regulation 28 of 1802).

Mr. Webbe, the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government in 1802, was appointed Special Commissioner for carrying out the permanent settlement in this Presidency, and the duty of drafting the regulations passed in connection with the settlement devolved on him. In a communication made to Mr. Webbe by Moses, Hodgson and Greenway, the Inland gentlemen strongly urged the desirability of inserting in Regulation 30 of 1802 certain provisions which would "we had the effect of placing the rights of ryots on a secure basis. The section suggested was to the following effect: "No Zeminder, proprietor (or whatever name be given to these
persons) was entitiled by custom, law or usage to make his demands for rent according to his conveniences, or in other words, that the cultivators of the soil had the solid right from time immemorial of paying a defined rent and no more for the land they cultivated.” Mr. Hodgson pointed out that “the first principle of the permanent settlement was to confirm and secure these rights” and that “the proprietary right of the Zemindars was no more than the right to collect from the cultivators that rent which custom has established as the right of Government; and the benefit arising from this right was confined, first, to an extension of the custom, not the rent, of the customary rent by an increase of cultivation; secondly, to a profit in dealings in grain, where the rent may be rendered in kind; thirdly, to a change from an inferior to a superior kind of culture, arising out of a mutual understanding of their interest between the cultivator and proprietor.” Mr. Webbe, however, did not think it necessary to adopt Mr. Hodgson’s suggestion on the grounds that the rights of the ryots would be best developed in the Courts, then for the first time to be established, and that to impose knowledge of them would be suppressed by the acts of the Zemindars was “contrary to the whole course of human experience.”

54. As might be expected the safeguards provided by the permanent settlement regulations for the protection of the rights of the ryots proved entirely unsatisfactory. No steps were taken to see that in accordance with these regulations, puttahs and mushulkas were exchanged between the Zemindars and their ryots and that all classes levied under various denominations were consolidated into a single specific sum within two years from the date of the permanent settlement. The ryots were mostly illiterate peasants who could not understand written agreements containing stipulations regarding rates of rent; and the landlords who were supposed to be the guardians of their rights were in the pay of the Zemindars and had no motive to help the ryots, even if they dared to do so. The ryots themselves had for long periods of time been subjected to the arbitrary power of the Zemindars and could not be expected to become bold enough to try conclusions with them, by a mere legislative declaration that they were free to do so. The Courts, then for the first time established, and in which the rights of the ryots were to be “developed,” were also far
too distant and inaccessible to be of any use to persons who had never left their villages, nor known any other judiciary than their own caste panchayats. The powers possessed and arbitrarily exercised by the Zemindars forcibly procuring the attendance of the ryots and causing them to pay, by not accepting pustahs offered, had been distinctly legalized. The only course open in the circumstances for affording effective protection to the ryots was for Government itself to have settled the rents payable by the ryots and recorded them carefully. The Government of the day had, however, too much of other urgent work on hand to enter on this laborious and difficult equity. It was therefore not at all surprising that the Board of Revenue reported in 1858 on the condition of the Zemindari ryots as follows:

"The Board are assured, not only from the reports of officers deputed to inquire into complaints in the Provinces, but from other unquestionable sources of information, that the great body of ryots is not in that state of ease and security in which the justice and policy of the British Government mean to place them. In general, the ryots submit to oppression and pay what is demanded from them by any person in power rather than have recourse to the tedious, expensive and uncertain process of a law-suit. The cases in which they are sufferers are so numerous, various, intricate and technical,—they and their witnesses are so far from the seats of the Courts of Judicature,—delays are so ruinous to them—they are so poor, so adverse to forms, so impatient of delay, so disinclined to go through the tedious and expensive modes of procedure—they are so timid and so simple a race, that it is necessary for the Government to endeavour to protect them by a summary and efficacious judicial procedure; and it is evident that the officer entrusted with the general government of the Province, as having the greatest and most immediate interest in the welfare of those under his government, and as the only officer having a free and full intercourse with them, should be vested with the duty of conducting these summary proceedings. It is necessary, therefore, in the opinion of the Board to provide by regulations, first, for the protection of the ryots, the great object of all our provincial institutions, and indeed of civil government in the country, but one most difficult of attainment; and for that purpose the Collector or other officer entrusted with the general government of the Province, his assistants when he delegates his authority to them, and the native officers acting by his orders should have primary and summary jurisdiction in all disputes between Zemindars and their under-farmers and ryots regarding rates of assessment, occupancy of land, and

290
payment of revenue, and that they should hold a revenue court for the investigation and settlement in the first instance of such disputes, custom or special agreement and should regulate the demand of the Zemindar against the ryot. The Zemindar should not eject the ryot from his land, unless the ryot should refuse to pay the stipulated rent as soon after the beginning of the season for the cultivation of the year, as may be reasonable and customary; nor should the Zemindar demand more than the customary or stipulated wages or rent."

In accordance with the Board's recommendations, Regulation 4 of 1822 was passed which inter alia provided (1) that Collectors should summarily inquire into all disputes between Zemindars and ryots regarding rates of rent; (2) that no property attached for arrears of rent could be sold unless partition had been granted, tendered or refused, nor until notice had been given to the Collector and leave obtained for the sale; (3) that no ryot could be ejected from his land without the Collector's permission on the ground that he refused to accept a pattah offered to him; (4) that if the Collector found on examination that the pattah tendered by the Zemindar was not valid, the ryot might be ejected, unless he assented to the terms; but if the rate should exceed the just rate prescribed, an order should be issued prohibiting the ejectment and requiring the issue of a proper pattah within one month, under penalty; (5) that suits preferred in the Zillah Courts for arrears of rent were to be rejected where no pattah had been granted unless it were proved that a pattah had been offered and rejected, or that both parties had agreed to dispense with the use of pattah and mutahilla; and (6) that Collectors might refer disputes relating to rates of rent or to occupancy of land to village or district Punelajits for decision. The designation in the permanent settlement regulations of the right of Zemindars as "proprietary right" being calculated to prejudice the rights of the ryots, it was declared by Regulation 4 of 1822 that in passing the former regulations Government had no intention of authorizing any infringement or limitation of any established rights of any classes of its subjects.

Sir Thomas Munro, in his famous minute on "The condition of the Country" in 1854, has described the condition of the ryots in Zemindaries in the Northern Orissa at this time as follows:

"When these districts came into our possession, one part of them was in the hands of Zemindars and the other and
most valuable part was in the hands of Government, and has since, by the permanent settlement, been made over to new Zamindars of our own creation. As in those provinces no fixed assessment has been introduced, nor the rights of the ryots been defined, the ryots can never become landholders nor their lands acquire such a value as to make them valuable. It may be said that they have a right to be assessed only according to ancient usage, and that this right will assure them from undue exaction, and give them the same facilities as the ryots of the Government districts of rendering their land a valuable property; but many causes combine to prevent this. The ancient usage was different in every little district or even village. It is not recorded or defined, and is very little known to us. It is, I believe, in the Northern Provinces very generally so high as to leave the ryot no more than the bare recompense of his labour and stock, and thus to preclude his ever obtaining any portion of a landlord's rent. Even supposing that usage did leave to the ryot some surplus as landlord's rent, the Zamindar might not permit him to enjoy it. He might raise the assessment. If he were an old Zamindar or ill Rajah, the fear of violence would deter him (the ryot) from complaining. If he were a new Zamindar, the ryot would, nine times in ten, submit quietly to the loss, not from fear of personal injury, but from the well founded fear of losing his case in Court. He knows that the influence of the Zamindar would easily procure witnesses to swear falsely on the question of ancient usage, and that they would be supported by the fabricated accounts of the kurniahs, who is entirely under the authority of the Zamindar, and that if he ever gained his case, it would be of no advantage to him, as the Zamindar, without transgressing any law, would be able to harass him in many ways, and make his situation uncomfortable."

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the rights of the ryots in this Presidency, do not appear to have suffered quite to the same extent as in Bengal for three reasons: viz., first, that it was all along acknowledged here that the rights of the ryots were distinct from and independent of those of the Zamindars; secondly, that the maximum rent demanded by the Zamindar was limited to the rent paid in the year preceding that in which the settlement was made, instead of being regulated by the indefinite pargana rates as in Bengal; and thirdly, the maintenance of a record by kurniahs or village accountants facilitated to some extent the ascertainment of the proper rates of rent. Even before the enactment of the Regulations 8 and 9 of 1809, the Sudder Court (of
which Mr. Greenway was one of the judges) had, in several
decisions declared that Zemindars had no power to alter the
rate of division of crop obtaining in the year preceding the
permanent settlement, although the money value of the
Zemindar's share of the crop was a matter to be settled by
mutual agreement between the Zemindars and ryots and to be
entered in the pattahs issued to the latter, and that by the
Act of permanent settlement, the government transferred to
Zemindars "the proprietary right exercised by itself" and
that it could not, be more without infringing the rights of
others."

85. The enactments passed in 1832 continued to regulate
the relations between Zemindars and ryots
before legislation in
1863, when they were superseded by
Act VIII of 1865. The immediate occasion
for amending the old law was the necessity for the
provision of summary remedies to enable Insadars to recover
their rents from their tenants, as the procedure prescribed
by the old regulations was understood not to be applicable
to cases which did not pay revenue to Government. The
redaction of assessments granted by Government in the case
of ryotvar lands, and the great race which had also taken
place in the value of the ryot's interest in land had brought
into existence a class of sub-tenants or share-croppers
holders, and it became necessary to provide for the recovery of
the rent due by such sub-tenants. While the proposed legislation
was under the consideration of the Madras Legislative Coun-
cil, Mr. Carmichael, the Collector of Vizagapatam, brought
to the notice of the Board of Revenue a decision which had
been passed by Mr. Collett, the District Judge, and which
raised very important questions respecting the right of the
Zemindar to enforce the rents payable by his ryots. A
Zeminar of a permanently settled estate had applied to the
Collector for the issue of an order for ejecting certain ryots who
had refused to accept pattahs providing for the payment of en-
hanced rent. The Collector rejected the claim on the grounds
that the Zemindar's demands on the ryots were absolutely
limited by the Regulations 93 and 93 of 1862, and that rent
could not be enhanced beyond the sums entered in the pattahs
issued in accordance with the provisions of those regulations.
Mr. Collett reversed the Collector's decision holding that
sections 8 and 9 of Regulation 90 of 1860, which provided a limit
of time for the issue of pattahs on demand and prescribed the

---

"No Additional Council in the Heart of Insadars So they Proceedings of 1st December 1863, Mr. Bhal."
mode of adjusting disputes regarding rates of assessment, were intended to apply only to the first occasion of issuing a
puthak after the permanent settlement of an estate, that there
was nothing in the regulation to provide for enhancement of
the demand in future years, that, on the contrary, such
changes were contemplated was shown by the fact that the
regulation provided for putthas being renewable every year,
that the terms "just and correct rate" and the "just rate
prescribed" used in Regulation 5 of 1822 were equivalent to
"fair and equitable" rate, and that to suppose that rents
were intended to be limited by the Regulations of 1805 was
incompatible with the declaration in Regulation 4 of 1822,
via, that those regulations were not intended to define,
infringe, or destroy the rights of any parties.

Mr. Collart's decision left it in doubt whether he objected
to the money value of the share of the produce representing
the Zemindar's rent being considered as limited, or to the
sale of the produce itself being limited; and also whether
the "fair and equitable rate" referred to by him had reference
to rents payable according to customary usage, or to rents
determined by the application of the principle of competition.
In the latter case, the value of the ryot's interest in the land
would, of course, be destroyed. A similar case had arisen in
Bengal about the same time and it was decided that the
principle of competition was to be appealed to in settling
rates of rent and it was only in 1865 that this decision was
overruled by the Calcutta High Court in what is known as
the "Great Rent case." The Madras Board of Revenue,
justifying apprehending that the rights of the ryots were imper-
iled by Mr. Collart's decision, exhaustively reviewed the
whole question and communicated their views to the Select
Committee of the Legislative Council appointed to settle the
lines of the proposed legislation. In the report submitted
by the Committee they stated that they unanimously agreed
with the Board that the Regulations of 1805 were intended
to protect the occupants of land under Zemindars by fixing
the maximum rent demandable from them and forbidding
their eviction so long as the rent was paid, and that Regu-
lations 4 and 5 of 1822 were passed for the increased protec-
tion of such occupants of land, in consequence of passage
in the Regulations of 1805, which made mention of a pre-
eminent right having been conferred on Zemindars, having
led to doubt and misapprehension as to the rights of the

---

390 The regulations cited as by the Board in their Proceedings, dated 3rd Decem-
ber 1842, 346, 766, are proved in Appendix 79, p. 120.
ryots. Experience, however, having shown that even those regulations were not free from ambiguity, the Committee was of opinion that the main principles on which disputes regarding rent should be decided should be clearly laid down as follows:—first, ryots who hold in their own right hereditarily or by custom of the country, at a fixed or long established rent, were to be protected; secondly, a division of the crop between the land-holder and the tenant formed the ancient basis of rent, and the local rate of this division was to be referred to in cases of dispute, when other means of settling the rate of rent to the satisfaction of both parties proved unsuccessful; thirdly, land-holders were to be at liberty to arrange their own terms for rent in the case of unoccupied lands. The Committee was further of opinion that voluntary engagements regarding rent between the landlord and tenant should be respected and that any other course would lead to great confusion and wrong. As regards the terms on which the occupation of waste lands was to be allowed, the Committee remarked, "While it is essential to protect the rights of old tenants, it would injure the due rights of the land-holder and oppress the advancement of the country to declare that he cannot let out unoccupied land to the best advantage. By introduction of valuable new products, such as indigo, silk, coffee, oil-seeds, &c., and by improved means of communication in some parts of the country, lands have attained an enhanced value, and as a land-holder can refuse application for waste lands, it would be anomalous and injurious to declare that he can only arrange for their cultivation by cultivating them himself or leasing them out on inadequate rent founded on an ordinary and obsolete grain crop. The Committee, therefore, proposed to enact the following rules, viz., (1) all contracts for rent, express or implied, shall be respected; (2) where no express contract exists, the payment of rent continuously at the same rate for 12 years is to be considered an implied contract to hold permanently at that rate; (3) in districts or villages which have been surveyed by the British Government and in which a money assessment has been fixed on the lands, such assessment is to be considered the proper rent, where no contract for rent, express or implied, exists; (4) where no express or implied contract has been made between the land-holder and tenant, and where no money assessment has been fixed on the lands, the rates of rent shall be determined according to usage; and where such usage is not clearly ascertainable, then according to the rates established or paid for neighbouring lands of similar description and quality; provided that if
either party be dissatisfied with the rate so determined, he may claim that the rent be discharged in kind according to the Wazoo, i.e., according to the established rate of the village for dividing the crop between the Government or the landlord and the cultivator; (2) in the case of immemorial waste or of lands left unoccupied either through default or voluntary resignation, it shall be lawful for land-holders to arrange their own terms of rent. As regards the question of ejectment, the Committee provided that tenants of Zemindars were not to be ejected except by an order of the Collector or the decree of a Court. This provision, however, they explained in their report to be intended "to protect ryots who had land in their own right hereditarily or by the custom of the country against sudden ejectment" and that "the case of temporary tenants who refused to vacate land or who resisted the landlord's entry when the term of their tenancy had expired did not belong to this bill" but was to be dealt by the Civil and Criminal Courts.

When the Bill was passed into law, the provision to the effect that payment of rent at a certain rate for a period of 12 years should be taken to import an implied contract to pay at that rate for ever was omitted, but the reasons for the omission have not been stated. On the other hand, the absolute right intended to be conceded to land-holders to arrange their terms of rent in the case of waste lands was qualified by the proviso that this provision was not to affect any special rights which, by law or usage having the force of law, are held by any class of persons in such waste or unoccupied lands.

86. Act VIII of 1865, instead of clearing up the ambiguities in the law of landlord and tenant of 1825 by providing the rights of Zemindars, has had the effect of involving the relations of Zemindars and ryots in greater confusion than they were in before. By declaring that all contracts "express" or "implied" are to be enforced, it has opened a wide door for disputes and contumencies of all kinds. It has entirely missed its object which was to accord legislative recognition to the principle that was understood to be part of the common law of the country, viz., that the ryots were entitled to hold the lands in their occupation as long as they paid the customary rent according to the established rates. As regards immemorial waste and lands left unoccupied by default or voluntary resignation, it has established a presumption in favour of the Zemindar's.
right to let it on any terms he pleased, by throwing on persons contesting this right the burden of proving that they had special rights recognized by law or usage having the force of law which derogated from the Zemindar's right. The decisions of the High Court have also not tended to clear up the obscurities and supply the deficiencies in the law, and the frequent fluctuations in the views entertained by the courts as regards the rights of the ryote have, if anything, rendered the law more uncertain. In some of their earliest decisions, the High Court had upheld the view that a ryote was entitled to retain possession of the land as long as he paid the customary rent or share of the produce. Subsequently a change came over the views of the High Court and they ruled that a ryote "holding" as it is called "under a putah" was not entitled to hold the land for a longer period than that during which the putah was in force, unless he could prove a special contract, custom or usage to the contrary. This decision was arrived at in the case of lands paying revenue direct to Government and the express declarations of Government to the contrary in their Standing Orders were set aside as not "constituting rights enforceable at law." In recent decisions there has been a tendency to take a more favorable view of the rights of ryotes in the cases of ryotes paying revenue direct to Government by regarding the ryote's right as arising from occupation of the land and the putah which simply defines the demand for rent on the ryote for the period specified therein, and not the duration of the occupancy. But still it is impossible to say what view the courts would take as regards the right of a Zemindar ryote to hold the land at the end of the term of any existing putah. If the Zemindar sued for ejectment on the ground that the ryote would not pay enhanced rent, the suit would probably go against him unless he showed that the demand for enhanced rent was justified on the score of the rent-value of the lands having been enhanced by improvements effected by him. If, on other land, the ryote were turned out of the holding on the ground that he had no right to hold the land beyond the term of the putah, he would have to show either that he derived his title from some one who had occupancy right in the land prior to the permanent settlement of the estate—manifestly almost an impossibility—or that the circumstances of the case were such as to "imply" a contract to allow him to hold the land, and this is a hardship, as there is no certain criterion to determine what circumstances will be accepted by the courts as leading to
the inference that there was an "implied" contract. This state of the law is an incentive to violent proceedings and places at a disadvantage land-holders who are willing to allow rents to remain at their existing level. In some respects, the decisions of the courts have disallowed the just rights of the Zemindars to enhance money rents with reference to the increase in the prices of produce, while the government itself exercises such a right in the case of the ryots if it directly deals with them. The law as regards the rights of the Zemindar to regulate the mode of cultivation or the nature of the crops grown, and of the tenants to make improvements and obtain compensation therefor when they are evicted, is unsettled. In two other respects, the landlord is placed at a disadvantage. He cannot sue for rent either in a Revenue court or in an ordinary Civil court, unless he offers to the tenant such a pottah, as he is bound to accept. It often happens that there is a dispute about the terms of the pottah leading to litigation extending over several years, as to whether the pottah offered by the landlord was a proper one or not. If it is decided by a court that any condition in a pottah offered was an improper one, to whatever extent the claims of the tenant might be disallowed in other respects, the landlord forfeits the rent for the whole period of litigation. Again, under the existing law, the landlord's claim for rent is not recognised as giving him a lien on the land in the hands of the stranger to whom the occupancy right might be transferred. This acts as an incentive to fraudulent conduct on the part of the tenant and, by rendering the recovery of rent difficult in cases in which a transferable occupancy right exists, makes it the interest of the landlord to endeavour to destroy it. There are, besides, various other flaws and omissions in the Act which promote disputes between landlords and tenants and embitter their relations, and the Act itself has been so carelessly drawn up that Mr. Justice Holdsworth once declared judicially that he did not in the least profess to understand its provisions.

87. The result is what might be expected, and there can be no doubt that the present condition of the Zemindari ryots is very unsatisfactory. In the Southern districts where the occupancy rights of ryots have all along been conceded, the ryots hold their own against the Zemindar and often defy him. In the Northern districts, the ryots are in a miserable condition and the Zemindars have everything their own way. There is abundant testimony to this effect. Mr. Forbes, the Cole-
better of it Ganjiam, shortly after the famine of 1866 wrote. “The thirteen Dyras Zemindars of Ganjiam are, with few exceptions, the most grasping landlords and the least enlightened proprietors in the world: they take 60 per cent. of the crops and lay out little or nothing in improving or in maintaining irrigation works. They lease their villages to middle-men, and the under-tenants are consequently deprived of all chance of accumulating capital and are little better than serfs of the soil: the bulk of the ryots in Zemindar estates would hail a change to Government management with joy.” We have more recent information as regards the condition of the ryots in the Narvid Zemindar in the Kitna district. The estate was placed under the management of the Court of Wards and the manager of the estate, Mr. Singaram Venkata Subbarayudu, a Yakkil of the High Court, reported in 1879 in the following terms of the manner in which the rents of the ryots had been screwed up by the previous Zemindars. “Once every 5 years it is usual to fix a certain amount of cess upon every village, taking into account the circumstances then existing, the nature of the soil and the quality of the crops, and to take joint muchilika with 6 dry or 1 wet king from the patamadams (Headmen) and koonsams, &c., of every village with conditions following:— (1) the lands shall not be relinquished before the prescribed term; (2) for losses arising from excess or failure of rains, they shall hold themselves responsible and the prescribed rent shall be paid whether the land be cultivated or not; (3) payments made after time shall be charged interest at 1 per cent. per mensem; (4) no cultivation shall be carried on without obtaining a patch after the termination of the prescribed time; (5) individual muchilikas shall be presented apportioning the total amount of the muchilika on the different descriptions of land, viz., best, middling, and inferior; (6) all shall jointly and severally be responsible for the whole rent. The tenants are subject to alternation when the villages are re-assigned at the end of the coyle in the same manner as they are fixed at the beginning. Some villages have the same rate for the best and worst sort of lands, while others have the lease rate for the best land and the highest rate for inferior land. These rates are now in force. The best lands are possessed by kurnias, patamadams, and rich inhabitants. It is most irregular that there should be hundreds of rates in every taluk, and that rates should be different for the same kind of land according to the caste, loyalty and otherwise...”
of the landlord." In forwarding this report to the Court of Wards Mr. Rosehall, the Collector, noted by way of comment: "The system is profitable, no doubt, to the Zemindar, but faulty and oppressive in the extreme. No tenant is secure of his tenure for more than the period of his lease, and any improvements that he may have effected during the period of tenure are turned against him and made the reason for raising the rent; should he not agree, his lands are given to another, and he is ousted. Besides this, under the system of joint liability, he was held responsible for land with which he had really nothing to do. It is by a system like this that the rents have been doubled during the past 10 years. Should no one be willing to pay the price demanded, the lands were included under Kastriam or house farm lands. The conditions speak for themselves." Mr. Wrench, who was also in charge of this estate, writes in 1899: "No remissions are granted for lands left waste or for loss of crop (side condition of putting); if the tenant does not pay the rent in full, it remains in the accounts as arrears against him; and this system of never writing arrears off the accounts is productive of the greatest oppression. Payments are credited to arrears, in order that the right to distrain for the current arrears may be kept alive. If this is not done and if the tenant cannot obviously pay the arrears accumulated against him—for it is observed that they run on from generation to generation—and supposing that one tenant dies or desert his holding, the incoming tenant is made to bind himself to pay the arrears due against the holding; then a bond will be taken from the tenant, conditioned for the repayment of the whole debt, with interest, by instalments within perhaps 12 or 20 years or more, as the circumstances require; if default is made in payment of any two consecutive instalments the whole amount of the bond immediately becomes due." As regards the relative condition of Government and Zemindari ryots, Mr. Babusamy writes in 1879: "There is no doubt that the estate ryot is poorer than the Government ryot. The reason is to be found in the difference of siet and the difference of administration. Before the expiry of the current these can be no alteration of siet, but after it the Zemindari is at liberty to enhance it. Under Government besides occasional remissions, arrears are written off as irrecoverable after lapse of some time; and the ryot is annually allowed to relinquish lands which he cannot pay for. These privileges are not conceded to the Zemindari tenant. Unless the agreement is executed for the rich and poor lands together, no fresh lease is granted on the expiry of a lease. The poor
lands cannot be set aside. The ryot is always indebted to the Zamindar. . . . Money is recovered according to his produce; he is always fettered.” The report, printed as appendix VI.–U. (4), of Mr. Cotman who was employed as a relief officer during the famine of 1876 shows the miserable condition of the ryots in the Kalahasti Zamindari. In the Southern districts the condition of the Zamindari ryots is not, as already observed, so bad as in the Northern districts. Nevertheless even here, it seems to be the case that Zamin-
dari ryots are worse off than Government ryots, taking rents of similar climate conditions for comparison. As regards the Rummadi Zamindari, Mr. Rajaram Rao, who was for several years the manager of the Zamindari, states that the condition of the ryots in this estate is not as good as that of the Government ryots, and that this is due partly to natural disadvantages and partly to the evils incidental to the system of sharing the crop which is in force. He remarks, “the evils of ‘Waraspat’ or sharing system are too obvious to need comment. Under this system, a ryot, with whatever good and efficient arrangements made, is necessarily left at the mercy of the village and taluk officials for getting his crop home. He is not at liberty to crop his crops, harvest them and take his produce of his own accord, but must obtain the permission of the estate officials for every one of these purposes. . . . Attention was not paid to the proper supervision of harvest, &c., and to the punctual collection of rents. The result was that the ryots contracted a habit of dishonesty and unpunctuality in their dealings and the officers were habitual to corruption and foul play.”

There are, of course, estates like Kityaparam in which the condition of the ryots is nearly as good as in the Government tanks, but this is mostly due to the fact that these estates having had the benefit of several years of careful administration by the Court of Wards during the minority of the owner. The Kityaparam estate was surveyed, and money assessment was introduced in lieu of the sharing system to the great advantage of both the Zamindar and the ryots.

98. An amendment of the law regulating the relations between Zamindars and tenants is therefore urgently necessary to prevent further injury to the ryots’ rights, and a bill based on the lines of the recent legislation in Bengal is now under the consideration of Government. I have mentioned in a
note printed as appendix VI.-B. (6) the points in regard to which provision should be made in the new law. The history of the previous legislation, which I have attempted briefly in sketch in the preceding paragraphs, will, I trust, have shown the defects in the present law and the causes of its failure. The main cause seems to me to be the idea of the legislature that any attempt as its part to define, in an unequivocal manner, the relative rights of Zemindars and ryots might necessitate interference with "rights of property" and "freedom of contract" and that if it were made imperative that all contracts between landlords and tenants should be reduced to writing, and machinery provided for summary deciding disputes between them, parties would adjust themselves in the manner best calculated to secure the public interest. This view of the case assumes that the Zemindar is the full owner of the lands in the Zemindari and that the rights of the ryot are derived through him. The assumption, as will be seen from the sections already given of the origin of the ryot's property, is unfounded. The share of the produce which the Government was entitled to take was always limited in lands occupied as well as waste reclaimcd, and the rights conferred on Zemindars were no higher than the rights possessed by the Government itself. Any doubts which the inaccurate language of the permanent settlement regulations might have given rise to in this respect were fully cleared up by the legislation of 1872. The ryot's interest in land, however, no inconsiderable value in most parts of the presidency at the time of the permanent settlement. The Zemindar's interest was likewise of small value as he had to pay the major portion of his receipts to Government. Now, owing to improved administration and the general progress of the country, and more especially owing to the great rise in the value of agricultural produce consequent on the expansion of foreign trade which has taken place during the last 40 years, the value of both the Zemindar's and ryot's interests has greatly increased. The question involved in according legislative protection to ryots is therefore not what shall be taken away from the Zemindar and given to the ryot, but how shall the Zemindar, while being allowed to enjoy to the fullest extent the enhanced value of his share of the produce, be prevented from appropriating, as far as legislation can do so, the enhanced value of the ryot's share. The experiment of allowing the ryots establish their rights in the courts has been tried, and it has grievously failed. In the first place, the courts can act only on the evidence produced before them, and in a context between a rich and
powerful Zemindar and a poor ignorant ryot, the odds are, of course, immensely in favour of the former. The rights too, whose origin has to be referred back to times when there was no settled Government or regular administration of law, are not capable of easy proof or even of exact definition. In this state of things, the natural result is that whoever is not proved to belong to the ryot is taken to belong to the Zemindar. The only effectual way of protecting the ryot, then, is to define his rights precisely by legislation and to allow him freedom to contract himself out of them only to a limited extent, seeing that in the case of cultivators cultivating for subsistence, with no alternative occupation to fall back upon or education or means to hold their own in a contest with their landlords, there can be no real freedom of action. Bearing these considerations in mind, the principles on which the legislation should be based may be thus stated:—According to the common law of the country, there are two distinct interests in land recognized, viz., the Malvaran and Kudvaran. Malvaran belongs to the Government or its assignee the Zemindar; and the Kudvaran to the ryot. There are also two distinct classes of land, viz., one Pannai, Kamin, home farm or private lands, and the other Ayas, Jeyarai, or peasant lands. In the first class of lands both the Malvaran and Kudvaran rights belong to the Zemindar; and in the second, the Malvaran right alone. The bulk of the lands belong to the latter class, and so the presumption must be that land not proved to be private land is peasant land. This rule should be applied to cultivated land as well as the waste. As regards waste, the Zemindar should be entitled to apply to a Civil Court for permission to enclose waste lands and treat the encloséd lands as "private" in view to forming plantations, establishing factories, growing jute, &c. The Court should in such cases give notice to the ryots to state any objections they may have to the enclosure and, after hearing their objections and marking such arrangements as may be found necessary to reserve sufficient areas of waste land to meet the requirements of the ryots as regards land idle increase of cultivation and pastureage, it may grant the application. In regard to the grant of unenclosed waste lands, the

19. Vide sentence (supra) p. 21. 20. (From the H. R. Manager's report in the Legislative Council of India for the State of Madras of the difficulties of determining the rights of parties whose rights are held under the Government. See also account from the Frederick Chancellor's "Land Laws," regarding the manner in which the rights of tenants become generally abridged (op. cit. p. 5). (21) As to the discretion in the case of Government waste lands and the first enclosure of the question—see the report of the (op. cit. p. 5). (22)
Zemindar's powers to grant them for cultivation must be assimilated to those exercised by Government. It would certainly be difficult to control the Zemindar's discretion in granting waste lands for cultivation or to prevent his making a profit out of them, but the recognition of the principle that the waste lands are not at the Zemindar's unrestricted disposal is necessary to prevent the lands being encroached on and lands resigned being added as a matter of course to "private lands," otherwise all penalty lands as they become vacant will be converted into private lands. The ryeet should have the right to adopt such modes of cultivation and raise such crops as he finds profitable, and to make improvements to land, provided he pays the customary rent determined with reference to the standard crop of the village. As regards the rents, though these have been pegged up in the Northern districts so as to absorb nearly the whole of the increase in the value of the ryeet's share of the produce that has resulted from the general progress of the country in recent years, still a sudden reduction of them would cause hardship to the Zemindars. Existling rents must, therefore, be recognized, and the efforts of legislation directed towards securing to the ryeet the enjoyment of any increase in the value of his share of the produce which may accrue to him in the future. As regards the detailed provisions to be made for this purpose, the note printed as appendix VI-B-(6) should be referred to. The most noteworthy point in connection with this question is the rule laid down to the effect that rents shall not be enhanced even with the consent of the ryeet to a greater extent than 1% per cent. at a time, and that rents once enhanced shall not be liable to alteration for 15 years. Zemindari ryeets should be conceded the right to transfer their holdings after giving due notice to the Zemindar. This right is possessed by the ryeets in the Southern districts, and though it is disputed by the Zemindars of the Northern districts, it should be recognized by legislation as it is the necessary consequence of the limitation of the demand of the Zemindar and the creation of a valuable interest for the ryeet in the land. Public interests require that there should be no obstacles interposed to the consolidation of holdings for purposes of profitable cultivation, and the Zemindar himself may have to purchase ryeet's holdings for such purposes. He loses nothing by conceding the right, more especially when he is not allowed to annex lands vacated to his "private lands." His interest will be amply protected by making him retain a lien for the rent due on the land in the hands of the purchaser. To prevent the Zemindar from allowing rent to accumulate by withholding remissions when due,
it should be ruled that not more than three years' rent shall be recovered by the sale of the ryot's interest in the land. As regards "private lands" the Zemindar is to have full liberty to deal with them as he likes. It seems to me that provisions of the kind above referred to will, without injuring the rights of the Zemindars, prevent, at all events, further encroachments on the rights of the ryots in the future. These provisions are based on principles recognized by the common law of the country and they do not ignore existing facts and conditions. The present unsatisfactory state of the law is pernicious in some cases both to the Zemindars and tenants; and every day's delay must add greatly to the difficulty of dealing with the question. This is especially the case in the Northern districts where lands have within the last two or three years greatly increased in value by the opening of the Hyderabad Railway, and when the East Coast Railway is completed the value of lands is likely to increase still further. If steps are not taken at once to secure a share of this increase of value for the improvement of the condition of the Zemindari ryots, the growth of vested interests will make it difficult or impossible to do this in the future. Another measure which would effectively protect the rights of the ryots without injuring those of the Zemindars is the survey of Zemindaries. This should be encouraged as much as possible, and the survey should be carried out in all estates under the charge of the Court of Wards. The Court of Wards now naturally hesitates to carry out the survey in the Zemindari estates in the Northern districts, as the rights of the ryots are still undefined. When the new law is passed, this will no longer be the case.

89. There is also for consideration the question of protecting by legislation large Zemindari estates in this Presidency from dismemberment. Out of a total number of 849 permanently settled estates covering an area of 27½ million acres, there are 135 estates covering an area of 15½ million acres, which are supposed to be held under the law of primogeniture and to be impenetrable. Some years ago it was believed that the holders of these estates had only a life interest in them, and that they could not alienate or encumber the properties so as to have effect beyond.
their own lifetime. Subsequently the courts discovered that the powers of a Zemindar were the same as those of a manager of a Hindu family holding property in co-paronymous under the ordinary law, with the exception that partition could not be claimed by the junior members of the family who were only entitled to maintenance out of the income of the estate. The Zemindar, it was declared, could, like the manager of an ordinary Hindu family, alienate the property in satisfaction of debts incurred for necessary family purposes, and that where there were no junior members, the powers of alienation of the Zemindar were unrestricted. Next, the Courts ruled that where the junior members of the co-paronymous family were sons, the latter were bound by the alienations made by the father even for debts not incurred for family purposes, it being the pious duty of sons under the Hindu Law to pay the debts of the father, provided they were not incurred for immoral or illegal purposes. The rule of primogeniture and imparibility was also declared not to attach necessarily to the property on grounds of public policy, but was to be treated as a family custom liable to be annulled with the mutual consent of the members of the family. The question whether an estate was governed by the law of primogeniture or the ordinary law of equal division was thus made to depend upon the facts of each case and the conduct of the parties, there being no certain criterion laid down to determine the point in any particular case without resort to protected litigation. Lastly, in a recent decision the Privy Council has ruled that the Zemindar of an ancient and imparible estate is absolute owner and can dispose of it as he pleases, the property being imparible only in the sense that it is not divisible among the members of the family; there is nothing to prevent the Zemindar cutting it up into any number of portions and alienating them at his will and pleasure to the prejudice of the rights of succession of the junior members of his family. These rapid changes in the law, or at all events, in what was believed to be such by all the parties interested in the question in this presidency, have led to a great amount of litigation, the junior members in the case of several estates which had hitherto been supposed to be imparible having instituted suits for partition. The Zeminders themselves are apprehensive that the unrestricted powers of alienation conceded to them will lead to the rapid extinction of their estates and the decay of the influence and importance of their families which it was the intention of the rule of primogeniture to conserve. This apprehension seems well founded, for while in the case of
ordinary ancestral property the power of alienation by the managing member is restricted only to his fractional share of the property, there is no such limit in the case of an imperishable Zamindari, and consequently the disembarkment of imperishable estates is likely to be brought about more quickly than the disembarkment of properties to which the ordinary rule of inheritance applies. This result could not have been contemplated, whatever theory is adopted in regard to the origin of the rule of primogeniture, i.e., whether the object of the rule is taken to be the maintenance of the dignity and influence of a certain official position, or the maintenance of the dignity and influence of certain ancient families; for to secure the object in view, the estate must be inalienable from the owner in the one case, and from the family in the other. The means adopted by the English landed aristocracy to preserve the integrity of estates, viz., successive settlements voluntarily made by the owner of the reception of the estate for the time being, as soon as he attains majority, are not available to the Zamindar, as the Hindu Law does not permit of the settlement of estates on "unborn" persons. In fact, the ancient Hindu Law, as already observed, regarded land as constituting "an estate dedicated equally to the support of sacrifices to deceased members, as to the maintenance of those living, and still to come into life," and powers of alienation are a modern development. It seems to me, therefore, desirable that with a view to prevent litigation and dissipation of property it should be declared by legislation, after due enquiry by a commission, (1) which estates are ancient Zamindaris subject to the rule of primogeniture and of imperishability, and whether the rule attaches to the estate or to the family which holds it at present; and (2) that the powers of the holder of the estate for the time being shall be those of the managing member of a Hindu family governed by the ordinary law of succession as they were understood to be before the recent Privy Council decision. The modern Hindu Law seems to steer clear of the evils of the unjust enfeoffments of the English system as well as of the restrictions on the powers of bequest of self-acquired landed property imposed by the French Law on the one hand, and on the other of unrestricted powers of dispositions of ancestral property in a purely agricultural country where the vast majority of the population has to sustain by the cultivation of land. The powers of the managing member in family property to deal with it for the purposes of its improvement are, under the Hindu Law, unrestricted, but at the same time he is prevented
from alienating the means of subsistence of the junior members of his family including his own sons, while parental control is, to some extent, preserved by the liability of the sons to pay the debts of the father—except in certain contingencies; and as regards self-acquired property, the acquirer can do what he likes with it. In making the above remarks, I have assumed that the preservation of these large estates, which are found scattered in the midst of a vast multitude of peasant properties, is a desirable object. I do not propose to discuss the much vexed question whether the system of landholding in large estates or in peasant properties is the more conducive to the general prosperity of the country. Each system has its special advantages and disadvantages, and as Dr. Walker in his book on Land and its Rent points out, the most wholesome of national and economical organizations is perhaps that which admits of an admixture of large, medium sized and small properties, those of medium size predominating. It is true that the Zemstvos as a body have as yet done nothing to assume their proper position as leaders of social and industrial movements; but in fairness to them, it must also be remembered that in a great extent circumstances have been against them. They were meant of them in possession of unrestricted power in the beginning of the century, and the necessities of orderly and civilized government in the then existing state of the country required that they should be deprived of all power and influence and relegated to the position of landlords. The conditions also of farming in this country, so dissimilar to those which existed in England in the latter half of the last century, were not such as to render high cultivation profitable. Brought up in the old traditions, with no sphere of public usefulness open to them to develop their better qualities to enlarge their minds, they have hitherto, with some notable exceptions, formed an idle and dissipated class. Recently, however, a change has become perceptible. Several of them are being educated, and the proceedings of the Landholders’ Association recently organized distinctly show that they are beginning to realize their duties and responsibilities and to feel that if they do not rise to the requirements of the present regime, they will lose all social influence and importance and be doomed finally to disappear. With the great increase in population and expansion of an export trade, the necessity for better methods of cultivation, such as those which only rich landlords have at their power to adopt, will become greater and greater, and a sphere of usefulness will be opened out to them in this direction as well as in the management
of industrial enterprises which present proprietors cannot be expected to undertake. It would, therefore, be right to judge of the future usefulness of this class from what they have done in the past; and if they could be assisted to maintain their ground without the aid of legislation of any drastic character involving violent interference with private rights and weakening motives of self-sacrifice or personal independence, it would, it seems to me, be good policy on the part of Government to afford that assistance. The Government might also encourage in an indirect way, by the grant of titles and honors, such of the Zemindars as take interest in the welfare of their tenants and prove useful auxiliaries to Government in its efforts to introduce agricultural knowledge and improvement in the country. This is now done to some extent, but in a spasmodic, isolated manner.

What is required is more systematic and continuous action in this direction. It might be made a rule that all the more considerable Zemindars are to be invited to meet the head of the Government and the representatives of the Queen-Empress on or about the New Year's day, when they would be expected to give an informal way an account of the management of their estates. This will give them an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the head of the Government and with other Zemindars, and may be trusted to engender in them a spirit of emulation in works of public usefulness. The head of the Government will also have an opportunity of showing his appreciation of the more public spirited Zemindars by calling them to his council and treating them as the trusted advisors of Government; while those who neglected their duties and responsibilities would receive due warning that they would be incurring the displeasure of Government if they persisted in this course of conduct. In many cases, such warnings and indirect influences would prove effectual, and though it may not be possible to make any marked and immediate impression on the older Zemindars, the effect on the ambition for distinction in works of public usefulness of the younger generation cannot be otherwise than beneficial.

III.—Agricultural Indebtedness, its Causes and Remedies.

90. The next group of questions we have to consider relates to the extent of the agricultural indebtedness prevailing in this presidency, its causes and the measures which it is possible for Government to take to mitigate the evil.
Without a minute inquiry extending over all parts of the country, it would not be possible to form an entirely trustworthy idea of the extent of agricultural indebtedness, as the conditions of different tracts vary widely. The following general account is based on inquiries made and information furnished on the subject by the officers of the Registration Department within the limited time allowed to them for the purpose.

The aggregate value of the documents registered in the registration office of this presidency in 1891-92 amounted to about 15-65 crores of rupees; but it would, of course, be a mistake to take the aggregate value of registered transactions as a measure of agricultural indebtedness. Registered transactions are not all loans, but, on the contrary, include a large number of cases of cancellation of debts, such as reconveyances of mortgaged property, releases and discharges of debts, receipts, &c., besides gifts, sales, leases, and partitions of immovable property. Of the aggregate amount shown above, 14-45 crores related to immovable and 1-23 crores to moveable property and simple bonds. The value of gifts of immovable property amounted to 30 lakhs of rupees; of sales of immovable property 4-99 crores, and of mortgages of immovable property 0-67 crores. The annual rents of leases registered aggregated 48 lakhs and the amount of fine or premium paid therefore was 10 lakhs. Among documents not relating to immovable property, the value of sales was 3 lakhs and of simple bonds 60 lakhs.

The total extent of debt registered—mortgages and bonds—therefore amounted to 7-37 crores of rupees. There is no means of finding out how much of this amount relates to debts renewed and how much to debts newly contracted. A rough analysis of a large number of mortgage deeds in the several districts shows that nearly 75 per cent. of the mortgages executed are for terms not exceeding three years, that in nearly 50 per cent. of cases there is either no term stipulated or the term is less than one year, and the average term stipulated for all mortgages is about three and a half years. Mortgages for short terms might, of course, occasionally be permitted to run for the full period allowed by the law of limitation, but the practice appears to be to renew the mortgages as frequently as possible. 66,396 mortgage deeds and 12,720 bonds were registered in the registration office of nine districts were examined, and it was
found that in 27,845 cases the purposes for which debts were contracted were not stated; and that in 22,306 cases the documents were executed either in renewal of existing mortgages or for obtaining loans to discharge other debts. In the remaining 23,065 cases, the purposes for which the debts were contracted were as follows:—To discharge court decrees 556; for purchasing lands and houses 3,875; for purposes of trade 856; for purchase of castles and for cultivation expenses and payment of Government assessment 2,973; for sinking wells and defraying the expenses of garden cultivation 594; for marriage expenses 5,000; for funeral expenses 156; for other household expenses 9,494; for court expenses 288; and for various other purposes 5,087. The above figures relate only to a small number of transactions registered in a few districts, but a similar analysis of the statistics for all the offices in the presidency would entail an enormous amount of labour and take up considerable time.

The aggregate amount of debt may, perhaps, be guessed at four times the annual value of mortgages and bonds registered, viz., 29 crores of rupees for the whole presidency. The unregistered debts are mostly temporary loans which are either repaid in a few months or converted into debts secured by registered documents. Of the above sum of 29 crores, a considerable portion is secured on house property in towns. There is no means of estimating how much is so secured, but there is no doubt that the amount is considerable.

In the Madras town, where the properties mortgaged are mostly house properties, the total value of the mortgages amounts to 20 lakhs of rupees a year.

We have also no information in regard to the total value of landed property and the extent to which it is encumbered, but there is no reason to think that, high as the figures relating to indebtedness look, they bear anything like the proportion to the total value of landed property that obtains in European countries.

---

The figures mentioned above are based on the reports of Government officers and their estimates of the amount of debt in various regions. The figures are approximate and may not reflect the exact amount of debt. Further research is required to obtain a more accurate estimation.
In this country, there being no artificial obstacles interposed to the free transfer of properties, the extent to which property is actually transferred by private sale, taken in conjunction with the average term of mortgages, may, in some measure, serve as an index to the extent of indebtedness of the agricultural classes. In the year 1890-91, out of an extent of mortgage holdings amounting to a little more than 31 million acres, the extent returned as transferred by private sale was a little over 350,000 acres or 1.7 per cent. The irrigated land transferred was 37,000 acres out of 411 million acres or 2.1 per cent; and the unirrigated land 270,000 acres out of 17 million acres or 1.6 per cent. The assessment of lands transferred under each class to the total assessment of lands under occupation bore the following proportions: irrigated land, 2.0 per cent; unirrigated land, 1.7; both classes 2 per cent.

In his Manual of the Colonization District, Mr. Nicholson has given interesting calculations as regards the extent of land transferred, based on the registration statistics for the three years ending 1882-83. Mr. Nicholson estimated the value of land as follows: irrigated lands, 66,000 acres at Rs. 255 per acre, 16,500 acres; unirrigated lands, 1,500,000 acres at Rs. 12 per acre, 18,000 acres; total 62,500 acres. He observes, "The actual value of the estimated value of the land, borrowed at a high rate of interest, as much, including costs, as it per cent, and a rate or percent, mostly from the smallest seven hundred to one thousand. The result was that, in all, about 70,000 acres was transferred, and that the price paid was not more than 25 per cent of the estimated valuation. This is the usual procedure followed, and the results are to be considered as proportionate to the buying value. Again, referring to the right-hand side of this sheet, under the heading of property, we see that 70 per cent of the property transferred was in the form of mortgage, and that only 20 per cent of the property was in the form of cultivable land, and that the remaining 10 per cent was in the form of unproductive land. In some cases that might not be a fallacy, and in some cases that might be a fallacy. It is difficult to say whether the land was transferred at the price of the cultivation or at the price of the land, but in any case it is evident that the value of the land is far below what it should be."
sales for the three years ending 1882-83 averaged about 124
lakhs per annum, or less than one-fourth of the transactions,
and about one-fiftieth of the capital value. In 1883-85 the
total of land transactions was 54,760, of which mortgages
were 11,400 or 66.2 per cent., and sales 10,610 or 33 per
cent. The ratio of all transactions to the kinds of land has not
been inquired into, but in 1880-82 sales averaged as follows: wet
lands 1,667 acres or \( \frac{3}{10} \) of the total occupied area; dry lands
45,726 acres or about \( \frac{2}{3} \) of the total occupied dry area exclu-
sing gardens, and gardens 5,462 acres or about \( \frac{1}{12} \) of the
nominal garden area of 60,326 acres and \( \frac{1}{14} \) of the area
(251,375 acres) actually irrigated. Of the prices realised, nearly
34 acres were cleared to the small area of wet land, 44 to
dry land; and 54 acres to gardens. Acres for acres, wet lands
sold were worth Rs. \( 36.4 \) or 114 times as much as dry land
and 24 times as much as gardens, while gardens were worth
Rs. \( 16 \) or 31 times as much as dry land, which averaged Rs. 19
per acre. The low garden rate is due to the fact that much
annual garden in a given field is only dry land, a 6-acre field
having probably only 3 to 4 acres of actual garden, the total
area actually irrigated being only 351,375 acres out of a field
area of 60,326 acres; hence the actually irrigated area is
probably worth about Rs. 60 per acre. The average value of
the dry lands (Rs. 19) must not be taken as a gauge of the
value of poor lands, such as VII 3, 4 and VIII 3, 4, 5; a
large area has little or no sale value, being so unproductive.
An examination of the sales from 1878 to 1883 shows that
sales are much larger where the fabricity of dry lands are
most valuable, as in Puna, where the soil is generally rich and
the south-west monsoon abundant, and in Udhampur, with its
high-priced black cotton lands, the sales averaged in five years
about \( \frac{6}{5} \) of the total district sales, though the occupied
area of these two taluks, including poonpats, is two-twelfths
of the district occupied area. The number of professional
money-lenders in these taluks possibly accounts for the large
sales and the value of the lands for the money-lenders.
Since, therefore, the average price of Rs. 19 has been struck
up in the sale of an unreasonably large proportion of the valuable
lands of the district, a lower rate (Rs. 15) has been taken in
roughly estimating the capital value of the total occupied dry
lands. The sales of garden lands in the Pallimian taluks,
including Awanish, were very heavy, totalling 6,568 acres
out of 56,458 acres sold from 1878 to 1883 or about one-half,
whereas the garden area of the taluk is above two-twelveths
of the district garden area, and the dry sales were only about
one-twelfth of the total dry sales.\(^5\) Information is not
available in a readily accessible form to make a similar analysis of statistics for later years. The agricultural returns published by the Board of Revenue show that in 1890-91, the area transferred by private sale was 38,000 acres in the Cuddalore district or 2.1 per cent, of the total area of ryot-land holdings, which pretty closely accords with the estimate arrived at by Mr. Nicholson. There is no reason to think that the percentage is higher in other districts.

It is also a noteworthy fact that land transactions take place mostly between the ryots themselves, and that money-lenders in not less than 80 per cent. of the cases belong to the agricultural classes. Information furnished by the officers of the Registration Department clearly establishes this point. Thus the fact explains the reason why the evils of agricultural indebtedness do not appear to have developed to the extent they appear to have in the Bombay-Dacca region. There, the money-lenders are stated to be foreigners, different in religion from their clients; entirely out of sympathy with them; and accustomed to retire with their profits after a sufficiently long course of business to their homes in Rajputana. The money-lenders in this presidency may roughly be divided into four classes, viz., 1st, the richer ryots; 2ndly, the Kamaras or Bawyas in the Telugu districts; 3rdly, the Lingayats in the tracts of country bordering on the Mysore territory; and, 4thly, the Muhammadan Lubbay traders on the East Coast and Moplahs in North Malabar, and the Nadukkottai Chetties in the southern districts. As already stated, taking the presidency as a whole, not less than 80 per cent. of the money-lenders belong to the agricultural classes, who are of all castes. The Kamaras or Bawyas form a small class, and as they have been for generations permanently established in several places of business, their terms are generally moderate, and harmonious relations prevail between them and their clients. In the Cuddalore and Vellore districts, where this class is numerous, the rates of interest are generally lower than in other parts of this presidency. The Moplahs are variously money-lenders, and as they are born men of business placed in the midst of an insistent population, alien to them in religion, they are more than usually hard in their dealings. The Moplahs do not, however, except in North Malabar, practice money-lending to any great extent and they are more often borrowers. The Nadukkottai Chetties are the Marwaris of the presidency; but they are established only in a few trading centres.
and lend money to the poorer classes to a small extent, though the terms exacted by them are harder than those exacted by other classes of money-lenders. They do a large business in the way of lending large sums to small holders and other big landlords and make an enormous profit.

The terms and conditions of money loans differ in different districts. 12 per cent. is the usual rate of interest for loans amounting to between Rs. 100 and Rs. 500; for loans between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 it varies from 12 to 9 per cent., and for loans above Rs. 1,000 between 5 and 6 per cent., the rate of interest diminishing as the amount of the loan increases. On the other hand, for loans below Rs. 100 the rate of interest ranges between 12 and 14 per cent., the rate increasing as the amount of the loan diminishes. These are the usual rates, but in exceptional cases and for large amounts the rate of interest is occasionally less than 6 per cent. In the case of small sums when the security offered is insufficient and the risk in recovering the loan great, the rate of interest is even higher than 18 per cent.

Sometimes it is stipulated that when there is failure in payment of the loan together with the usual interest at the appointed time, and the solvency of the debtor becomes doubtful, a higher rate of interest shall be paid from the date of default. This condition is not, however, generally enforced except when the money has to be recovered by resort to the courts. Loans on mortgages of value of Rs. 100 and upwards amounted in 1891-92 to 0.45 acres of rapeseed and loans on mortgages of value less than Rs. 100 to 82 lachas or about one-seventh of the former, the average amount of a loan in the first case being Rs. 315, and in the second, Rs. 44. Loans on simple bonds registered averaged in value Rs. 200. Taking all transactions together, the average rate of interest may, therefore, roughly speaking, be estimated at 12 per cent.

The transactions between money-lenders and ryots, especially in the districts subject to drought, are usually of the following description. The poorer ryots open an account with a money-lender who is generally a well-to-do ryot or Komati trader, and obtain from him small sums of money or food grain or seed grain during the cultivation season, June or July, on condition that the advance is to be repaid in grain after the next harvest with an addition which varies from 12 to 15 per cent., the most usual rate being 15 per cent.

\[111\] For particulars see statement printed in appendix VI-C (9).

\[112\] Rs. 15.

\[113\] Rs. 60.
As long as the ryots repay regularly what they have borrowed, they are allowed further advances on the same condition. If there is failure in repayment, a bank or mortgage deal is taken. In the case of hypothecation of property the amount of the loan is about half, and in the case of mortgages with possession about three-fourths, of the value of property offered as security. Money on mortgages of land with possession is rarely lent except by persons belonging to the agricultural classes. Money is sometimes lent to ryots by persons who have no lands of their own with a view to ensure food grains for their household consumption, the stipulation being that the borrower shall pay grain in lieu of interest at the harvest at a rate which is below the then market rate. In some cases grain merchants and dealers in commercial produce make advances to ryots stipulating for delivery of produce at certain fixed rates or at the rate prevailing at the time of repayment minus a deduction in the price on account of interest or at the lowest rate at which grain was sold soon after harvest. Sometimes the ryots deal directly with merchants, but in some cases, especially in the drier parts of the country, brokers are employed. In several cases advances are made by landholders to agricultural labourers on the condition that they are not to pay interest so long as they work under them for the customary wages, and that, at default, the amount advanced should be repaid with interest at 18 or 24 per cent. Money is also borrowed by the industrial classes, viz., weavers, artizans, etc., under what is called "Kando katha" system. An artisan, for instance, borrows Rs. 300 to make his wares and sell them daily. The interest for the whole amount is taken at Rs. 60 per annum and added to the principal and the whole amount is made repayable in daily instalments throughout one year at the rate of one rupee a day by the sale of his goods. It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that the rates of interest above referred to, high as they appear, are necessarily enormous. The gross profits derived from the use of capital consist, as is well known, of three parts, viz., (1) the remuneration for the labour of managing the capital, (2) the insurance against the risks involved in the particular use of it; and (3) the interest proper. Taking the case of a ryot borrowing a quantity of grain on condition of repaying at the end of six months the whole plus an additional 20 per cent, it might seem as if the interest paid were 60 per cent. per annum, a most exorbitant rate; but this is really not so. The price of the grain during the cultivation season is usually 15 or 20 per cent. higher than the price
at the time of the harvest, and occasionally even as much as 30 per cent. This difference in price is due no doubt partly to the inability of the majority of the ryots to wait for a price, but even if they waited they would not be able to profit by the whole difference, for that difference consists, to a considerable extent, of the wastage and dryness of grain during the intervening period and the charges for storing. The gains of the money or grain lenders are, taking one year with another, and allowing for losses, not more than what keen men of business can reasonably expect for the time they give to the business and the risks they undergo. And in the case of the presently ryots, the money lenders are almost a necessity, seeing to what extent, under the conditions of climate, the output of harvests in this country differs from year to year. The late Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao has explained the useful service this class renders to the ryots with reference to the state of things in the Beed State. He states "The ryot can never, as a rule, altogether dispense with the services of the sowkar; for the seasons are not so regular, nor are the means of irrigation so extensive as to ensure equality or constancy of production. Again, the land tax is, in most cases, fixed, and absorbs a considerable proportion of the produce; and again, prices of produce fluctuate, changing the incidence of tax from year to year. In other words, while the output of the land is necessarily varying, the ryot has to pay a fixed and considerable tax which must come from the land. In other words, again, the sowkar has to draw a constant and continuous stream out of a fluctuating supply. The sowkar by his interposition meets the mechanical necessity of the problem. He is the receiver of the fluctuating supply, and makes the ryot pay the sinkar equally. He often performs another useful function, namely, he enables the ryot also to draw from that fluctuating supply an equal and constant subsistence for himself and his family. It is thus to him that the sinkar and the ryot are indebted for equalizing the annual receipts from a fluctuating source. He, therefore, fulfils beneficent duties and deserves to be considered an almost indispensable part of the rural organisation. At the same time we are bound to see that he does not over-ride the interests of the ryot. Let the Civil Courts enable the sowkar to recover his just claims from the ryots. But the Courts should not permit the sowkars to press the ryots to the point of crushing." The speculators in commercial produce perform equally useful functions. By watching the state of the market for different kinds of produce in different parts of the world, and entering into contracts to take the produce which
is likely to be in demand, they enable the ryots to realize a larger value for their produce than they would have done if they had been left to their own devices. In the case of the Keshu tahal system, instance above, the risks undergone by the lender are probably not very great, and the greater portion of the high interest charged represents the remuneration due to the trouble of collecting small sums at short intervals from a number of persons and lending them out again. The true interest in what is obtained for loans of thirty large amounts on adequate security for considerable periods of time. Transactions of a genuine usurious type appear, however, to be common in Malabar. Traders sometimes combine money-lending with trade operations whenever they have money lying idle on their hands, but in such cases the terms allowed are very short and repayment is punctual and sometimes harshly enforced. The Mepalapa, it is stated, expect to make as much profit by money-lending as they would do if the amount were employed in trade. From inquiries I have made it appears that, taking one year with another, the profits of trade amount to about 25 per cent., of which about 15 per cent. goes to defray the charges including the trader's subsistence and 10 per cent. forms interest on the capital invested. An interesting account of the methods of dealing practised by the firms of Nattokinatha Chetties settled at Kanyakumari is printed as appendix VI.-C. (4).

91. As regards the question whether agricultural indebtedness as measured in money value has increased in recent years, the answer must certainly be in the affirmative; first, because of the great rise which has taken place in the value of property of all descriptions and of the facilities available, owing to fixed laws and security of property, for raising money required for various purposes; and, secondly, because of the abundance of money and the growth of a money economy. If, on the other hand, the question be raised, whether the agricultural classes generally are more in the hands of usurers or of professional money-lenders than before, the answer must be definitely in the negative.

126 Professor Marshall points out, "A purchaser's business involves cost in his risk, but his costs are generally fixed at the rate of 20 per cent. per annum or more. The greater part of which is really insurance of management of a redundant surplus. He may in some extreme cases have no more in marketable debts and have no means of raising the required funds. He may..."
The evidence of Mr. Grant, Mr. Thomas Munro, Messrs. Miller, Henderson and Polly, referred to in previous portions of this Memorandum, will show the extent to which the ryots in the Northern Circars and the Ceded Districts were dependent on the srokars in former days for their means of subsistence. The extracts, printed as appendix VI-C. (5 and 6), from Mr. Warden's report and Buchanan's Journey to Mylapore, Pudukottai and Mahabubnagar furnish particulars as regards the state of things in Mahbubnagar. There can be no doubt that agriculturists as a class have gradually been emancipating themselves from the thraldom in which they had been held by the money-lending classes formerly, and that the monopoly and the tremendous power and influence exercised by the latter classes have been breaking down. In the Godavari and the Kistna districts the ryots, it is reported, "instead of being in the hands of srokars, are becoming srokars themselves," or in other words, the transactions are getting more and more to be between the agriculturists themselves, the richer ryots lending to the poorer. In Bellary, it is stated that, "whereas about 10 or 20 years ago there used to be only a few important srokars and srokars scattered here and there in villages and taluks, each having at times a number of families depending on him so many procastine, the present aspect is that wealth and import is more generally distributed." The Acting Registrar of the South Arcot district, referring to the condition of things in that district as well as Chingleput, states: "I have experience of two or three districts, and I can state that the improvement is marked and is perceptible to all unprejudiced observers. Nearly one-half of the ryots that existed 20 years ago have disappeared, and tied houses have taken their places. Houses which were tied then have changed their dimensions and appearance now. So in clothing and other comforts. Agriculturists have in their turn become money-lenders and have learnt to dispense with the aid of the professional money-lenders, to a very great extent. The improvement in material prosperity can be easily gauged by

"The extract of report, compare the following remarks of Sir Arthur Lytton: "There is much exaggeration about the English rule in India, being the guardian of money-lender, but the great teachers of English rule with one accord quote forth such exceptions from those briefing times of railway and telegraph to the golden days of immense profits upon the rice trade, when every ryot brought over seven acres of a cultivated cottah, or a great millowner could afford any item for a horse which would cost in every branch of trade." In these days a small whole bull would only cost in every branch of trade, and a great millowner could afford any item for a horse which would cost in every branch of trade."
the fall in the rate of interest which was then 12 per cent. at least (then called dharana adadi, i.e., equitable interest) and is now nearly 6 per cent. Time has come when states are able to take advantage of any help that may be rendered to them to organize a system of mutual credit. By getting a small loan for a bullock or two, by industry and economy, they become in time proprietors of a plough and a pair of cattle and are able to maintain themselves independently. As farmers they are able to repay their loans, which as serv-
vants they would not. By dint of exertion and thrift they are even able to purchase a small piece of land and attain the status of proprietors. Rich landholders, on the other hand, have been losing ground. The sons by partition get only a fraction of their patrimony, while their family and expenditure are in many cases equal to or greater than those of their parents. They involve themselves in debts and have ultimately to part with their lands. They become poor, and by hard necessity understand their position and try to lift themselves with those who were originally poor. The lands are passing from them to wealthy and Government officials.

(appendix VI.--C. (7)). The District Registrar of Tannahol remarks, "the higher classes, who were sole landholders before, have become impoverished and have given up their land little by little, whereas the poor labouring classes have acquired land by dint of their wretched savings. As agricultural profession is found to be more safe and secure by the lower classes, they lay out their earnings on landed property."

The Honourable P. Chintam Rao in discussing the question which forms the subject of this Memorandum observes: "You may ask, why is it that, in spite of all the improve.

---

[1] The inscriptions in the future tempted to think that what is recorded in individual or village accounts in the records and records of the accounts of landlords and tenants are of the transactions of time and are not to be taken as the rule, as they are exceptions to the rule, not wholly or completely true. The ordinary transactions were less in point of fact, the ordinary transactions were taken for the purpose of the transactions in favour of the tenants and were not so those in the ordinary way of the transactions in favour of the tenants. Therefore, no money was owed and for the sake of good, let us take the money and the tenants. This tenant bought and sold, and tenancy was demanded, the only advantage he had, the only advantage is that such tenancy was not necessarily few. When lending became general, not the dealings are between owners, greater security is demanded, but the rate of interest was discontinued, with reference to the money transactions and the rate that was established were applied also to the general or the house of friends of the husband or friends of the husband would frequently lend them, and the rate at which such transactions were generally made.

---

[2] The idea of this is that the money market is always prepared to carry over part of interest in the diminishing purchasing power of money. If the proportion be so applied as to be worth as much when repaid as when lent, the difference would be made, given by this in the interest. It may be difficult (either the lender is unsatisfactory) to understand, for this reason, but these matters may to some extent be adjusted themselves automatically.
ments I have mentioned, there is such a cry as that we are becoming poor. I fancy that this is due to three causes. One is, it is a fact that we now fail to see those "big men" in the country who once existed with enormous wealth and great influence over the people. My grandfather once told me that when he was a Tahsildar, the Collector having on one occasion called upon him to expedite the revenue collections and intimated to him that if he did not remit at least Rs. 50,000 within a week, he would be dismissed, a single rye in his taluk paid all the money in advance and received it afterwards from the ryots in his taluk, almost all of whom were dependent on him. Such men of wealth and influence over the ryots do not now exist. This change has taken place, because the lower classes of ryots have slightly recovered from their extreme poverty and dependence upon the higher men. I myself know that in some villages of the tahsils of which I was the Tahsildar, there were one or two big men who paid all the taxes of the ryots of those villages and took possession of all the produce raised by them, handing them again small quantities of produce for their subsistence. Now such men have diminished in number, because the ryots are able to pay their own taxes and keep to themselves the little they could save, instead of sending it to the pockets of the rich men. Thus, wealth is now more spread than it was, and this change is mistaken by some of us to be a sign of poverty. I do not mean to say that the disappearance of large capitalists is not a misfortune in itself, for I know that Rs. 1,000 in the hands of a single individual may do more good than Rs. 5,000 distributed among 1,000 persons; but all that I mean is that the aggregate wealth of the country has by no means diminished. Another cause of the feeling that we are getting poorer is that the intelligence of the people having improved, the educated men compare themselves with the more wealthy and civilized nations, whose habits and tastes they have imbibed, and feel their poverty more keenly than their ancestors did. The third and most important cause is, that although we are on the whole undoubtedly better off than we were fifty years ago, still the masses are extremely poor and most of them are.

10 It is for the reasons stated here by Mr. Chinnam Reddy that his project to legislate for the abolition of the system of inheritance of the country has met with general accord. As a return for providing this affected group of services (p. xvi) formerly rendered, it will be repaid from the gift landed money; a step which, if wisely applied, may be a great benefit to the country.
half-starving—a condition which is enough to induce an ordinary observer to think that we could not have been worse before. The growth of a money economy and the new wants created by it have not only deprived the classes which had hitherto benefited at the expense of the working classes, of much profit which they had formerly enjoyed, but also by placing temptation in their way to adopt a more expensive style of living than they had been accustomed to, have diminished a large portion of their accumulated wealth, which has been distributed among the earning classes. The condition of the working classes has improved to some extent by means having been played within their reach of engaging in occupations for which they may be qualified, while the creation of new wants and the easy means available of satisfying them have to some extent improved the standard of living. So far as land is concerned, the tendency has been to transfer it to actual cultivators or to persons who, in addition to capital, have sufficient education and intelligence to adopt improved methods of cultivation when they are found to be profitable. The changes which have taken place, so far as this possibility is concerned, have, therefore, on the whole, been beneficial, though possibly it may be that the diminution of dependence of the lower on the higher classes has to some extent had the natural result of diminishing the protection afforded by the latter to the former.

Various measures were suggested for remedying the evils of agricultural indebtedness, some of them of a drastic character, in connection with the inquiries instituted by the Famine Commission of 1878. The late Sir James Caird, a member of the commission, recommended a reversion to the old system of dividing the produce of land in defined proportions between the rent and the Government, which he considered to be sound in principle, suited to the circumstances of small cultivators, and calculated to make them independent of the money-lenders, by taking from them a large quantity of produce by way of tax in years of abundance and a small quantity in years of scanty produce. The proposal was rejected by the Famine Commission altogether impracticable. The “Fifth Report” of the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Affairs, 1812, shows that even under the old rating governments, the principle of collecting the Government tax in kind by taking a share of the produce was adopted only in the case of lands irrigated by river channels and tanks. The lands cultivated with unirrigated
crops, of which there are a great many varieties, as well as those on which garden produce was raised, always paid money assessments. It is obvious that the application of a uniform rate in fixing the Government share of the gross produce must unduly benefit lands of the better qualities, while rendering the incidence of the tax very heavy on the poorer soils; and if the rates are to be graduated with reference to the qualities of the soil, situation of the lands and the nature of the crops raised, the number of rates must be so large as to entirely preclude the supervision necessary for securing the due share of Government. In the case of irrigated lands there was in former days a single rate for a whole village, and the rentiers who held the lands jointly were left to adjust the differences in the produce of lands of different qualities in the same village by private arrangement. This was generally effected by giving to each rentier a share in the lands of every quality situated in every part of the village and by periodically redistributing the parcels so as to remedy any inequalities which may have arisen owing to changes in the conditions of the several parcels brought about by natural causes. The waste of labour involved in cultivating innumerable small plots of land situated in different parts of a village can be readily conceived. There can, moreover, be no incentive to make any improvements to land or to adopt superior methods of cultivation or raise valuable commercial crops under the existing system, because all such improvements would be taxless. The difficulties in securing the Government share of the produce and of disposing of it for a money price would also be enormous. To ensure even a fair amount of success in the application of the system, it would require minute and constant supervision on the part of the superior officers of Government and the cost of the establishments, if the officers employed were to be paid fixed salaries and not be expected to make a living by colluding with the rentiers to cheat the State and divide the gains with them, must be prohibitive. The graphic description given by Mr. A. Swaminatha Iyer (Appendix VI, 3, 2) of the evils of the system when it prevailed in the small State of Pudukotta and of the demonstration it caused has already been referred to. When the Government directly collects its share of the produce, it practically combines in itself the three-fold functions of a Government, a landlord and a market or trader; an army of collectors, inspectors, estimators and measurers of produce will have to be kept on the people, interfering with the rentier at every stage of production and the harvesting and storage of the produce.
The result must be oppression and peculation on the one hand, and fraud, evasion and concealment on the other. If the Government share is farmed out to rentiers, who must be armed with the necessary powers to collect the tax, such an arrangement must equally be disastrous to the ryot's rights which have been slowly built up by half a century of good government and fairly just administration of the laws; and the oppressions and exactions of the rentiers must be far more difficult to be borne than the exactions of sukkars under the present system. In semiaridities where the sharing system prevails, the ryots are anxious for the introduction of a system of money assessments. There is, however, one fact to be remembered in the conversion of assessments in kind into assessments in money, viz., that under the former system the Government is practically both a landlord and a workman, and that it has in seasons of scarcity produce not only to remit the assessment, but also to advance to the ryot the necessities of life and the means of carrying on cultivation. When, however, money assessments are introduced and the Government divests itself of the functions of a landlord, the ryot being expected to shift for himself in all seasons except those of dire famine, the assessments must represent a tax pure and simple, and care should be taken to see that it does not include any portion of the landlord's and merchant's profits realised under the old system.

Another proposal of Sir James Caird was that the ryot should be deprived of the right of transferring his landlord's sale or of raising money on it by mortgaging it. The Famine Commission did not support this proposal either. So far as this presidency is concerned, it will have been seen that land is not being transferred from the agricultural to the non-agricultural classes to any injurious extent. Land in sight after as an investment to some extent by the labouring classes, and to throw any impediments in the way of transfer will arrest the beneficial process of land passing into the hands of those who can make the best use of it. Moreover, in all countries where peasant properties are the rule, France for instance, freedom of transfer of land has been found to have the effect of counteracting in some degree the minute subdivision of holdings which results from the law of equal division of patrimony among the children.

The Famine Commission suggested that restrictions should be placed on the power of a ryot to sub-let his lands. This proposal was negatived by the Madras Government, as to evil consequences, such as those apprehended by the Famine Commission, have been experienced in this presidency.
In the vast majority of cases the lands owned by the ryots are farmed by them, either by themselves working on the fields or by employing farm servants monthly or yearly or on the sharing system known in the southern districts as the porakudi system. In the last case it is often covenanted assumed that the land is leased out and that the porakudi is a tenant, but the fact is that the land is farmed on the co-operative principle, the labourer being remunerated by a share of the crop instead of being paid daily wages, on condition of his furnishing the stock, the labour and the seed required, and the owner bearing the expenses of farm repairs, of the clearance of irrigation channels and of manures. The arrangement is highly advantageous to the labourer and is sought after by such of the landlords as have the means to purchase a pair of cattle and engage in cultivation. It is in fact the system of serfage prevalent in European countries in regard to which Professor Marshall remarks that it "makes a man who has spent no capital of his own to obtain the use of it at a lower charge than he could in any other way and so have more freedom and responsibility than he could as a hired labourer; and then, the plan has many of the advantages of the three modern systems of co-operation, profit-sharing and payment of piece-work." The leasing out of land for fixed rent in kind or money marks the next higher stage in the status of a labourer. He attains to
position somewhat analogous to that of an English farmer, and during the term of the lease is enabled to enjoy the full benefit of the extra labour bestowed by him on the land without having to share it with the land-owner. There is no object in compelling the owner by prohibition of sub-letting to cultivate the lands by means of hired labourers under his own superintendence or that of paid agents, and the measure is likely to have mischievous effects in the case of owners who, because they are minors or women or for other reasons, are unable to look after the lands themselves. It will also injuriously affect labourers who, though they may not have the means to purchase lands themselves, have sufficient means to take lands on lease, and by farming them properly make a profit and gradually raise themselves in the social scale as has happened in several districts. The value of land is so great that it hardly pays 5 per cent. as an investment, and it is clearly more advantageous to a farmer or labourer with small means to take as much land as he can farm on lease, pay 5 per cent. of the value of land to the owner as rent, and make a profit by cultivation, than to hire himself out as a day labourer or boy with his slender means a small parcel of land, the cultivation of which will not give him sufficient occupation.

Other remedies suggested for mitigating the evils of agricultural indebtedness are the placing of restrictions on the sale of immovable property for simple debts and the grant of power to courts to dissolve unprofitable contracts where the creditor is shown to have taken undue advantage of the simplicity and ignorance of the debtor. Sections 329-337 of the Civil Procedure Code contain provisions for transferring to the Collector for execution decrees directing that immovable property shall be sold for debts in tracts of country where the Government deems it expedient that the usual judicial processes should not be allowed full operating; but in this presidency it has not been found necessary to take action under these provisions. In 1888-90, the area of permanently settled estates transferred by court decrees was 99,071 acres or 1 in 609; of ryotwar holdings 7,409 acres or 1 in 8,094; and of mauza holdings 1,384 acres or 1 in 3,666. The enactment of a usury law, however suitable to a condition of society where almost all transactions are carried on by barter and money payment is the exception, is entirely inapplicable to present conditions in which the old regime of barter has been superseded by one of cash payments and an active internal and external trade has been developed by the extension of communications. As regards manifestly extortionate
and inequitable contracts, the High Court of Allahabad has held that Courts of Justice in India as courts of equity and good conscience have, notwithstanding the repeal of usurious
laws, power to set aside contracts where the exorbitant clause of the terms imposed on the debtor, taken in con
junction with his helplessness and ignorance, led to the presumption that undue influence, amounting to fraud, has been exercised upon him. This seems all the more serious as the nature of the cases requires in this presidency. 12

12 All the cases mentioned above had special reference to the condition of the ryots in the Bombay-Dacca and were based on the supposition that certainty of tenure, fixity of the Government tax, and freedom to the ryot to raise as the land such crops as he finds most profitable and to deal with his possessions, in the way of transfer or mortgage, according to his necessities and requirements without being subjected to constant official interferences had worked to the disadvantage not merely of the idle and improvident who are found more or less in every community, but of the agricultural classes as a whole who are not fitted by education and hereditary training to receive the boon conferred on them, and that the remedy lies in reverting to the old system of administration under which these classes were maintained in a state of servitude. I have no know

13 The Allahabad case referred to is Jali v. Ram Prasad decided in 1886 (Calcutta Law Reports, 18, Allahabad, pp. 78-80). In this case an usurious bond under which an original sum of Rs 2,000 was advanced by a Mahajan had grown, in accordance with the practice of that country, to Rs 4,000, and the promise of the defaulter to pay the full amount was ignored. The Mahajan thereupon brought suit for the recovery of the amount, and the defendant set up the plea that the contract was void as against public policy. The Court held that the contract was void in consequence of the operation of the law of public policy. The principle involved in the case is that a contract which is usurious is void, as against public policy, and that the Courts have power to set aside such contracts in view of the consequences which they bring in their train of consequences which they bring in their train, not merely as regards the parties to the contract, but as regards the public at large.
Judge of the condition of the ryots in the Bombay Presidency, but as far as the Marathas Presidency is concerned I have no doubt that there is no necessity for taking such a despotic view. That a very large class of ryots, especially in the Ceded districts which are subject to frequent droughts, are still in a very low economic condition, does not admit of doubt, but as already pointed out their condition is steadily, if slowly, improving. Lands which had little or no value before have acquired value, and the ryots having better security to offer for the repayment of advances made to them are able to obtain the advances on easier terms than before. The extension of communications, chiefly railways, has alleviated the violent fluctuations in prices which used to occur, and thus to some extent, has relieved the poorer ryots from the necessity of placing themselves entirely in the hands of moneylenders. The wholesale advances in the hands of moneylenders is therefore, from a general point of view, to be deprecated. It is true the class of ryots are in many cases placed in a position in which they are unable to resist the pressure of such advances. The necessity of having to purchase land, of being pressed for money, and of being unable to resist the pressure of moneylenders, is a great evil which should be watched with the utmost care. The Government has done all that it could to prevent the practice of distress sales, and by the establishment of ryot courts, has taken steps to prevent the abuse of such sales. The ryots, however, are still subjected to the pressure of moneylenders, and it is to be hoped that the Government will take steps to prevent this practice. The Government has taken steps to prevent the practice of ryot courts, and by the establishment of ryot courts, has taken steps to prevent the abuse of such sales. The ryots, however, are still subjected to the pressure of moneylenders, and it is to be hoped that the Government will take steps to prevent this practice.
no value, the crop raised was regarded as the security for the government revenue, and the instalments of revenue payable were so timed that a considerable portion of it might be collected before the crop could be removed from the field or the threshing ground. As lands became more and more valuable, the necessity for regarding the standing crops as security for the revenue ceased, and the tendency has been to advance the hosts so as not to compel the ryot to borrow money for the payment of Government revenue and to enable him to pay the revenue by the sale of their produce. The relief afforded to the ryot by the changes made has been considerable; but the scope of the reform had to be restricted in consequence of objections raised by the Government of India on the score of difficulties likely to be felt by the reduction of cash balances at particular periods of the year. It is possible to introduce the change gradually so as to obviate these objections which ought not to be allowed to stand permanently in the way of a much-needed reform of this kind. Thus, for instance, in his "Preliminary Note" submitted by Mr. Nicholson to the Madras Agricultural Committee, 1889, he remarks as regards the former khambundy of the Timewally district, "A khambundy demanded from December to May, three-quarters being payable by the 15th March, must be wrong when the crop is sown in October-November and picked only in March to May, and that in fact the funds were actually paid by the broker whose terms of advance were said to be Rs. 10 to Rs. 13 per poll of cotton deliverable on, say, 15th May, the real market price being then Rs. 16 or 16½, besides penalties for non-delivery on due date. This khambundy has now been altered to one beginning in February, to the great relief of the ryot." The present khambundy for the Timewally district consists of five equal instalments beginning in February, and it is obvious that if the produce could be delivered only in the middle of May, three-fourths of the Government assessment is being demanded, even under the altered khambundy, at a time when the ryot could not sell his crops to advantage. It is true the ryot does not take advances for the delivery of crops solely with a view to raise money to pay the Government assessment, but there can be no doubt, that if the dates were put forward, he would be able to make better terms with the merchant than he does at present. In the case of the southern tracts of Coimbatore, where, as in Timewally, cotton is an important article of produce, the khambundy consists of four equal instalments beginning with January so that almost the entire revenue becomes due before the ryot
could sell his produce. In many districts the ryot pays the Government assessment by the sale of commercial produce, reserving the grain produce for his own consumption. A kisthundry fixed with reference to the actual conditions of the several tracts of country as regards to the time at which ryots deliver their produce to middlemen is therefore still a desideratum. The crops grown and the times for harvesting and selling them vary so much in different tracts, that considerations of uniformity should not be allowed any great weight in fixing the kisthundry. A properly regulated kisthundry would undoubtedly be a great boon to the ryots, and I believe it is within the mark when I say that the relief afforded to the poorer ryots by such a kisthundry would be tantamount to a reduction of 5 per cent. of the Government revenue, while, taking the presidency as a whole, the enhancement made by the Settlement Department in taxation does not amount to more than 5 per cent.

Another measure which can be adopted for the relief of the ryots in backward districts like Anantapur, where the climate is dry, soil barren, and crop failures frequent, is to fix the annual revenue on the area actually cultivated and not on the entire area of the holding. This will enable the ryots to leave a portion of their holdings fallow in the arid tracts where the chances of introducing improved methods of cultivation are considerably remote. In the Anantapur district, for instance, about 16 per cent. of the holdings is left waste annually owing to want of rains at the proper season. The assessment of the lower classes of soils might be fixed somewhat higher than it is at present, when this privilege is conceded. The assessment of the area left waste, especially when the district has been surveyed, is an easy process and need not entail on the superior officers of Government great labour, while the necessity for careful inspections for this purpose will keep the officers well posted up in the agricultural conditions of the tracts under their charge. Talukdars have recently been relieved of their magisterial duties and additional Revenue Inspectors have been appointed to assist them; and the plan suggested is now much more practicable than it was before, without risk of oppression.

95. The most effective way, however, in which Government can assist the rural population to extricate itself from indebtedness and enable it to obtain loans on reasonable terms for land improvements and other purposes is by providing facilities for...
the establishment of agricultural banks. The question has already been taken up by the Madras Government which has appointed Mr. F. A. Nicholson, C.S., to investigate the subject and to report upon it. Mr. Nicholson is peculiarly qualified for the task both by his study of the working of agricultural credit institutions in European countries and by his intimate knowledge of agricultural practice and the conditions of rural life in this country, and his report is being awaited with interest. Believing, as I do, that Government has in its power, by the establishment of these banks, to accelerate the prosperity of the agricultural classes in a marked degree, I wish to make in this place a few general remarks on the subject, more especially with a view to show that the objections urged by the Secretary of State against certain proposals made in 1863 for starting agricultural banks in Bombay ought not to be allowed to prejudice the consideration of the question at the present time, and that it is possible to work these institutions successfully in this presidency under conditions which will render the objections inapplicable.

In connection with the Bombay proposals Lord Kimberley admitted that it was a serious misfortune that the landholders in India, even when comparatively prosperous and able to give good security, were usually unable to obtain the temporary accommodation they required except at a ruinous rate of interest, and that it would be of the greatest possible benefit to the agricultural community if the place of the present greedy and extortionate money-lenders were supplied by banks and other institutions possessing sufficient capital and honestly managed. The two chief objections urged by him to the scheme proposed in Bombay were: 1st, that it was doubtful whether any ingenuity could provide an efficient substitute for the operation of the ordinary laws of trading between the ryots and those, whether cowkers or banks, from whom they obtain advances; whether without the stimulus of risk of loss as a result of neglect and want of proper precaution on its part, any bank could carry on its business with success; and whether Government could do directly much more for the relief of agricultural debtors than exist laws enabling the courts to see that their poverty or ignorance was not taken undue advantage of, and that they were not oppressed or defrauded by their creditors; secondly, that the cowkers were not merely money-lenders, but also purchasers of the produce of the country, and thus supplied them with a market, and as the banks established under the auspices of Government could hardly be expected to undertake this function, it followed that the cowkers' assistance could not
be wholly dispensed with, and the latter must, especially when the banks' claims were made to take precedence of their own, for self-protection necessarily impose harder conditions than before on their debtors.

As regards the first objection, it must be remembered that in all European countries where peasant properties prevail and where the agricultural classes are far ahead of the Indian roots in point of education, enterprise and habits of thrift, it has been found necessary and practicable for the State to mitigate the evils of agricultural indebtedness by giving facilities for the establishment of land credit banks. It is true that the Government cannot usefully undertake and effectually perform the functions of a bank in the way of discounting the bills of traders in need of loans for short terms when they have no other security to offer than their own personal credit, but the case is entirely different as regards loans on the security of immoveable property, the value of which is capable of being ascertained with a considerable amount of precision by official estimators aided by information obtainable from the records of the Registration Department. Professor Stieglitz has pointed out that this is a work which can be performed efficiently by official agency. He states: "Experience has shown that peasant cultivators are liable to become loaded with debt to many lenders who, either through the absence of effective competition—partly in consequence of a certain disregard that attaches to their business—or perhaps sometimes through unwieldy combination, are enabled to exact very onerous interest. This condition of debt tends to paralyse the productive energies as well as to cause distress; accordingly, under these circumstances, Governments may operate for the benefit of production, no loss of distribution, by encouraging with special privileges the formation of commercial companies for the purpose of lending money on easier terms. Indeed, as was before said, the business of lending on the security of land seems to be of a kind which might be undertaken by Government itself, under certain conditions, without the kind of risk that is involved in ordinary banking business. So too, where the pawn-broker is the normal resort in an emergency of poor labourers, Government, by undertaking the business of lending money at a moderate interest may give sensible relief without offering any material encouragement to usury. These encouragements would tend to strengthen the whole, rather than weaken, habits of energetic industry, thrift and self-help in the individuals assisted." In this country the considerations above referred
to are applicable with all the greater force for two reasons, viz., first, that the agricultural classes being less intelligent and self-reliant than the corresponding classes in European countries require to be taken in hand by Government to a greater extent than in the latter; and, secondly, that Govern-
ment being a sort of co-proprietors with the ryot, the relations between the two are more intimate. The relations and responsibilities of Government may be briefly described as follows.—The country is, and must for a long time continue to be, agricultural. The returns from agriculture are pro-
nounced in considerable portions of the country owing to frequent droughts, and this very uncertainty weakens the inducements to thrift and provident foresight, and the ryot is consequently very poor. Former Governments took all that they could from the agricultural classes, leaving them but the barest means of subsistence. During partial droughts, they gave the ryots the wherewithal to carry on the culti-
vation on which their own revenue depended, but when a really great famine came on the land, owing to the failure of several seasons in succession, the people were left to die, and did so in large numbers. The British Government, on the other hand, has limited the demand for revenue, and left the ryot to shift for himself in ordinary seasons, but has undertaken the duty of saving life to the extent of its power and resources, when extraordinary calamities occur. Further, by the extension of communications and the crea-
tion of a foreign trade, it has imparted additional value to the ryot’s produce and mitigated the violent fluctuations in the prices of food stuffs forming the chief articles of internal trade. The ryot has thus been freed from a state of bond-
age or servitude, and is allowed to enjoy the full benefit of what he earns by his industry, enterprise or skill; and the result is that many ryots have accordingly benefited. The present system, however, bears hard on the incapable, the unfortunate and the unenterprising. No laws or institutions one, except in an indirect way by educational agencies, help those who will not help themselves, but whenever it is in the power of Government to do so, means ought to be provided for those who are merely unfortunate,—i.e., those who for no
causes which human foresight can prevent are reduced to distress—obtaining, on reasonable terms and not as an ele-
emosinary grant, the help which would enable them to tide over a brief season of distress or carry out improvements which the lands they cultivate stand in need of. This class is a numerous one in this country, as the population is mainly agricultural, the holdings of lands of small size.
and the seasons variable. Indeed, the duty and responsibilities in this respect are amply acknowledged by Government, and there can be no clearer proof of this than the fact that during the last season of drought, the Government assisted the landless classes with loans to the extent of nearly 30 lakhs of rupees for the purpose of digging wells and effecting land improvements, in the spirit of Tirta Shakti “which blesses him that gives and him that takes.” The establishment of agricultural banks will, as will be shown further on, enable aid of this kind to be rendered to the landless classes in an even more effective and a more desirable form.

The second objection urged by Lord Kimberley had reference to the special circumstances of the tract of country in the Bombay-Deccan in which it was proposed to establish an agricultural bank, and to the special privileges and concessions asked for by the projectors to render the scheme workable. The ryots in the tract of country referred to were admittedly in such a state of hopeless insecurity that it was considered that the first thing to be done to enable them to deal with the bank was to rescue them from the clutches of the usurers by paying off their dues, as it was apprehended that so long as it was in the power of the usurers to harass their debtors, the latter could not be expected to take advantage of the facilities provided for obtaining loans on easy terms. A scheme of liquidation of this kind would, doubtless, be a gigantic undertaking, and it might well be questioned whether the properties of these insolvent ryots would be adequate security for the sums advanced on their behalf, and whether in the case of the poorest classes, the assistance of the usurers could, under any circumstances, be dispensed with. The projectors had also asked that the claims of the bank should have precedence over all other claims, even though the latter might be prior in point of time to the former. Happily, the ryots in this presidency are not in the hands of usurers to such an extent as to render it necessary to undertake the liquidation of the debts of the entire body of the ryots in order to clear the field for the operations of banks. The ryots here do not find any difficulty in disposing of their produce. In the case of commercial produce, in regard to which the fluctuations in the deemed as foreign markets are swayed, middlemen and brokers are needless a necessity, but even in these cases, if the ryots can obtain money on easier terms than hitherto, they will be able to obtain better terms from brokers and merchants whose profits will be limited to a fair mercantile profit, instead of squandering, as they do at present, of these high profits, as
well as of a high rate of interest on the money laid out by them in trade. The objection, however, that the grant of special privileges declaring that the claims of the banks protected by Government shall have precedence over all other claims is likely to render the terms on which the workmen would be willing to lend money to such of the poorer people as could not obtain loans from the banks harder than before, is quite valid. And, accordingly, when, in 1884, a proposal was made by an association designated the Land Mortgage and Commercial Association, Edmunds, to establish a bank on the condition that privileges similar to those above referred to were to be granted, the Government very properly declined to comply with the request on the ground that the grant of such privileges to a particular bank was likely to render the terms obtainable from ordinary bankers and merchants harder than ever, by rendering the security offered of uncertain value. It would, however, be quite possible to establish agricultural banks which could be successfully worked, even though no special privileges of the kind were granted.

96. Agricultural banks, which are likely to be successful in this country, are land credit institutions like the Swiss Land Credit Banks, a description of which is given in the paper printed as appendix VI. C. (9). The management and control of these banks should be vested in a directorate composed partly of Government officials and partly of non-official persons. The two essential conditions for success are, first, the provision of securities for the stability of the institutions and for good faith in their management and command of the requisite capital on easy terms; and, secondly, fairly accurate knowledge of the solvency and other circumstances of the applicants for loans and of the adequacy of the security offered to admit of applications being complied with the utmost promptitude. Official supervision and the use of Government credit are necessary to secure the first, and the association of non-official agency possessed of local knowledge with official agency in the transaction of business is necessary to secure the second of these conditions. The arrangements may, after the model of the constitution of the Swiss Land Credit Banks above referred to, be somewhat as follows: A bank might be established at a taluk station, Kavar for instance, where, as we have already seen, several firms of Natali Chetties lend money at exorbitant rates of interest to ryots. The capital required might be subscribed in shares of, say, Rs. 50 each, the Government undertaking
to find half the capital required to work the concern. The Government obtains its loans at about 2½ per cent. interest, and it might well be content with an interest of 4 per cent. on the capital subscribed by it, especially when a guarantee fund is constituted to meet losses. It should guarantee the capital subscribed by private individuals, together with 4 per cent. interest. Loans should be granted to applicants on the security of immovable property. As it is not desirable to make loans obtainable on too easy conditions at the commencement, thereby tempting people to borrow money unnecessarily, the rate of interest charged for loans granted by the bank might be fixed at 9 per cent., and gradually reduced to 6 per cent. in course of time. The dividend payable to private shareholders might be limited to 6 per cent., any excess above 6 per cent. being credited to a guarantee fund. Any excess above 3 per cent. falling to the shares subscribed by Government might, likewise, be credited to the guarantee fund. In course of time it would be possible to find funds by issuing debentures in amounts as small as Rs. 50 and thereby reduce both the interest guaranteed to private shareholders and the interest charged to applicants for loans; but at the outset a reasonably high rate is necessary in both cases. The control and management of the bank should be vested in a council of 22 or 30 persons, of whom one-third might be nominated by Government and the remaining two-thirds elected by the shareholders, the Tawkhildar of the taluk being ex-officio President. The council might meet half yearly to settle the scheme of business for the ensuing half year and fix the rates of interest to be charged, &c., and the transac-
tion of business might be entrusted to a committee composed of about half a dozen persons, of whom one-half might be Government officials and the remainder non-official persons, with the Sub-Registrar as the taluk station as Secretary. The Sub-Registrar is peculiarly qualified for this duty, as he has conduct of the official registers of transactions affecting immovable property and the means for acquainting himself with the market value of lands offered as security for loans applied for. The loans might be made repayable by instal-
ments or by a sinking fund so adjusted as to extinguish the debt in 10, 15 or 20 years, the longer period being allowed in the case of loans for substantial improvements to land, such as wells and other works of irrigation or drainage. There would be no enquiry as to the purposes for which the loan was required; but if the improvement has actually been made, the borrower should be allowed, on furnishing proof thereof, to convert a loan for a short period into one for a longer period.
Loans might be made up to two-thirds or three-fourths of the value of the property offered as security, and in the case of property in which several members of a family have interest, the consent of all the members of the family or those representing them should be required. This is the rule adopted by the several "funds" or "benefit societies" in Madras, and no difficulty has been experienced in working it. In the Mysore Permanent Fund, for instance, which has been in existence for over 20 years, the loans incurred on account of defective titles as regards property offered as security have been very small. It is in making these inquiries that the assistance of non-official members of the committee is likely to be of the greatest value. The funds of the bank should be lodged in the Government treasury; and the committee might be allowed to search the registration books without payment to ascertain whether and to what extent properties offered as security for loans are encumbered. I do not think that any special privileges should be conferred on the bank in regard to the recovery of debts, for such privileges might, as already remarked, be taken advantage of by dishonest borrowers to defeat the claims of persons having prior encumbrances on the properties mortgaged to the bank, and the additional risks thus introduced might have the effect of raising the rate of interest for loans not obtainable from the bank. The necessity for such special privileges arises from the fact that, owing to the imperfect record of transactions connected with landed properties maintained in registration offices, and the enormous labour and expense involved in obtaining the necessary information, the risks in granting loans on the security of immovable property are now considerable. I have in my official capacity made proposals86 for combining the registers kept in Revenue offices for the purpose of showing the particulars of lands held by every individual assessed for the land revenue with the

---

86 It would not be proper to enter into a discussion in detail in this place of the improvements to be carried out in the registration system for the purpose of facilitating theascertainment of encumbrances on landed properties. The necessity of this procedure has been fully recognized by the Secretary of State for India, who, in his dispatch, dated 21st October, 1884, on the proposal to establish additional banks in the Mysore Presidency, has observed: "It is possible that the adoption of a properly constructed system of registration of encumbrances on landed property, and that of a system for securing the registration of every change of title, would afford a greater facility to the settlement of land cases, and would also tend to prevent fraudulent dealings in landed property, and to meet, even in a partial way, the want of a complete system of registration of property, which is so essential to the regulation of land transactions."
registers maintained in registration offices in such a manner as to allow of the encumbrances existing on the lands being readily ascertained; and if this scheme be adopted, the operations of the banks will be immensely facilitated. The accounts of the bank should be audited every year, and for this purpose the services of District Registrars might be availed of. The success of the banks would, in a great measure, depend upon the promptitude with which applications for loans are disposed of, in order that persons in need of loans might obtain the loans at the time they are in need of funds; and it will be seen from the methods of dealing of the Nattukottai Chetties at Kollam that their success is due mainly to the quickness with which they transact their business. There is, however, no reason why, under proper supervision, the business of the bank should not be done with equal expedition. When the usefulness of the bank develops, it may be possible to have branches at each Sub-Registrar's station within the taluk. The managing committee should have power to grant further time for payment of instalments on due cases shown, and the general council should, likewise, have power to postpone the collection of instalments in very bad seasons by a general order, and also to arrange for sales of properties pledged for the loans in such a manner that they might not be thrown on the market at one and the same time. The above sketch is intended simply to show the manner in which an institution of this kind can be worked, and there can be no difficulty in modifying the details so as to suit the circumstances of particular localities in which the institutions are established.

97. The most important question in connection with these land credit banks is, of course, the question of provision of funds. I have made some enquiries on the subject, and the results tend to show that abundant funds will be forthcoming if the solvency of the institutions be guaranteed by Government, and the management be such as to inspire confidence. It is quite certain, on the other hand, that, without a Government guarantee, the banks cannot be expected to be successful. Centuries of misgovernment have made the people in the rural tract very suspicious and averse to letting their money go out of their sight, and though this feeling is wearing away, occasional failures of banking firms, through fraud or mismanagement, have helped to retard the growth of confidence in private banking institutions. Lawyers and Government officials—the latter of whom have been practically debauched from investing their savings in landed properties by
the rules promulgated by Government—will undoubtedly attract money in the banks if they can be sure of getting the principal back with 4 per cent. interest, with the further chance of the interest being increased to 6 per cent. The people in the rural tracts, who are solely guided by popular report and tradition, will, there is little reason to doubt, likewise commence to invest in these banks and, if once their natural timidity is overcome, and they are made to see that the principal, at least, is quite safe, the investments are likely to increase very rapidly. There are indications in the development of what are called ‘funds’ or benefit societies, that the people in many parts of the country are feeling the necessity for the establishment of such associations. There are 128 such associations with a nominal capital of 2,304 crores of rupees and a paid up capital of 78.3 lakhs registered under the Joint Stock Companies' Act in this presidency. Besides this, there are large numbers of ‘city funds,’ which are registered under the Registration Act without being registered under the Joint Stock Companies' Act, and a great many others which are not registered under either enactment. In the Sub-Registrar's office at Kasargod, in the district of South Tanar, I found that the agreements of 16 such associations were registered in a single year, viz., 1891, the total number of numbers being 304. The arrangements made are generally of the following description. A number of persons, say 16, agree to contribute annually Rs. 100 each, on a fixed date, and the sum collected in the first year, Rs. 1,600, is made over to one of them, who is appointed manager of the concern and is required to give security for the due accounting of the moneys received by him and for ensuring payment of his contributions regularly during the remaining 15 years. As regards the money collected in the second year, Rs. 1,600, it is drawn in to which of the remaining 15 persons it is to have it, and the process is repeated every succeeding year till every one of the members has obtained a full year's contribution. The members who get the use of the money during the early years of the period for which the agreement is to last are, of course, the most lucky, and the man who gets it last gets back barely the sum subscribed by him without any interest. Nevertheless, these arrangements are extensively resorted to, as it makes people subscribe from time to time small sums, which, if retained by themselves, might be frittered away, in the hope that they may receive a lump sum after an interval, even though the interval should be one of 16 years. Another method of managing this business is to put up the sum collected annually to Dutch auction, and hand over to the
lowest bidder among the members the amount bid. Thus, one of the members in want of money might consent to receive Rs. 1,400 in lieu of the sum of Rs. 1,600 he is entitled to receive. The difference of Rs. 200 is divided among the other members, and the process is repeated year after year during the whole period of the agreement. The aggregate annual amount payable under the 16 agreements registered in Kâšgád Sub-Registrar’s office was Rs. 15,000, and the periods for which the agreements were to be in force varied from 9 to 20 years. Members who fail to pay a particular instalment are charged interest at 24 per cent, which is debited to the contributions already made by them. Similar “chit” or “kuri” agreements are very common in Malabar, Tinnevelly and Madura districts. The arrangement is a numerous one and difficult to work owing to failures and casualties. Nevertheless, the fact that people enter into such arrangements shows how sorely they stand in need of banking facilities.

As regards funds to be provided by Government, I do not think that a very large sum will be necessary at the outset; as the scheme will have to be experimentally introduced in a few places, and it seems to me that Government will really incur no risk whatever in connection with the scheme. The Government might safely place in the disposal of the banks a portion of the Savings Bank deposits, which will thus earn interest for Government, instead of lying idle as at present. The balance on 1st April 1892 in the credit of depositors in Post Office Savings Banks throughout India was upwards of 7 crores of rupees; the amount appertaining to the Madras Presidency alone being above 62 lakhs of rupees. The balance on hand of these deposits is likely to grow rapidly from year to year. In fact, the limits of yearly deposits in the Post Office Banks, which were originally fixed at Rs. 500, were reduced to Rs. 200 in 1889, because the amount deposited was so large that it was considered that Government was likely to suffer loss by keeping so much money idle in their hands, while paying interest to the depositors.

98. Of the great utility of land credit banks in furnishing, on reasonably easy terms, the capital required for agricultural improvements, it is not necessary to write at any length. It is obvious that if peasant proprietors have to borrow money at 12 or 15 per cent. interest, the only improvements that can be carried out without loss are those which will cost...
little and yet afford abundant returns; and cases of this kind must, of course, be very few. For instance, take the case of irrigation by wells. A well, costing say Rs. 500, will irrigate about 4 acres, and to work the well by means of bullock-power would require probably about Rs. 800 more, including cost of wages of labour and depreciation of live and dead stock. It makes to the rent an enormous difference, whether the sum of Rs. 400 can be borrowed at 6 per cent. interest or at 12 or 18 per cent. In the first case, the annual charge for interest amounts to Rs. 6 per acre, and in the second and third cases to Rs. 12 and Rs. 18, respectively. If the produce of the 4 acres of unirrigated land be taken at 40 bushels of grain at the rate of 10 bushels an acre and valued at Rs. 40 at the rate of Rs. 1 a bushel, it would not pay the rent to irrigate the lands, unless the produce is tripled, in other words unless the produce per acre increases to 120 bushels, or the interest on the outlay is 12 per cent. If, however, the interest is only 6 per cent., the cultivation might pay if the produce is doubled, or, in other words, is at the rate of 20 bushels an acre. On the other hand, if money has to be borrowed at the rate of 18 per cent., cultivation by wells may be stated to be well nigh impossible. Irrigation in this country increases the produce enormously; and in the case of application of expense measures, there is comparatively much less scope for increase of produce. In the latter case, the increase of produce per acre should be such as to pay not only the interest on the outlay on measures, but also the portion of the cost of the measures as will allow of its being recovered during the period in which the measures are exhausted. Further, when the risks in well-construction, owing to uncertainty of finding water at a reasonable depth, and the liability of the country to suffer from droughts, are borne in mind, it can be readily conceived how much the hard terms on which capital required has to be obtained must retard agricultural improvements in this country. The Government, no doubt, has been anxious to lend money for land improvements at low rates of interest, and owing to the prevalence of droughts during the last two years, the Government rules, in this respect, have been largely availed of by the ryot population. In ordinary seasons, however, the ryot has to fall back upon the assistance of the sekwars when he needs funds for purposes other than land improvement, and what is required is, that the rate of interest for money needed by him for all purposes should be reduced. The present arrangement, under which all your claims are postponed to the claim of Government to recover the loan granted by it for agricultural improvement by the sale of the land
to be improved, has the effect of impairing his credit with the sowkar in emergencies which, under the conditions of rural life in this country, arc very common, and it is not, therefore, surprising that the poot should hesitate to avail himself of Government help except in seasons when he is unable to obtain assistance from the sowkar. Another reason for the crop not readily availing themselves of Government help is the stringency of the rates made with a view to ensure that loans are granted on adequate security and the instalments are punctually collected as they fall due. These inconveniences will be greatly minimized when a bank, which is managed by a directorate composed partly of officials and partly of semi-official agency, with full power to grant extension of time for the payment of instalments on due cause shown, lends money for all purposes, and not merely for land improvements.

Land credit banks will not, of course, directly benefit either the landless classes or cultivators who have not security of tenure in the lands they cultivate, as for instance, tenants in Malabar, and in some of the northern seminaries. Indirectly, however, the establishment of these banks will benefit them by reducing the rates of interest, inasmuch as persons who are able to offer proper security for loans to be obtained on easy terms from these banks will be enabled to compete for the custom of lending to poor agriculturists to a greater extent than hitherto. For the landless artisan classes and day labourers, it might be considered whether institutions, like le morts de pique established in European continental countries, for carrying on pawn-breaking on a small scale could be established under the guarantee and superintendence of municipal corporations in large towns. There are, however, great difficulties in the way of working such institutions, and in this country the goods pawned will consist mostly of jewels and trinkets of inferior materials difficult to value. The interest also except for loans for very short periods is not so exorbitantly high as to make the interference of Government necessary to check it. In England itself, the legal rate of interest for loans not exceeding £3 obtained from pawn-brokers is 25 per cent. per annum.

99. Schemes for promoting habits of thrift depend for their success on the facilities afforded to people to take advantage of trivial occasions to save small sums of money, which, if they returned in their own hands, they would be under a great temptation to spend unprofitably. The post-office savings banks’ scheme introduced a few years ago by the Government of India is in a stage in the right direction, and it has evidently a great
future before it. In 1890-91, there were 8,465 post office savings banks in the whole of India, and 931 such banks in the Madras Presidency, with a balance to the credit of depositors of 6,955 crores and 61 lakhs of rupees, respectively. Of these sums, the amounts to the credit of native depositors were 5,537 crores and 49 lakhs of rupees respectively. The deposits would have been much larger but for the reduction made in 1889 in the maximum limits of sums that can be deposited by a single person. Considering the importance of giving all possible encouragement to persons wishing to deposit money in savings banks, I venture to think that the reduction was a mistake. The average amount deposited by each depositor during the year 1891-92 was in this Presidency only Rs. 30, and the average balance at the end of the year only Rs. 90, and this shows that the banks are being made use of only by the poorer classes and do not compete with the larger banking institutions to an appreciable extent. The reason given for the reduction was that facilities had been afforded to persons residing in the interior for investing money in Government securities through post office savings banks and also to deposit them for safe custody, and it was accordingly unnecessary and undesirable to maintain high limits for deposits. The classes that deposit money in post office savings banks are, however, too poor to buy Government securities. The facilities afforded by the post office savings banks have so far been availed of mainly by Government servants, servants of local bodies and railway companies, pleaders and other professional classes of the community. The commercial classes and domestic servants have also made deposits, but the agricultural classes have scarcely as yet taken advantage of the banks. In England, considerable impetus appears to have been recently given to the formation of penny savings banks by the issue of a circular from the educational department, calling the attention of schoolmasters and school managers to the importance of inculcating thrift upon children under their care, and pointing out the desirability of establishing a bank in every school. It might be desirable to issue a similar circular in this Presidency though in this as in other schemes newly introduced no very great results can be expected at the outset. The formation of benefit societies should be encouraged as much as possible; there is a great demand for such societies in this Presidency, and some years ago, some persons taking advantage of this started "bubble" companies which soon collapsed. An amendment of the law insisting on the registration of such societies, giving power to Registrars to refuse sanction for the establishment of such as are proposed to be worked
obviously on an unsound basis and providing for a careful audit of their accounts, would have a most beneficial effect. These should also be Registrars appointed for various places in the motu, in order that persons may not be compelled to proceed to Madras for the registration of such occasion. Whenever there was a necessity for extraordinary expenditure on account of marriages or deaths in a family, it was formerly the custom for husbands and wives to subscribe towards the expenses, each according to his means, the understanding being that persons who had received this benefit were, in their turn, expected to assist when similar occurrences took place among the other members of the community. This custom still lingered in the rural parts, but owing to the dispersion of the members of communities consequent on facilities for free locomotion, the custom is rapidly disappearing, and the necessity for making provision for contingencies of the kind by means of benefit societies and such like institutions is being increasingly felt. The country has not yet arrived at a stage at which it would be possible to work general schemes of insurance successfully, but the scheme introduced by the Government of India in the case of post office annuities is a step in the right direction, and it is desirable that it should be extended to other departments of the Government service. Though confined to the official classes, the constructive effect of such measures on the general population will be considerable.  

109. In former days, as we have seen, the farming out of taxes, the want of checks on the rapidity of officials, and the monopoly privileges possessed by bankers and special classes of traders, though detrimental to general welfare, were favorable to the concentration of a large amount of...
wealth among a small number of persons. I have already alluded to the tendency of the present regime to diffuse wealth among the masses of the population, and this tendency, while improving the condition of the lower classes to a certain extent, dissipates the wealth, which might be otherwise available for being devoted to productive purposes. The corrective of this tendency is, of course, the provision of banking facilities whereby the wealth diffused can be collected again in one mass in a form readily available to those who are in need of capital for carrying on industrial undertakings. As Mr. Bagehot has pointed out: "a million in the hands of a single banker is a great power; he can at once lend where he will, and borrowers can come to him, because they know or believe that he has it. But the same sum scattered in tens and fifties through a whole nation is no power at all; no one knows where to find it, or whom to ask for it." There are various classes of the community in possession of capital who, for want of ability, opportunities, or inclination, do not employ it directly in industrial enterprises; these are, first, persons who, by age, sex, or infirmity, are disabled from active occupations; secondly, seminarians and clergymen, who, from a sense of dignity or love of leisure, do not care to engage in undertakings requiring constant attention to business; and thirdly, persons engaged in Government service or in professional occupations whose work is too engrossing a character to permit of their being constantly on the look-out for opportunities for the employment of their savings. Even of those who venture on business undertakings, success is confined to those who have special aptitudes, and this detains many men from incurring the risks. Banking facilities would furnish persons with special aptitudes for industrial enterprises with the capital needed by them, while giving those who have capital without special aptitudes for business, opportunities for earning an income by lending it. Owing to want of banking facilities in this country, with the exception of trading classes with hereditary aptitudes and connections, the modes of investment hitherto known and practiced have been—first, investment in lands; second, investment in jewels and houses; third, hoarding; and fourth, investment in Government securities. With the growth of security of tenure and the gradual diminution of undefined exactions, land has come to be regarded as a "safe investment," and the competition for it has raised its value to such an extent, that in the more populous districts of the Presidency, investments in land do not yield a larger return than investments in Government securities, except to the cultivating classes. Latterly, bow-
ever, in view of the small returns and the risks and trouble in the management, landed property has been somewhat losing its attractions as a field for investment, and if banking institutions under the guarantees of the State are established, many persons, who invest money in land, would take shares in banks, thus still further lightening the pressure on land to the manifest advantage of the cultivating classes who will be enabled to obtain lands for cultivation on easier terms than heretofore. There can be no doubt that, in this country, an immense quantity of money is either hoarded or converted into ornaments. The net imports of gold into India between 1865 to 1885 or during a period of 20 years was 110 millions sterling, while the net imports in the 50 years from 1835 to 1881 was 140 millions. The net imports of silver from 1859 to 1881 were 362 millions Rs. 575 millions Rs. or silver were coined in the Indian mint from 1835, being nearly 10 rupees per head of the population; but of this quantity, Mr. Barbour (in his article in the Economic Journal for June 1892) estimates that only 166 millions Rs. or 5 rupees per head is now in circulation, the remainder being either hoarded or converted into ornaments. The practice of hoarding is gradually going on except in rural tracts, but that of investing money in jewels is probably on the increase. Sir David Barbour collected information in regard to the quantity of gold and silver hoarded, more especially in Upper India, for the use of the Royal Commission on the value of precious metals. He estimated the quantity of gold and silver hoarded since 1835 at something like 300

The same anxiety has been noted in being discouraged among the small prop- ertied in France. Wherever money was invested in land, the interest was only 1% or less, and the profits were often less. When specie was hard to get, sales were frequently made at a great loss. Even when specie was plentiful, the speculator was often too timid to buy properly. The trade in land during the last 20 years has been very irregular. At times, the prices of land have been very high, and sometimes very low, but the average price has been much below the original cost. The French land laws are not conducive to the prosperity of the country. The laws for the protection of the peasantry are often lax, and the laws for the protection of the landlord are often too stringent. The French peasant is often forced to sell his land at a great loss, and the landlord is often forced to fall into debt. The French peasant is often forced to sell his land at a great loss, and the landlord is often forced to fall into debt.
millions Rs. It was found on inquiry that the people living in Simla and the hills had absorbed in 25 years 6½ crores of rupees worth of silver. The Maharajah of Burdwan had a large hoard, out of which £200,000 were brought out, and the Governor-General invested 5 millions rupees in Government securities, out of the hoard which was left by the late Maharajah. A native prince was found to be hoarding at the rate of £40,000 or £50,000 a year. Sir David Beresford was of opinion that the introduction of banking facilities would not affect the habits of the people very much in this respect; the European banks took deposits from anybody, but the hoarding, as a rule, was by men who hoarded so little individually that no bank would accept their deposits; nor would they themselves be willing to deposit money in a bank. It is obvious, however, that if small banks were established under Government guarantee, like the Swiss land credit banks, small deposits would be secured and the reluctance of the people to make deposits would be gradually overcome.

The practice of hoarding makes an immense amount of wealth practically useless for industrial purposes, and if even a third part of the wealth that remaining unutilised were invested in industrial undertakings, it would bring about a great revolution in commerce. Of the entire amount of debt of the Government of India, viz. 218 millions Rs., only 26 millions are held by the natives of the country. 196 millions Rs., invested in these rupees debts, would pay it off almost entirely, and save the country from an annual remittance of 4 millions Rs. on account of interest. The great utility of small banks as contradistinguished from large central banks in this respect has thus been explained by Mr. Baghot. “A single monopolistic issue of notes, like the bank of France, advertises banking slowly. On the other hand, the Swiss banks, where there is always one or more in every canton, diffuse banking rapidly. The reason is that a central bank which is governed in the capital and descends to a country district has much fewer modes of lending money safely than a bank, of which the partners belong to that district and know the men and things in it. But the men of banks in a rural district are of small amount; the bills to be discounted are trifling; the persons borrowing are of small means and only local reputations; the value of any property they wish to pledge depends upon local chances and circumstances. A landholder who lives in the district, who has always lived there, whose whole mind is a history of the district and its changes, is easily able to lend money safely there. But a manager deputed by a single central establishment does so with difficulty. The worse people will come to him and ask for loans.
His ignorance is a mark for all the shrewd and crafty people throughout. He will have endless difficulties in establishing the circulation of the distant bank, because he has not the knowledge, which alone can teach him how to issue that circulation with safety. It is from this point of view that it is important that the banks established in the rural tracts should have in their directorate non-official members with local experience. The existence of such banks will also, to some extent, diminish the practice of investing money in jewels. So long as money is kept idle, pressure is put upon the head of the household by the female members of the family to lay out the money in the purchase of jewels; when it is lodged in a bank and earns interest, the pressure and the temptation to yield to it would be considerably less. There are, of course, reasons founded on social necessities, which contribute to the maintenance of the practice of purchasing jewels for women over and above those arising from a desire for their personal adornment. These are, first, that, as jewels are under the personal control of the female members of the family to a greater extent than any other form of property would be, and less subject to the interference of their husbands, sons, or other relations, provision intended for them takes this form; and secondly, as the Hindu law does not give a share in the father’s property to the daughters, social usage founded on natural sentiment supplement the deficiencies of the law in this manner.

Another great advantage likely to result from the provision of banking facilities is the extension of the use of credit instruments, and the saving afforded by the economizing of the use of coins. There has been a considerable extension of the circulation of bank notes during the last two years, the value of circulation amounting to 24 crores of rupees against 9 crores of rupees in 1904. The circulation of bank notes not covered by coin or bullion has been increased to 7 crores of rupees. This represents a saving in interest at 4 per cent. of nearly 28 lakhs of rupees. The precious metals needed for currency purposes have to be purchased for value like any other commodity, and if coin could be economized by extension of other forms of credit, the necessity for having the metallic currency with the growing needs of trade and commerce would be partly at least counteracted, and that would be a very great benefit.

111 It has been calculated that the exchange value of daily transactions in the London clearing houses in 1879 was 2 billion dollars. Mr. James estimated that if all the banknotes were increased by the amount of money in circulation at the time, the weight of the gold and silver would be at least equal to the weight of the banknotes. The weight of the banknotes in 1879 was estimated at 100 millions of gold, 150 millions of bullion in the Bank of England, 15 millions of silver and 1½ of copper-metal 103 millions sterling.

101. The next group of questions refers to the necessity for providing sufficient safeguards to prevent the increase of population pressing on the land, to such an extent as to cause a deterioration in the standard of living of the masses. The principal dangers of the present economic position in this respect have been described to be (1) the absence of diversity of occupations and the crowding of the population on a single resource, viz., agriculture; (2) the necessity, as population increases, for bringing under cultivation the poorer soils which are peculiarly liable to the effects of droughts and yield a very precarious subsistence to the cultivators; (3) the large exports of agricultural produce to foreign countries tending to impoverish the soil and diminish its yield; and (4) the lack of a spirit of enterprise, of technical knowledge, and of means among the agricultural classes to repair the waste caused by the export of agricultural produce, by the adoption of improved methods of cultivation, or by opening out new paths of industry, with the aim of wealth obtained in return for the produce exported.

I have in the last section examined the actual position as regards the pressure of population, on the means of subsistence. The conclusions arrived at may be here briefly recapitulated. During the last forty years there has been great increase of production owing to (1) the extension of the area of cultivation of food-crops; (2) the extension of the area irrigated by large works constructed by Government, and by small works, such as wells, constructed by the cultivators at their own expense; (3) the extension of the area grown with valuable commercial crops; and (4) improvement in the methods of cultivation in places where there is a fairly constant remunerative market for the produce grown. Of this increase of production a very large portion has been absorbed in the increase of population which has taken place, and the remainder in improving the standard of living of all classes.

The improvement that has taken place among the higher and middle classes is evidenced by the higher and more costly style of living which has undoubtedly come into vogue among these classes. It is, however, the case of the landless labouring classes that is always one for anxiety whenever there is a large increase in population; and, as regards these classes, it has been shown that their condition has not in any way deteriorated, but on the contrary has to some extent improved.
All legal impediments in the way of these classes bettering their condition have been removed; employment is procurable in all normal seasons; and an appreciable number of persons belonging to these classes have been able to save money, purchase landed property and rise in the social scale, thus setting a stimulating example to the bulk of their brethren who, owing to want of manual, ability or opportunities, still continue in the old state of degradation. The complaints that are often heard are those of a more general character. Labourers are still able to get for the old customary rates of wages, and that is necessary either to pay their higher rates of grain wages or larger allowances in the shape of perquisites to make them work willingly or at all. This shows that a struggle is going on to adjust the old customary rates of wages to the new conditions under which there is increasing mobility of labour. The signs of improvement in the condition of these classes must, of course, be comparatively less marked, but it is more the last certain. We have also seen to what extent the complaint that the expansion of foreign trade has destroyed the indigenous industries other than agriculture is well-founded. The spinning and weaving industries have, notwithstanding, suffered severely, the former having dwindled to very small proportions indeed. The weaving industry has not, however, suffered to the extent generally believed for two reasons: first, the working population in the rural tracts in the inland districts, where the cold in the winter months is severer than elsewhere, still use the durable and warm clothing woven out of country thread; and secondly, while, on the one hand, imported machine-made clothes have, to a great extent, superseded country cloth used by the higher and middle classes for male attire, there has been considerable extension of demand for female coloured cloths of the fine varieties woven in the country owing to reduced...
tion in their price on account of the cheapness of imported thread. As a set-off against the decadence of spinning industry, we have the outbreak of the spinning mills, which is daily increasing, and which bids fair to enable the country to recover the ground lost under the stress of Manchester competition. So far, however, as the spinning and wearing classes are concerned, the extension of the mills will, of course, accelerate their decline. The iron-smelting industry has nearly ceased, but this is due to the scarcity of fuel. The cheapness of imported iron and other metals, and the gradual introduction of metal vessels among classes of the population which were formerly using earthen vessels have given extended employment to the workers in metals. The artisan classes—masons, carpenters, &c.—are well off and find employment at remunerative wages both on Government and Railway works, and in the construction of substantial buildings, which are springing up in all parts of the country. The native shipping industry has declined, but this simply means that the old expensive modes of carriage by native craft have been superseded by cheaper conveyances by ocean steamers, the producers of the export articles profiting by the difference in the cost of freight that has enabled the mill-manufactured yarns and cloth of Bombay to enter into competition with Manchester for the markets of China and Japan. New fields of employment have been opened in connection with coffee, tea, cinchona and indigo industries, cotton mills and presses. The railways, roads and canals, which have come into existence, have afforded increased employment to the surplus population during the non-cultivation season. To a greater extent than was the case in the past, the expansion of the railway industry has specially benefited the lowest classes of the population in particular places, the wages given for railway work being higher than for other kinds of work, as owing to religious prejudices the ordinary labourers do not compete for employment on railway works. I have not alluded to the decay of the Indian art industries and of the classes engaged in them. The proportion of the population affected is numerically small, and though on other grounds the decay of Indian art may be a matter for regret, it can only be assigned a subordinate place in an inquiry referring to the economic condition of the general population.

The increase of population, then, has not, so far, pressed on the means of subsistence to such an extent as to cause a deterioration in the standard of living of the population as a whole, and this is conclusively shown by the fact that the
prices of food-grains during recent normal years have not been higher than the average price of years prior to the famine of 1876–78, notwithstanding that in the intervening period there has been a great fall in the value of silver. In this connection it must be remembered that the tendency of increased population, accompanied by a more than corresponding increase of wealth is generally not to augment the share of wealth of the different classes in a uniform ratio, but to improve the condition of such sections of the society as are able to profit by the opportunities afforded by the new régime in a marked degree, while benefiting in a less degree other sections of the community, and in some cases even rendering the condition of the very lowest landless classes of the population harder than before. The following illustration, in which the figures assumed are entirely hypothetical, will show what is meant. If the average income per head of the population were, twenty years ago, Rs. 50 per annum, and if wealth has since increased by 30 per cent, the income per head of the population at present would be a little less than Rs. 65 per annum. The income of all classes, however, would not have increased in the ratio of 54 to 50; but that of the higher and more intelligent classes would have increased in a greater ratio, while that of the less intelligent and helpless classes in a smaller ratio or even diminished. The peculiarly satisfactory feature of the present position is that the condition of the lowest classes has not in any way deteriorated, but, on the contrary, so far as these classes have been able to take advantage of the opportunities for employment opened out to them, has improved for three reasons, viz., the prices of food-grains, which rose enormously between the years 1860 and 1870 owing to special causes, declined afterwards, while the money wages which had risen at the same time remained steady or even decreased; the prices of imported articles, chiefly clothing and metals, declined; and the abdication of slavery and serfdom, and the encouragement by Government of administrative arrangements of all social rules and usages, tending to depress the condition of the lower classes have caused to those classes greater opportunities for employment and greater security in the enjoyment of their earnings.38

38 I have dealt at greater length on the question of the progress of population during the last twenty years in a reply published by me in The Moderns in 1892. The criticism which appeared in an article in The Outlook of November 1894, I have since, in a second reply (1895) endeavored to meet at length. The original paper is still on the market, and the author of a similar article has now published a somewhat more extended and more satisfactory defence.
102. We have further seen that production cannot go on continually increasing as fast as the popula-
tion, unless there is a continual improve-
ment in the intelligence, spirit of enter-
prise and habits of thrift of all classes, and that to secure
this end, it is of the utmost importance that education should
be diffused as widely as possible. It will therefore be inter-
esting to glance briefly at what has been done and what
remains to be done in this direction.

I have printed as appendix VI.-D. (2) a brief account of
the progress of education during the last 20 years kindly
furnished me by Mr. S. Senhayur, Professor in the Kumbha-
konna College. Considering the short period during which
educational measures have been at work, the advance made
has been astonishingly rapid. During the last 20 years the
number of collegiate institutions for higher education have
increased from 15 to 35, and the attendance of scholars from
380 to 3,300. The number of candidates who appeared for
the Bachelor of Arts degree examination in 1891 was 948
against 65 in 1871. The total number of persons who had
passed the examination since the Madras University was
established up to 1891 was only 197, but the number up to
1891 increased to 2,070. The number of persons who had
passed the First Examination in Arts was 802 up to 1871,
and 7,000 up to 1891.

In secondary education also there has been similar ad-
vance. The number of candidates who appeared for the
Matriculation examination has increased from 1,358 in 1871 to
7,002 in 1891. It has been calculated that 75 per cent. of the
pupils who pass the Matriculation examination read for the
First Examination in Arts and that 50 per cent. of the pupils
who pass the latter read for the B.A. examination. The
number of pupils receiving secondary instruction in schools
was 22,000 in 1891.

Primary education has advanced still more rapidly. In
1871, there were 1,600 primary schools for boys registered
in the official returns with an attendance of 45,000 pupils.
In 1891 the number of primary schools registered was
21,000 with an attendance of 600,000. The figures for the
later year include pupils in indigenous and schools which
have been improved and brought under the inspection and
superintendence of the Educational Department subsequent
to 1871; but making allowance for this circumstance, the
progress made will still be seen to be very remarkable.
The number of candidates who appeared for the Primary
school examination in 1891 was 16,000, of whom 12,000 were declared to have passed. The recent orders issued by Government making it obligatory on candidates for village offices to pass this examination have given a great impetus to the extension of primary education which will progress even more rapidly than it has done hitherto. Night-schools have been established in several places for the education of the labouring classes. There were 883 such schools in 1892 with an attendance of 14,771 pupils. Special measures are now being taken for the instruction of Punnah and other degraded classes of the population.

Schools for the education of girls aided by Government may be said to have almost come into existence since 1871. In 1891 there were 1,081 schools with an attendance of 45,095 pupils. Including the girls attending boys' schools the total number of girls under instruction was 57,718. Female candidates appeared for the Matriculation examination of the Madras University for the first time in 1877. Since then 316 candidates have been examined up to 1892, of whom 171 were declared to have passed, 34 in the first class. Of the number passed, however, 26 were Native Christians, 57 East Indias and 9 Europeans and 3 Parsees.

Great as has been the advance made since 1871 as compared with the past, there is almost unlimited scope for further progress, when it is remembered that education, in however elementary a form, has touched the narrow fringe of the population, and that there is a dense mass beneath which has yet to be brought under its influence. This has been clearly shown by Dr. Duncan in his very interesting report on public instruction for the year 1891-92. He points out that out of every 1,000 boys between the ages of 5 and 9 years who ought to be under instruction, 259 or between one-fourth and one-fifth are receiving instruction, the remaining three-fourths being allowed to grow up absolutely illiterate. Again out of every 1,000 boys between the ages of 10 and 14 years who might be expected to be in the 'lower secondary' stage as regards instruction, only 12 receive such instruction. And out of 1,000 boys between the ages of 15 and 19 who might, if circumstances permitted, be expected to be in the 'upper-secondary' stage, only six reach that standard. Lastly, out of every 10,000 young men between the ages of 20 and 24, enjoy the benefits of collegiate education. Dr. Duncan's remarks in regard to higher education are specially worth quoting, as considerable uneasiness prevails on the question of collegiate instruction having over-
passed its due limits. He observes: "These figures show how little reason there is for the not uncommon opinion that collegiate education is advancing too rapidly and extending itself too widely. The growing cost of living, especially in large towns, the comparatively poor prospects of a successful career after graduating, owing to the very keen competition that exists for employment in almost all the branches of the public or the private service—these and other similar considerations will tend to deter all except young men favorably circumstanced as regards wealth or possession of exceptionally good natural ability, from entering on a collegiate course of instruction." The results of the higher education too, so far as they have gone, have been, on the whole, most beneficial. There has been a distinct improvement in both the public and private morality of all those who have come under its influence. Many unreasonable prejudices which stand in the way of the progress of the country are being silently transformed into practical men in consonance with the spirit of the present times and less injurious to the welfare of the community and the way is being gradually prepared for still greater social changes. Brahmin young men, who would never have dreamed of working in a dissecting room in a medical laboratory or of crossing the sea to serve in Burma, have little scruples now in taking up work of either kind. These results are entirely due to the forces which have been set in motion by the British Government, among which the system of education introduced by it is undoubtedly the most potent; and as the Government is prepared by differences of race and religion from actively interfering to help on or impede these changes, it is all the more incumbent on it to afford implicit encouragement by concentrating all its efforts for the advance of education. In all poor countries the persons who first come under the influence of education are not the sons of the aristocracy, but scholars sprung from the poorer classes, who from religious motives devote themselves to the pursuit of knowledge; and this was the case in England itself 500 years ago, when the English universities swarmed with thousands of poor scholars who

---

19 In Sweden, even in the present day a considerable portion of the scholars educated in the universities belong to the following class: the Jews. Persians in his capacity as author of French literature noted: "..." in. The force of this remark should be taken into consideration when the attempts made in recent times to introduce new education systems are being considered. The Swedish educational system, for instance, has been adopted by some of the German universities, and the results have been generally satisfactory. It is to be hoped that the Swedish educational system will be adopted by other countries, as it is a system that is adapted to the needs of the times.
were fed at almshouses or who literally begged their bread from door to door. The education of these poor scholars was provided out of the income of religious endowments founded both by sovereigns and private individuals. The dissolution of education from religion in this country under the British Government has rendered this resource unavailable, and unless the State supports higher education in a liberal manner the progress of the country will be seriously retarded. The outlay on higher education will prove in the long run to be a most profitable investment, even from a commercial point of view. As observed by Mr. Marshall: "The wisdom of expending public and private funds on education is not to be measured by its direct fruits alone. It will be profitable as a mere investment to give the masses of the people much greater opportunities than they can generally avail themselves of. For by this, many who would have died unknown get the start that is required to bring out their latent abilities. And the economical value of one great industrial genius is sufficient to cover the expenses of the education of a whole town. One new idea, such as Bessmer's chief invention, adds as much to England's productive power as the labour of a hundred thousand men. Less direct, but not less in importance is the aid given to production by such medical discoveries as those of Jenner or Pasteur which increase our health and working power, and again by scientific work, such as that of mathematics or biology, even though many generations may pass away before it bears visible fruit in greater material well-being. All that is spent during many years in opening the means of higher education to the masses would be well paid for, if it called out one more Newton or Darwin, Shakespeare or Beethoven." It may be that the chance of the appearance of such great benefactors of the human race who when the bounds of knowledge are too remote to justify a large outlay on higher education in a poor country, but the urgent necessity that exists for effecting reforms in practices which retard the material well-being of the nation, and the extreme improbability of the occurrence in this country of any religious upheaval which, under favourable conditions, often has the effect of imbuing whole peoples with a new spirit and by a sudden impulse of lifting them high in the scale of civilization, render the rapid advance of secular education almost the only available resource for social regeneration and progress; and no amount of money expended by the State would be ill-spent in perfecting this instrument. This being so, there need be no fear that higher education is being pushed
as too rapidly, for, as observed by Dr. Duncan, the growing cost of living and the difficulty of obtaining entrance into the liberal professions will, of themselves, fix the saturation point beyond which a literary education will not be absorbed in the existing circumstances of the country. These considerations apply with even greater force in the case of female education, which is still in its infancy, for whereas 20 per cent. of boys between the ages of 5 and 9 years are under instruction, only 4 per cent. of girls of the same age are taught even the three Rs. The enormous disproportion in the advance in education of Indian men and women is recognized on all hands to be one of the most serious difficulties in the way of social progress.

While higher and secondary education are required for the higher and the middle classes who must lead industrial movements and promote social progress, the salvation of the lower classes lies in the diffusion of elementary education. Owing to the bulk of the land in the country being held in small farms by a poor peasantry, the adoption of improved methods of cultivation, with a view to raise food for a growing population will be possible only if there is a general quickening of intelligence among them sufficient to overcome the spirit of routine and the torpidity held which traditional prejudices have over a proverbially conservative class. Moreover, the only effective check to overpopulation is the improvement of the standard of comfort by the multiplication of numerous secondary wants and diffusion of a feeling of self-respect among the masses which prevents this standard of comfort being lowered—a result which can be brought about by education alone. Elementary instruction must, therefore, be pushed on as fast as funds and teachers can be provided. It would undoubtedly be a mistake to adopt any scheme of compulsory State education, as is sometimes advocated, because the margin of the earnings of a poor family in this country over and above what is required for mere subsistence is so small that it cannot afford to dispense with the wages of labour earned by the juvenile members of the family. In fact, no compulsory measures undertaken by the State for the benefit of a large population can be successful unless a very large majority of the population acquiesce in and feel the necessity for such measures, and the aid of the State is invoked for the purpose of enforcing the performance by recusant individuals of duties recognised by public opinion. But there cannot be the slightest doubt that the extension of elementary education should be recognized as being of prime necessity in the existing situation, and as an essential prerequisite for carrying out
improvements of every kind, and that its continued rapid advance should be provided for.

Another most pleasing feature in connection with the progress of education is the extent to which the taste for indoor sports and mental exercises is spreading among the school-going population and the youth of the country. The advance made in this direction during the last ten years has been remarkable and is calculated to dispel the fears which were once entertained in regard to the danger of the mental strain caused by the new exciting education resulting in stunted growth and deteriorated physique.

105. Agricultural education is, of course, of the greatest importance in this country, where 90 per cent. of the population is either engaged in agriculture or in subsidiary operations connected with this industry, and this question has much occupied the attention of the Madras Government since 1871, when the Rainpet Agricultural Farm and School were established. There cannot be the slightest doubt as to the duties and responsibilities of Government in the direction of improving agricultural methods both on account of the intimate association of it with land, the revenue derived from which forms the mainstay of Indian finance, and because the bulk of the land is held in small farms by peasantry proprietors who are too poor and dispirited to adopt the established routine and adopt new processes without aid and encouragement from Government. The results from the point of view of improved processes and scientific agriculture have not perhaps been commensurate with the efforts made, though there is not much reason for disappointment when the economic conditions applicable to the case are taken into account. In all countries improvements in agriculture are made slowly and by insensible degrees, and as Mr. Thorold Rogers has pointed out, even in England it took a hundred years to naturalize turnips, and nearly as long to diffuse the principle of artificial selection in cattle. The conditions under which agriculture has to be practised in this country differ so totally from those of England that it can hardly be expected that the development of this industry will follow the same lines in the two countries. The two most important respects in which the conditions differ are—first, that whereas in England one of the main problems of agriculture is getting rid of excessive moisture, in this country the difficulty lies in obtaining and retaining moisture for the growth of crops, the former being, of course, much more capable of regulation and much less dependent upon fortuitous circumstances not
modified by human action than the latter; and, secondly, that the breeding and fattening of cattle in England for meat make it remunerative to retain the greater portion of cultivable lands for purposes of pasture, thereby contracting the area available for being put under corn crops, providing cattle manure for those crops, and enabling the farmer to diversify corn crops with restorative crops which are useful as food for cattle—conditions favorable to intensive farming which, owing to the poverty of the cultivators and religious prohibitions as regards the consumption of cattle meat, are absent in this country.\footnote{I have in an essay in the article in the Land and Nation, entitled, 'Pork', which are printed as appendixes, 1851-52, alluded briefly to the circumstances which induced the accumulation of cultivated and uncultivated land; and the elucidations of others in regard to English statistics would seem to suggest a view to being above speculation.}\footnote{The work of the author would now be at a large extent, and the following is a short extract from it, for a description of agricultural progress, which, with the Government of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, has been published.} Such conditions as these and the consequent, if not immediate, but rather gradual, improvement of the stock of that industry by a close union. But, while a lessening of the soil would here and there be seen, more would be increased and consolidated, and under a greater, and more certain degree, of cultivation, for a description of agricultural progress, which, with the Government of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, has been published.}\footnote{The work of the author would now be at a large extent, and the following is a short extract from it, for a description of agricultural progress, which, with the Government of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, has been published.}
the subject, as already stated, go to show that there is no proof as yet of any deterioration having taken place, but that there is reason to apprehend such deterioration in the future should the exports of agricultural produce—chiefly seeds—increase at the rate they have, and manurial substances, such as bones, continue to be exported in increasing quantities. The exports of agricultural produce, however, bear now but a small proportion to the total agricultural production of the country, and bones have been discovered not to be exported to any appreciable extent from this presidency. Nevertheless, the dangers referred to should be provided against, and this can be done only by the diffusion of knowledge of improved agricultural principles and practices among the ryots and by the establishment of agricultural banks already referred to, which will enable the ryots to adopt agricultural improvements when the conditions of the market admit of their adoption with advantage. The efforts of agricultural officers for bringing about agricultural improvement were not successful at the outset, because there was a disposition among them to condemn native methods of cultivation wholesale without stopping to inquire whether the conditions of the case admitted of European methods being adopted. The failure of the Sukhpat Farm itself to yield profitable results has since produced a reaction, and the tendency has perhaps been to go to the other extreme and hold that the ryot has nothing to learn in this direction. The fact is that in this as in other things the ryot is neither so stupid as not to be alive to his interests when the desirability of adopting an improvement is demonstrated to him in the only way in which he can understand, viz., by showing that it will pay under the conditions under which he has to work, nor is he so enterprising and watchful as to dispense with skilled assistance and guidance. For the purpose of furnishing him with this assistance and guidance, agricultural experiments have to be tried under as diverse conditions as possible in a great many parts of the country when the requisite agency for conducting the experiments can be provided. The Government Agricultural College should be able to provide the necessary subordinate agency which should be made to work under local committees, and the co-ordinators and tabulation of results obtained should be conducted under the advice and superintendence of a skilled scientific expert trained in England. To attain this object, the Agricultural Committee appointed by Lord Guernsey's government suggested the establishment of agricultural schools and farms in half-dozen stations to start with, but though three years have
since elapsed, no action has as yet been taken on the committee's suggestions, because the Government of India has taken up the question and has not been able to arrive at any final decision regarding it. The matter, however, seems to be entirely one for the local Government to deal with, and it is undesirable that further delay should be permitted in taking action in the matter. It would not, of course, do to look for any immediate visible results from the establishment of these schools, but they would undoubtedly be the means of diffusing knowledge which will render cultivation, according to existing methods, more careful, thereby increasing the produce by almost reasonable increments and prepare the way for the introduction of new methods when the time is ripe for it.

104. Some attention has been paid by Government of late years to the promotion of technical education in arts and industries through in this, as in the case of agricultural education, the results attained have as yet been small. Leaving out of account colleges and schools for law, medicine and engineering, the principal institutions aided by Government giving instruction in arts and industries are the School of Arts at Madras with an attendance of 426 pupils, Chengalpattu Naisoor's Commercial School at Madras with 128 pupils, and 12 other industrial schools with an attendance of 627 pupils not including special classes attached to a few schools aided by Government. There are 91 teachers in these institutions, of whom 13 are men educated in Europe, America or Australia. In 1891, 87 pupils passed the technical examinations in industry. The articles manufactured in these institutions during 1891 have been valued at Rs. 40,336 and the profits realized at Rs. 10,154. The Victoria Technical Institute has been organized for the promotion of technical education, and its secretary, Mr. John Adam, has, after inspecting a considerable number of technical institutions in England, recently written a memorandum containing suggestions for the development of education in arts and industries. His main proposals are (1) that systematic attempts should be made by Government to collect information about industries; (2) that an Upper Secondary technical school should be established at Madras; (3) that evening and morning classes for the instruction of artisans should be instituted; (4) that peripatetic lecturers should be employed to lecture and exhibit products, processes and tools of manufacturers; and (5) that Inspectors should be appointed to inspect and advise mutual institutions. Mr. Havell, the Superintendent of the School of Arts, in an article
contributed by him to the Industrial Review, has pointed out that the only effective means of fostering technical education is to take the industries which exist and endeavour to improve them or lead them into new developments. This is a work which requires patient and prolonged investigation, and for carrying it out the requisite staff should be provided by Government, as the officers of the Victoria Technical Institute are altogether insufficient for such an undertaking. It is of course futile to expect that by establishing technical institutions new industries, which will absorb a considerable amount of labour now devoted to agriculture, can be brought into existence, thereby lessening the amount on agricultural and manufacturing employment unfeated by the season of agricultural seasons. The artisans and handi-
craftsmen have to depend upon the local market for the sale of their wares, and if a succession of bad seasons brings distress on the agriculturist who are their customers, they themselves suffer along with the latter. The best mode in which special industries can be encouraged is to introduce cottage industries which can be carried on by agricultural peasants or their womenfolk during the non-cultivation season in places where there are special facilities for carrying on such industries and to make the articles produced as widely known as possible so as to create a demand for them. All this requires time and expenditure of money which would, however, in the long run, be repaid manifold. As regards the introduction of improved tools, Mr. Havell remarks that the native workman is too slow in adopting superior tools or simple and effective mechanical contrivances when they are placed before him. In large towns carpenters and brass-
smiths are found using English or American lathe worked by a treadle, and imported tools for turning the threads of screws, drawing wire, &c., are commonly used by goldsmiths and brassmiths. Mr. Havell observes that even in the re-
mote villages carpenters use English saws, planes, chisels, &c., and he suggests the employment of a few commercial travellers to demonstrate the advantages of using such tools to the artisans in the medium. It is desirable that some
definite notion should be taken by Government in the direc-
tion pointed out by the gentlemen above named; or that the
Victoria Technical Institute should be sufficiently subsidised.
so as to enable it to undertake this duty. The Government has from time to time employed specialists to conduct investigations in particular directions for developing the resources of the country, e.g., in connection with the investigation of mineral resources, sericulture, curing of tobacco, etc., but the investigations made have been on too small a scale to lead to any practical results. The two chief difficulties in the way of such enquiries are to ensure that adequate return is obtained for the money expended and that the officers employed show good work during the time they are under employment. These difficulties are very real, but as no particular time can be fixed for showing adequate results, the expenditure must be incurred in the belief that it will sooner or later be amply repaid. The mineral resources of the presidency, more especially as regards iron and coal, are stated by experts to be of sufficient importance to justify the institution of a special department of mines and minerals for the systematic investigation of these resources. The Salem District, for instance, has long been known to contain some of the richest iron ores in the world. The tanning industry has grown in importance in this presidency, and investigations as to whether methods of tanning superior to those now in use might be profitably introduced and could be suggested to the manufacturers might be undertaken. It is believed that the introduction of improved methods of fish-curing which is a very important industry on the West Coast might lead to further development of this industry which is in the hands of the poorest classes who are without the knowledge and the means to improve the processes now employed. The establishment of fish-curing yards under the supervision of Government and the supply of salt at cost price furnish Government officers with the necessary opportunities and powers of control for this purpose. Experiments in cattle-breeding can be tried by the Forest Department in connection with the fuel and fodder reserves maintained by it. In these various ways there is considerable scope for Government paving the way by precept and example for the development of industries. All these experiments will doubtless cost money, but the State must, from an educative point of view, be prepared to expend and even waste money, within certain limits, in those directions, without looking for an immediate return for the money thus expended, the local Government being allowed to do what it thinks best subject to the conditions laid down as to the limits of expenditure. For instance, the revenue derived by the State from land including local cesses exceeds 5 crores of rupees, and the expenditure of 1 per cent of this revenue,
Thus, 3 lakhs of rupees for the purpose of agricultural improvements cannot be considered extravagant, and the whole of this amount will not be required at the outset. Again, during the last thirteen years, the revenue from excise on country spirits and drugs has risen by nearly 66 lakhs of rupees, and this revenue is drawn from the poorest classes of the population. The object in maintaining the excise duty is not so much a fiscal as a moral one. In these circumstances it is right and proper that a fixed percentage of this revenue should be devoted to the mental, moral and physical improvement of the classes who contribute it and be expended in the promotion of elementary and technical education and the improvement of sanitation. So far as education is concerned, the expenditure from Provincial funds has increased within the last five years from 12 to 18 lakhs of rupees and this is so far satisfactory. But in view of the rapid increase of population and the necessity for improving the intelligence of the people and the standard of comfort amongst them, the further advance of education should be recognised as pressing and provided for in the manner above pointed out.

106. A question that is frequently discussed in connection with the encouragement of diversification of occupations is the fostering of manufactures by the importation of protective duties. This measure has often been recommended more especially in connection with the depression of the handloom industry which has seriously suffered by the competition to which for several years it has been exposed from the machine-made goods of Manchester. I do not wish to enter into any elaborate discussion regarding this question, but will briefly state whether, and to what extent, the arguments usually advanced in favour of a policy of protection are applicable to the circumstances of this country. It is acknowledged on all hands that from the point of view of individual consumers, protective duties, if they are to serve their intended object, must enhance the cost of the protected product to such consumers, but it is contended that it may be to the interest of a nation to incur this sacrifice temporarily with a view to enable a struggling industry to establish itself on a firm basis and that when this has been accomplished, the artificial support accorded can and should be withdrawn. The sacrifices incurred during the period referred to would, in fact, be tantamount to an outlay on an industrial undertaking made by the nation, for which an adequate return would be received in due time. Among other arguments for protection, the most cogent,
which alone need be considered here, is the desirability—may properly be considered here, is the desirability—for maintaining in the interests of the well-being of the nation, a due balance between agricultural and manufacturing industries. This necessity applies to both agricultural and manufacturing countries—agricultural countries, because agriculture being mainly dependent upon the seasons is in its nature precarious and dooms the countries to a low economic position, and because exports of agricultural produce to foreign countries tend to impoverish the soils in which they are grown; and manufacturing countries, because, it is dangerous for any country to rely entirely on foreign sources for food-supplies which might fail in times of war. From a mere theoretical point of view, the validity of the first argument must be admitted, but the case is entirely an hypothetical one, which cannot be realized in practice. No government will be able to determine in any particular case in which protection is demanded whether the conditions laid down have been satisfied, and if it is a case in which the eventual success of the industry is beyond all reasonable doubt, it will either be undertaken by private individuals without the aid of protection, or, if there is not sufficient private enterprise for the purpose, the government itself should pioneer the industry and lead the way. The only way to determine whether the industry will succeed is actually to carry it on without the aid of protection. Moreover, when once protective duties are imposed, it would be extremely difficult to take them off, or know when to take them off, because, the withdrawal must cause suffering to the protected classes by destroying that portion of the industry brought into existence which could not be carried on without protection, and by diminishing the profits derivable from the remainder. The harm done by inducements held out to capital and labour to flow into other than their natural channels would also be considerable, though not easily calculable. In this country, a protective policy were adopted, it is in the influential classes that would benefit by it, and the industries carried on by the less influential classes, who have not the means to make their voices heard, would suffer. Taking the depressed hand-loom industry already referred to, it would be wrong to induce people to cling to a doomed industry or occupation and to bring up their children in it, though in view of the sufferings undergone by them it might be legitimate and proper for government to give them special aid and enable them to betake themselves to more profitable occupations. Moreover, the imposition of protective duties, by calling into existence an
increased number of factories and mills within the country, will instead of protecting the handloom weavers precipitate their decline and increase their sufferings. Ordinarily when human labour is displaced by machinery, there ensue considerable impoverishment and suffering to the labourers employed in the industry, but as machinery comes into use by slow degrees, there is generally time for the labourers to adapt themselves to the new conditions until the impact given to increased production by the introduction of labour-saving appliances eventually gives employment to the displaced labour. While, on the one hand, it would be wrong in the general interests of the community to prevent the introduction of machinery and other agents tending to increase the efficiency of production, it would, on the other hand, be cruel to accelerate the decline of the labouring classes and tax them indirectly at the same time by means of protective duties.

Turning to the argument, based on the necessity for maintaining a due balance between agricultural and manufacturing industries, it is doubtless true that purely agricultural countries are generally found to be in a low economic position, but the only way in which such countries can be economically raised is by giving an opening for and increasing foreign trade, and protective duties by diminishing that trade would hinder and not help their progress, the proceeded object of protective duties being to diminish imports and consequently exports also, as all imports come in the long run be paid for by exports. It was pointed out by Mr. Mill forty-five years ago in his work on Political Economy, that the expansion of foreign trade was the only means by which a backward country like India could be economically elevated. He observed that it was the deficiency of town population which limited the productiveness of the industry of this country, in which agriculture was conducted entirely on a system of small holdings. There was a considerable amount of consignment of labour, but on a limited scale, and village institutions and customs which were the real framework of society made provision for joint action in cases in which it was seen to be necessary; or when they failed to do so, the government, when tolerably well administered, stepped in, and for an outlay from the revenue executed by combined labour the works and works of irrigation which were indispensable. The implements and processes of agriculture were so rude that the produce of the soil, in spite of great natural fertility, was miserably small. Mr. Mill was, at the same time, of opinion
that the land might be made to yield food in abundance for many more than the present number of inhabitants without departing from the system of small holdings; but in this the stimulus was wanting which a large town population connected with the rural districts by easy and inexpensive means of communication would afford. That town population did not grow up, because the few wants and unceasing spirit of the cultivators joined, amid lately, with great insecurity of property from military and fiscal capacity, prevented them from attempting to become consumers of town produce. In these circumstances, Mr. Mill considered that the best chance of an early development of the productive resources of India consisted in the rapid growth of the export of its agricultural produce, cotton, indigo, sugar, coffee, &c., to the markets of Europe. The producers of these articles would be consumers of food supplied by their fellow-agriculturists in this country, and the market thus opened for surplus food would, accompanied by good government, raise up by degrees extended wants and desires towards European commodities or towards things which would require for their production in this country a larger manufacturing population.

Since Mr. Mill wrote, it is exactly by means of the expansion of foreign trade that the country has made the progress it has made; that communications have been and are being developed; that internal trade has been fostered, and a re-arrangement of industries with reference to the natural advantages and productive resources of the several localities is being effected; that factory industries are being brought into existence; that the standard of living of the various classes has improved; and that these classes have been enabled to benefit to some extent by the example, skill, and enterprise of European nations and the cheap capital furnished by them. If it be said that factory industries have as yet been introduced on a limited scale, the answer is that the influence of foreign trade has hardly had thirty years' time to work, and that it would be distinctly misleading to adopt any measures which would retard the rate of its expansion and prevent the only chance the country has of having established within it industries carried on under modern conditions and worked on an economical basis. As regards the argument that the soils of the country are being impoverished, I have already pointed out that this evil has not been so yet felt to an appreciable degree, that the extension of foreign demand for agricultural produce is the only means available for the introduction of improved methods of cultivation.
tion, because it furnishes the incentive for the adoption of such improved methods and the means to adapt them, the former by the necessity it imposes on the people for keeping up the fertility of the soil, and the latter by the additional value received for the produce exported. It is in this view to enable the cultivators to take advantage of the opportunities and openings presented by foreign trade that the diffusion of education—general and technical—has to be provided for by the State. From the point of view of the interests of the country, a policy of protection would, therefore, be injurious. The above remarks refer, of course, to a policy of protection as such and do not apply to duties imposed for purposes of revenue. The cotton duties which were repealed in 1875 and 1885 belonged to the latter class. The duties were only 5 per cent. on the value of the article; and a special investigation made as to the character of the duties showed that they operated in a protective manner to a small extent on an insignificant portion of the trade affected. From the point of view of the interests of India they were far less injurious than the salt duties or the export duties, the former of which were enhanced soon after the cotton duties were removed.\[16\]

V.—Contingent of Justice.

106. Another evil which is frequently complained of as tending to the impoverishment of the agricultural classes is the costliness of litigation, the uncertainty of the law, and the insufficiency of the judicial machinery. There seems to be a pretty general impression among those who have given attention to the working of the courts that, while on the one hand the machinery provided for the settlement of petty litigation is much more costly and complicated than is necessary or desirable, that dealing with the more important litigation is weak both in numbers and quality. Out of a total number of about 260,000 suits for

\[16\] Even the Cotton Reforms, which have had in many respects on the necessity for securing improved methods of cultivation a series of a series of improvements, it appears to promote litigation more than a purely agricultural controversy. See also the report with the report of the committee appointed for the purposes of the investigation of the condition of agriculture. See also the report of the committee appointed for the purposes of investigating foreign manufacturers and reporting recommendations. On the other hand, it may be well to note the manner in which the laws are administered and with the object of reducing the number of suits to those of greater importance, the State Government has been influenced to the extent of objectionable to the mode, except in cases of suits against the Government.
claims valued at about 4 crores of rupees, 58,000 petty suits are disposed of by the village munsifs and 92,000 small cause suits by the district munsifs. Of the latter, 20,000 suits are for personal claims of value not exceeding Rs. 10; 20,000 for claims of values above Rs. 10, and not exceeding Rs. 20; and 41,000 for claims of values ranging between Rs. 20 and Rs. 50; the total number of suits for claims of values not exceeding Rs. 50 being thus 84,000 or 92 per cent. of the total number of small cause suits instituted in the courts of district munsifs. The cost incurred by both plaintiffs and defendants in suits of this kind is out of all proportion to the value of the claim, and the successful litigant cannot recover under process of court a considerable portion of the expenses actually incurred by him. I have printed as appendix VI-E, a statement prepared by a judicial officer who has had experience of litigation in the Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Thanjavur districts, where the courts are numerous and the distances to be travelled by parties and witnesses from their homes to get to the courts are not very great. From this statement, it will appear that, at a moderate computation, the cost incurred by a litigant for enforcing a claim of value of Rs. 50 through all its stages in the original court in Rs. 34, out of which he cannot recover Rs. 12. As the value of the claim rises, the cost incurred bears a more reasonable proportion to it, but it is obvious that where the value of the claim is only Rs. 10 or Rs. 20, the irrecoverable portion of the costs must often exceed such value, and this is one of the reasons which make it impossible for the poor peasant to obtain small loans at anything like reasonable rates of interest, even when the security offered is good and sufficient. Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India, has in his despatch on the proposal for the establishment of agricultural banks already referred to, remarked that "notwithstanding the immense improvement which has of late years been effected in the efficiency and integrity of the administration of civil justice generally, much remains to be done towards making it cheap and speedy. Everything which adds to the expense, delay and difficulty of recovering just debts increases the price at which the money-lender gives his help to the landowner." Some steps have already been taken in this direction by the Madras Village Courts' Act I of 1889, under which the pecu-

---

59 It is in view of the cost of recovering by resort to litigation money lent at very small rates of interest and at the same time being subject to a higher rate of interest than that at which default is made in payments.
rietary limit of jurisdiction of village munisifs has been raised from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, and power has been taken to constitute benches of village courts with the village munisifs as presidents. Rules have recently been framed for the preparation of lists of persons who are liable at the election of the suits to serve on the benches, the qualifications prescribed for such persons being that they should pay land revenue or income-tax of not less than Rs. 10 to Government, or hold revenue free lands capable of being assessed at not less than Rs. 10 per annum; and benches have been directed to be constituted, wherever possible. It remains to be seen to what extent the orders issued will have the effect of substituting the inexpensiva machinery of popular tribunals for the regular courts for the settlement of petty litigation. The greatest obstacle to the rapid extension of the scheme is the ignorance of village munisifs in the backward districts and the low estimation in which they are held in the more advanced districts, on account of their liability to be called upon to do somewhat degrading duties in connection with revenue administration—a state of things handed down from a period when village servants were subjected to personal chastisement for remissness—real or supposed—in the collection of revenue. In many sanadaries the office of village munisif has not been maintained. The whole subject of placing the village officers in sanadaries on an efficient footing is now under the consideration of Government, and legislation is contemplated for the purpose. Recently the Government has also issued rules making it obligatory on village officers to pass certain educational tests. These measures will, doubtless, improve the efficiency of village munisifs as a class. Meanwhile, village court benches may be organised in all large villages or groups of villages where official or non-official persons of sufficient education and intelligence may be available for presiding over the benches. The sub-registrars in most of the stations in the Ceded Districts and Kurnool and in the sanadaries of the Northern Circars have very little work to do, and they might be entrusted with judicial duties under the Village Courts Act without prejudice to their duties as registration officers. The law should be amended so as to make it compulsory on suitors to institute their suits in the village courts in all villages or groups of villages where a village court bench has been established, when the value of the claim does not exceed Rs. 20. It ought not to be in the power of a plaintiff who wishes to annoy a defendant to compel him to appear before a district munisif to answer a claim and
subject him to all the vexation and expense incident to being called away from his village and his work, when there is a village court at a convenient distance. The constitution of a bench, of which one of the judges is chosen by the defendant and another by the plaintiff is a considerable guarantee for securing the impartiality of the tribunal, and in special cases the district munsiff has the power of withdrawing, for reasons shown, a suit from a village court for trial before himself. As regards suits involving claims exceeding Rs. 20 and not exceeding Rs. 50, the plaintiff may be given the option of instituting them either in the village or the district munsiff's court, but in such cases, if a suit is instituted unnecessarily in a district munsiff's court, the munsiff should have the power of refusing costs to the plaintiff or of allowing only such costs as he would have incurred if he had instituted the suit in the village court. This appears to be the rule in England as regards suits which are instituted in the High Court of Justice in Westminster when they might have been instituted in one of the county courts. Similar provisions have been enacted in this country in the Presidency Small Cause Act and in the City Civil Court's Act to check the institution of suits in the High Court that might be instituted in courts of lower grade possessing concurrent jurisdiction as regards the entertainment of such suits. Eventually, I think the pecuniary limits as regards suits to be instituted completely in the village courts might be considerably enhanced. In this connection it should be remembered that the recent enhancement of the pecuniary jurisdiction of village munsiffs from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 is no real enhancement, as the purchasing power of money has fallen by more than 50 per cent. since 1918 when the lower limit was fixed. To ensure the successful working of the whole scheme, it will, of course, be necessary to inspect the records of the village courts from time to time, giving the presiding judges the needful advice in regard to working the provisions of the Act and clearing up difficulties. This work can be done by Revenue Officers not below the rank of Tahsildars.

107. The extensive utilization of the agency of village courts' benches for the settlement of petty litigation is the means by which the superior courts, from the district munsiffs upwards, can be relieved of work, which can, with advantage, be done by inexpensive popular bodies in view of the former being set free to devote their attention exclusively to the higher litigation. The mere quantity of litigation in the superior
courts, and more especially in those of district musals, has been fast increasing, while owing to the multiplicity of laws, the growing legal consciousness of the people and complexity of social relations, the rise of a class of legal practitioners with high educational qualifications, and the necessity for justifying every decision given by such elaborate arguments as will enable themselves to appeal to tribunals, the old rough methods of arriving at decisions are no longer available. To meet the growing work the Government had recently to appoint additional district musals, but the relief thus afforded has hardly been appreciable; and as judicial officers cannot be indefinitely multiplied, except at enormous cost and consequent increase of taxation, the expediency of leaving petty litigation to be dealt with by popular tribunals becomes obvious. The present system of administration of civil justice is full to be vastly also in other important respects. The necessity for ensuring full consideration of the facts and of the legal aspects of each case as well as rectitude of decisions, by tribunals in the rural tracts presided over by single paid judges not amenable to the influence of public opinion, has led to the provision of an elaborate system of appeals; and this has in its turn given rise to serious evils. The chances of error in the ascertaining of facts even by native judges, conversant with the language of the country, and the customs, habits and idiosyncrasies of the people, in accordance with artificial tests borrowed from a foreign jurisprudence, are considerable; and these chances are greatly multiplied when appellate courts presided over, for the most part, by European judges have to decide from recorded evidence on the credibility of witnesses and the truth of the story told by them, without having an opportunity of watching their demeanor at first hand when they tell the story. Added to this, there is the inconvenience arising from the absence of opportunities for legal training on the part of the European officers who are liable under administrative necessities to be transferred from executive to judicial appointments, even when they have no special aptitude for judicial work, while the native judges in the lower courts are mostly men who have had no legal training. These circumstances enhance greatly the uncertainty to which litigation must always be more or less subject and, I believe, is expressing the opinion of persons who have had special opportunities of watching the working of the courts, when I say that these circumstances have led to the growth of much unnecessary litigation. The following remarks of the Honorable Mr. Chantel Rass extracted from
a paper written by him some years ago show to what extent the uncertainty of law promotes litigation. "I think that the character of our courts is a cause of our poverty. The law charges are enormous and the law administered is too refined for the country, and the uncertainties of law are so great that resort to courts has almost all the characteristics of gambling.

Apart from the enormous cost, the general ignorance of the English judges of the manners, customs and habits of our people has made the results of a suit extremely uncertain, and has encouraged the people to resort to courts upon the slightest grounds. I will give you one small instance of the uncertainty of the law. In a certain case of Hindu adoption, a man from the nghts, with whom I was acquainted and against whom the District Judge had passed an adverse decision, came to me and asked my advice as to whether he should appeal against the decision. I told him that he had no good grounds and so said an eminent Vakil whom he consulted. He, however, ventured to appeal and try a chance. He had the decision of the lower court upset against the correctness of the Vakil whom he employed. There was an appeal to the Privy council, and the decision of the High court was upset. Such instances are not few. It is not so much the cost of the courts and the uncertainties of law that I so much regret as the enormous amount of time, energy and attention that is lost in the courts."

108. The remedy for this state of things appears to be the adoption of some scheme similar to that advocated by Mr. T. L. Strange, one of the judges of the late Sudder Court, in his letter written to Government so long ago as 1860 on the subject of judicial reform.\[15] The main features of Mr. Strange's scheme were as follows. For the settlement of petty litigation, he proposed panchayats, constituted somewhat like the Village Court benches above described; and he expected that these panchayats would relieve the regular tribunals of nearly half the litigation of the country. For the settlement of higher litigation, he proposed to have two sets of courts, viz., first, District Courts, 99 in number; and secondly, ten appellate Provincial Courts with a High Court in the Presidency Town. The District Courts were to be presided over by two judges of which one was generally to be an European and the other a native. The object in associating

\[15] Mr. Strange's letter relates to an in which he observes to be carefully read by every one who is interested in reforming the administration of justice.
natives with Europeans in the district courts was fourfold; viz., firstly, to secure correct appreciation of the evidence given before the court by a native judge familiar with the language, terms of thought and devices of native witnesses; secondly, to secure impartiality of decision; thirdly, to limit the number of appeals; and fourthly, to afford opportunities for legal training to European officers, who may be called upon to fill high judicial offices. As regards the necessity for a plurality of judges to form a court, Mr. Strange observed: "The assistance and check which one judge provides to another when working together on the same bench, even when the one is inferior to the other, few, I imagine, will fail to recognise. As respects the number of judges to form the bench, I have been in the habit of sitting in a court consisting sometimes of two judges, and sometimes of three. I much prefer the court of two judges for working purposes. Two judges can literally put their heads together. The presence of a third, dividing the other two from each other, produces a physical impediment to close consultation. I believe, more over, that a case is apt to receive greater consideration on a difference of opinion arising when two judges form the court than when there are three. The one has to persuade the other, but if a third be present and prematurely interposes an expression of opinion, a majority may be formed and the case terminated without proper discussion."

For the Provincial courts Mr. Strange proposed to have only a single judge—a committed civil servant. As regards appeals, where the judge of the District court differed on any point of fact in any suit a reference was to be made to the Provincial judge, who, in this way, would stand as a third judge or referee to each such court. The reference was to be made without expense to the parties who were, however, to be at liberty to appeal and conduct the case in the superior court. Where the judge of the District court differed on a point of law the reference was to be made to the High court. The decision of the Provincial court was to be final on the facts of the case, but if that court differed from the District court on a point of law in a case thus referred for decision of fact, the Provincial court was to refer the point of law for adjudication by the Presidency court. By a question of fact, Mr. Strange meant the question of the credibility of testimony, oral and documentary, and the points of law on which Mr. Strange would allow an appeal, he defined to be, first, the refusal to admit any material evidence; second, the misconstruction of any
material document: third, the subsidiary facts found not warranting the main fact derived therefrom, or the facts ascertained not warranting the judgment founded on them. The above are the main outlines of the scheme propounded by Mr. Strange, and doubtless it would require modifications in detail, more especially in regard to the definition of matters of law and matters of fact, but the broad principles on which the scheme is based are, I believe, quite sound and as applicable to the litigation of the present day as they were to litigation thirty years ago. The principal changes which have occurred since Mr. Strange wrote are the immense improvement, owing to advance of education, in the learning, efficiency and quality of the native judges, and the substitution for the old corrupt, inefficient race of petition writers, of a class of intelligent native legal practitioners, who have mostly received a university education and whose moral tone and general probity are daily advancing. It is not my object to do more than draw attention to the necessity for reforms in the directions pointed out by Mr. Strange, and I have, therefore, refrained from suggesting any detailed scheme. It is, however, my impression that though more courts will have to be established than were contemplated by Mr. Strange, and the Provincial courts will have to consist of two judges in like manner with District courts, the needed reform can be carried out without entailing on Government any appreciable additional cost. The extension of communications in recent times has diminished the inconvenience to natives in having to proceed to the stations in which the courts are held, and this inconvenience might be still further minimized by the courts holding sessions in different stations within their territorial jurisdiction in different periods of the year. The dispatch of business might also be expedited by allowing one judge to take the evidence of witnesses, while the judge, however, hearing the cases argued before them. Arrangements, it seems to me, can easily be made for all European and native officers in the civil Service being made to serve as judges in these courts.

109. The administration of criminal justice is believed to be even less satisfactory than that of civil justice on account of the inferior character of the agency which has to be employed, though lately there has been some improvement. Petty cases are disposed of by village magistrates under Regulatus XI of 1816, but this agency is not as efficient as it ought to be, and it is desirable that steps should be taken to secure the
services of really influential men for these posts under arrangements similar to those contemplated for the appointment of village mansads in the Village Courts’ Act. This object will, to a considerable extent, be secured if the appointments are made on the recommendation of Taluk Boards, or union panchayats constituted under the Local Boards’ Act. The village magistrates selected should receive a commission under the seal of the Governor in Council in view to enhancing the importance of the office in the eyes of the general public and making it one to be sought after by the more respectable class of landholders. For the disposal of petty nuisance cases benches of magistrates have been constitutes in all large towns under the Criminal Procedure Code, and this is a step in the right direction, and capable of considerable extension. The bulk of the work of the municipal magistrate is, however, done by Sub-Magistrates paid Rs. 100 and Rs. 120, who generally exercise second class powers, and are empowered to pass sentences of 6 months’ rigorous imprisonment and of fine to the extent of Rs. 200. Till recently they were paid such low salaries as Rs. 60 and Rs. 70 and the recent enhancement of pay to Rs. 100 and Rs. 120 is a step in the right direction, and notwithstanding, even the enhanced pay is inadequate considering the enormous powers and responsibilities of the magistrates. Moreover, Taluqdaras who are paid higher salaries have recently been relieved of all magisterial work and the whole of the work done by the Subordinate magistracy has now devolved on Deputy Taluqdaras. It is, of course, out of the question enhancing the salaries of the latter class of officers still further, and the only feasible course for improving the administration of criminal justice appears to be to constitute benches of Magistrates under the presidency of Taluqdaras for the disposal sumarily of all offences specified in sections 361 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The graver cases should be tried by the District courts already referred to. It is not desirable to deprive Taluqdaras altogether of all magisterial powers, more especially as in case of emergencies, such as imminent danger of a breach of the peace, their influence will have to be availed of for the purpose of preserving or restoring order, and accordingly the Government has withdrawn from them only the power of entertaining complaints and of committing cases to the Sessions courts for trial; they retain the preventive powers under Part IV of the Code of Criminal Procedure for the disposal of unlawful assemblies, &c. Taluqdaras might arrange to provide over
beneath at different stations during their tours. It may not be feasible to introduce these arrangements at the outset in all parts of the country. They should be introduced in all districts in which litigation is very heavy and gradually extended throughout the presidency.

110. In making the above remarks, I do not wish to be understood as in the least undervaluing the immense advantage resulting to the country from the introduction of the liberal principles of English law breathing the spirit of free institutions. The most important of these principles are, first, that nobody is punishable for anything done, spoken or written by him, except according to the known conditions of the laws and by regularly-constituted tribunals, the accused being given the benefit of the doubt in all cases in which the act complained of is not clearly shown to have been committed or clearly shown to be an offence; secondly, that nobody, however highly placed he may be, is above the law or held to be accountable for infractions of law; and thirdly, that private individuals have the same remedies against Government for injuries caused to them by acts authorized by it in excess of the powers conferred by law, as they would have if the acts had been committed by other private individuals. The conscientious spirit in which these principles have, on the whole, been carried out, notwithstanding the adverse conditions under which they have to be worked, is truly wonderful; and the result in the diffusion throughout the country of a sense of security of person and property, which is above all price and which was formerly altogether unknown. Nor is the complaint often made that the Indian legislature has been over-active, well-founded. This charge has been effectively disposed of by Sir Henry Maine, who pointed out that if the legislature had not provided intelligible codes of laws for the guidance of courts of justice, judicial legislation would have imported into India, whole masses of English law with all its technicalities, and that all really important influence in the direction of law-making would have fallen "into the hands of a very small minority of lawyers trained in England, whose knowledge must have seemed to the millions affected by it hardly less mysterious and hardly more applicable than the inspired utterances of Mahomet or Moses." The law in any case having to be derived from existing sources instead of being developed gradually according to social necessities, it is a great advantage to have it authoritatively embodied in codes of manageable
dimensions, capable of being studied and understood instead of having to be fished out in thousands of volumes of the English law reports. The real evil arises from the fact of the law, and entrenches how especially, being far too refined for the people for whom it is intended, and its administration having to be entrusted to judges who have an intimate acquaintance with the usages and customs and modes of thought of the people to whom it is applied, or to low-paid native magistrates who are clothed with enormous powers. The complicated procedures and the machinery of appeals prescribed to ensure correct decisions multiply the chances of error and add to the delay, vexation and expense of litigation. It is in view
to adapt the abstract propositions laid down in the law to the customs, usages and sentiments of the people in their practical application, that it is necessary that all petty offences which can be left to be dealt with by popular tribunals should be so left, while the graver offences, on the suppression and punishment of which the well-being and safety of the State depend, should be enquired into by single judges with the aid of juries, or where the conditions of the country preclude the employment of juries, by benches of judges containing a due admixture of the native element.

VI. LOCAL FUND AND MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND LEGISLATION AFFECTING SOCIAL CASES.

111. The last group of questions we have to consider relates to the disintegration of village communities and the decay of the spirit of co-operation among the villagers for the purpose of carrying out large undertakings and warding off common dangers; and also to the evils arising from the absence of a trustworthy machinery for ascertaining when Government can safely undertake legislation affecting laws of inheritance or social usages corresponding to changes which are taking place in the economic condition of the people.

112. It is commonly believed that the solidarity of the village communities was undermined by the ryotwar system introduced by Sir Thomas Munro. The fact, however, is that village communities, which were originally composed of kinmen, were, at the beginning of the century, becoming disintegrated by the introduction of strangers even in those parts of the country where they still retained their original form; common holdings were in process of transformation into individual holdings, and the intermediate stage of holding lands of whole villages in defined shares subject to the condition that each sharer was to cultivate the lands allotted to him for a period of years had been reached. Thus we find in the Tanjore district, where village communities prevailed in an unimpaired condition down to recent times, the Collector, Mr. John Wallace reported in 1805 that, out of 5,068 villages, 1,057 villages were owned by single owners or families, that 2,303 villages were owned by murrnads who held their lands in severalty in distinct plots and that 1,708 villages were held in common by the murrnads. The
extent to which in the natural course of things strangers had been introduced into the misrati bodies will be seen from the fact that, out of 62,046 misratis in the district, 17,140 were Brahmins, 41,440 were Sutras or Native Christians, and 1,457 were Muhammadans. That the ryotwari system brought into force in the beginning of the century by Sir Thomas Munro hastened the decay of the village communities does not, however, admit of doubt; for, as pointed out by Sir Henry Minto, in a state of society where the rights of individual members are determined by custom more or less vague, the question as to whom the government makes responsible for the payment of taxes practically determines what type the society and the tenure of lands by its members shall assume. If the government, for instance, makes the head of a village the person responsible for its revenues, the interest of such head in the lands becomes the predominant one, and other persons having interests in the lands become his tenants unless the process is arrested by positive legislation. Similarly, if the whole body of proprietors in the village be made jointly responsible for the government revenues, the natural evolution of individual property is arrested. Again, if the government decides to deal with each individual cultivator as regards the payment of revenues, the tendency is to break up the village communities. The most potent cause, however, of the disintegration of village communities was the establishment of order in government and internal tranquility and the suppression of external aggression. So long as there was lawlessness in the country, the village communities were kept in a state of cohesion for purposes of self-defence, the successful repulsion of attacks from without which might otherwise sweep whole communities away being of far greater importance than the prevention of petty tyranny within the communities themselves. When the external blows by which these communities are kept in a state of Asiatic equilibrium are removed, the internal rivalries and jealousies come into play, and the result is that the imposition of the common holding of land are felt to be great hardships; and the improvements in production which a settled condition of things bring about create a preference for individual holdings. This transformation of common into individual property is a most beneficial process, and one which is an essential factor in the industrial progress of a country. Similar considerations apply to the joint family system. Under this system personal comforts, personal feelings and personal advantage must be sacrificed by each member in the pursuit
of the common good of the family, and the result is that, while the earning and non-earning members are placed on an
par, thereby preventing extreme hardships to the latter, the incentive to exertion among the earning members is weakened to the extent to which their earnings have to be shared with
members who have not in any way contributed their quota of labour towards such earnings. So long as mere numbers give strength to a family by enabling it either to cultivate a
larger extent of waste lands or to light other communities with greater chances of success, there is every inducement to the members of the joint family to hold together, notwithstanding the restrictions imposed on the personal independ-
ence and comfort of the several members. When, however, these cohesive forces are removed, the family breaks up.
This tendency is, as already stated, a beneficial one, notwithstanding that thereby the chances of co-operation for the
purpose of carrying out large undertakings are made more difficult in the same way as it is more difficult to raise a large pile of buildings by means of free labour than by means of slave labour.
110. The obvious remedy for the evil incident to this
situation is the promotion among the peo-
ples of habits of voluntary co-operation
for carrying out public objects, and it is
this object that education obtained by taking part in the
administration of local and municipal affairs is intended to
secure.

The policy of entrusting the management of affairs con-
ected with the well-being of towns to bodies composed partly of official and partly of non-official members was, for
the first time, inaugurated in 1825. In 1871, similar bodies
were created for the management of public matters affecting
the well-being of rural trusts. In 1898, the scheme of muni-
cipal and local administration was placed on a somewhat wider popular basis, and the principle of allowing the inhab-

ants of towns and rural trusts to elect their representa-
tives to serve on the boards was to some extent recognised.
The elective system is in force in 32 out of the 54 towns
constituted municipalities, the former containing a popu-
lation of 1,200,000. The extent to which non-official per-
sons take part in the administration of affairs connected
with municipalities will be seen from the following figures.
There were, on 31st March 1892, 471 municipal coun-
cillors, of whom 426 were nominated by Government and
398 elected by the townpeople. The number of official
members was 267 and of non-official members 664. Of the total number 158 were Europeans or Eurasians and the remainder natives. For the administration of local affairs of rural tracts there are 270 Union Panchayats, 88 Taluk Boards and 21 District Boards. There are 654 members serving on the District Boards, 277 being elected by the people and the remainder nominated by Government. 118 of them are Europeans or Eurasians and 536 are natives. In the Taluk Boards there are 1,141 members, of whom 317 are officials and 824 non-official persons. 65 among these are Europeans or Eurasians and 1,076 natives. In the Union Panchayats there are 2,011 members, of whom 985 are officials including 622 village officers and 1,466 non-official persons. Thus the total number of persons taking part in municipal and local administration is 3,177, of whom 3,092 are non-official persons.

114. The figures given above show that there is a considerable number of non-official persons who are being trained in the performance of public duties; and, as the number of Local Fund Union Panchayats increases, still larger numbers of such persons will, in course of time, be entrusted with such duties. Since 1884 the Government has paid unceasing attention to Municipal and Local Fund administration, and by close scrutiny of the work done, and of the attitude of Government officers towards it, has sought to awaken in non-official bodies an adequate sense of their duties and responsibilities. The success that has attended these efforts will be seen to be considerable when it is remembered how entirely new the idea of combination for public purposes of persons not organized in castes or guilds under natural leaders, is in this country. In reviewing the results of Local Fund administration for 1889-90, the Madras Government remarked: "*These results are, to a great extent, due to the exertions of the Taluk Boards and Union Panchayats, which worked, on the whole, with considerable success and energy and has thus amply justified the action which called them into existence. His Excellency the Governor in Council trusts that, in course of time, all those local bodies will become still more efficient and that their useful members will devote more and more of their attention to the interests of the administration. The advancement of primary education, the extension of medical relief and vaccination, the improvement of village communications, and the utilization of sanitary allotments are subjects calling for
"the earliest and most careful consideration." The Government review of the work done by local bodies in 1891-92 shows still greater progress. On the other hand, in municipalities, the administration has been less successful, owing to the lack of interest in their duties displayed by the majority of the councillors. There is, in these councils, a tendency to split up into factions, and moreover the duties of the chairmen of municipalities, especially in large towns, are so heavy as to require four or five hours' work from them daily, an amount of time which very few non-official persons, who have their own business to attend to, can afford to give to the performance of public duties. The regulations laid down for the guidance of the councils in the various departments of work entrusted to them are also so numerous and complicated as to require special study. It has, therefore, been found necessary in several of the larger municipalities to employ a salaried chairman. If arrangements can be made for leasing to municipalities the services of Government officers of the rank of Tahsildars, Deputy Collectors or District Munisipal for carrying on the duties of chairmen there can be no doubt that it will much improve the efficiency of municipal administration, and while giving to non-official members full scope for scrutinising the work will prevent the danger of municipal councils being split up into factions. The chairmen too will be persons trained in public business, who, if they neglected their duties, would forfeit their prospects of promotion in the Government service. It would, of course, be easy to point out in the conduct of local administration instances of apathy and ignorance on the part of some members and factions conduct on the part of others, but it must be remembered that the whole scheme has had to be worked out on entirely new lines unfamiliar to the traditional habits and feelings of the people. The old organic groups of castes, village communities and guilds were broken up and new bodies composed of members belonging to different creeds with diverse interests created. The duties entrusted to these bodies at the outset were also not of a kind calculated to appeal to their sympathies. These duties had nothing to do with the care and superintendence of places of religious worship and of charitable endowments which are generally more or less connected with religion, with the relief of the poor, with the assessment of taxes, with the maintenance of the police, and with the administration of justice—matters affecting closely the inner life of the villagers and in which they might be supposed to be primarily interested. The construction of roads and bridges is best attended to by the central
government, and ideas of sanitation are too refined and modern to be popular in a poor and backward country, and education, by being dissociated from religion, has lost one of its strongest supports. The creation of municipalities and Union Panchayats has also been generally accompanied by the imposition of additional taxation, a circumstance calculated to render the bodies unpopular. The funds at the disposal of the local bodies have been much too limited to admit of anything very substantial being effected in the way of improvements and the maintenance of seascapes, in several parts of the country frequently throughs the finances of the local bodies out of gear and impairs their usefulness. When these difficulties are borne in mind, it will be readily seen why greater success has not been attained in Local and Municipal administration.

116. Further advance in this direction can be looked for only by entrusting to local bodies more and more of the work of rural administration. The measures recommended by me for the settlement of petty litigation—civil and criminal—by means of popular bodies will, to some extent, have the effect of creating greater interest in public affairs than has been displayed hitherto. The assessment of taxes like the income-tax might, in rural areas, be entrusted in course of time to Local Fund Pandayats who might be increased at a lump sum which would be distributed by them according to the means of the individuals liable to assessment. The obligation to maintain village forests, agricultural experimental farms, technical schools—any, whenever possible, be imposed on them. In the matter of the displacement of relief in time of distress the assistance of Local Fund Union Panchayats might be made use of more than it has been. Under the influence of a watchful public opinion the duties and responsibilities of Government in this respect have greatly widened of late years, as the Government is made responsible for ensuring that, in times of failure of crops, no deaths by starvation ensue. This is a duty which it is very difficult for any government to discharge satisfactorily. The Government has to set according to fixed rules to prevent public money being wasted or misappropriated, and this makes it difficult to adapt the forms of relief to the circumstances and needs of the different localities. While, on the one hand, it would be in the highest degree demoralizing by a too liberal dispensation of relief to teach the people to look for Government assistance, whenever they feel pressed, instead of
teaching them to provide in prosperous seasons against contingencies of this kind, it would, on the other hand, be inhuman to refuse help to the suffering populations when large tracts are distressed. It is, therefore, an extremely difficult and delicate task to determine in any particular case at what stage of the distress the Government ought to intervene and provide relief at the expense of public funds instead of leaving cases of distress to be dealt with as in ordinary years by voluntary, private charity. Whenever, therefore, distress owing to failure of crops is apprehended, large establishments have accordingly to be employed to be in readiness to start measures of relief in case the distress, that is beginning to be felt, should grow in intensity. The officers employed are generally men who know little about the circumstances of the localities in which distress prevails, and, often, a favorable turn in the season renders any measures of relief unnecessary. For instance, during the last drought a considerable portion of the expenditure on famine relief represented the cost of the additional establishments employed to watch and report on the state of the country. In spite of all precautions it would be futile to expect to ensure that all cases requiring relief in all parts of the country had been sought out and provided for and disasters by starvation were completely prevented. It seems to me that this is a duty which should be performed by local unpaid non-official agency and that, instead of Government being made responsible for deaths by starvation, the Local Fund Unions in the country should be made responsible and placed in funds in order that they might be enabled to discharge this duty efficiently except in times of dire famine, when the whole power of the State will, of course, have to be applied to it in grappling with so serious a crisis. A certain percentage of the land revenue might be assigned for this purpose, and to ensure its economical administration, the Local Boards should be asked to supplement it with funds at their disposal. The administration of relief should also be regulated by rules laid down by Government, and questions as to the circumstances under which, and the persons to whom it should be dispensed should be determined by Local Fund Unions in the country.

116. There is another important direction in which the usefulness of local bodies might be developed, viz., in ascertaining by their means when legislation affecting social, moral, and laws of inheritance can and should be undertaken for the benefit
of the people; and the necessity for utilizing these bodies in this manner is all the greater, now that under the scheme for enlarged legislative councils just introduced, the Hindu bodies have been conceded the privilege of nominating members to these councils. One of the effects of the introduction of the British system of administration of justice by fixed laws and regular courts is to suppress the indigenous agencies, whether caste assemblies or guilds, by which the customary usages regulating the conduct and rights of the members of the communities were constantly though unconsciously modified to suit change of circumstances. Even now in the rural tracts, the bundling of certain castes expire into and dispose of disputes among the members of the castes regarding offenses relating to marriage, partition of family property, breaches of caste observances, &c., the decisions being enforced either by the imposition of fines which are paid to the village temple, or to a common fund, or by excommunication of the delinquents by depriving them of their social privileges, such as the "taking of fire and water" from their neighbors, entering the village temple for purposes of worship, attending at marriages and funerals, and availing themselves of the assistance of the village barber, washerman, &c. These caste assemblies, which are not now recognized by law, have lost much of their vitality and will, in course of time, disappear altogether. This is from one point of view a necessary and beneficial process, as it is desirable in the interests of the country that the endless differentiations of customary law in small communities should be removed, and a fairly homogeneous law applicable to large communities evolved. This result has been brought about in most civilized countries by judicial legislation which, while reducing the law to a uniform type introduces at the same time, such modifications in it as the progress of society requires. But as justice is administered in this country mostly by judges who belong to a different nationality from that of the litigants and who would incur blame if they, instead of administering Hindu law of the strictest type, modified it according to their own ideas of the fitness of things and of the necessities of individual cases, the tendency is to stereotype the ancient law and arrest the changes which it would have undergone in its natural course of evolution. This curious and unexpected result of English judges being greater conservators of ancient ritual law than native judges even of the most orthodox type would be, has been noticed both by Mr. J. D. Mayne and Sir Henry Maine. "The pundits," writes Mr. J. D. Mayne in his work on Hindu Law, "however respected he might be,
was at all events a Hindu, living amongst Hindus and
advising upon a law which actually governed the every
day life of himself and his family and his friends. He would
literature a sacred text into an authority for his opinion,
but his opinion would probably be right through unassisted
by, or even opposed to, his text. With the English judge
there was no such restraining influence. He was aware to
administer Hindu law to the Hindus and he was determined
to do so however strange or unreasonable it might appear.
As regards the accreted development of the Hindu law as
administered in South India, Mr. Wayne goes on to remark:
'The fact really was that the law had outgrown the author-
tive, Native judges would have recognised the fact; English
judges were unable to do so, or else remarked (to use a
phrase I have often heard from the Bench) ' that they were
bound to maintain the integrity of the law.' This was a
matter of less importance in Bengal, where Jumma Valaha
had, already burst the fetters. But in Southern India,
it came to be accepted, that the Minaikara was the last
word that could be listened to on Hindu law. The conse-
quence was a state of arrested progress in which no voices
were heard except those which came from the tomb. It
was as if a German was to administer English law from the
resources of a library furnished with Plato, Gharville and
Bacon, and terminating with Lord Coke.' Judicial legis-
lation to adapt the law to changing circumstances being then
not possible, the only alternative is positive legislation. But
how is the Government to know when legislation can be
safely undertaken and when it ought to be avoided on
the ground that it will run counter to the sentiments of the
people affected by it? On the one hand, if the Government
were to refuse altogether to legislate in matters affecting
local usages, domestic life and laws of inheritance, it would
injure the community in two ways, viz., first by setting
in motion strong forces which have the effect of upsetting
the old state of society and disturbing the relations which
subsisted; and secondly, by depriving the society of its capa-
city for adjusting its institutions to its requirements and
refusing to do what is necessary by positive legislation.
This state of things must seriously arrest the progress of the
community. "Social necessities and social opinion," observes
Sir H. Maine, "are more or less in advance of law. We may
go indefinitely near to the meeting of the gap between them;
but it has a perpetual tendency to recur. Law is stable;
the societies we are speaking of, progressive. The greater
or lesser happiness of a people depends on the degree of
"promptitude with which the gulf is narrowed." On the other hand, a free and mature legislature has to be extremely cautious in interfering by legislation with cherished institutions affecting the every day domestic life of the people, as any hasty or ill-judged action in this direction is likely to cause great discontent and suffering. The only way in which the Government can ascertain whether it can legislate with safety in matters of this kind is by making it a necessary condition for legislative action that the demand for legislation should come from local bodies more or less representative of the classes of the community whose interests are affected by such legislation.

117. That the above remarks are not merely theoretical will be seen from a consideration of the circumstances connected with the three bills affecting the laws relating to Marriages and Inheritance now before the Madras Legislative Council. One of these bills is intended to provide a legal form of marriage to the Hindus in the Malabar country who follow the Munnakattukara or non-patrimonial rule of succession as regards inheritance. The second has, for its object, the settlement of a large body of property under the general Hindu law and of most questions as to the circumstances under which the earnings of a member of a joint Hindu family shall be considered his self-acquisition and when they shall be regarded as family property. The third bill is intended to give to the sister and sister’s son a higher place in the line of succession prescribed by the general Hindu law as understood in parts of this presidency than they at present occupy. I do not wish to express any final or decisive opinion in regard to the necessity for the legislative proposals, but I shall explain the great difficulty which the Government has in dealing with questions of this kind.

On the question of prescribing a legal form of marriage to the community governed by the Munnakattukara law, no stranger to the community, which is to be affected by the proposed legislation, has any right to object. "There is no object," remarks Sir Henry Maine, "on which it is harder to obtain trustworthy information than the relations of the enquirer to the enquired of, and the enquirer's own admission that he is so affected by two very powerful feelings, the sense of shame and the sense of the husband's, and he himself nearly always
"...and the facts in a wrong perspective. Almost immeasurable delusions are current in England as to the social condition, in regard to this subject, of a country so near to us in situation and civilization as Prussia." These remarks are profoundly true of Mahabhar, and if I allude to this subject at all, it is not because I am not conscious of my infinitesimal powerlessness to pronounce any opinion on the question, but merely to show how extremely difficult and delicate it is for Government to deal with such questions. In the Mahabhar country, the Manusmriti law does not recognize the institution of marriage, though the unions of men and women are practically permanent, being regulated by social opinion; and a high state of civilization has been found compatible with this condition of things. The inheritance of property descends in the female line. Property is held jointly by families consisting of members belonging to several generations despotically governed by the eldest male among them, the junior members being entitled to a bare maintenance. This archaic type of society has subsisted so long, because Mahabhar was till within recent times shut off from the other parts of the continent of India by the difficulty of communication; women especially were strictly forbidden to cross the boundaries of the country, and even the boundaries of recognized subdivisions of it. Facilities of locomotion and free intercourse with the people on the East Coast and the ideas of personal liberty and independence engendered by the operation of the British system of law and the diffusion of English education are, however, now rapidly undermining the foundations on which the fabric of society rests. The implicit obedience paid by the junior members to the head of the family is diminishing in force every day. The junior members themselves, who, under the old conditions, would never have left their domains, go for education to distant places like Madras, or even England in a few cases, or are employed in Government service or as Vizeroos, and while so employed, take their wives from their native homes to live with them. The result is a closer feeling of sympathy and affection for their wives and children, and a correspondingly diminished regard for the interests of their sisters and their children, both on the part of the head of the family, and on the part of the junior members. A strong feeling is also growing up among those who have had the benefit of English education, that the non-recognition by law of the relationship of wife and children and of the claims to support and education founded on such relationship when voluntary provision for such purposes fails owing to accidents, and other means of support.
are not available, is a great social injustice. The class that feels in this manner, though numerically small, is an
influential one growing in intelligence and importance day by
day. The fact of the law of devotion of property running
counter to natural sentiment must necessarily lead to the
abandonment of diverse to counteract it, giving rise to litiga-
tion among members belonging to the same family, and to
its division among the family property which it is the object of
the law to preserve intact. The State is also interested in seeing that the institutions of society are so
modified as to ensure that the care, nurture and education of
the young, according to modern requirements—matters in
which it is deeply interested—areentrusted to those who
may be trusted under the impulse of natural sentiment to
uncharge the duties with the greatest fidelity and to be
likely to submit to great personal sacrifice in the attain-
ment of this end, and not to those who in the majority of
cases will be content to do the minimum that they are bound
legally or by social opinion to do. This is one side of the
cause. On the other side, it has to be remembered that the
current institutions have struck their roots so deep in the
past to affect so many relations of life and the subsistence of
such large numbers of persons, that any sudden modification
of them is likely to give rise to many unexpected evils, dis-
appoint many just expectations and cause suffering and
widespread discontent. The Government cannot possibly, by
enquiries by means of commissions and such like bodies im-
provised for the time, be able to determine in projects for
legislation of this kind, having such withholding issues, wheth-
ery after balancing the conflicting considerations, the
gain to the community is sufficiently great to justify legis-
lation and if legislation is resolved on, what precautions shall
be taken to minimize the evils of the change. Even where
the gain is beyond question, the feeling of the community
itself as to the necessity for legislation is a factor which
must necessarily be taken into account.
Legislation, then, in such cases can only be carried out
in a spirit of compromise and should provide for a gradual
modification of the institutions found unsuitable without
causing any violent breach of social continuity. For work of
this kind, the provincial legislature composed, as it must
be, of members, the majority of whom are of different habi-
tes and ways of thinking from those whom the proposed legis-
lation is to affect, must be entirely unbiased, unless it is aided
in its deliberations by other bodies constituted by law and
composed in the main of members belonging to the commu-
inities.
nity which is affected by the legislation. In the case immediately under discussion, the Hindu members of the Local Fund Boards in the Malabar district might be regarded as a legally constituted standing committee for the consideration of questions as to the expediency of undertaking legislation of this character. Members of the community who feel keenly the evils of the present state of the law as regards marital relations and wish for a reform should be at liberty to bring the question before the committee. If they did not succeed in getting a majority of the committee to pass a resolution, making a demand on the legislature for legislation, that would be proof of the fact that the time was not ripe for carrying out the contemplated reform. Those interested in the reform would not, however, be discouraged by a single unsuccessful effort; they would try to educate public opinion on the subject, and endeavor to get persons elected as members of Local Fund Boards who would support the cause of reform, and they would bring the question again and again before the committee. In course of time if the reform was a desirable one, the good sense of the community would prevail even over deep-rooted prejudices and the reform party would doubtless be able to get a majority of the committee to make a demand on the legislature. If the majority was a narrow one, the Government might still consider it wise to undertake legislation until the will of the more enlightened and influential portion of the community had more unmistakably declared itself. If after further lapse of time the demand was made by a large majority of the committee, the Government would be in a position to undertake legislation with confidence. It is true that there is nothing to prevent voluntary associations formed with a view to promote particular objects, petitioning Government for legislation for carrying out these objects, but such associations cannot command the same confidence as Local Fund Boards having a legal status, and further it would be impossible to gauge the relative strength of rival voluntary associations and determine how far each represented the feelings and wishes of the community. In matters affecting the community as a whole, the whole Board would represent the community, and in cases where the interests of particular sections of the community were concerned, the committee composed of members belonging to such sections would have these powers. The right conferred on these Boards of discussing such questions would infuse life and spirit into them, and they can, if necessary, be enlarged as to secure adequate representation of different sections of the community. A very great
advantage of this system would be that a legal machinery would be provided for educating local public opinion in favour of legislation affecting social relations.

118. In the above remarks I do not by any means wish to ignore the unequal advance of knowledge and intelligence of the population of different parts of the Presidency and of the consequent improbability of the Local Fund Boards in some parts being able to discuss questions as regards legislation with intelligence and to arrive at a correct opinion regarding them. I can only reply that what I have stated is the ideal to be aimed at and gradually worked up to, and that the arrangements made at the outset should be such as will allow of Boards which are sufficiently advanced to deal with such questions. The more advanced parts of the country might in the long run be allowed their legitimate influence in raising up new and advanced parts and not be compulsorily kept at the level of the latter. And after all, the arrangements are intended merely to enable Government to determine whether legislation on matters affecting social issues can be undertaken with safety; the final responsibility for undertaking or refusing legislation will still rest with Government. The Local Fund Boards will in fact be constituted bodies which have limited executive powers in certain directions to act of their own authority, but possessing unlimited powers for making representations on all other matters of general administration, the final decision of which is vested in the central Government.

119. There is one other subject which may be appropriately noticed here, viz., the unsatisfactory state of the law regarding the management and supervision of religious endowments and the urgent necessity for reform in this direction. There is here an immense national property which, in course of time, might be devoted to many beneficial purposes, such as provision of religious instruction, of art instruction, &c., and which is now largely misappropriated. One of the most popular acts of Government would be to provide for the efficient supervision of the management of these properties to ensure being devoted in the main to the uses for which they were intended, by means of responsible committees which, without doing violence to public feeling, would be able gradually and insensibly to introduce such changes as would tend to

120 The second and third last refer to complaints of Hydra, here a discussion of which will take up more space than can be afforded here, and I have therefore merely contented myself with alluding to them.
the removal of abuses which have grown up around religious institutions and to afford education to the people in directions which Government arrangements cannot reach. The annual income of the religious endowments has been estimated to amount to 75 lakhs of rupees, a sum higher than the income of the Local Fund Boards and Municipalities in the Presidency, and a considerable portion of the income is contributed by the State. Thus this income should be misappropriated to private use is a melancholy waste of resources; and it is futile to expect that the worshippers at the shrines, scattered as they are throughout the Presidency, would come forward and embark in expensive litigation with trustees of endowments who have commanded of trust money. The enactment of a law which will provide an efficient control of these public trusts will be welcomed as a great boon by the general public.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

120. I have endeavoured in the foregoing pages to point out the direc- tions in which the country has progressed during the last forty years, the special with which the transition from the old to the new state of things has given rise to, and some of the measures which might be taken by Government to remedy or mitigate the effects of these trials and secure uninterred economic development. I will now close my long review with a few general remarks in regard to the considerations to be borne in mind in estimating the value of the results achieved.

The first point to be noted is the disordered state of the country which had to be reduced to order and fitted with the appliances of civilization and regular administration, and the low economic condition from which the great mass of the population had to be elevated. We saw how, in the beginning of the century, Southern India had been devastated by wars, famines and bands of plunderers; the cultivating classes were
ground down by oppressive taxation, by the illegal exactions of the officers of Government, of the rents employed to collect the Government dues, and of the swarms without whose assistance the cycle could not subsist and carry on their calling and who kept them in a state little removed from that of perpetual bondage; trade was hampered by insecurity of property, defective communications and onerous transit duties; the vast majority of the population suffered extreme hardships when there was even a partial failure of crops in small tracts, owing to the great difficulty and cost of obtaining supplies of grain from more favored regions; the peasantry and even possessors of considerable landed property when not holding offices under Government themselves were suffering before the petitioners Government officers and submitting to tortures and degrading personal ill-treatment inflicted on the slightest pretext; persons who had chanced to acquire wealth, if they belonged to the lower classes, dared not openly use it for purposes of enjoyment or display for fear of being plundered by the classes above them; the agricultural classes as a whole had few wants beyond those imposed by the necessity for bare subsistence, so ambition or enterprise to try untrodden ways, and no example to stimulate them to endeavour to better their condition, while the rapid rises and crashes of rates and communications in which society was organized repressed all freedom of action and restricted the scope for individual initiative. To understand the full significance of the changes which have come over the country one has to contrast what he sees at present, unsatisfactory as it may appear from some points of view, with the state of things described above.

Secondly, it must be remembered that considerable portions of the country are liable to frequent droughts and occasional famines, which no human foresight can prevent, and that the results of several decades of good administration are liable to be suddenly swept away by the occurrence of one of these terrible visitations. The famine of 1876-77 was a case in point. It was the severest in magnitude and duration of any known during the present century, but it is satisfactory to find that the districts affected by it have recovered more rapidly than those affected by the famine of 1833, which prevailed in a smaller tract of country and was of shorter duration. The development of communications since 1877 has also greatly mitigated the effects of temporary scarcities. Thus is illustrated in a remarkable manner by what has happened during the last two years. The railway
from Chittoor to Vizagapatam and Dharmavaram was opened in February and March, 1892. There was a great drought and failure of crops in those places at the time, and prices of food-grains were ruling very high; but as soon as the railway was opened prices fell at once largely. The last season was a splendid one in most parts of the Ceded districts and ryots had a bumper crop, while in the southern districts, viz., Madura and Tanjore, there was failure of harvests. Large quantities of rice from Dharmavaram were exported to Tanjore for the first time within the memory of the ryots of the former place, bringing them a large profit. If a famine, such as that of 1876-77, should again unfortunately occur, its effects will not be as disastrous as on the last occasion, though in any case it would cause great suffering.

If, however, by some unfortunate combination of circumstances famine should occur in quick succession, no amount of good administration could make head against such calamities. On the other hand, if there is no famine of a very serious type for the next half a century, the measures in progress would have had time to produce their effect and the suffering caused by failure of crops over large areas in consecutive years would not probably be much greater than in European countries.

Thirdly, we have to take into account the limitation in the action of Government imposed by the necessities of the situation, in considering the role of progress. The semi-nude and pigsties were most of them the terror of the country in the beginning of the century, and they were with difficulty reduced to submission. To have utilized them for purposes of government would have been dangerous and would have indefinitely postponed all chance of introducing regular and orderly government. They were accordingly relegated to the position of mere landlords with no part or lot in the government of the country. The recognition of caste and village assemblies for purposes of administration of justice was likewise impossible, owing to the innumerable subdivisions of caste it would have been a matter of extreme difficulty to decide as to the persons over whom the assem-
blies had jurisdiction, and moreover this plan would not answer in cases in which the contending litigants belonged to different castes and would have perpetuated the feud between them. The decision of disputes by panchayats when the litigants were willing to abide by their decisions was provided for, but this arrangement was seldom availed of, and the law on the subject was practically a dead letter. The whole work of Government had, therefore, to be conducted by a hierarchy
of officials. At the same time, owing to wide differences in
religion, civilization and social usages, between the rulers
and the ruled, all institutions having living connection, with
matters which are intimately bound up with the daily life of
the people had to be rigidly excluded from official cognizance.
The Government could not, as it were, take the people by the
hand and by intimate association with them lead them on in
the path of progress. It had to stand aloof, contenting itself
with providing the material appliances of civilization and with
draining away all obstructive to progress tending to the
influence of education to work out such changes as the healthy
progress of the society might require.

Meanwhile, we saw that some of the evils which have been
felt under the new regime, "the tares," as they are called,
"which have grown up with the wheat," are either not
new or are sacrifices without murmuring which the benefits
could not be secured. For instance, take the case of the
growth of agricultural indebtedness. As a matter of fact,
the ryots were formerly much more in the hands of money
lenders than now, though their indebtedness as expressed in
money value appears to be greater now than before. The
dependence of the ryots on usurers is greatest in tracts of
country in which the seasons are very uncertain. Formerly
when lands had no value, the ryot's credit was limited to the
value of the year's crop, and if the crop failed for two or
three years and the usurer stopped supplies, there was
nothing between the ryot and starvation. Now the increased
credit of the ryot enables him to obtain better terms and
hold out longer. The more prudent among the ryots have
now a chance of making use of their credit for their own
advantage, and even those who recklessly pledged it would be
in no worse condition than they would have been under the old
conditions. Again, the tendency of a regime favoring industrial
improvement is to prevent the military, official and service-
deliberate classes from intercepting the earnings of the laboring
classes. The result is that the production of articles of luxury
or art which ministered to the gratification of persons who were
maintained in great opulence at the expense of the general com-
unity suffers and must necessarily do so until the industrial
classes themselves become sufficiently rich and acquire a taste
for such luxuries. Similar considerations apply to economic
redistribution of productive powers and resources. The intro-
duction of railways, for instance, by superseding less efficient
means of conveyance must cause suffering to the classes
who make a living by rendering services in connection with
the latter. We thus hear that the extension of the railways in
the Punjab has caused distress to camel drivers. A diversion of trade is also often caused, from particular localities or tracts of country, and places which were once prosperous decay and new places spring up in their stead. Wallah-baghur, for instance, which was once a place of great importance as an emporium of trade is now much decayed. The facilities of intercommunication between different parts of the country, and the rapid diffusion of information as to the conditions of the market as regards demand and supply of commodities by means of telegraphs render the maintenance of central depots to some extent unnecessary, the dealers in commodities being enabled to communicate directly with the producers in the rural tracts. There is thus increase of trade in the country as a whole, while there may be a diminution in some of the centres. And, generally, in gauging the extent of improvement it would not be right to confine our attention exclusively to special localities or centres, but the entire industrial field should be taken as a whole.

Punjab, it must be borne in mind that by improvement here referred to must be understood the development of an industrial capacity, and that the motive power under it being the multiplication of wants and the stimulus given to exertion by the necessity for gratifying them, the dissatisfaction with one's lot that is beginning to be generally felt is in this case a sign of progress and not of deterioration. There is, under these circumstances, increasing pressure felt by the community as a whole, because wants have been increasing faster than the means of satisfying them. At the same time the wants could not increase unless the means increased also. It is this increasing pressure that makes it difficult for people in general to believe that they are making headway, but the real fact is that they are somewhat richer in life from an industrial point of view and their ideal of comfortable existence is gradually expanding though they may be poorer in contentment.

A husband who would have lived in a simple contented way 40 years ago, giving his boys no education, and marrying his daughters to village boys provided they had a sufficiency to live upon, required better house accommodation and more comforts, wishes to give his boys an expensive English education and to marry his daughters to educated husbands and finds it a hard pull to arrange for all this; and the very pressure impels him to make increased efforts to increase his means. This result is seen in a district like Tanjore where the brothers in a family who would formerly have lived in their villages in their poor contented way on their patrimony, several years ago the villages and seek employment in
other distant districts. It is true that the wants developed are not always of a wholesome kind, and this is generally the case when means increase faster than education and taste for rational modes of enjoyment. But the first condition necessary for progress is the increase of wants and when once the desire for improvement is excited, the wants can be regulated by education. For instance when in the sixties, owing to the cotton famine in England and other causes, the rents in several districts realized large profits, they increased their style of living and spent large sums of money on marriages and festivals. When prices fell, however, they had to cut down expenditure on purposes of mere show, retaining what was necessary for substantial comforts. It is undoubtedly true that in European countries the evils of the industrial régime in the form of undue concentration of wealth making "the rich grow richer and the poor poorer" and of the exploitation of labour by capital have been forcing themselves on public attention, but in this country the conditions are altogether different. Though the old régime of status is now being replaced by a régime of competition, the transition has been rendered gradual and easy by the tenderness shown to the rights and interests of the lowest classes under the influence of the humanitarian sentiment which is the characteristic feature of the nineteenth century and to which this essentially just and beneficent policy of the British Government is indebted since its origin. As we have already seen, the tendency till now in this country has been towards not so much undue concentration of wealth as to diffusion exhibiting itself in the gradual formation of a middle class between the small class of persons who were once immensely rich and who find their hereditary influence and wealth fail them when not supported by individual worth and personal exertions, and the great mass of the population which has always been in a state of great poverty; and owing to this, while perhaps the increase of wealth may go on at a slower rate, it may be that we shall never have to feel the evils of unequal distribution of wealth in the same form in which they have appeared in European countries.

Bearing these considerations in mind and remembering that methods of progress calculated to evoke national feeling and religious enthusiasm are unavailable under the conditions of the case, the progress that has been made under the new régime during the short time that it has been in force—fifty years is a brief interval in the life of a people—is little short of marvellous. Some of the evils which have appeared and the remedies for them we have already noted,
What has been accomplished has been effected chiefly by providing the country with the material appliances of civilisation, by clearing the ground of all obstructions to progress and by making it possible for people to take interest in public affairs outside the narrow limits of castes and creeds into which they are divided. What requires to be done is gradually to widen the foundations of local government and make it strike deeper roots into society, so as to enable it to adjust its institutions to its needs as they arise, without weakening in any way the power of the central Government for maintaining the due balance between rival interests and creeds and for interfering effectually when there is danger of such balance being disturbed. And this work will need even greater foresight and statesmanship for its successful accomplishment than in the past. There is, however, no reason whatever to suppose that either the Government or the people will fall short of requirements in this respect. As regards the Government, the work already accomplished under enormous difficulties, as narrated in the foregoing pages is a standing testimony to its favour. The quickness with which the people have adapted themselves to the new ideas affords also every ground for hope that they might be trusted to assimilate the elements of progress even more rapidly in the future. I remember that twenty years ago, complaints were very general that laws were being passed with bewildering rapidity, that society was being shaken to its foundations and that social relations were being loosened to an undesirable degree. Now the feeling among the educated classes, daily growing in importance and numbers, is that progress does not proceed fast enough, just in the same way as persons who were content to travel two miles an hour by country carts thirty or forty years ago consider it a hardship now to travel by slow railway trains moving at the rate of 15 miles an hour.

Whatever might be the feeling of persons who forgetting the evil side of the old type of society and its injustice to the lowest classes, shutting out all prospect of improvement from them, are fascinated by its stationary civilization, ordered relations, and freedom from worry, those who believe in the modern principle of progress and in the necessity for giving free play to individual energy have no reason to look on the future in a spirit other than that of thankfulness and hope. To those again who are inclined to under-value the progress made under the mistaken idea that thereby they would be calling attention pointedly to the evils that now exist in order
that great expectations might be put forth to support them, I
would reply in the following words of Mr. Marshall from
whose invaluable work I have so often quoted:

"There is a strong temptation to overstate the economic
 evils of our own age, and to ignore the existence of similar
 and worse evils in earlier ages; for by so doing we may for
 the time stimulate others, as well as ourselves, to a more
 intense resolve that the present evils shall no longer be
 allowed to exist. But it is not less wrong and generally it is
 much more foolish to pander with truth for a good than for
 a selfish cause. And the pessimist descriptions of our own
 age, combined with romantic exaggerations of the happiness
 of past ages, must tend to the setting aside of methods of
 progress, the work of which, if slow, is yet solid and to the
 hasty adoption of others of greater promise, but which re-
 semble the potent medicines of a charlatan, and while quickly
 effecting a little good, sow the seeds of widespread and last-
 ing decay. This impatient insubriety is an evil only less
 great than that moral idoror which can endure that we, with
 our modern resource and knowledge, should submit patiently
to the continued destruction of all that is worth having in
 multitudes of human lives, and solace ourselves with the
 reflection that anyhow the evils of our own age are less than
 those of the past."

To the considerations pointed out by Mr. Marshall may
be added as regards this country the mental distance owing
to differences of race, of social usages and civilization be-
tween the Government and the people and the necessity for
the Government understanding rightly the difficulties of the
people, and for the people appreciating the good work done
by Government so as to secure their cordial co-operation in
measures tending to the advancement and welfare of the
country. Full knowledge of either of the difficulties of the
other can only arise from sympathy, while sympathy must in
its turn result from knowledge. The object I have proposed
to myself in writing this humble work of mine is to contri-
bute in some measure to the bringing about of such a mutual
understanding.
APPENDICES.

(A.)—Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, extracted from "Lives of Antiquities, Modern", by Mr. B. Road. R.C.S.

In the earliest days of which we have any knowledge as to the sovereigns ruling the Continent of India, it appears that the great Maurya dynasty held the north, while the south was divided among the Pallavas, who governed the extreme south, the Cholas, who held the country to their north and east, and the Cheras (Keralas), who ruled over the tracts to their north and west. This was in the fourth century B.C. I say "it appears" because, although we are certain of the Mauryas (probably B.C. 246—183) and the Pallavas as existing in the time of Megasthenes (B.C. 320), we have only the fact of the Cholas and Keralas (or Cheras) being mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka (B.C. 265) to verify their existence at that still earlier period. But tradition mentions an earlier kingdom than those of Palavas, Cholas, and Cheras in the south of India, and always speaks of them as contemporary. As we are certain of the Pallavas, therefore, in B.C. 320, we may safely place the Cholas and Cheras as far back as that date. The Keralas appear to have occupied the whole Western Coast under the Cheras, and it is probable that the Eastern Coast was also inhabited almost throughout its entire length; but there is no evidence of any kingdom having been in existence throughout the Dalhousia, and it is quite possible that almost the whole of its entire area was waste (25 trachydromes) or inhabited only by a few half-civilized tribes under their own chieftains, such as those so often mentioned in the Puranas. It is necessary for students of history to remember that there were areas of land and population that were absolutely waste—more barren than rock, forest, and wild plains—still comparatively modern times, and this seems especially to have been the case with the Dalhousian country. It must not be forgotten, however, that the earliest Buddhist legends speak of the Kingdom of Kalinga as then in existence.

At some period subsequent to that of Asoka, the Paliavas appear to have grown into importance on the Eastern Coast, and they gradually increased in power till they constituted themselves a great kingdom, with extensive foreign trade, and proved a source of danger to the Cholas and their other neighbours. They appear to have held the entire Eastern Coast from Ceylon to the borders of Orissa. At present there is no evidence as to where they gave up to the Kerales and their other neighbours. They occupy a place in the history of India that cannot be forgotten, and the first century B.C. B.C. witnessed the decline of the great Paliavas and the rise of the Cholas and Keralas. The Cholas, however, were the only surviving dynasty of the Mauryas, and they succeeded to their throne in the third century B.C. B.C. B.C. and continued to rule until the fifth century A.D.
To the Mauryas in the north succeeded the Sunga dynasty (B.C. 188-70) and this was followed by the short Kaura dynasty (B.C. 76-31). The last of these kings being murdered, the Andhakas or Andhra-krtya dynasty succeeded, and ruled from B.C. 31 to A.D. 498. They were Buddhists, and it was by them that the magnificent much-erased Amrits was erected. About this period, i.e., the fifth century A.D., began to grow into importance the Chalukya sovereignty of the Western Chalukya, and it is in connection with the early Chalukyas that we hear of the Nagas (probably a Western Coast tribe), the Mauyans (possibly descendants of the earlier Mauyans) who inhabited part of the Kudrana, the Sendhras, Mahasna (apparently a barbary tribe, perhaps aboriginal), the Katulaharins, the Sanga of Maulik, and the Auyas or Auyans, a tribe or dynasty apparently living in the north or southwestern of the present Bombay Presidency. Early Chalukya grants mention a number of other tribes, such as the Littas (of Ladistan in the north of Bombay), Malasa (of Malwa), Gurganas (of Guassa), etc.

The Chalukyas divided into two branches in the beginning of the seventh century, an eastern branch conquering the Pallava kings of the Vengi country, to the west between the Kanara and Godavari rivers, and settling in that locality which they governed till A.D. 928, the western remaining in their original home in the Western Janam.

The Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang, who visited India, A.D. 639 to 645, gives a graphic account of the state of the country in his time.

The Kadamba now began to grow into importance, and they fought with and defeated the Pallava of Kanchi and were perpetually at war with the Chalukyas and their other neighbors. Their territory was in the south-west Dakkan and north Malbar. About the same period we find the Raktahartas giving great trouble to the Chalukyas.

It is as yet uncertain whether these Raktahartas were an Ayana Kalaratya, i.e., Bajrata (now which immigrated into the Dakkan from the north like the Chalukyas or a Dravidian family which was received into the Ayana community after the conquest of the Dakkan?). The wars with the Raktahartas seem to have resulted in the complete downfall of the two dynasties (A.D. 727-58 to 928-74) of the Western Chalukya and the consequent ascension of great power to the Raktahartas. The latter do not appear, however, to have attempted any conquests in the south. They were completely overthrown by the Western Chalukyas in A.D. 973-74, when the latter once more rose to great eminence. The overthrow of the Raktahartas, too, enabled the Ratta Mahendeswaras to assert themselves, and their dynasty lasted till about A.D. 1228. All the same period we find the Ghurhins and Sindia rising into importance, and, like the Rattas, establishing independent dynasties which lasted for several centuries. The Ghurhins were overthrown by the Yavanas of Dvaragiri about A.D. 1228, and the Sindias ceased to be heard of about A.D. 1182-92.

Little is known of the history of Southern India for two or three centuries immediately preceding the sudden rise of the Cholas to great power, which took place in the middle of the eleventh century. At the beginning of that century the Eastern Chalukya held all the
country along the Eastern Coast from the borders of Orissa as far south as the borders of the Pallava country. The Pallava kingdom was a powerful one, possessing the coast from its junction with the Choladvina down to the southern boundary of the Chola territories, i.e., just south of Kanyakumari. The Cholas remained within their own borders and the Pandyan in theirs, while the Konga kings, who governed apparently the old Chera country east of the Malabar tract along the coast, although they were still independent and powerful, were beginning to feel the effect of the attacks of the little kingdom of the Hoyala Ballas, then rising into power and destined to subvert many of the surrounding monarchies.

In A.D. 1228, by an intermarriage between the two dynasties, the Chola sovereigns acquired possession of the whole of the Eastern Chalukyan dominions. This was followed, apparently at the beginning of the reign of his successor, Rajendra Chola II (1180–1190), by the complete subversion of the Pallava by the Cholas and the annexation to the latter kingdom of their possessions. Rajendra also conquered the Pandyanas and established a short dynasty of "Chola-Pandyan" kings at Madura. A little later the Hoyala Ballas certainly overthrew the Konga kings and seized their territories, so that the whole of the south of India passed at that time through a period of great political disturbance, which culminated in the Chola obtaining almost universal sovereignty for a short period, checked, however, by the power of the Hoyala Ballas above the ghat in Mysore.

This latter power was increased in importance by its conquest of the Kedambas and Kalaharshas to its immediate north about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and by the downfall of the great Western Chalukyan dynasty about A.D. 1184, which was caused partly by its wars with the Kedambas and partly by the rise of the Ballas. A little later the Cholas lost their northern possessions, which were seized by the Upayapattu of Onagadri.

We now find ourselves in the thirteenth century, the three great southern powers being the Cholas and Pandyanas—both seemingly losing strength—and the Hoyala Ballas, rapidly growing in power. What might have occurred it is needless to enquire, though imagination readily depicts the incipient Ballas sweeping down from the ghat and succeeding in subverting the ancient dynasties of the plains; but a new power now appears on the scene, which was destined to acquire universal dominion in course of time—the power of the Muslims.

Delhi had been captured by the Ghurid Ghurishas in 1190, and a dynasty established there which lasted till A.D. 1206. The Khiljis succeeded (1269–1290), and Alauddin Khilji despatched the first Mohammedan expedition into the Deccan in A.D. 1306. Four years later the Mamluk armies under Malik Kafir swept like a torrent over the peninsula.

Dwarka and Onagadri were both reduced to submission, the capital of the Hoyala Ballas was taken and sacked, and the kingdoms both of the Cholas and Pandyanas were overthrown. Anarchy followed over the whole south—Mamaluck Governors, representatives of the old royal families, and local chieftains being apparently engaged for years in
violently interference struggles for supremacy. The Bahilas disappeared from the scene, and the kingdoms of Deogarh and Ongerai were subverted. A slight check was given to the spread of the Muhammadan area when a combination of Hindu chieftains, led by the gallant young of Dumptep, Bele, withstood and defeated a large Muhammadan army; and the aspect of affairs was altered by the result of the Dakhan Muslim efforts against their sovereignty in A.D. 1417, which culminated in the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom of the Dakhan. But the whole of southern India was convulsed by this sudden aggression of the Muhammadans, and all the old kingdoms fell to pieces.

This period, then, about the year A.D. 1310, is to be noted as the second great landmark in South Indian history, the first being about the period 1022–1175, when the Cholas became almost supreme over the south."

While the Bahmani rebels were consolidating their kingdom in the Dakhan, another great power was being formed south of the Krishn. This was the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Established on the ruins of the Hayyati Bahilas and the other Hindu sovereignties, it quickly rose to a height of power such as no southern kingdom had yet attained to, and it held the Muhammadans in check for two centuries. From 1396 till 1564 A.D. we have mainly to consider, roughly speaking, two great powers—first of the Muhammadans north of the Krishn and that of Vijayanagar to the south.

The Bahmani kingdom fell to pieces at the close of the fifteenth century, being succeeded by five separate kingdoms founded by rival Muhammadan nobles. Their jealousies divided the Vijayanagar sovereignty in their aspiration to power. In 1457 Narasimha of Vijayanagar completely overthrew the Paiturakas, Cakravartis, and the whole of his successors, and by the close of the sixteenth century the power of Vijayanagar was acknowledged as paramount through the entire peninsula. Small principalities existed, such as that of Mysore, the feudal dominion of the Cholas south of the Krishn (which lasted from 1396 till 1487), and the kingdom of independent principality of Travancore, but Vijayanagar was supreme. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Krishnadasa Raya of Vijayanagar further extended the power of his house by the reduction of the Bijapur chieftains, and seized, till his dynasty was brought to an end in the year 1646, the chief post of chief of the kingdom, in the same district, as it was the greatest height of glory.

In 1608 (the date bays) all this collapsed. The Muhammadan sovereignty of the Dakhan combined, and in one grand effort swept over Vijayanagar, sacked the capital, put to death the powerful chieftains who had ruled over the districts of the capital, and for ever ceased all semblance of independent Hindu power in the south of India. Even the very chief that governed Vijayanagar divided, so that it becomes almost impossible to trace their history, and for a year or two the whole of the peninsula was thrown into confusion.

Naturally the minor chieftains seized this opportunity for throwing off all fear and sovereignty, and throughout the peninsula arose a large number of petty rajahs and small chieftains, whose quarrels and wars and struggles for supremacy kept the whole country in confusion for two or a half centuries. The only chieftains that ascended to real power were the Madura Natioakas, formerly Vemeta of
Vijayanagar, which speedily became independent and reduced to subjection almost the whole of the old Pandyan kingdom, their competitors, the Nayakas of Tanjore, holding sway over Chola-land. The Rajas of Mysore, too, became independent, and established a kingdom, though not a very powerful one.

Over all this distracted country the Mohammedans gradually pressed downwards, securing the dominion of the countries south of the Tungabhadra, and eastwards to the sea, and encroaching southwards till they had reached the southern confines of the Telugu country, by the middle of the seventeenth century, and by the beginning of the eighteenth were in power for aught. The Marathas had established themselves in Tanjore in 1674 and remained there till the English supremacy. In 1708 the Marathas obtained possession of Madura.

The English, settled at Madras since 1639, now began to acquire more and more territory and power, and in the course of the century had conquered almost the whole of the south of India, the defeat of the Mahtar Marathas under Tipu Sultan in 1799 finally tying the peninsula at their feet.

(B.)--Oriyas under Hindu and British Administrations.

Practically, the revenue-paying parts of Orissa under the Ganga dynasty stretched from the Hugli to the Chilka, and from the sea to the Tributary States; a compact territorial unity of twenty-four thousand square miles. The province continues the same size to this day, having lost three thousand square miles on the north, towards the Hugli, and gained about an equal extent on the west, towards Central India. In the twelfth century, when the Ganges Line obtained the kingdom, it yielded a revenue of 7,000,000. In the year 1120. Besides the double line of seacoasts they added 12,000 square miles of impervious hill territory; and when in the sixteenth century they sank beneath the Moslem yoke, the revenue remained about 1,300,000. An early Muhammadan Geographer of the sixteenth century gives the revenue of the parts of Orissa already subdued by the Mussulman army at 2,500,000; and the official survey made by Akbar’s Minister, Čīw, in 1589, gives the entire revenue of the province, including the tributes from the Hill States, at 2,425,000. As the Muslims firmly established their power, they gradually increased the taxation, and in the seventeenth century a detailed list of the Orissa fiscal
divisions shows a revenue of £337,450. However the revenue might be damaged from year to year by taxation or rebellion, the nominal demand remained the same in the Imperial account books; and the Peas Thibeutdal, said the Mabratam annuity of the eighteenth century, was still informed that the province yielded £276,720.

The revenue under the Ganges line (1192–1522 A.D.), its last independent dynasty, may therefore be set down at £435,000 a year from the twenty-four thousand square miles of Orissa Proper. The southern strip had long ceased to yield any income to the Orissa kings. The present province comprising an equal area, yields to the British Government, in round numbers, £445,000. But while the actual revenue remains about the same, its purchasing power has considerably altered. Under the native dynasty, it sufficed to maintain a genişic court, a vast army, immemorial trains of priests, and to defray the magnificent public works of the Ganges kings.

Under the English it largely pays the cost of administering the province. The charges for collecting the revenue and protecting person and property amount to £326,000; the interest on one of the local public works, the Orissa canals, comes to £55,000 a year**; a single native regiment at Corfack costs £77,000; and a petty balance of £28,000 is all that remains over after paying the merely local charges of holding the Province. Othias contributes so nearly anything to the general expenses of Government. It does not pay its share of interest on the public debt; it contributes nothing to the cost of defending the Empire; and hardly does more than support the charges of the local administration. Under the native dynasty, the same province sufficed to support an administration infinitely more minute, and as regards its higher officials, infinitely higher paid. None of the English governing body in Orissa ever hopes to make a fortune; under the Hindu princes, government employ was synonymous with cursed equality. Sixteen great maharajas regulated the kingdom, with seventy-two vassals, and thirty-six departments of State. Under the English, the revenue of Orissa with difficulty maintains seven hundred regiments; under the Hindu princes it supported, besides a patron militia of 330,000 men, a regular army of 40,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 2,500 elephants. About a vast militia being attached to the soil there can be no doubt; and if Hindu chancellors have magnified the number of the regular troops, we know from the Manusmriti evidence, that the Orissa king could at a moment's warning take the field with 10,000 horse and foot. But the public works of the Hindu dynasty were the magnitudes of their resources in a way that admits of no dispute. Thirty or forty thousand pound were not considered extravagant for an ordinary temple.

** Source: Mr. J. E. G. Smith, in Company’s Kra. 572, 1864, under Hogue, 1827–1860.


** The sum in 20.46 square miles, but it has lost the fertile plain towards the Rajpi and reached in place of it an addition to the bare desert. At 1497 the total revenue was £440,000, but this included the extraordinary advances. £429,000 in the

** 13 millions sterling had already been spent on 26 March 1271.
The accumulations of one monarch are stated at £1,000,000, and from this he net out £400,000 for the holy edifices of Zanzibar. A similar magnificence surrounded the private life of the Oman kings. Their fine royal residences (Kubas) still live in popular tradition; and although the story of the prince who died just as he had married his sixty-thousandth wife is doubtful a fable, yet it is a fact that could only be told of a great and luxurious court.

How can it be that the same amount of revenue which made the Oman kings so rich, now leaves the English governed of the province so poor? I have already shown that the great feature of silver, which European trade poured into India, so decreased the value of that metal that it sank from 5/8 of the value of gold in the twelfth century, to 1/4th or 1/8th six hundred years later. But even this decrease would not explain the influence of the Hindu rulers of Oman as compared with the poverty of the English. It is when we consider the value of silver as expressed, not in gold, but in food, that the explanation becomes clear. Nothing like a regular record of prices under the Sultanie dynasty (1172-1512) exists. But fortunately the maximum price of food during the great famine, which in almost every generation decimated Oman, have come down to us, with the proportion which these prices bore to the ordinary rates. In the famine at the beginning of the fourteenth century, unhanded sack of paddy rose to sixty times its average rate, and sold from six shillings and eightpence to nine shillings per hundredweight.

In the next century, under King Kapiand (1408-1470 A.D.), paddy rose to 60s times the ordinary price, and fetched from 9s. 11d. to 10s. 4d. per hundredweight. Stirling, one of our first Commissioners in Oman, obtained an ancient paper showing the exact rates under the Sultanie dynasty. According to it, unhanded sack sold from just under a penny to

---

From this above calculation we cannot take the price of paddy under the Ganges-line (1322-1339 A.D.) at above 14d. per hundredweight. It was probably less. Paddy now crops on the field in Orissa, a shilling per hundredweight, or at least twice its ancient price. An almost equal depression in the value of silver has gone on in other parts of India. Thus, in Upper Hindostan, under Ala-ud-din (1306-1316 A.D.), the officially fixed rate of barley was a little under eightpence per hundredweight 90; and of peas fourteenpence halfpenny a hundredweight 91. In the latter part of the century, under Feroz Shah (1315-1349 A.D.), the price of barley remained scarcely the same, viz., sixpence per hundredweight 92. But no sooner did the tide of European trade set in, than the value of silver fell, and at the time of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) the price of barley rose to 4d. per hundredweight 93. The price of barley in the same localities is now, on an average, about three shillings and sixpence per hundredweight retail, or seven times what it was throughout the fourteenth century.

We say therefore fairly assume that, as estimated in the staple food of the country, the value of silver in Orissa has fallen to 1/6 of its purchasing power. Wages were regulated then, as now, by the price of rice, and in fact were mostly paid in grain. The Gangan dynasty of Orissa (1132-1322 A.D.) with a revenue nominally the same as our own 94, was therefore, as regards the home products of the country, and their ability to keep up armies and populous cities, eight times richer than we are. This reason clearly answers why a revenue which now barely defrays the charge of collection and the cost of protecting person and property, with one or two absolutely necessary public works, formerly supported a grand standing army, a wealthy hierarchy of priests and ministers of state, and a magnificent royal court. As the native dynasty had practically eight times more revenue...

---

90 Two annas per hundredweight of barter, i.e., just under 24d. or 2s. 6d. for one cwt. of rice, and 2d. a pound of 1,000,000 annas.
91 Two annas per hundredweight of barter, i.e., just under 24d. or 2s. 6d. for one cwt. of rice, and 2d. a pound of 1,000,000 annas.
92 One anna per hundredweight of barter, i.e., just under 24d. or 2s. 6d. for one cwt. of rice, and 2d. a pound of 1,000,000 annas.
93 Four jingos per cent. Eight jingos per cent. These jingos were of the silver Tanka of 175 grains, or one.
94 Four jingos per cent. Eight jingos per cent. These jingos were of the silver Tanka of 175 grains, or one.
95 For a full discussion of these weights, see Mr. Thompson's "Publications of the British Museum," vol. ii. pp. 515, 1851.
96 Four jingos per cent. Eight jingos per cent. These jingos were of the silver Tanka of 175 grains, or one.
97 Four jingos per cent. Eight jingos per cent. These jingos were of the silver Tanka of 175 grains, or one.
to spend than we have, as they practically took eight times more from the people. That is to say, their revenue represented eight times the quantity of the staple food of the province which our own revenue represents.

The truth is, that a whole series of intermediate rights has grown up between the ruling power and the soil. I shall show in the next volume how the native kings of Orissa enjoyed the undivided ownership of the land. Instead of a long line of proprietors stretching from the Crown to the cultivator, as at present, and each with a separable degree of interest in the soil, the present proprietors are firmly bound up and centred in the hands of the Prince. The growth of these intermediate rights forms the most conspicuous phenomenon in the history of Orissa under its foreign conquerors. For centuries under the Mughals and Marathas, the unhappy province knew no Government but that of the sword; yet the very toughness of the public administration allowed private rights to spring up unforeseen, and to hinder into permanent charges upon the soil—charges which its native Prince would never have tolerated. Thus from long custom and misery a fair growth of rights has blossomed forth, and the magnificence, which the Hindu Princes of Orissa concentrated upon themselves, is now distributed in the form of modesty property among a long-descending chain of proprietors, each with his own set of rights in the land.

It is to such miscellaneous inputs as the stamp revenue and salt tax that the British Government of India has to look for the means of carrying on the administration. The native dynasty trusted almost entirely to the land revenue. They managed to raise an annual income variously stated at from £160,000 to £379,750, or say £450,000 a year, between the twelfth and the eighteenth centuries. This almost exactly corresponds, in figures, to the total revenue which, by a great machinery of miscellaneous inputs, we now collect from the province. In actual purchasing power, it amounted to seven times our present revenue, and supported the magnificence of a Hindu Court, with a standing army, an episcopal hierarchy, and a costly civil list. Under British rule, the Orissa revenue barely suffices for the charges of the local administration.

Had we dealt with the land as the Native rulers did, and considered it the inalienable property of the State, the land-tax might possibly still have sufficed. But under our more liberal policy of developing private rights in the soil at the expense of the public burdens upon it, the land-tax has become wholly inadequate to the cost of Government. In 1829-30, the land revenue of Orissa amounted to £138,966. In 1836-37, the Government leased out the province for thirty years; and in 1867 the Legislature renewed that settlement for another period of thirty years. It now amounts to £168,986, and no further increase can be hoped for till the end of the century. Meanwhile, the bare cost of Local Government amounts to £422,000 a year; and before the end of the century it will in all probability exceed half a million. Before the expiry of the present lease, the land-tax will yield less than one-third of the merely local expenditure.
If, therefore, the province is to pay its way, Government will be under a constant necessity of raising additional revenue by means of the miscellaneous import duties which are so distasteful to an Indian people.

This difficulty was partly inevitable. No materials have come down showing the precise proportion of the produce of the soil which the ancient Oress Dynasty took. Many conflicting traditions exist on the subject, and doubts the proportion varied in different parts of the country. The rich delta of Oress could afford to pay a larger share to the Prince than less productive and tractable; and, as a matter of fact, the Rajah of Pankuk, who still maintains his feudal independence, takes exactly three-fourths of the crop. He, however, like other Hindu Princes, deals with the cultivators direct. We, on the other hand, have allowed a whole series of intermediate holders, each with his own set of rights, to grow up between the State and the actual husbandmen; and practically not one-tenth of the harvest reaches the public treasury. The following figures will, I think, establish this fact. The three Oress districts contain 7,780 square miles, or 4,946,740 acres. At least one-half of this, or say two million and a half of acres, are under cultivation. The value of the ordinary crops varies from 10s. to £1 10s. Taking the low average of 1s., the total value of two million and a half of acres would amount to £1,278,000; and a land-tax of ten per cent. would yield £147,860. Now the actual land-tax from all sources amounts to £66,900. While, therefore, a Hindu Prince like the Rajah of Pankuk takes three-fourths as his share of the annual produce of the soil, the British Government obtains not one-tenth of it.

This difference is partly due to the immunity of our land settlement, partly to the growth of intermediate holders; but it is also in a large degree due to the fact that we take our rent in money and not in kind. The purchase of an Oress estate, when offered for sale in the market, is now found, as a rule, to be double its Government land-tax. Of course, extreme instances occur on both sides, but native gentlemen and native officers have alike assured me that this is below rather than above the average. In setting with the landholders in 1837, the Company allowed gross deductions to about one-third of the rent for the charges and risks of collection 426. The extension of cultivation, with the natural rise in rents, has doubled the landlord's profits during the past thirty-three years: so that, as above stated, the proprietor now generally cashes at least as much again as he pays to Government. The landlord, in his turn, collects from the cultivator as rent from one-half to one-quarter of the actual yield of the land, or any one-third. Government, therefore, as it only receives at most one-half of the landlord's collections, cannot get more than one-sixth of the net yield of the soil. In reality it receives much less. For it takes its share, not in grain, but in silver, which is constantly depreciating in value. This circumstance further depresses by nearly one-half the share which the State actually obtains, and reduces its one-sixth to one-twelfth or one-eighteenth of the produce of the land. I have shown, on what I believe to be irrefragable evidence, that the purchasing power

426 The theoretical deduction was ten per cent., but the various extra allowances raise it to between thirty and forty per cent. At Oress in 1836, Vol. I., p. 42.
of silver in India has fallen during the last five hundred years to one-seventh of what it was in the thirteenth century. I propose, very briefly, to prove that this decline, at least in Orissa, is still going on, that it has proceeded at a rapid rate during the present century, and that at the present moment it continues unchecked.

The period of scarcity which preceded our accession to Orissa in 1803 has left few memories behind it. But I have brought together, from the archives of the adjoining district of Ghajran, a series of papers which illustrate the state of prices a hundred years ago. My materials commence with the year 1779, and they show the average price of sackcloth rice, except in years of famine, to have been about 6d. a hundredweight, and the price of hanked rice 1s. 4d. 100. In Orissa the price was always about one-third less, and indeed Ghajran imported a large portion of its rice-supply from Fort and Cuttack.

This would show the price of paddy in Orissa to have been under 6d. a hundredweight; and when we obtained the province in 1803, 6d. a hundredweight was considered rather a high price. A shifting per hundredweight is now reckoned a cheap rate for paddy bought on the field at harvest time. In 1771 a bullock sold for 1s., which would now cost at least 2s., and a sheep from 1s. to 1s. 6d. whose present price would be at least 4s. The whole evidence to be derived from the official records shows that the average price of staple commodities towards the end of the last century was less than one-third their present rate. The wages of laborers bore the same proportion, and palace-keepers cost 4s. a month who now receive 8s.

We have, however, another method of ascertaining the decline in the purchasing power of silver. From time immemorial Orissa, like some other parts of India, has used a local currency of coins. When the province passed into our hands in 1803, the official accounts were kept and the revenue was paid in these little coins. In granting liberal bazaars to the landholders, however, we stipulated that they should henceforth pay their land-tax in silver, and fixed the rate of exchange at 5,120 coins to the rupee. For many years after our accession the proprietors bitterly complained that the rupee was worth much more than this rate, and that, in order to make up their revenue in silver, they had to pay the village bankers from 6,400 to 7,000 coins per rupee. This was alleged as one of the causes of the Rindia rebellion in 1817; and although the hardships may have been exaggerated, the customs rate seems to have been from 6,000 to 7,000 coins per rupee. But during the last seventy years the value of silver has steadily declined, and a rupee now only purchases 2,565 of these little coins.

100 In 1779 the price of paddy in Ghajran varied from 2s. to 7s. per cwt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate (Per Hundredweight)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1779</td>
<td>6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td>6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>6d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5.6.4.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26.27.28.29.30.31.32.33.34.35.36.37.38.39.40.41.42.43.44.45.46.47.48.49.50.51.52.53.54.55.56.57.58.59.60.61.62.63.64.65.66.67.68.69.70.71.72.73.74.75.76.77.78.79.80.81.82.83.84.85.86.87.88.89.90.91.92.93.94.95.96.97.98.99.100.)
The purchasing power of silver in Oregon has therefore, declined to one-half during the last seventy years, whether estimated in the local currency or in the staple food of the province. The depression has of late been accelerated by the vast amount of specie expended upon the irrigation enterprises, and by the large payments in silver which have been made to Oregon for rice and other products since the canals opened up the seaboard. These great works practically date from the year 1860, and during the twenty years between 1860 and 1870 prices rose from one-third to one-half. Time to take the town of Salem, which exhibits the rise in its extreme degree. In 1860 the best unshocked paddy sold at 100 pounds per mother; in 1878 at 84 pounds, or just one-half. Fine cleaned rice was 100 pounds per mother in 1860; 90 pounds in 1868; and 40 pounds in 1877. Common rice has not risen quite so much, as the cultivation has in the meanwhile extended. It was exported at 100 pounds per mother in 1849; 100 pounds in 1859; and 70 pounds in 1870. Wheat sold at 90 pounds per mother in 1860; 30 in 1868; and 18 in 1870.

The rate of wages has risen in proportion. In Baker's, unskilled laborers earned a penny halfpenny a day in 1858; they now get from twopence halfpenny to threepence. Carpenters' wages were in 1846 threepence a day; they are now fourpence halfpenny. Smiths and bricklayers could be had at threepence three farthings in 1859; they now earn sixpence. If we take the two other large cities in Oregon, Outback and Paris, the same results appear. In Outpost, unskilled laborers received twopence farthing in 1858; they now obtain threepence threefarthings. Smiths got fourpence halfpenny in 1859; they now earn sixpence. Bricklayers' wages have risen much rapidly, to from twopenny farthing in 1859, to threepence in 1839. In Paris, the money wages are officially returned at the following rates: unskilled laborers in Paris town, fourpence a day; in the rural parts two pence halfpenny. Their wages ten years ago were two pence halfpenny in the town, and three halfpence in the country. In 1869, smiths and carpenters got threepence three farthings in the town, and twopenny in the country; they now get threepence a day in the town, and three halfpence three farthings in the country. Bricklayers, who used to get fourpence halfpenny in the town, twelve years ago, now get three farthings halfpenny.

Within the last twenty years, therefore, the price of food in the large city of Baker has almost doubled; and throughout the whole province, as far as statistics exist, it has risen by about one-third. The rate of wages have also increased by upward of one-third during the same period. That these results are due, not to any altered degree of pressure of the population on the land, or in their demands on the food of the province, is clear from the following fact. While town wages, which are paid in money, have thus risen, agricultural wages, which are paid in kind, have remained absolutely the same. The farm-laborer has always earned a lower wage than unskilled workmen in the towns. In 1859 he received from twelve to fifteen pounds of unshocked rice for his labor. He has since paid the value of this rice in the rising exchange of the native monies. This gives 3,604 1853

---

70 The rate of, course, varies, but it is understood that in certain parts of Oregon the pay of laborers has also been rising.
paedly per day according to the locality, and at the present day he receives exactly twelve to fifteen pounds according to the locality. All wages that are paid in money have even by more than one-third. All wages that are paid in kind remain the same.

This, it should be remembered, are the results of only twenty years. During this brief period, silver has lost more than a third of its purchasing power, whether expressed in wages, or in the staple food of the people. Indeed, one district officer reports to me that the price of food has doubled within twelve years. The public revenues have been depreciated to at least one-third of their former purchasing power, whether expressed in wages or in grain. I have already shown that the value of silver, as estimated in the popular or sovereign currency, has fallen thirty per cent since 1845, even calculated at the rate of exchange which Government then arbitrarily fixed in its own favour.

If computed according to the actual rate of exchange then current, it has decreased by one-half. Had our first administrators contented themselves with taking payment in silver at the current rate of the sovereign exchange, the Oryza land-tax would now have been doubled what it is at present. But had they resolved to collect it at a grain valuation, according to Akbar's wise policy, it would now be more than double; for the price of food has varied more than doubled since 1845. The system of paying the land-tax by a grain valuation appears to me to be the best means of giving stability to the Indian revenue. In Orissa, it would have enabled us to reduce the salt duty to the ever Malabar rate; it would have saved the necessity of an income-tax altogether; and by shorter leases, it would now yield as large an income as the total which we extract by a variety of vexatious burdens.

The experience of the past few years shows that the fall in value of silver still continues. Every sleeping, the Government of India wakes up powerless when it wants to had the night before. A lack of reposes in 1849 represented a great deal more in actual purchasing power than a lack of reposes in 1856; and a lack of reposes in 1856 represented a great deal more than it did in 1879. Apart, therefore, from the cost of increased efficiency in the administration, the English in India must inevitably go on increasing the miscellaneous public burdens so abomination to the people, as long as the land-tax is estimated in silver. The one remedy is a grain valuation, either reckoned annually or revised at intervals of about five years. It might be possible to suggest several sources of revenue, such as a duty on Pasa, the aromatic herb that the people chew instead of tobacco, which would be less unpopular than the income-tax. But miscellaneous imposes, however unobjectionable in themselves, are more makeshifts and stop-gaps in a fiscal system like that of Bengal. The secret of making India pay is the due conservation of the land-tax; and in order to conserve this land-tax, it must be estimated, not, as in Orissa, upon the so-called cost of the landholder, but upon the actual produce of the soil. Until this necessity is realized and acted upon, every few years will bring a fresh act of financial embarrassment.

Under the present system, without adding a single Judge, or Magistrate, or officer of any sort to the Civil List; without granting one of the administrative improvements
which India's rapid advance in civilization suggests; without undertaking any of the rural public works which a tropical country so urgently requires; without allowing a rupee for bringing our material of war up to the modern European standard; the Indian Government will find at the end of each ten years the revenue which suffices at the beginning of the decade altogether insufficient at the close of it.—Bentley's "Orissa."

(C.) — Extract from the "Annals of India" in "Bentley's "Gazetteer of India."

Revenue of the Moghul Emperors at thirteen various periods, from 1505 to 1701, from a smaller area and population than those of British India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moghul Emperors</th>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Land revenue</th>
<th>Revenue from all sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Akbar A.D. 1558</td>
<td>Shahi Talas; not for official use; for Provincial Affairs</td>
<td>£ 1,000,000</td>
<td>£ 1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aboor, A.D. 1605</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Showal</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>17,649,999</td>
<td>17,649,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ashgahl, A.D. 1637</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>60,000,000</td>
<td>60,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dv.</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Anga</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>75,000,000</td>
<td>75,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Abul Fath, A.D. 1644</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Avangazal, A.D. 1655</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Saad, A.D. 1660</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Dv.</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Dv.</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Dv.</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Bakh Ali, A.D. 1648</td>
<td>Adal Talas; not for official use; for all India</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The above table is reproduced from Mr. Edward Tatham's "Revenue Estimates of the Moghul Empire," published in 1873, with the sanction of the Governor-General, and printed by the Indian Government.

2. This is the lowest estimate at which the Negro or Landmark, in contradistinction to the Royal Dignity, may be reckoned.—Mr. Thomas's "Revenue Estimates of the Moghul Empire," page 12.
Section III.—THE CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL CLASSES UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

A.—Extrait from the annual Censuses. Land Revenue—payment in kind or in money.

B.—Description of the Nadia crop by Mr. Brahmabhus in 1898.

Section IV.—NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS BEARING ON THE CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL CLASSES FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PRESENT CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

A.—Statement showing the permanent reductions made in different branches of taxation in all the districts during 12 years from 1834 to 1846.

B.—Extracts from Dr. Thomson’s Journal from Madras through Mysore, Coorg, and Seringapatam to Calcutta in 1827.

C.—Abstract of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 25th November 1850, on the subject of agricultural labour.

D.—Extracts from the report of the Commissioners for the investigation of alleged cases of tyranny in the Bombay Presidency, 1852.

E.—The Nadia revolt by Mr. R. D. Baljeet in 1896.

F.—Reform of the system made by the Board of Revenue so as to the condition of the following classes in 1860.

Section V.—STATISTICS SHOWING THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE SINCE 1840.

A.—Population.

(a) Statement showing the population of the Nadia Presidency.

(b) Statement showing the civil condition of the population of the Nadia Presidency, as per census of 1851.

(c) Statement showing the births and deaths of the population of different ages, and the number of services at different ages of every 500 persons.

(d) Table showing the proportion of population of the Nadia Presidency, grouped according to ages per 1,000.

B.—Cultivation.

Statement showing the extent of revenue or fully assessed land reduced in the several divisions of the Nadia Presidency.

C.—Prices

(a) Table showing the prices of various corns at different periods.

(b) Table showing the prices of different crops.

(c) Table showing the prices of rice and wheat.

(d) Table showing the prices of other provisions for which there are no official statistics.

(e) Price of land in 1860/61 in the village of Ghatgharha in the Nadia district, as given in the official accounts of the late Lands Commissioner, 1862.

(f) Price of land in 1859/60 in the same village, as given in the official accounts of the late Lands Commissioner, 1862.
Contents

(c) Statement showing the number of jutefields of revenue estate in 1869-70

(d) Statement showing the classification of jutefields assessed under the Encumbrances Act in the Native Province during 1850-51

(e) Statement showing the amount of Government stock distributed in the year 1884, 1885 and 1886 throughout India

(f) Statement showing the transactions of the Presidency, District and Post Office Revenue Banks in India

(g) Statement showing the number and value of money orders issued

(h) Comparative statement of the mean of value of labor in the Government and Imperial Railways of the Native Province for certain years compiled from returns of rates in force in the Public Works Department

(i) Statement showing the pressure of population on land in the several districts of the Native Province

(j) Statement showing the local sources, transformation of areas, improvements, canal thefts and the number of unoccupied lands and other unoccupied lands in the Native Province during the year 1896-97


(l) Opinions of earlier governments on the present economic condition of the people as compared with their past condition

(m) Volume giving the income, expenditure, state of debt, in different countries

Section VII. - Certain Alleged Facts in the Present Economic Position and Memorial, Measures Considered

A. Land Settlements

(1) Report on the method adopted by the settlement department for numbering the extents, of lands and the money value for fixing the assessment assessment on the lands

(2) Statement showing the increase or decrease in the assessed area and in the assessment paid by the introduction of the survey and assessment

(3) Extract from Mr. Gifford's article in "Political" on "Taxes on Land," printed in his Economic Journal, 1st Series, 1888

(4) Statistics showing the amount of land on land in various districts and the increase or decrease in the area cultivated and production (extracted from Mill's Statistical Register)

B. Tables of Rates in Simultaneity

(1) Extracts from the records of the Native Board of Revenue on the relative rights of cultivators and tenants

(2) Notes on Judicial decisions affecting rights of cultivators and tenants

(3) Extracts from the report of Mr. Pethik on the condition of Zemindar rights in the Districts of India

(4) Extracts from the report of Mr. Gifford on the condition of the districts in the Native Board, especially in the North Arcot District, quoted by Mr. W. Higby in his conclusions on private debts in the Madras Presidency, 1837, p. 195, 196, 197.

(5) Extracts from the report of the Hon. Mr. Justice's Annual Report of the Native Administration, 1896, p. 30, giving the details of the system of collecting the Government assessment on land in India by a division of the area rated

(6) Report on the method adopted by the Government in the Law of tenancy and tenanted in the Native Province
(7) Extract from Sir Bishop Holbe's speech on the Bengal Tenancy Bill before the Legislative Council of India in October 1860.

Extract from Sir Frederick Pollock's English Land Laws.

Note on the emancipation in the Madras Presidency as regards the professional rights of Barristers and conduct rates to railroads since their last in the village to ensure their security.

Extract from the speech of the Hon. Mr. Welles in the Legislative Council of India on the Bengal Tenancy Bill in 1860.

C—Agricultural Indebtedness (for Cause and Remedies)

(1) Statement showing the classification of mortgages of income-producing property registered in the year 1856 in the Madras Presidency according to the period for which they run.

(2) Statement showing the classification of creditors, the purpose of loans, and the cases of cases handled in the Income Tax Department in the Madras Presidency in 1856.

(3) Statement showing the aggregate and average values of different classes of indebtedness registered in the year 1856 in the Madras Presidency.


(5) Extract from the account given by Mr. Macdonald, Collector of Bengal to the Board of Revenue, on the state of debtors in India.

(6) Extract from Britisher's letter dated May 3, 1856, on the subject of making advances of money for commercial purposes.

(7) Extracts from a report on the condition of the agricultural population of South India by Mr. Macdonald.

(8) Extracts from a report on the condition of the agricultural population of South India by Mr. Macdonald.

D—Rural Credit and Banking

(1) Extracts from a reply published in the Madras Mail to certain criticisms on an article in the Madras Chronicle.

(2) Report on the progress of disbursements by Mr. Macdonald to the Government of Bengal, March 1856.

E—Council of Justice

Statement showing the costs incurred in suits of different values.

F—Local Land and Municipal Administration, etc.

Extracts from the report of the Local Land and Municipal Administration in regard to the political independence of Governmental institutions as to the management of religious institutions.
MEMORANDUM.

In this memorandum I propose to examine whether the economic condition of the Madras Presidency, and especially of the agricultural classes, has improved or deteriorated during the last 40 years of British administration, and whether, if there has been improvement, it is proceeding on right lines.

Section I.—The state of the country and the condition of the people in former centuries.

2. It is generally admitted that the last century, which immediately preceded the establishment of British power in Southern India, was a period of anarchy and of suffering to the masses of the population; but it would be interesting to learn what was the condition of the people in the preceding centuries under native rulers. Information on the subject is, however, exceedingly scanty, the very names of some of the dynasties which bore sway in Southern India having been forgotten; and it is only recently by a laborious study of ancient inscriptions, Indian archaeologists have been endeavouring to construct a South Indian history. The results of their researches, so far as they have gone, have been summarized by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., in his "Leaves of Antiquities of the Madras Presidency," and I have ventured to extract Mr. Sewell's remarks in an appendix 2 to this memorandum. It will be seen from Mr. Sewell's account, that from the earliest historical times Southern India was divided into a number of small kingdoms, which, like the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, were continually at war with one another; that each dynasty aspired to universal dominion and asserted it as opportunities offered; that the pressure of immigration of tribes from Northern India added to the distracted state of the country caused by internal war; and that from the 14th century, when the Muhammadans pushed their arms to Southern India and founded Muhammadan kingdoms in the Northern Deccan, to the beginning of the 19th century, the country seldom enjoyed peace.

1 The Nolli dynasty appears to have been a powerful one and ruled over all the East Coast by the time the Karmers took to the Cauveri not to have had the capital at Chennapetr, since the name of the dynasty has gone entirely out of the memory of the people of the province over whom it reigned.

2 See appendix A, section 7.
3. Among the various dynasties which have successively ruled in Southern India, the times of the Pandyas in the Madras and Tinnevelly districts, of the Cholas in the Tanjore district and of the Vijaynagar kings in the Southern Deccan, live in tradition as a sort of "golden age." That the Pandyas were a powerful dynasty, and that their country under Bakhtiar at first, and subsequently under Brahmanis, influence, attained to a very considerable degree of civilization, and kept up commercial intercourse with the Greeks and Romans, seems certain. They were also great patrons of the Tamil literature, and it was during their time that the famous "Sangham" or College of Poets was established, and the greatest Tamil poems were composed. The Cholas, who rose to great power in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries and held sway over nearly the whole of Southern India, were the builders of most of the great temples that exist in such numbers in the Tanjore district, and of the minute across the Chartrey. They excavated several channels for irrigation, which are known by their names—
VirapolaSar, Vikraman, Kirtimana, Mudikkadhum, and established agricultural colonies and future boroughs for the spread of Aryan civilization. The powerful Vijaynagar dynasty stemmed the tide of Muhammadan conquest for two centuries, i.e. 15th and 16th, until it was overwhelmed by a confederation of the Muhammadan sovereigns of the Deccan, and its magnificent capital was sacked and utterly destroyed. All these dynasties rendered important services to South Indian civilization, and, as during their times some of the greatest religious thinkers and scholars and dialecticians—Bakthiar, Bheemishakara, and Visvamitra—lived and flourished, it is no wonder that the people of Southern India recall the memory of these times with pleasure and pride.

4. Every dynasty, however, when it attained to supreme power, drew to itself all the wealth of the surrounding provinces and adorned its capital with magnificent buildings, but the conquered provinces were generally oppressed. One of the Pandyas' kings in an inscription bequests, among his other exploits, of having set Tanjore and Usinur (the Chola capitals) on fire, demolished the houses, high walls, streets houses and palaces, made the tears of the wives of redoubt place and taken away his crown of gold and given it to a poet who sang in praise of him. &c. One of the Chola kings in the same manner, in his turn,
humbled the Pandyanas and assumed the title of Maduranadak (death of the Madura city). Allowing for great exaggeration, the language of the inscriptions shows that even the best days of the ancient dynasty were those of wars and violence, that the ambition of every king was to humble the pride of his neighbours and to spill their territories, and that these exhausting wars must have embittered the people an immense amount of misery, which, of course, was borne with patience and resignation, as they had had no experience of a happier condition.

Large portions of the country were also covered with jungle or inhabited by tribes hardly redeemed from savagery. From a letter of a Jesuit missionary, written in the beginning of the 18th century, it appears that on the Tanjorey coast, which is now a fully cultivated and densely populated tract, "a large jungle had for some time past been infested by tigers to such a degree that after sunset no inhabitant of any village situated in its neighbourhood dared to move outside his door. Watch was kept in every village at night and large fires were lighted for the purpose of scaring the monsters away. Even in the day," time travelling was not quite safe, and numbers of people had disappeared who had, without doubt, been seized and devoured in lonely places." The country lying on the outskirts of Trichinopoly town appears to have been covered with jungle and infested by robbers in the middle of the 16th century. The same was the case in the Coimbatore district also. Murders were so numerous that a traveller by night was almost certain to fall into their hands. Wild beasts were so common that one missionary lost thirty of his householders by their ravages within six months. Both in the Pandyan and Chola countries large tracts were, and still are, inhabited by Kallars, whom W. Martin, who lived in the 18th century in the vicinity of Kallar country, described as more barbarous than any savage in any part of the globe. His assertion is corroborated by Word and Converse's survey account, which states that "a horrible custom exists among the female of the Collerians. When a quarrel or disension arises between them, the insulted woman brings her child to the house of the aggressor and kills it at her door to avenge herself, although her vengeance is attended with the most cruel barbarity. She immediately thereafter proceeds to a neighbouring village with all her goods, &c. In this attempt she is opposed by her neighbours, which gives rise to clamour and outrage. The complaint is then carried to the head Oobolahkar, who lays it before the elders of the village and solicits their interference to terminate the quarrel. In the course of this investigation, if the husband finds that sufficient evidence has been brought against his wife,
and that she had given cause for provocation and aggression, then he proceeds unsolicited by the assembly to his house and brings one of his children, and in the presence of the witnesses, kills his child at the door of the woman who had first killed her child at his; by this mode of procedure he considers that he has avenged himself much trouble and expense, which would otherwise have devolved on him. The circumstance is soon brought to the notice of the tribunal, which proclaims that the offence committed is sufficiently avenged. But should this voluntary distribution of revenge not be executed by the convicted person, the tribunal is prorogued to a limited time—fifteen days generally. Before the expiration of that period, one of the children of the convicted person must be killed; at the same time he is to bear all expenses for providing food, &c., for the assembly during three days. Such is their inhuman barbarity in avenging outrage, which proves the inigate cruelty and the unrestrained barbarity of their manners and morals."

5. Those cannot be the slightest doubt that famines and epidemics were far more frequent and destructive in former centuries than at present. Allogoria to terrible famines occur in ancient Hindu writings. The Ramayana mentions a severe and protracted drought which occurred in Northern India. According to the Osiris legends severe famines occurred between the years 1107 and 1145 A.D. The memory of a terrible 12 years' famine in Brahmavarta Purana lives in remembrance in Southern India. Duff in his history of the Mahrattas states that in 1808 the dreadful famines distinguished from all others by the name Duras Devo commenced in Maharashtra. It lasted, according to Hindu legends, for 12 years. At the end of that time the periodical rains returned, but the whole territory of the Godavari and the Kistna for upwards of 25 years afterwards. The hill forts and

---

1. The story is as follows: There was a terrible 12 years' famine in the land, the people were hungry and the Candi asked the deities of nature to bring rain. At the close of the 12th year, the gods went on a tour of inspection to see if the work of destruction was complete. All was devastation, but there was not a grain spot in the plain. They reported to the king the results of their investigations, who was a great agriculturist, but he had become so frightened that he could not bear the place. He ordered the plain to be dug, and the earth from the spot was to be piled up in the shape of a hill. The people were to be sent there for relief food. The earth was piled up in the shape of a hill, and a road was built up the side of the hill with the roads and seats with and old and good temple on top. The gods asked the king what they were to do. He said: I have ended the famine. They were not convinced, and went away. The people are now eating and sitting on the hill by the temple, and have never had such a good harvest before as they are having now. They did not see the hill after the god and they never had anything like this. They thanked the gods and offered to see them next year. They accepted the hill. They built a temple on the hill and a road was built up the hill for them to come and sit on the hill for the rest of their lives. They did not know when they were going to come and sit on the hill.
strong places previously conquered by the Muhammadans had fallen into the hands of Peligars and robbers, and the returning cultivators were driven from their villages. In the works of the Hindu astronomer Varaha Mihira, there are plagues tending to show that the theory of the connection between sun spots and droughts was known at the time, and this knowledge must have been the result of observations made during long periods of time. The Muhammadan historian Ferishtah records two famines as having occurred in the 15th century. He states that, in 1493 A.D., no rain falling, a grievous famine was experienced throughout the Deccan, and multitudes of cattle died on the parched plains for want of water. The king (Ahmed I of the Bahmani dynasty), in consequence, increased the pay of his troops and opened public stores of grain for the use of the poor. The next year also, there being no rain, the people became rebellious, complaining that the present reign was unlucky and the conduct of the prince dishonouring to God. The king felt this bitterly, repented to the mosque and prayed to God for rain. Rain came and the people were satisfied and the king was henceforward summed the "saint." In 1474 A.D., there occurred a famine still more terrible. The following account is given of it by Ferishtah: "When the royal standard reached the city of Bijapur, Mohamed Shah (Bahmani dynasty), at the request of Khwaja Mahomed Khan, bade to repose his fatigue, and the minister endeavoured to soothe his grief for the death of his mother. Admiring the situation of Bijapur, the king would willingly have remained there during the rainy season, but so severe a drought prevailed throughout the Deccan that the wells dried up, and the king, contrary to his inclination, moved with his army to Ahmedabad. Bedar. No rain fell during the next year either, and the towns in consequence became almost depopulated. Many of the inhabitants died of famine and numbers committed for food to Malwa, Sajjargaon and Ormegg. In Talukdars, Mahamudkars and throughout the Bahamani, no grains was seen for two years; and, in the third, when the Almighty showered his mercy on the earth, scarcely any farmers remained in the country to cultivate the lands." In 1576 a great famine appears (from the records of the Portuguese Mission) to have raged on the Ternavally coast. Father Herculues, a Portuguese missionary, established famine relief houses, in some of which 60 persons were daily fed. The records of the Mahr. Jesuit Mission contain accounts of some famines which occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1649 there was a famine in the Coimbatore district when a great part of the population died or deserted the country. In
1659 the Muhammadans of Golconda invaded the southern countries. The great devastation of the country round Trichinopoly and in the direction of Valla led to a local famine, which within a short time compelled the population to congregate in a body, some to the Mavara country and some to the Madura country, and some to Satyamangalam; and then the Muhammadans themselves were reduced to great extremities. Their horses died from want of forage, their camp-followers ran away and thousands of them died of actual starvation. So numerous were their deaths that it was impossible to bury their corpses, which were accordingly left in great heaps in the open fields. The effluvia arising from their decomposition, combined with the ill-health resulting from want of proper food, rapidly engendered a pestilence, which carried off large numbers. The sufferings of the people during the years 1659 to 1663 appear to have been terrible. The privations undergone by the Christians are described by the Jesuit missionaries as heart-rending: upwards of 10,000 of them died of want and starvation. Thanjavur appears to have suffered even more than Madura, and almost the entire Christian population of that kingdom was driven out of it either by the fear of Muhammadans or by the pangs of hunger. The Hindus also persecuted the Christians for having offended the local deities and brought drought and famine on the land by their iniquity; in the same manner as Christians in European countries appear to have persecuted the Jews in the middle ages, whenever famines and plagues occurred.

In 1677 the Madura country was invaded by the Mysoors. An extraordinary fall of rain on the Western Ghatams translated the country and swept away the low-lying villages with their entire population. This was followed by famine and pestilence, and it is stated that many of the half-starved wretches, who survived these calamities, took to brigandage and overran the kingdom unchecked. From 1710, for nearly 12 years, the Mavara country, Thanjavur and Srirangam, suffered from terrible droughts alternating with floods, and large numbers of the inhabitants emigrated to Panjore and Madura. The droughts appear to have been entirely due to the capriciousness of the season, as irrigation works in the Mavara country were in those days in an excellent condition.

1 These and other quotations from the records of the Madura Church Mission are translations of extracts in Pothier given by Dr. Thomas Maclay, Bishop. They contain the most authentic information as to the population of the Madura district in the 18th century and later, though bringing them as length to the present day. 2
water formed by the rains in brooks and torrents. Here there is to be seen a pretty large river called Vagaziarum. After crossing a part of Madura, it enters Marava, and when its bed is full, which ordinarily happens a whole month every year, it is as large as the Seine. Yet by means of canals dug by our Indians far away from their tanks, this river is so deflected on all sides that it loses itself entirely and does not reach its mouth till it has spent several weeks in filling the reservoirs towards which it is diverted. The most common tanks have tanks half a league long; there are others which are a league and more in length. I have seen three, more than three leagues in length. One of these tanks furnishes enough water to irrigate the fields of more than 50 plantations. As rice (paddy) must have its stem in water until it has acquired perfect maturity, after the first rains, when there is still water in the tanks, they continue the banks and continue to flow, and in the case of paddy which has grown, they can nourish a man for more than 15 days. But as soon as the rain fails, the distress is so great that I have seen the price of one bushel of rice rise to 8 annas (eighteen mites). This allows that in years of scarcity the price rose to 64 times of what it was in ordinary times. In 1715, there was a scarcity in the Chingleput district, which is stated to have been caused more by the neglect of irrigation works under the rule of the Nabobs of Arcot than by the failure of the season. The price of paddy rose to 40 pagodas per gajam, while the ordinary price was 25 pagodas per gajam. Twenty years before 1715, it is stated that 55 pagodas per gajam would have been reckoned as famine price. In 1789 occurred Hyder's devastating invasion of the Carnatic followed by the grievous famines, the horrors of which are beyond description.  

1 Mr. Nabarro gives the price varied as apportioned in 1691 to 250, to 550, to 750, and to 1,000. Father Martin says the scarcity during the winter of 1716 was more than 500,000. If the number of those required to live on rice and fish in the villages, the population of the 30 villages is over 10,000, this would be 1,500,000. From 1720, the decrease was more marked, and the price would have been 500, 1,000, 80, 64, 32, 16, 8, 4, 2, and 1 rupee or fagat at the price of the present day; in water which the following rules of the crops would have been in the beginning of the 18th century 15 long what it is now.
of which were described by Burke in one of his well known orations. From 1799 to 1794, a terrible famine raged in the Northern Circars. The famine does not appear to have extended to the north of Godavari, and in Fort the people lived in the midst of plenty. In the Ichapur and Chincholu countries, however, the people died in thousands. The country was plunged in a state of misery and devastation truly desolable. Whole tracts were depopulated, and when the famine came to an end, people were not forthcoming to cultivate the lands. The reports of the Collector of Rajahmundry in the beginning of the century show that many villages in the fertile delta of the Godavari had become depopulated and great difficulty was felt in arranging for the cultivation of lands.

Epidemics also were very frequent and destractive. Small-pox was very virulent, so much so that, on the Western Coast, till within recent times, on the first appearance of the epidemic in villages, the villagers used to desert them, leaving the sufferers to shift for themselves as best they could or die. So recently as the beginning of this century a fever of a very malignant type decimated the populations of Madanam, Timmervelly and Coimbatore districts. A committee was appointed by Government to inquire into the causes of the epidemic, and it reported that the primary cause was the highly unsanitary condition of the atmosphere resulting from the continued and extraordinary depredations from the regular course of the seasons and the misman aged arising from the marshy grounds, the thick jungles on the hill sides and from the salt marshes on the sea coast. The committee added that there were not wanting also predating causes in the debilitated condition of the population owing to insufficient diet, exposure to cold and damp, and fear and anxiety. The wretched ryots were only too well prepared to inhale the poisons by their poor condition and careless habits of life, and this was conclusively shown by the fact that, on one occasion, while the ryots were dying by thousands, soldiers, convicts and others scarcely suffered at all.

6. There is also ample evidence to show that the land tax imposed on the land, not only by the Nizam but by Nizam and sovereign, was fully 1/4th of the gross produce. Men's portion of one-sixth (which is the usual of irrigated lands) must have operated as a heavy tax on industry and not on rent, for rent, owing to the abundance of cultivable lands and the sparseness of population, could not have come into existence) must, if it ever was observed in practice, have for several centuries been exceeded, and half the gross produce come to
The following statement shows the revenues from the provinces of the Delhi Empire under Emperor Shah Jahan, 1628-49:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Revenues (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Delhi</td>
<td>10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ajmer</td>
<td>9,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Amber</td>
<td>7,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rohilpoo</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Patna</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Jaunpur</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Meerut</td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Allahabad</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kanpur</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Bareilly</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Lucknow</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Gorakhpur</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Allahabad</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Naini Tal</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Allahabad</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Bahraich</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Rohilkhand</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Bareilly</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for all provinces</td>
<td>60,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All Northern India except Assam and the greater part of Southern India paid revenues to Aurangzeb. His Indian Provinces covered nearly as large an area as the British Empire at the present day, although their dependence on the central Government was less direct. From these provinces his net land revenue demand is estimated at 60 to 80 million rupees, a sum which represents at least three times the productive power of the land revenue of British India at the present day. But it is doubtful whether the enormous demand of 80 million rupees was fully realised during any series of years, even at the height of Aurangzeb's power, before he left Delhi for his long southern wars. It was estimated at only 58 million in the last year of his reign, after his absence of a quarter of a century in the Deccan. Fiscal opposition led to revolts and revolts, while some or other of the governors were always in open war against the Emperor. The table given below exhibits the Mogul empire in its final collapse in 1657, but before it began to break up. The standard return of Aurangzeb's land revenue was not 524,365,600; and this remained the nominal demand in the accounts of the central exchequer during the next half-century, notwithstanding that the Empire had fallen to pieces. When the Afghan invader, Ahmad Shah Durrani, entered Delhi in 1648, the Treasury officers presented him with a statement showing the land revenue of the Empire at 434,365,600. The highest land revenue of Aurangzeb, after his annexations in Southern India and before his final reverses, was 584 million rupees; of which about 38 million were from Indian Provinces. The total revenue of Aurangzeb was
estimated in 1603 at £9 million and in 1677 at £77 million sterling. The gross taxation levied from British India, deducting the option excise, which is paid by the Chinese consumer, averaged £65 million sterling during the ten years ending 1879.

The above lists have been taken from Edward Thomas’s “Resources of the Moghul Empire,” pages 48 and 89.

(D.)—Extract from the Journal of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. IV.

Translation of a copper-plate grant, dated the 31st year of Rajaund Chola (probably A.D. 1046).

Held to Koutisjakaipunamar, the Chandravarta of Kulottungamahadeva, adorning his sceptre over all the directions of the vast sea of Vikrtec and Singapura (Ceylon). He, in the twelfth year of his reign, while provincially seated in Koutisjakaipuram, the temple Venkia placed in the Truvannamalai within the temple of the town of Amayalakshinakrakariyam otherwise called Ayantali, was requested by the king of

1 The amritan in the temple where water is stored for holding the obis.
It may possibly be interpreted import duty.

Duties in one case for milling wheat (generally for use in the house). It is not paid on barley and oats. The amount paid on wheat also depends on the state of crops, whether it is to tax or selling flour as a market.

The unit of weight is a khar. The word "khar" is used in the text. It is not clear what the unit of weight is. The amount paid on wheat also depends on the state of crops, whether it is to tax or selling flour as a market.

The assessment of land is not given. The grant being to the Telgus division, according to the way of calculation there we may roughly translate.

* It may possibly be interpreted import duty.
* Permitted to the height of exceeding—practise which in all Hindu societies continue to the day.
* 9. It may possibly be interpreted import duty.

* 7. It may possibly be interpreted import duty.

* It may possibly be interpreted import duty.

* It may possibly be interpreted import duty.

* It may possibly be interpreted import duty.

* It may possibly be interpreted import duty.

* It may possibly be interpreted import duty.

* It may possibly be interpreted import duty.
passionandascenti, and other taxes incurred in money or paddy by this village. Thus for the exemption from taxation and for the exchange of the lands from the former owners to the temple we issue this order.

Thus 3½ and 1½ and 2½ (reis) of land within the four boundaries with all the taxes of entrance and passinvascenti and others exempted we give to the temple.

Note.—The term, "calculated produce" and "settled produce" in the above inscription probably refer to the gross produce and the portion of it representing Government share. If this surplus be correct, the Government share, it will be seen, exceeded a half in some cases. In one or two cases there must be a mistake in the transcription of the inscription as the "settled produce" given exceeds the "calculated produce." It is assumed that the figures representing the superficial estimate of lands denote "valls"—a vall being equivalent to 93 acres. Vell "is an ancient measure and there is no tradition current in the Thanjavur district showing that either the extent of a vall has been altered or that any other land measure was of any time in use.

The following extract from a grant, dated A.D. 1484 by Kubodheva-dula shows the taxes and seignorial dues levied in the time of the Cholas in the Thanjavur district.


may enjoy the ancestral trees and the enjoyment and cultivation of mango trees; may you have the privilege of spending up big ghee; may you enjoy the upper irrigation and draining in the channels that, passing through this village, irrigate other villages; may you enjoy the upper irrigation and draining in the channels that, passing from other villages, come to this village. The cocoanut and palmyra trees cultivated in this village shall not be climbed up by the horse 10; may you enjoy the privileges of the planting of paddy for forester 11 as defiling your position. For the enjoyment of the above rights, may you enjoy also the sightblue, the sandeepika, one suit (of rice collection) for every suit (plaster), one suit (of rice collection) on the days named to the names, the tax on weddings, the tax on washersmen's stores, the tax on potters, the rent on water, the leaves collection, 12 a cloth for (every) house, the herbs, the tans on goldsmiths, the tax on washermen, the tax on farmers, the tax on shop, the good cow, the good bull, the watch of the country, the gaua, cotton, soy and a share of the kind in the common embankments inside (the village); may you enjoy the right of seeing car, the supreme management, the death duties and other rights even without the exception of the lands used for raising good crops. For the enjoyment of the above rights, may you enjoy also the right of irrigating by obstructing the water by embankments, of making and cutting the flow of the current. May

10 Literally the politician, by which term it meant the owner or abode, commonly called the bolt and hence.  
11 The fruit of a tree in Sandekhi, but it also means the fruits grown in garden, generally yellow flowers.  
12 For services or to be used as dana for making in making masks.
The following abstract shows the revenue in paddy which a number of villages in the Chola and other countries associated to the temple at Temure by the Chola King Rajendra in the 12th year of his reign (end of the tenth century) had to pay to the Thanjavur temple as recorded in the inscriptions on the walls of the temple.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of villages</th>
<th>Revenue in 100 paddy lands</th>
<th>Revenue in 1000 paddy lands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pahlav (Pallava)</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nataraj</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>11,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kirtiratnaraj in Nallamalai</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>9,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Perumal</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kottapul</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sivakumar</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kannadikutti</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>5,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Swarnakumari</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Valanmiswarai</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ramaswami</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Balakrishna</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Kalanikumari</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Tirthasthala</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Anandavilasini</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Sivakumari</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Sannidhanaram</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Narasimhachar</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Jaya</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Sri</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Siva</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Rama</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Anandavilasini</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Sivakumari</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The information in which the extent of lands associated to the temple is mentioned in the inscriptions in Tamil has not been separately noted, but it is recorded to be 70,000. It is uncertain whether the land measurement in use in the Thanjavur district from time immemorial. The "Rajendra" grantmeasure refers to a system used in the later period, which is somewhat different than that used in the modern system. The total recorded contained 2,000,000 acres.
SECTION II.—The Condition of the Presidency At the End of the 18th Century When Most of the Provinces of Southern India Were Acquired by the British.

(A.)—Extracts from official reports showing the condition of the several districts at the time they came under British administration.

Northern Cossar.—Gopua, Vinganapatam, Goldwa (acquired from the Nizams in 1774), Kottar (acquired from the Nizams in 1779 and 1780), Pobiah (acquired from the Nizam of Carnatic in 1781).—The seminaries are situated in the hill country of the western frontier, and in the plains between the hills and the sea. The hill seminaries, centre in the woody and unwholesome heights which they inhabit, and are exposed to the attacks of the Nizam and of the Rajah of Tenasserim, had often furnished examples of successful depredation and organized revolt. They were surrounded by military tenants, whose lands were held on stipulations of personal service, and whose attachment to their chieftain was increased by the bonds of family connection. These seminaries consisted of three classes: First, the Vellais of Pulling origin, who were driven from the Carnatic in the year 1636 by the Mahanagars, and who established themselves on the borders of the Kottar. Second, the Travancour, of the race of ancient servitors of Ottar, who were also compelled by the Mahanagars to relinquish the plains of the Cossar, and retired to the highlands where they formed their western frontier. Their possessions are principally situated to the north of the Godavari. Third, the Warrancour, being petty chieftains of the military tribe, who, after the overthrow of the empire of Orissa by the Mahanagars, were enabled, from their local situation, to acquire an independent jurisdiction. Their possessions are chiefly situated in the highlands in the northern division of Chondra.

The seminaries in the plains could boast of an higher extraction than being descended from the officers and revenue agents of the sovereigns of Orissa, who were employed by the Mysore as conquerors in the management of their new acquisitions, and who appear to have first acquired lands and influence, after the conquest of Anorvgad, and during the extending administration of his children.

The military force of the seminaries, like that maintained by the Polgars in the modern provinces under the Mysore Government, consisted of three descriptions: First, the Cossar pesta, who were paid in money and whose constant attendance was expected. Secondly, the Munez pesta, who were paid by grants of land, subject to a quit rent only. Thirdly, the Mosey pesta, who consisted of military tenants of a higher order, and who were bound to bring their adherents
with them to the field. At the time the Cheews came into the hands of the Company, the settlers were, for the most part, in a very irregular state of subjection to Nizam Ally. During the weakness of his government and that of his predecessors, they had embraced every opportunity to extend their power, and to assume a degree of independence incompatible with any other character than that of tributary chiefs. In the pursuit of these views, they were assisted by the insur- rections and mutinies for opium, which followed the death of Aurungzeb in 1707. Amidst these disorders arose a dispute for the succession to the eminence of the Deens, in which Nizam-ul-Mulk, by maintaining himself in opposition to the orders of the Mogul, excited the amirates to disregard an authority, which then possessed not the power of enforcing their obedience. During the period of Nizam-ul-Mulk's usurpation, little progress was made in reducing those countries to a state of order and a second contest for the government of the Deens arising upon his death in 1749, the confirmation of the internal Government was continued and increased. Such was the state of the Northern Civilian when obtained by the French. At the commence- ment of their administration, they made the Zemindars feel the weight of their power, but being called upon to march their troops into different parts of the country, for the purpose of supporting Sukhat Jung, before their authority was established, they were more driven to the necessity of intimidating those who had attempted to rebel, and disorders caused, which prevailed from the time the French were expelled the Cheews. They reverted to the Government of the Nizam, under whom they continued to the period when they were transferred to the English East India Company. For that interval, the whole sys- tem of internal management had become disorganized. Not only the form, but even the remembrance of civil authority, seemed to be wholly lost.

By the custom of the Hindoo Government, the cultivators were entitled to one-half of the paddy produced (that is, grain in the bank) depending upon the periodical rains. Of the crops from the dry grain lands, watered by artificial means, the share of the cultivator was about two-thirds. These were the proportions which generally obtained; but particular cases were allowed a larger share, as well as exceptions, that is, those whose who were not fixed residents in the villages. Before the harvest commenced the quantity of the crop was ascertained in the presence of the inhabitants and village servants, by the survey of persons appointed with the village, who, from habit, were particularly skilled and expert in judging of the amount of the produce, and who, in the adjustment of this business, were materially aided by a reference to the produce of former years, as recorded by the accountants of the villages. The cultivators were at liberty, if they thought it necessary, to make another survey by people of their own; and if any material difference appeared in the two estimates, a third account was taken, under the orders of the village officers. The quantity which belonged to the Government being thus ascertained, it was received in kind or in money. Before the division took place, certain deductions were made from the gross produce, which the Committee will hereafter explain.
Of the plantation or garden culture, which was of greater value than the other descriptions of produce, no larger portion was demanded from the ryots than one-fourth; to conceiveth the entire yearly crop, according to the additional expense, trouble and time required in bringing each article to maturity, and the distance and hazard of carrying them to market. The rule with respect to three superior articles, as well as small grains, was to assess them with a fixed money-rent, not liable to fluctuation, as the produce might be more or less.

Such were the rights of the ryots according to the ancient usage of the country. In consequence, however, of the changes introduced by the Muhammadan conquest, and the many abuses, which later times had established, the share really enjoyed by the ryots was often reduced to a sixth, and had seldom exceeded a fifth; for instead of the former usage, the imposition of an impost originally founded on a measurement of the taxable land, and of additional assessments in proportion to that impost, was generally adopted, and the amount of such additional assessments had no bounds, but those which limited the exposed ability of the husbandman. In these parts of the country where the practice of receiving rents in kind, or by a monetar valuation of the annual produce, still obtained, the cultivators were reduced to an equally unfavorable situation by the arbitrary demands and extortions to which they were subjected beyond the stipulated rate. The effects of this unjust system were considerably augmented by the custom which had become common with the remonstrants, and to which your committee have already alluded, of sub-squating their lands to farmers, whom they assisted with unsatisfied power of collection, and who were thus enabled to disregard, whenever it suited their purposes, the engagements they entered into with the ryots, besides plundering every species of oppression, which an unfeeling nature of self-interest could suggest. If they agreed with the cultivators at the commencement of the year for a rent in money, and the season passed an abundant one, they then insisted on receiving their dues in kind. When they did take their rents in specie, they hardly ever failed to collect a part of them before the harvest time had arrived and the crops were cut, which reduced the ryots to the necessity of borrowing from money-lenders at a heavy interest of 8, 4 and 6 per cent. per month, the same requisite to make good the anticipated payments that were demanded of them. If from calamity or other cause the ryots were the last victims in the discharge of their rents, the officers of the centre were instantly quartered upon them, and these officers they were obliged to maintain until they might be recalled on the demand being satisfied. It was also a custom to remove the inhabitants from fertile lands, in order to bestow them on their friends and favorites; and to obligate the ryots to raise them, when they happened to be farmers, in the billing of their lands and to furnish them gratuitously with labourers, bullocks, carts and cows.

In addition to the assessment on the lands, or the shares of their produce received from the inhabitants, they were subject to the duties levied on the inland trade, which were collected by the natives under the remonstrants. These duties, which went by the name of Sayye, so they extended to grain, to cattle, to slabs and all the other necessities of life passing through the country, and were collected by corrupt, partial,
and extortionate agents, produced the worst effects on the state of society, by not only checkeing the progress of industry, oppressing the manufacturers, and causing him to delude his manufacturers, but also by等工作 beneficial operations of commerce in general, and abridging the comforts of the people at large. This latter description of import duties was originally considered as a branch of revenue too much exposed to abuse to be entrusted to persons not liable to restraint and punishment. It was, therefore, retained under the immediate management of the Government. The first rates were easy, and the customs duties low; but as the general relaxation of authority prevailing in the Country, this mode of raising revenue for the support of Government was sensibly abused. In the course of a little time, new duties were introduced under the pretence of charitable and religious donations, as fees to the doctors or account-keepers, guards and other officers at the stations; as protection money to a callender, or as a present to those who farmed the duties. Not only had the duties been from time to time raised in their amount, and multiplied in their number, at the discretion of the callender and the renters under them, but they were at large levied at almost every stage, and on every successive transfer of property. Uniformity in the principles of collection was completely wanting; a different mode of taxation prevailing in every district, in respect of all the varieties of goods and other articles subject to import. This consuming system of oppression had, in some instances, been aggravated by the Company's Government, which, when possessed of a few factions, with a small extent of territory around them, adopted the measure of placing stations, or custom stations in the vicinity of each, for the purpose of assuring the state of trade within their own limits, as well as to afford them a source of revenue. Under the head of Sagar revenue was also included a variety of taxes indelible in their amount, and various in their nature, called monopo; they consisted of imposts on houses, on the implements of agriculture, on horses, on merchants, on antifires, and other professions and customs.—(Extract from the 18th Report of the Permanent Committee for East India affairs, 1812.)

Nellore District (extract from the Nellore of Carnatic in 1801).—The district of Nellore did not suffer much in comparison with the rest of the Carnatic in the wars which took place in the latter part of the 18th century; and being exempt from the presence of armies, was saved from the devastations and depredations of the British. The people were cultivators who were grounded by the renters and left nothing but their ploughs and cattle. There was no monkish class. The herd inhabitants who had been satturers had amassed some wealth, which they handed. Persons who lived by trade were few. . . Roads, properly so called, there were none and the lines of traffic were infested by robbers and dacoits. The trade of the district was unimportant and the only suffer for it was by the sea. The chief commodities were grain and tobacco and muslin cloth, while cattle were expected in some quantity principally to Hyderabad. The trade in cloth was the most considerable at one time. There was a number of Moghal merchants who bought for the market in Bussora and the Persian Gulf, but the English
obtained access to these markets about 1800, and the Indian merchants, finding themselves underbid, the trade declined. The grain traffic was not great. The demand was chiefly in the southern districts and the only means of transport by sea, on native craft; and the winds prevailing at the harvest season being contrary, the transport was precarious and the trade small. The enormous expense of land carriage was prohibitive. Carts were not obtainable. All goods were conveyed on bullocks (the cost of transporting 1 picta of grain was 1 star pagoda and 5 fennas for every 8 miles). This is about one-third of the average price of salt quantity ruling throughout the district). These difficulties, combined with oppressive customs and other taxation and the insecurity of the roads, completely paralysed trade. The uncertainty and uncertainty of the revenue system; the oppression of the natives, themselves the victims of the rapacity of the nabobs and compelled to receive themselves by extortions from their people; the fraud and usury which had infected all ranks; the poverty of the cultivators who were tenants of the community; their ignorance and asthenic infirmities to their own improvement; the stagnation of trade and manufacture consequent on restrictive taxation and general insecurity; the dependance of Fugligi and Kasuligas, the supposed guardians of the public security; the total want of a system of police; all these combined to produce a state of things unperceived the extreme, and from which it would be vain to hope for sudden or rapid improvement.—*The Native District Minutes.*

**Colac District**—Pollury and Cuttack (acquired from the Namas in 1809).—The state of the districts in 1809, when they were sided by the Namas, has been thus described: Probably no part of Southern India was in a more unvisited state of less requisitioned either by experience or by tradition with the blessings of British Government, the collecting of the revenues being entirely entrusted to native collectors. Pollury and Cuttack each of these became the head of a little army and carried on destructive feats with the villages immediately contiguous to him. Bands of robbers wandered through the country, plundering and murdering such travellers as refused to submit to their exactions, while the Government, conscious of its weakness, merely attempted to interfere. It was computed that in the year 1809, when the Colac districts were transferred to the Company's rule, there were stationed through them, exclusive of the Namas' troops, 30,000 armed persons; the whole of them, under the command of 89 Fugligis, admitted by regime and committed everywhere the greatest enormities.

**Keravu (acquired from the Kolam of Keravu, 1829).—**It is impossible to draw out any history of the revenue management of the country during the time of the Nabob. There were no laws between the governing and the governed, the taxes and the land, except the will of the Naws. The hints that we can learn of the internal economy of the country, before the immediate rule of the British, shows us that the manner of imposition of the revenue was most arbitrary and the collection most unjust. The whole known history, with the honorable exception of Munsaw Khan's rule, is lost a series of acts of oppression and violence on the part of the Nabob, and passive resistance or flight on the part of the people. Mr. Illes, the Commissioner, on the assumption of the country, constantly mentions these facts and shows
that the population was about one-half in proportion to that of the surrounding districts. There are, however, now few records of those times extant. The story of their destruction is amusing. The British soldiers who were employed in installing Massewar Khan on the throne took a fancy to the dogs in which the records were stored and offered them, throwing the records into intangible confusion. When Massewar Khan was fairly seated on the throne, he tried to rearrange them; but finding the task too great, he employed all his elephants and camels for some days to throw them into the river. That moving tide carried down in its bosom the evidence of many a deed of oppression and many a bygone story of woe! This act of Massewar Khan the Mughal has effectually thrown the deck of oblivion over the doge of his ancestors. In this oblivion we preserve must be seen.

It will be, however, as well to record a few of the acts of the last Nabob, to show the state of the country when it was first examined. The revenue administration was in the greatest disorder and was carried on without any system whatever. No public accounts were kept except by the village officers, and the amount of remittances was carried straight into the Nabob's private, being his only treasury. The amount to be paid by each village was changed according to the caprice of the Nabob, and he would increase his demand without any permissible reason. When his demands passed all bounds, the people would fly. Then the Nabob would allow them back with promises, and give them a pledge to remunera them, but as soon as the crops were ready to be cut, he would seize the produce, breaking through his word without example. In Nundyal, where there is some valuable cultivation under a free land, he played the people this trick for two or three years, until at last they threw up the land, leaving the parish servants of the village to carry on the cultivation as best they could for the Nabob. In another village, Namur, he added Rs. 5,000 to the demand, became a house of that value and there. The inhabitants fled and left the Nabob to continue the cultivation with his own servants and bullocks.

(See Report on the settlement of the Serampore districts.)

Oudh State (appearing in 1785 and 1791).—The Juphis was twice invaded by Hyder Ali; in 1768, and in the war of 1790, when he entered it with fire and sword. On the termination of the latter war, in 1794, hardly any other signs were left in many parts of the country of its having been inhabited by human beings, than the bones of the bodies that had been massacred, or the naked walls of the houses, churches, and temples which had been burnt. To the havoc of war succeeded the afflication of famine; and the emigrations arising from these successive calamities nearly depopulated the district.

The system of management in the Juphis, while it was rented by the Nabob, was of the same oppressive and unjust character which marked the administration of affairs in his own territory, the Persian. It exhibited throughout a scene of boundless exaction and rapacity on the part of the Government and its officers; of povolation on the part of the inhabitants; or of estrangement between them and the public servants, while the revenue diminished every year with the cultivation. The habitation was entitled to a certain standard share of the crop, but a considerable proportion of it was extracted from him under the varied device of special assessment, fixed assessment and additional assessment.
Under the Nabob's Government, the revenue had been collected in the irrigated tanks by a division of the produce with the ryots. As a general rule, the crops were equally divided between the Government and the cultivators, after a deduction of 5 per cent. of the gross produce had been made for seeding expenses. This was the ordinary rate of division (kesara), but in lands irrigated from tanks and also in those where, from their position, were liable to have the crops damaged by inundations, the ryots were allowed to take 55 to 58 per cent. of the gross produce. In newly formed wet lands the cultivator's share (heartan) was 60 per cent., and in those irrigated by pisciculture and other mechanical contrivances, it varied from 45 to 60 per cent. The allowances (zamindari) paid to the village artillerymen, caravan, watchmen, culturist slaves (Pillaiers), and others varied from 25 to 28 per cent. of the gross produce, and were paid by the inhabitants alone out of their share.

In the dry portions of the country, the ryots were collected in some villages according to the sorts of grains cultivated, while in others the assessment varied according to the nature of the soil. The demands were, however, made in a most arbitrary manner, and were invariably increased if the output of the crops happened to be better than usual. The collections in these villages were made in money, and not in kind, as in the wet villages.

The sale of grain was a strict monopoly, the price being fixed by the manager. All importation was forbidden, and it was an offense punishable by exorbitant fines, even to lend a neighbour such small quantities of grain as he might require for his immediate support. The grain was taken from the cultivators at the rate of 7 and 8 annas per helen, 1, and sold back to them from government granaries kept up in different parts of the district at 8 and 9 annas per helen.

In some respects that he makes on the system of government prevailing in Travancore before the English got possession of the country, Mr. Wallace remarks that, under the system then in force, the people never knew when the demands on them would cease. The so-called fixed assessments seemed to have been imposed merely with the view of inducing the ryotee to cultivate, in the hope that nothing beyond the settled amount in money or grain would be extracted from them. In this hope they were, however, invariably disappointed, and he asserts that, if in any one year the revenues were actually collected according to the fixed rates, this was done merely with the view of inducing the ryotee, by this apparent moderation, to increase the extent of their cultivation in the succeeding year, and thus give the cultivators or their inferiors an opportunity of doubling their extortions. (Travancore District Report.)

Fiscally (appears in 1792 and 1801).—Colonel Fullerton in 1789 wrote:—"The last, but not the least, considerable of your southern

---

1 There were 30 fanams to the pana, so that one fanam equalled 1 anna. 100 pana of one fanam equal.

2 The helen weighed 20 measures of 100 salus each.
territories is Tinnevelly. It is a hundred and fifteen miles in length and seventy miles in breadth. A ridge of inaccessible mountains divides it on the north from the wild valleys of Wattep and Orutoppulam, belonging to Tipoo Sultan. It stretches to the confines of Madura and Ramnad on the north-east and east, reaching to the sea upon the south, and borders on the west with the Bajiahil of Travancore, both terminating near Cape Comorin. Nature has been bountiful to this province. Its surface is generally flat, from the scantiest till it approaches the mountains on its northern boundary. The rivers by which it is intersected supply luxuriant crops of rice, and the rice paddies yield plentifully in abundance. The productions of the neighbouring island of Ceylon would flourish here, and thus render us the rival of the Dutch in the cinnamon trade; but the peculiar nature under which the country has been held, the conditions it has endured from the first entrance of the Moslems in the course of this century, and the depredity of its rulers, have counteracted the benefits of nature. Even when a native Rajah governed Tinnevelly, the flat and open country only was reduced. This was to specific rules to great revenue, who were invested with despotic powers and harassed the peaceful subjects, while native feudalies who possessed considerable territory maintained armed forces and withheld their stipulated tributes on the first appearance of disturbance. These chiefs, as well as their subjects, were called Pollygars; they amount at present to 52, capable of bringing 30,000 brave, though undisciplined, troops into the field. They have also fortified towns and strongholds in the mountains, whether they retire in times of emergency. Raiskia the territory that these Pollygars possess under the range of hills that form the northern boundary of Travancore, many of them hold ample tracts in the flat and cultivated country. Adverse to industry, they suffer their own possessions to remain waste, while they irritate each other and plunder their immediate neighbours. Such is the creed of these revolutions, that every district in the province has been forced to purchase their forbearance by enormous contributions.

Of the revenues employed to collect the revenue, Colonel Fullerton gives the following account:

"It was not possible for the English Government entirely to suppress the numbers of inferior instruments who are eager to perpetrate oppression and to enforce unusual taxes by unspeakable means. The situation of the country rendered it necessary to continue the practice of sending extensive districts to the highest bidder, although every provision was adopted to prevent the abuse of power, still the collectors could not be enforced unless an unrestricted authority was vested in the renter. His object, too, frequently is to enrich and embus the land that he may go on at last satisfied with the profit of his previous. The fact is, that in every part of India where the renter is established, not only the cem and the lumbermen, but the manor, the farmer, the smith, and every other Indian inhabitant, is wholly at the mercy of these minions of public exaction."
under the oaks of Hyde, producing three annual crops, it is hardly
known that less than 40 percent of the land produced has been allotted
to the husbandman. Yet revenues on the cast, have not escaped to
impose redundant farmers, and to inflict on them extreme aversion
of punishment, for refusing to accept of sixteen in the hundred, so
the proportion out of which they were to maintain a family, to furnish
stock and implements of husbandry, cattle, seed and all expenses
incurred to the cultivation of their lands. But should the unfortunate
must be forced to submit to such conditions, he has still a long list of
real impositions to endure. He must labour week after week at the
repair of water-courses, tanks, and embankments of rivers. His cattle,
sheep and every portion of his property may at the disposal of the
owner and his life might pay the forfeit of refusal. Should he presume
to reap his harvest when ripe, without a mandate from the owner;
whose crops, cangkuperies and relations attend on the occasion, nothing
short of bodily torture and a confiscation of the little that is left him
would be the more severe, and a consignment of the little that is left
him could escape the offence. Would he sell any part of his property
portion, he cannot be permitted, while the owner has any disposal of,
would be to reap anything to a distant market, he is stopped at every
village by the collectors of tankum or Gabula (taxes duties), who
must be paid for every article imported, or disposed of. So
unacceptable is this evil, that between Nagapattinam and Puducherry,
not more than 300 miles, there are about 30 places of collection, or
in other words, a tax is levied every ten miles upon the produce of
the country; thus manufacture and commerce are exposed to disaster
hardly less severe than those which have occasioned the decline of culi-

1 But these form only a small proportion of the powers with which
the owner is invested. He may either raise the exchange of produce
at his own discretion; he may prevent the sale of grain, or sell it at the
most exorbitant rate; he may, at any time he may, and frequently does,
occasion personal damage. Besides maintaining a muster table, when
he employs under the appellation of police, at the public expense, he
may require any military force he finds necessary for the business of
oppression, and few inferior officers would have strength enough to
justify their refusal of such aid. Should any one, however, dispute
these powers, should the military officers refuse to prostitute military
service to the duties of wretched individuals, or should the Civil
Superintendents (the Superintendents of Assigned Revenue,) the
Collector of that district, demur, against such abuse, nothing could
be more pleasing to the owner, he derives from these innumerable
arguments for non-performance of engagements, and for a long list of
definitions. But there are still other men less extraordinary
counterparts in the complex enrolments of a owner. He sells, in his
own person, all the branches of judicial or civil authority, and if he
happens to be a Brahmin, he may also be termed the representative of
ecclesiastical jurisdiction. I will not enlarge on the consequences
this building into the priest of one wretched monarchy of these
powers that might be sufficient to debase the dignity and foster of supreme
executive authority. — (History of Travancore by Bishop Coddington)

Stalin (supplied in 1792 from Yezo Station.)—That the generality of
the peasants who inhabit the Daurnah are extremely diligent is a
truth of which daily experience convinces us. The system of oppression, which obtained in the last Government, and the frequency of destructive wars, have entailed upon them a state of poverty from which nothing but the operation of time, under the fostering influence of moderate taxation, mild laws and the impartial distribution of justice, can relieve them. For removed from the want of Government and aidless obtaining substantial relief, even though their complaints should reach the throne, patience became hopeless of relief, and rapidly pressing the means by which the veil would be procured, they were subjected to the unrelenting hand of oppression. which, maddened in its rage, pursued indiscriminately its object, political, the very nerve of industry, and implanted in their minds a distrust of the intentions of their rulers, which better treatment and more attention to their circumstances have scarcely been able to assuage.

The distinguishing mark of war, even fatal to the industrious husbandman, brought with them an accumulation of distress. Exposed from their centrality situation to the dangers of contendering armies and the deprivations of unskilled laborers, equally unmerciful to the poor that riveted and the friends who might have protected them from violence, they had no safety but in flight, no security but what was afforded by inaccessible mountains, from the tops of which they beheld the destruction of their former abodes. (Mr. Grahame, Assistant Collector, Saloon District—1992.)

Malahar (arose in 1792 from Tippoo Sultan).—Malahar, says Mr. Daven, Commercial Resident, "when Hyder invaded it, was divided into a number of petty Rajahships, the government of which being personally feudal, neither here nor there a system of revenue was known amongst its inhabitants. Owing to the quarrels between the different rajahs and the turbulent spirit of the Nalai chiefs, who were frequently in arms against each other, the state of the country was little favorable to the introduction of order or good government. Malahar, however, was then a country very rich in money. For ages the inhabitants had been accumulating the precious metals that had been given them for the produce of their gardens. Hyder's only object, in the countries that he conquered, was to acquire money, and, provided he got plenty of that, he was very indifferent as to the minute which his officers took to obtain it. Immediately after the conquest of Malahar, vast sums were extorted from its inhabitants by the military officers and by the Guanoos (Richards) placed over the revenues. Of these extortions Hyder received a share: and so vast a system of revenue was left until those sources began to fail. When he found the assets from Malahar fall short of its charges, he listened to proposals from the rajahs to become tributaries. An estimate of the revenue was made by the aforementioned Richards, who, as many of them were to remain with the rajahs as spies on their officers, took care that the estimate should be so formed as to leave a large sum to be divided between them and the rajahs. By this new mode of things those latter were vengeful with desperate anxiety over the other inhabitants, instead of the very limited preoccupation that they had enjoyed by the feudal system, under which they could neither exact revenue from the lands of their vassals, nor exercise any direct
authority in their districts. Thus the ancient constitution of government (which, although defective in many points, was favorable to agriculture from the land being unencumbered with revenue) was in a great measure destroyed, without any other being substituted in its room. The rajah was no longer, what he had been, the head of a feudal aristocracy with limited authority, but the all-powerful deputy of a despotic prince, whose military force was always at his command, to exert or decline any of the chastises which were inclined to dispute or disobey his mandates. The condition of the inhabitants under the rajahs thus reinstated in their governments was worse than it had been under the Caucaus Brahmins, for the rajahs were better informed of the substance of individuals and knew the methods of getting at it. In short, the precarious tenure by which the rajahs held their station, joined to the uncontrolled authority with which they were vested, rendered them to the utmost degree injurious; and not even a prince was set up for enacting tyranny from all such as were known to have any. There were no laws; money-flaunted immunity to criminals; and innocent blood was often shed by the rajahs' own hands under the pretense of justice. In the space of a few years many of them amassed treasures to an extent unknown to their ancestors, and had it not been for the dread that they entertained of Hyder's calling them to an account of their ill-gotten wealth, their situation under him was better than that which they held before the invasion. The country, however, was daily declining in produce and population, beset as it was, at the accession of Tippoo, I have reason to conclude, from my own observations, and from the inquiries which I have made, that they were reduced to one-half of what they had been at the time of Hyder's conquest. But still greater calamities were reserved for the unfortunate inhabitants of this country in the reign of the Sultan. During the government of his father, the Hindoos continued unmolested in the exercise of their religion, the customs and observances of which, in many very essential points, supply the place of laws. To them it was owing that some degree of order had been preserved in society during the changes that had taken place. Tippoo, on the contrary, early undertook to render Islamism the sole religion of Mysore. In this cruel and impious undertaking he was warmly seconded by the Moplahs, who possessed of a strong zeal and of a large share of that spirit of violence and depravity which appears to have invariable been an ingredient in the character of the professors of their religion in every part of the world where it has spread. All the confidence of Sulta was bestowed on Moplahs, and in every place they became the officers and instruments of government. The Hindoos were everywhere persecuted and plundered of their estates, of their women, and of their children. All roads which led to other countries did so; those who could not escape took refuge in the forests, from whence they waged a constant predatory war against their oppressors. To utter the program of these cruelties would carry me too far. I mention them only for the purpose of showing how the ancient government of this country was at last completely destroyed, and slavery was introduced. The Moplahs never had any laws but any authority except in the small district of Cunnasoor, even over their own sect, but were entirely subject to the Hindu chieftains, to whose dominion they yielded. Tippoo's code was never known beyond the limits of Colicut. During this period of total anarchy, the number of Moplahs
was greatly increased, multitudes of Hindus were exterminated by fire, and many of the lower orders were converted. By these means, at the breaking out of the war conducted by Lord Grenville, the Hindu population was reduced to a very inconsiderable number. The descendants of the rajahs were then invited to join the Company's forces; and, when Tipoo's army had been expelled from Mysore, many Nairs returned from their exile in Travancore; but their number was trifling compared with what it had been at the commencement of the Sultan's reign.

"From this short sketch it is evident that this province, at the time it was ceded, had really no form of government, and required a new system to be framed for its use. The feudal system was broken; and no other kind of administration was known to the natives than that which they had exercised or witnessed under Hyde, and which was a compound of corruption and extortion. To these men, however, the most unprofitable could have been selected, was the whole authority of government over the natives extinguished. Two evils of great magnitude were the consequence of this measure; the extortions and corruptions of the preceding administrations were continued, while the ancient feudal institutions of military service were revived, and all the Nairs thereby attached to the different chieftains, and these again to the rajahs. Nothing could exceed the despotic oppressiveness of these men to oppose which there was no barrier; for it is well known that none of the inhabitants dare complain against a rajah, whatever injuries they may have sustained, assassination being a certain follower of complaint. It is not surprising that under such rulers agriculture did not flourish, and that the fields now cultivated (which in some districts bear but a small proportion to those that are waste) should yield but very indifferent crops."

South Canara (Report from Tipoo Sultan in 1799).—Canara has, however, now completely fallen from this state of prosperty. The evils which have been continually accumulating upon it since it became a province of Mysore have destroyed a great part of its former population, and rendered its remaining inhabitants as poor as those of the neighboring countries. Its lands, which are now salubrious, are reduced to a very small portion and lie chiefly between the Kumbla and Chandra-giri rivers, and within five or six miles of the sea. It is not to be supposed, however, that the whole of this tract can be said, but only that salubrious lands are scattered throughout every part of it, thicker in some places, and thicker in others, particularly in the Mangalore district. There is mainly any salubrable land, even on the sea-coast, anywhere to the northward of Kumbla or anywhere inland from one end of Canara to the other, excepting on the banks of the Mysipoor and some of the other great rivers. In the vicinity of the ghats, the lands are not only unsalubrious, but the greater part of them is waste and overgrown with wood. It is reckoned that the population of the country has been diminished considerably within the last forty years; and there are few belts but that its property has suffered a much greater reduction. Galkoppa, Antuck, and Kumbla, formerly flourishing places, contain now only a few languishing inhabitants; Honavar, once the second town in trade after Mangalore, has not a single house; and Mangalore itself is greatly decayed.
It may be said that this change has been brought about by the invasion of Hyder; by the fear wea which have happened since that event; by Tipper's himself destroying many of the principal towns upon the coast and forcing the inhabitants to remove to Ajamaibad and other unhealthy situations near the hills; by his sacking in one night all the inhabitants, men, women and children, according to above sixty thousand, and selling them into captivity to Myers, from where one-tenth of them never returned; by the prohibition of foreign trade; and by the general corruption and disorder of his government in all the departments. These circumstances certainly accelerated the change, but taken altogether, they probably did not contribute to it as much as the extraordinary augmentation of the land rent.

A moderate land rent occurs in itself such an active principle of prosperity that it enables a country to resist for a long time all the evils attending a bad government, and also to recover quickly from the calamities of war. When it is fixed and light, the farmer sees that he will reap the reward of his own industry; the cheerful prospect of improving his situation animates his labours, and enables him to replace in a short time the losses he may have sustained from adverse seasons, the devastations of war and other accidents. But when an oppressive rent is suspended to all the other misfortunes of a triumphant Government, the country, however deserving it may ever have been, must sink under them at last, and must hasten to ruin in a more expeditious pace, under succeeding years.

Hyder ruined Chunar, a highly improved country, filled with industrious inhabitants enjoying a greater proportion of the produce of the soil and being more comfortable than those of any province under any native power in India; but instead of observing the wise and temperate conduct which would have secured to it the enjoyment of these advantages, he regarded it as a fund from which he might draw, without limit, for the expenses of his military operations in other quarters. The whole course of the administration of hisLoopus seems to have been nothing but a series of experiments made for the purpose of discovering the utmost extent to which the land rent could be carried, or how much it was possible to extort from the farmers without diminishing cultivation. The savages accumulated in better times enabled the country to support for some years the pressure of continually increasing demands, but they could not do so forever; failure and outstanding balance became frequent before his death.

The same demand and worse management increased them in the beginning of Tipper's reign. He was determined to relinquish no part of his father's revenue. He knew no way of making up for failures, but by compelling one part of the ryots to pay for the deficiencies of the other; he made them pay not only for those which arose upon the cultivation of the current year, but also for those which arose from the waste lands of dead and deserted ryots which were annually increasing. Severity and a certain degree of vigilance and control in the early part of his government kept the collections for sometime nearly at their former standard; but it was impossible that they could remain so long, for the amount of land left unoccupied from the flight or death of its cultivators became at last so great, that it could not be discharged by the remaining part of the inhabitants.
and the collections before the end of his reign fell short of the assessment from ten to sixty per cent. The measure which he adopted for preserving his revenue was that which must eventuallly destroy it; he forced the ryots, who were present, to cultivate the lands of the dead and absent; but as the increased rent of their own lands required all their care and labour, by turning a part of it to these new lands the portion of their own was diminished, and they became unequal to paying the rent of either. The effect of this violent regulation was to hasten the extinction of the class of small proprietors or stick-

(l.)—A list of muthyrna taxes levied in the village of Dinopanthal in the Chandrahares district taken from the records kept by the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Assessment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salt-tax on each kavali or pot</td>
<td>1 2 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on cloth-dyers, first-class, 40 fanams</td>
<td>11 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>second-class, 30 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>third-class, 10 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>6 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>blacksmiths, 5 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>carpenters, 8 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>double bullock carts, 5 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>weavers, 9 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>4 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>choppers (toby, drawn), 2 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>knurmers (weavers in wool), 2 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>washermen, 8 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>pariahs, 2 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>coconuts (no good), 6 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>8 fanams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>oil-mills, 10 fanams</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION III.—THE CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL CLASSES UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION DURING THE 1st HALF OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

(A.)—Extract from the "Indian Economist."

LAND REVENUE: PAYMENT IN KIND, OR IN MONEY.

The causes of the remarkable fall in prices which has almost invariably followed the transfer of territory from Native to British rule, have, moreover, we think, received an satisfactory explanation, as in a paper that appeared in the April number of the old Knapp's Quarterly Journal in 1857. We shall make no attempt to repeat what was there so well stated, but devote our present space to the reproduction of a part of that paper—

"It seems to us that there are certain prominent characters by which the British system of revenue and finance is broadly marked and distinguished from that of all the Native Governments which have preceded it, and that in their peculiarities we shall find an adequate explanation of the remarkable phenomena which we are now considering. The Anglo-Indian financial system differs from that of the Native Governments in the following most important particulars—

1st. The payment of the army, police, and other public establish-ments in cash.
2nd. The collection of the land tax in money instead of wholly or partially in kind.
3rd. The transfer of a portion of the Indian revenues to England, for the payment of the Home charges, usually and constantly paid.—The Indian Tribute.
4th. The creation of a funded public debt, of which the interest has to be paid in cash.

"The charges to be defrayed out of the Indian revenues, being of an indelible character, could only be met in years of deficient collection by borrowing, and hence they involved the creation of a funded public debt. But they brought about more important consequences still. The payments of troops and establishments and the interest of the public debt in cash, of necessity, involved the collection of the revenue in cash too, and the latter measure, however little thought of at the time of its introduction by our Indian Land Revenue Collectors and Financiers, has produced a momentous revolution in the value of property and bearing of taxation in India far exceeding in degree, but similar in kind to that effected in England by the return to cash payments in 1815."
Under Native rule the land tax was the chief source of revenue and was in great part either levied in kind, or assigned for the support of troops and establishments. There was only a small portion of the whole collected in money, and transferred from the land to the central treasury. The standing military force kept and regularly paid by the Government was small. The bulk of the troops consisted of a kind of militia furnished by particular and other landlords, in whom the collection of the taxes was assigned for the support of these levies and for conducting the civil administration of the districts placed under their jurisdiction. The troops or retainers of these landlords were in great measure maintained on the grain, forage, and other supplies furnished by the districts in which they were stationed. The land tax was in consequence either wholly or partially taken in kind and what was collected in money was generally paid away to parties on the spot, and thus quickly returned into circulation.

The ordinary revenue and police officials were generally paid by grants of land in tenure of service. Wages of farm servants and agricultural laborers were paid in grain. Grain was the common medium of exchange for effecting petty purchases in country towns. The farmer's or laborer's wife took a bushelful of grain on her head to market instead of a piece of money, and therewith purchased her week's supplies. The people lived in a rude and simple fashion, having few wants, and knowing little of luxuries. In inland districts the chief exports were oil, metals, and a few luxuries for the latter classes; but the value of the whole was inconsiderable and the exports with which these were purchased were, of course, correspondingly limited. In this state of things money was hardly wanted at all, and a small supply of coin sufficed for the realization of the public revenue and the settlement of commercial transactions. But while the quantity of coin in circulation was small, the prices of agricultural produce were well sustained, owing to the limited extent of land in cultivation and the large demand for food by the numerous body of the people employed in productive and subsistence capacity, and public officers of all kinds, and the difficulty of supplying deficient harvests by imports from more favored districts, through the want of good roads or other facilities for the transport of bulky produce. The foreign commerce of the country at large was necessarily confined within very narrow limits. It was only the products of the coast districts and the more valuable commodities of the interior, such as gold and manufactured goods, that could bear the expenses of carriage to the ports of shipment to or from schools of being exported, which, at that time, covered few of the productions of foreign countries, and her most important imports were the pretexts and common metals, broadcloth, jewels, and other luxuries for the wealthy.

The innovations made in the revenue and financial system by the British have, however, effected the most surprising changes in all these particulars, and we shall now endeavor to trace their operation on the territory of a native prince passing under the sway of the Conquering. The first steps taken were to establish regularly-paid and disciplined troops, located in military stations, for the rural militia of the native landlords, and a staff of hampered and native officials receiving fixed salaries, in place of the former mandarines and
revenue farmers with their followers, who paid themselves by per-
quitting and other indirect gains, but required very trifling conces-
sions from the treasury of the State. The next and an all-important
step in Anglo-Indian administration was to collect the land tax in
money instead of realizing it in kind, according to the practice which
had prevails, if not normally, obtained to a great extent under
native rule. The immediate and inevitable consequence of this
general enforcement of money assessments was, that the amount of
coins, previously acquiescing and sufficient for the adjustment of the
limited transactions connected with revenue and commerce under the
native system, proved quite inadequate for the settlement of the
productive of the greatly enlarged transactions resulting from the
British system. Under the native system, the sale for each
of a small part of the agricultural produce of a district sufficed to
provide for all its liabilities connected with taxation and commerce.

Under the British system, on the contrary, twice or, perhaps, three
times the quantity of produce had to be so sold in order to provide
for the same objects, owing to the whole amount of the land tax being
demanded in cash. But the supply of coins remaining as before, the
effect of this increased demand for it was of course to reduce its
price. The coins in circulation had to perform double or treble the
work it had accomplished before. The rupee requiring more cash to
pay the same assessment had, of course, to bring more produce to
market, which occasioned a glut and brought down prices. And this
state of things was aggravated by the demand for grain and foreign
in the country markets being less than before, owing to the disbund-
ing of the irregular force which had kept up by the native
peasants and other feudalism of the former governments and to
the increased production due to an expansion of cultivation by means
of these disabused forces. Prices fell more and more until, in many
cases, our Collectors found it to be wholly impossible to collect
the full land assessment, and large remissions had to be annually made.
The village grain merchants, who were also the village bankers,
deprived of a sufficient margin at their own doors, were compelled, in
order to avoid going to supply their competitors with, to seek more
distant markets for the disposal of the produce left upon their lands
in duplication of advance previously made by them to the system.
Thus, awakened a spirit of greater enterprise and activity among the
commercial classes, which was gradually communicated to the system
and had the germ of that active foreign trade which now advances
with gigantic strides, and has already penetrated into the remotest
corners of the interior. This collateral benefit, favored by the
British plan of administration, has fairly set free the spirits of pro-
gress long suppressed in the natives mired under the iron fetters of
Asiatic customs, far more than compensates India for the period of
suffering in which it originated.

This suffering of the rural population during this transition
period were, without doubt, very severe. The revenue reports of our
Collectors in newly-acquired territories showed with harrowing de-
scriptions of the depressed condition of the agricultural classes, and
with expressions of the difficulties they experienced in collecting
the land assessment, owing to the great fall in the prices of all den-
crepitus of agricultural produce. The assessments of Sir Thomas Munro in the Madras districts failed from this cause. So did the early Revenue-settlement of the Bombay territories, and also the permanent settlement of Bengal, which occasioned the ruin of the first proprietors. And quite recently we have had a striking example of the same phenomenon in the case of the Punjab. It is stated in the report of the Board of Administration for the years 1849-50 and 1850-51, printed for the Court of Directors, that food-money assessments were substituted in 1847 for the system we found in existence, and that in the whole of the Punjab a reduction of the food-tax, equal to 25 per cent., has been effected. The demand for food has not decreased; it has probably increased; for although the army of the late government had been disbanded, there are, outside the Sutlej and the Khyber, less than 60,000 fighting men with perhaps five times that number of camp followers. Hence there is a larger demand than before for food over the country generally, though the market round about Lahore is more limited. The labour employed on canals, roads, canals, and other public works must cause the circulation of large sums of money, and increase the demand for food.

The pay of our army within the limits of the Punjab has been estimated to be equal to one million six hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The expenditure by the various civil establishments, the Commissariat and Executive departments, and the different works in progress under the Board, are probably equal to another million; so that nearly double the Punjab revenue are at present spent in the country. In despite, however, of large reductions (of assessment), the complaints during the past year on the part of the agriculturists have been loud and general. Prices (in many villages) have fallen a half. The cry of over-assessment is loud and general. There has been a very general demand among the agriculturists for a return to yearly payments, and to a division or apportionment of the crops every season.

It is clear from these statements of the Board of Administration that the staple in the Punjab must have been largely increased under our rule, even if we make the most ample allowance for the exportation of a portion of it, remitted by our sepoys and camp followers to their homes in the older provinces. And yet, in the face of this large increase of coined in circulation, prices have fallen nearly 50 per cent. The Board, following the example of our early Collectors, attributes this decline of prices to abundant harvest and extension of cultivation; but it may well be doubted whether the increase of production in the Punjab, up to the time referred to in the Board's report, had more than kept pace with the increased consumption due to the presence of our army, marching with its camp followers nearly four hundred thousand souls. The phenomenon of a great and sudden fall of prices is not singular, or confined to the Punjab, but was equally observable in other parts of India when they first passed under the rule of the British Government. The fall in the former, as in the latter case, will be of a lasting character, and an explanation for it must be sought in some cause of wider and more enduring action than the casual state of the harvest, or the extension of land under tillage. These circumstances may have contributed to the effect, as already
pointed out, but only to a very limited extent. It would also seem to be capable of demonstration that the cause in question cannot be a drain of bullion to meet the tribute paid by India to England, for in the particular instance of the Punjab, bullion was not leaving the country when prices were falling, and so of India at large. The tribute has been paid by means of exports of produce, without requiring the transmission of bullion to England, excepting on rare occasions; and the imports of bullion into India here, as already noticed, have, on the whole, very largely; so that the metallic currency of all British India must have been rapidly increasing for many years past.

This remarkable fall of prices, which has almost invariably followed the transfer of territory from Native to British rule, while neither capable of being accounted for by the state of the crops and extent of cultivation, nor by the unusual tribute required to England, may yet, be clearly traced to the extraordinary demand for money occasioned by our collecting the land assessment in cash, and converting it away from the agricultural district to our large military additions for the payment of the troops stationed there. A much larger currency than before would doubtless have been required under this change of system, in order to sustain prices at the old standard. It was, however, impossible to change the currency so as fully to meet the change, and an attempt to do so was made, or apparently ever thought of. The consequence was, that in order to obtain money for the payment of his assessment, the ryot brought more produce to market than before; but as there was no corresponding enhancement of the demand for it, prices necessarily fell.
is very rare among the agricultural classes. Such an income, indeed, is far more in this country than the money amount indicates to English ears. The actual purchasing power of money in this country is sometimes estimated at four times what it is in England, sometimes at six times. Assuming the intermediate proportion of five to one, an amount of 20 rupees a month will be equal in one of £120 a year in England; and 96 rupees and 60 rupees a month in this country will be the respective equivalents of £90 and £360 a year in England. In point of fact, indeed, the difference is greater, both because of the nature of the climate, the range of absolute necessities is here much smaller, and also because the general scale of income and style of living throughout all grades of society are so much lower here than they are in our own country. But though the income above specified undoubtedly raises their possessions far above want, still they appear small in extent when compared to the highest incomes from the possession of land in a very extensive country, and the largest of these certainly confined to an extremely limited number of instances.

3. The dwellings of this class certainly do not indicate much wealth; their houses are rarely seen, and messy walls are still much more seen. The almost universal habituation has mud walls and a thatched roof; the latter of a very filthy order, and both often much disfigured; and both walls and roof are seen within as without; the rooms have no ceiling, and their walls no sort of ornament or decoration, merely even whitened, and the floor is of simple earth beaten hard. The value of the residence of a single of the more wealthy class, of whom I am now speaking, probably rarely exceeds 200 rupees or 2£. It may be urged that the habits of the people do not incline them to spend money on improving their dwellings, but that they rather invest savings in jewels or rich clothes for great occasions, or in cattle, or expend them on marriages and other family occasions. There is some truth in this; but though every family above actual poverty possesses some jewels, yet probably very few agricultural families possess to so large a value as 1,000 rupees or 1£60 for both jewels and clothes; and even supposing an equal rate in agricultural stock (and so much would very rarely be the case), the whole aggregate value, 2£00, equal to £1100 in England, is extremely small to represent the whole property (exclusive of land) of one of the most wealthy members of the land-holding class; and it is the wealthiest only who possess so much as this.

4. And if we look within their houses, we still find few evidences of wealth, or even of what we should consider comfort. I have already described the interior of the house itself; and as to its contents, there is nothing of what is commonly called furniture. There are no chairs, or tables, or couches, or beds; sometimes there is even a single rude cot which would be dear at 2 rupees. The inmates for the most part sleep on the earthen floor, with nothing else below them but a mat or a small cotton carpet. They sit on the floor, and from it take their food, which is served in a few brass dishes, or perhaps by preference and not from poverty on a simple cotton leaf. Their usual clothes are simply of cotton, and cost little; and when going
a distance to the Tahsildar's or Collector's chowki, for example, they generally travel on foot or, in exceptional cases, mostly at age or infancy; on a pass not worth above 2 or 8 rupees.

5. It may, perhaps, be replied to all this that such are the simple habits of the country, and that the people are satisfied, and require no more. This is no doubt true as a fact, to this extent at least, that, in the absence of sufficient promise of success, these people obtain from active effort to better their circumstances. But if it be meant that they choose to be poor when they might be rich; that they are satisfied with the necessities of life when they might command some of the comforts and luxuries; that they are content to have only their physical wants supplied when they might rise to the pecuniary and enjoyment of intellectual pleasures; then I deny the truth of the assertion. And I must add that, if true in any degree, it would only prove the ignorance and degradation of the people to whom it relates.

6. The foregoing description refers to the better class of ryots, men who are above the world and will not; but the condition of the great majority is much worse. From the official list of pattadas for the Revenue year 1865-66, it is seen that out of 1,671,459, the total number of pattadas (excluding joint pattadas) in the fourteen principal pynawar districts,¹ no fewer than 889,982, being considerably more than half, are under 10 rupees each, and in fact average only a small fraction above 4 rupees each; that 293,994 are for amounts ranging from 10 rupees to 20, and in fact averaging less than 14 rupees each; and that 95,994 are for amounts between 20 rupees and 30, and in fact averaging only 24½ rupees; and then that 89,800 pattadas, out of a total of 1,671,459, or considerably more than three-fourths, are for amounts under 10 rupees, and in fact averaging less than 6½ rupees.

7. Now it may certainly be said of almost the whole of the ryots paying even the smallest of these sums, and even of many holding to a much larger amount, that they are always in poverty and generally in debt. Perhaps one of this class obtains a small sum out of the Government advance for cultivation, but even if he does, the trouble that he has to take and the time he loses in getting it, as well as the deduction by which it is liable, render this a questionable gain.

For the rest of his wants he is dependent on the bazarman. To him his crops are generally hypothecated before they are reaped, and it is as he who regulates them from the possession of the village watchman by pledging himself for the payment of the debt. These transactions pass without any written engagements or memoranda between the parties, and the only evidence is the Chitty's own account. In general, there is an adjustment of the accounts once a year, but sometimes not for several years. In all these accounts interest is charged on the advances made to the ryot on the balance against him.

The rate of interest varies with the circumstances of the case and the necessities of the borrower; it is probably seldom or never less than 12 per cent. per annum, and not often above 24 per cent.; of course the poorer and most necessitous rates have to pay the highest.

A ryot of this class of course lives from hand to mouth; he rarely sees money except that obtained from the Chetty to pay his kid; the exchanges in the out-villages are very few and they are usually conducted by barter. His ploughing cattle are worked for him, the animals not worth more than from 8 to 10 rupees each (7 to 9 shillings) and these perhaps not his own, because not paid for. His rude and functional plough rots, when new, as more than 2 or 3 shillings; and all the rest of his few agricultural implements are equally primitive and inefficient. His dwelling is a hut of mud walls and thatched roofs, for rooms, smaller, and more dilapidated than those of the better classes of ryots above spoken of, and still more destitute, of anything that can be called furniture. His food and that of his family is partly their produce made up of the most of grains boiled in water, and partly boiled rice with a little mustard and generally the only vessels for cooking and eating from are of the common earthenware, much inferior in grain to a good tile or brick in England, and unguessed; there vessels, though not wholly unknown among this class, are rare.

The soil of the ryots deserts to those who possess a small patch of land, cultivated sometimes by the aid of borrowed cattle, but whose chief subsistence is derived from local labour, either cutting firewood and carrying it for sale to a neighbouring town, or in field labour. The poorly-laboring classes are below these again, worse off indeed, but with no very broad distinction in condition. The earnings of a man employed in agricultural labour cannot be quoted at more than 20 rupees a year, including everything; and this is not paid in money, but in commodities. As regards food, houses, and clothing, they are in a worse condition than the class of poor ryots above spoken of. But I will endeavor to describe their circumstances a little more particularly.

10. The regular agricultural labourers are usually engaged at the commencing of the season for the whole year. It is customary to advance them a small sum, about 5 or 10 rupees, as a sort of retainer, which, however, is to be repaid when the connection ceases. Frequently they remain without change for years; when a man desires to engage with another master, as he will rarely have been able to accumulate money to pay off the advance received, the sum advanced by the new master goes to pay off the old one. These yearly labourers receive a certain allowance of grain every month, which is usually fixed by the custom of the locality; and at particular seasons, some regular, others occasional, the master makes the servant a small present, also fixed by the local custom. When the wife or children of the labourer work in the fields at weeding, &c., they receive daily hire in grain; and labours are engaged for the whole year, but only at particular times, are paid in the same manner. The rates of hire are very low. The daily rate varies in different parts of the country from 6 pais (one pence) to 1 or 2 (half-pence); it
is rarely or never above the latter sum for purely agricultural labour, and this is paid not in money but in grain. The occasional presents to the yearly labourers are partly in money and partly in clothes; the entire earnings of a labourer engaged for a year do not exceed from 16 to 20 rupees for that whole term.

11. It appears from the foregoing detail that the condition of the agricultural labourer in this country is very poor. Taking his earnings at the highest rate, viz., 20 rupees a year, this would be equivalent in real value, using the same standard of comparison as above, to £10 a year in England. The English field labourer earns on the average not less than £20 a year, including his extra gains in harvest time; and thus it appears that the real wages of a field labourer in regular employ, his command of the necessaries and conveniences of life, or in this country little more than a third of what they are in England. It is no doubt true that some things are necessary there which are not so in so high a degree here; the labourer in this country does not need to spend so much on hiring, clothing or shelter from the weather as in England; in other words, an equal amount of physical comfort in these respects may be purchased here at a smaller outlay. But making full allowance for this difference, the labourer here will still be found to be much the worse off. In fact, almost the whole of his earnings must necessarily be consumed in a spare allowance of coarse and unsatisfactory food and a bare sufficiency of clothing. The wretched but he lives in can hardly be valued at all. As to anything in the way of education or mental culture, he is utterly destitute of it.
### Section IV.—Narrative of the Principal Facts Bearing on the Condition of the Agricultural Classes from the Middle of the Present Century to the Present Time.

**(A.)—Statement showing the permanent reductions made in different branches of revenue in all the districts during 15 years from 1841.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Head to which the taxes belong</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 1844-45</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on pristles</td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on sheepheads</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on cutting and bringing wood from the Odempoojung jungle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on cutting and bringing wood from the Chasmabel jungle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on cutting mangoes and lantana trees in the Mathava farm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on cutting and bringing wood from the island</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Daily open sale of insured trees: parts within the territory of the Harvanshoo Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Half of the revenue due at 1 anna formerly levied upon the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Normal timber and woods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revenue due to the revenue department and imported</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>One-twelfth of the duty upon every sack of the foreign and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American woods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Head to which the taxes belong</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Godavari</td>
<td></td>
<td>Revenue from land and town duties</td>
<td></td>
<td>91,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Customary value of goods in each village in certain lands</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udhampur—cont’d.</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Tax on sheep and goats</td>
<td>1,489</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Do. on furs</td>
<td>1,248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Do. on kennel lands in the Baniwal Plains</td>
<td>1,452</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Do. on the Lacs of Poonch</td>
<td>6,620</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Do. on the Lacs brought into the Jammu District under the hands of the Journals</td>
<td>1,248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Tax on boarding houses</td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Tax on running grooms</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Do. on sheep and goats</td>
<td>8,432</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Do. on oaks and cedars</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Do. on goods exported</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Do. on goods imported</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Do. on goods exported and imported</td>
<td>12,749</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Division</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Head to which the rent belongs</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>1820-23 and 1824-27</td>
<td>Paltry &amp; growing bad</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 10,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1837-39</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1842-45</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 35,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1847-48</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1847-48</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 1,982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1848-49</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatia-est.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 1,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 1,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Poor crops</td>
<td>G. &amp; S.</td>
<td>Rs. 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Districts.</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Reason in which the item belongs</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dacca---cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>Increase of the price of the Governmenr share of the produce</td>
<td>Rs. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>Duty for destruction</td>
<td>Rs. 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14 1/2</td>
<td>Allotment for repaying or offsetting the charge on Government</td>
<td>Rs. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15 1/2</td>
<td>Grains allotted to Indebted Rice Producers</td>
<td>Rs. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16 1/2</td>
<td>Orphanage for Rice Producers</td>
<td>Rs. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce</td>
<td>Rs. 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce (cont.)</td>
<td>Rs. 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce (cont.)</td>
<td>Rs. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce (cont.)</td>
<td>Rs. 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce (cont.)</td>
<td>Rs. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce (cont.)</td>
<td>Rs. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce (cont.)</td>
<td>Rs. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce (cont.)</td>
<td>Rs. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce (cont.)</td>
<td>Rs. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26 1/2</td>
<td>Rice to persons who watch the produce (cont.)</td>
<td>Rs. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Rs. 55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dacca---cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on goldsmith's' work</td>
<td>Rs. 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>49 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October---cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1876</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on goldsmith's work</td>
<td>Rs. 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October---cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Rs. 55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1877</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on goldsmith's work</td>
<td>Rs. 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 1/2</td>
<td>Duty on export</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October---cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Rs. 55,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statement showing the permanent reductions made in different branches of revenue in all the districts during 15 years from 1861—cont.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Land to which the sum belongs</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Nany' and Homang</td>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>Reduction of &quot;m&quot; land held above Rs. 20 for a single crop</td>
<td>Land Revenue</td>
<td>1,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1901-02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1902-03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1903-04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1904-05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1905-06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1906-07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1907-08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1908-09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1909-10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1910-11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1911-12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1912-13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1913-14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1914-15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1915-16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1916-17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1917-18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1921-22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1922-23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1923-24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1924-25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1926-27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1927-28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1928-29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1937-38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1940-41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1942-43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1943-44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1945-46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1946-47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1947-48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1948-49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1949-50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1951-52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1953-54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narhund</td>
<td>1922-23</td>
<td>Tax on Sharecroppers' Income</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revenue from Sharecroppers</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revenue from Sharecroppers</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chingloya</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Higher rate of excise alone</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revenue from the local excise</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revenue from the local excise</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Amla</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Tax on purchase selling land in the Chikkon and Karvijak villages</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Daily tax on the bazaar, etc., in Barjor</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revenue from the bazaar, etc., in Barjor</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Amounts are in currency units.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Head to which the Item belongs</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1848</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1849</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Arcot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1847</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1848</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1849</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1851</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1852</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1853</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1854</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Statement showing the permanent reductions made in different branches of revenue in all the districts during 15 years from 1841—cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Head to which the item belongs</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Malayola</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Malayola</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st September 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Malayola</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Land Revenue</td>
<td>540,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Land Revenue</td>
<td>4,01,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Land Customs</td>
<td>1,41,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on cotton</td>
<td>17,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on salt</td>
<td>11,201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on salt</td>
<td>1,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on pepper, ginger, pepper,</td>
<td>3,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on pepper, ginger, pepper,</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on Opium</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on Opium</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on Opium</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on Opium</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>duty on Opium</td>
<td>9,64,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1845 to 1850</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>total</td>
<td>11,45,407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Malayola</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Malayola</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Malayola</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1845 to 1850</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>total</td>
<td>51,43,911</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Statement showing the permanent reductions made in different branches of revenue in all the districts during 15 years from 1841—cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>To which the loss belongs.</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanjore</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Land Duties, mil &amp; sarums.</td>
<td>4,25,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1842-50</td>
<td>Tax on bencey</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1845-61</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1855-56</td>
<td>Excise</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>Land Duties</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trichinopoly</td>
<td>1842-44</td>
<td>Tobacco monopoly</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1844-48</td>
<td>Excise</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1850-56</td>
<td>Excise</td>
<td></td>
<td>11,769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>Land Duties</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,34,488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>1842-44</td>
<td>Tobacco monopoly</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1844-48</td>
<td>Excise</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,14,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1862-63</td>
<td>Excise</td>
<td></td>
<td>26,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1862-64</td>
<td>Excise</td>
<td></td>
<td>35,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>Land Duties</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,34,488</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | | | | $5,09,657
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Annual Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Announced upon 47 descriptions of rice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High rate of tax fixed under the tenantry law, in the total revenue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revenue declared from petty till production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revenue declared from the Nangyampas and the shepherds of a few villages in certain tahals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount of special assessment on rice in various tahals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Best of the duty on commercial articles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount on commercial articles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Duty on goods, &amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contribution of tax on panorama yam, betel, &amp; in the fields during harvest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Year: 1944-45

Total Amount: 2,70,301
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Head to which the item belongs</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td>573,954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total deduction on ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interest on goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forms of retail and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Statement showing the permanent reduction made on different classes of revenue in all the districts during 13 years from 1841—cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Head to which this item belongs</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salam—cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tax on salted trees in recognized lands</td>
<td>Land Revenue</td>
<td>3,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,09,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooch</td>
<td>1841-42</td>
<td>Tax levied from the occupants, occupant, and numerous persons listed in the records.</td>
<td>Land Revenue</td>
<td>1,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,94,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1842-43</td>
<td>Government charge on property.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,1,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,36,113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1843-45</td>
<td>Government charge on property.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,50,331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,36,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1845-47</td>
<td>Tax on jaggery produced.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,26,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malsur</td>
<td>1842-44</td>
<td>Adulteration of salt and dyne.</td>
<td></td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1844-45</td>
<td>Tobacco duty on Tobacco.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1846-47</td>
<td>Tobacco duty on Tobacco.</td>
<td></td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1847-48</td>
<td>Tobacco duty on Tobacco.</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1848-49</td>
<td>Tobacco duty on Tobacco.</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1849-50</td>
<td>Tobacco duty on Tobacco.</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1850-51</td>
<td>Tobacco duty on Tobacco.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,01,118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bhadoi, Coromandel district.—The hindis, or servants hired for the year by the farmers, are hire called Fortys, and are on the same footing with the Bungalow of Keraota. They sometimes bind themselves for a number of years, in which case the master advances money for their marriage expenses, and deducts so much from their monthly pay, until he is repaid. Unless tied down by some stipulation of this nature, they may change their service whenever they please. A servant gets from his master a house, and from fifteen to twenty Gopaldar fansus, or 35 to 40 s. a year, with a monthly allowance of twenty Rallis or 1-25 machine of grain. Their wives, when they are able to work, have daily wages. Dry laborers at harvest time, whether men or women, get daily one Ralli and a half (rather more than 5 bushel) of the grain called Coolie. At weeding time, the daily wages are one Ralli of Coolie, or about 56 of a basket. A man working with a hatcher or picker gets one Gopaldar fansus (about 34.) a day; carrying earth in baskets, or the like, he gets 4 of a Gopaldar fansus, or 3s., and porters, for carrying a load eight Coolies, or Mullah’s horse journey, get two Gopaldar fansus or nearly 6d.

On the houses of the Natives in Coromandel district.—I went ten Mullahs’ horse’s journey to Navapat, that is, the nine villages, having formerly been the principal of nine adjacent hamlets. It is a hilly place, containing about 30 houses. The hills of the country, called Chinna, are like heath, and consist of a circular wall about three feet high, which is covered with a long conical roof of thatch. Owing to what might have been expected in a hot climate, but agreeable to the custom of almost all Hindu, one small door is the only outlet for smoke, and the only inlet for air and light. Each family has a hut for sleeping, another for cooking, and a third for a storeroom. Wealthy men add more huts to their premises, but seldom attempt at any innovation in the architecture of the country.

On the condition of the people (Northern division of Coromandel).—The cultivators and peasants continue exactly in the same dress, and same houses, that they used in Tippoo’s government, and have a prejudice against changes. Major Milhod thinks that their women are beginning to wear more gold and silver ornaments than they formerly did. The merchandise manufacturers are evidently improving in their manner of wearing, and forging their pyramidal or conical hats, and are creating hindoo hats. To enable them to do this, Government, without charging interest, advances money which is repaid by installments.

On the poverty of the peasants (Dhikurpura, Coromandel district).—Mr. Harris thinks that the present rents are greatly too high; and no doubt, the peasantry here, as well as in almost every part of India, are immensely poor. I am inclined to think, however, that other causes contribute more to this than the greatness of the rents. Mr. Harris says that all the land which is not cultivated is by no means saleable (Tiers); but owing to the want of rain and of stock, the farmers are not able to cultivate the whole of what they own. This, in my opinion, shows that the fields are by no means over-
The servants employed here in agriculture are hired in the beginning of the year for twelve months. They may change their services when their term expires if they be not in their master's debt; but as he generally advances money for their marriages and other expenses, they are seldom at liberty to go away. They get twenty bushels of rough rice (paddy) a month with four fowens and one suite of rough rice yearly, and their master pays their house-rents. The whole is above 31 bushels of rough rice, of which one-half is bank, with two shillings on money, besides the house-rent which will not exceed one or two shillings a year. These servants generally have one wife, who at need time and harvest works for the master for daily wages. A woman's daily wages are four pudiens of grain worth about one-third of a penny. A man gets six pudiens of grain. A servant with these wages can once or twice a month procure a little animai food. Milk is too expensive. His common diet consists of some boiled grain, with a little salt and pepper, and perhaps some pickles. His drink is the water in which the grain was boiled. He has very little clothing, and that little is extremely dirty; his house is a shed, and he is commonly overrun with vermin and communicable diseases. The women, although not Seen, are fully clothed.

On servants and price of labour (Pallikal, Coimbatore).—There are two kinds of servants employed by the farmers to cultivate the lands; they are called podiyil and pungal. The podiyil receive yearly 8 pudiens of grain (22 bushels), worth 48 for 10 fowens, with 10 fowens on money, and a house. The 10 fowens are equal to £1 6s. 9d. The wife and children of the podiyil are paid for whatever work they perform. He is hired by the year; but if he contrives a debt with his master, he cannot quit the service till that be discharged. The pungal go to a rich farmer, and for a share of the crop undertake to cultivate his lands. He advances the castes, implements, seed, and money or grain that is necessary for the subsistence of the pungal. He also gives each family a house. He takes no share in the labour which is all performed by the pungal, and their wives and children; but he pays the rent out of his share in the division of the crop, which takes place when that is ripe. If a farmer employs six pungal to cultivate his lands, the produce is divided into 15 portions, which are distributed as follow:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Portion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the farmer, or pandal, for rent, food, &amp;c.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the farmer, for profit</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the farmer, for interest of money advanced</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the pungal or laborers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 portions.
Out of their portions the pampas must repay the farmer the money which he has advanced for their subsistence. The farmers prefer employing pampas, when they can be procured; but among the laborers the condition of the pampas is considered as preferable to that of the tachas. Six-dintenous of the whole produce is indeed a very large allowance for the manual labor bestowed on any land, and as the farmer can afford to give it, the rents must be moderate.

Milhau, Charover, or Slaves.—By far the greater part of the labor in the field is performed by slaves or charovers. There are the absolute property of their owners, or lords, and may be employed on any work that their masters please. They are not attached to the soil, but may be sold or transferred in any manner that the master thinks fit; only a husband and wife cannot be sold separately, but children may be separated from their parents, and brothers from their sisters. The slaves are of different castes, such as Pantar, Vollon, Cencun, Brace, &c., and the differences in the customs by which the marriages of these castes are regulated occasion a considerable variation in the right of the master to the children of his slaves according to the caste to which they belong. The master is considered as bound to give the slave a certain allowance of provisions: a mant or woman, while capable of labor, receives two chanchinones of rice in the month; a woman, or woman capable of labor, receives two chanchinones of rice in the month, or twice-twelfth of the allowance that I consider as reasonable for persons of all ages included. Children and old persons past labour get one-half only of this quantity, and no allowance whatever is made for infants. This would be totally inadequate to support them; but the slaves on each estate get one-twenty-first part of the gross produce of the rice in order to encourage them in care and industry. A male slave annually gets 7 catties of cloth, and a woman 14 catties. They are not allowed to wear the black hats that are little better than large baskets. These are placed in the two-fold, while the crop is on the ground, and near the smoke while it is threshing.

There are three modes of transferring the interest of slaves. The first is by promise, or sale, where the full value of the slave is given, and the property is entirely transferred to a new master, who is, in some measure, bound by his interest to attend to the welfare of his slave. A young man with his wife and child sells for 500 to 300 fanned, or for £2 4s. 13d. to £2 7s. 11d. Two or three young children will sell 100 fananas, or £2 4s. 1d., to the value of the family. Poor or old children, two of whom are beginning to work, will make the family worth from 500 to 600 fananas or from £4 13s. 9d. to £4 17s. 11d. The second manner of transferring the interest of slaves is by kinsman or mortgage. The proprietor advances a loan of money, generally two-thirds of the value of the slave; he also receives annually a small quantity of rice, to show that his property in the slave still exists; and he may rescind this property whenever he pleases to repay the money borrowed, for which he pays no interest. In case of any of the slaves dying, he is held bound to supply another of equal value. The lender maintains the slave and has their labor for the interest of his money and for their support. The third manner of employing slaves is by letting them for rent, or venal. In this case, for a certain annual sum, the
master gives them to another man; and the borrower commands their labour and provides them with their maintenance. The annual hire is 6 fanams. (Rs. 114 4/6) for a man and half the sum for a woman. These two fanams are utterly intolerable; for the person who exacts the labour and furnishes the subsistence of the slave is directly interested to increase and diminish the latter as much as possible. In fact, the slaves are very severely treated, and their diminutive stature and squalid appearance show evidently a want of adequate nourishment. There can be no comparison between their condition and that of the slaves in the West-Indies islands, except that in Malabar there is a sufficient number of females who are allowed to marry any person of the same caste with themselves, and whose labour is always exacted by their husband's master, the master of the girl having no authority over her so long as the term with another man's slave.

Mangalore, Malabar.—At Mangalore a slave, when 30 years old, costs about 100 fanams, or £3 3s. 5d.; with a wife he costs double. Children sell at from 1s. 6d. to 40 fanams, or from Rs. 2 4s. 6d. to Rs. 10 4s. A working slave gets daily three-quarters of a pound of rough rice, or about 900 bushels a year. He also gets annually 4 fanams for oil and 12 for salt, which is just sufficient to wrap round his waist. If he be active, he gets cloth worth 2 fanams, and an average fine from 5 to 6 pounds of rough rice. Old people and children get from one to two-thirds of the above allowances, according to the work which they can perform.

Zhuvaciti, northern division of Malabar.—The daily allowance here established for slaves is of rough rice—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oottam</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To able-bodied men, 5 sallys lumped</td>
<td>16/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To able-bodied women, 9 sallys steamed</td>
<td>10/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To old persons and children—</td>
<td>3 sallys lumped</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average, allowing one child and one old person to every two men and two women in the prime of age, will be 18 2/3 bushels, of which one-half is food. When the scarcity that usually happens every year prevails, they get part of their allowance in yams (Dioscorea), jacks (Artocarpus) or plantains (Nana). When harvest is over, they receive each, according to their activity, a packet of 6 or 8 pounds of rough rice, or from 1 to 2 kgs. bread, which makes the annual average about 90 bushels of rice. Their masters give them also some salt, oil and pepper, and they are allowed to keep fowls. Each person has annually three pieces of cloth. The slaves say, what indeed cannot be doubted, that they are much better used by their own masters than when they are let out on mortgage (fanams) or hire (patams).

Tolicherry, Malabar.—The farmers (indians), whether cultivating rice, rice or plantations, according to Mr. Rodrigues, live very poorly, although they get almost four-fifths of the grain, and so lose
one-third of the produce of the taxable trees. They mostly labour with their own hands, there being few slaves. The hired servants, who are chiefly Taos, work only from half-past six in the morning until noon, and get as daily wages 35 abangulares of rough rice. All the afternoon they labour for themselves. The abangular containing 108 cubical inches, a man by half-a-day's work, allowing one-seventh of his time for holidays, can gain 184 bushels of grain. Although the natives may therefore live in a very inferior condition to an English farmer, it is impossible that they should live exactly, while a day laborer by working only half of the day can procure so much grain.

Churchill, Jolabour.—In Churchill and Captinaitti there are slaves, chiefly of the Pecos and Poquita castes, but the greater part of the cultivation is carried on by native or hired men, who are Nahu, Hopi-boys and Taos. These peasants are at liberty to change their service whenever they please, unless they be indebted to their master; and about one-half of them are in that state. They work from morning to noon, when they are allowed an hour for breakfast. They then work, until evening, and all night they watch the crops. The master gives the servant a pot, a piece of cloth twice a year, from 5 to 12 silver fanams (5½ to 55 pesos) annually for oil and salt, and a daily allowance of rice, which is larger than that given to the slaves. When the servant is in debt, stoppages from the allowance are made. The peasants are frequently beggars, and as they musters are not bound to provide for them in old age, or during famine, they seem to be in a worse condition than the slaves. Their wives and children, if they do any work for their master, get wages.

Mosqueros, South Chaco.—The cultivation is chiefly carried on by campesinos; but there are also some miscellaneous, bought men or slaves. A hired man gets daily 2 abangulares of cattie rice or annually 21½ bushels, together with 1½ varas of cloth, a paleta in cloth, and a house. A hired woman gets 1 varas for cloth, and three-fourths of the man's allowance of grain. In the planting season the woman hired by the day gets 2 abangulares of rice, or 124 cubic inches. These wages are very high, and may enable the hired servants to keep a family in the greatest abundance. It is evident from this that the stock required to cultivate eight marches of land was excessively exaggerated by the proprietors. The wages in grain alone would amount to 145 pesos of silver for 8 marches and 50 pesos, so that to pay even these would require at least 60 pesos. We may safely allow 5 pesos for each, making five a hundred; but the number of people in the whole district amounts to rather less than 1 to 8 marches of rice required in actual cultivation according to the enumeration, owing, probably, to a want of cattle and other stock. At the end of the year, the hired servant may change his service, if he be free from debt, but that is seldom the case. When the estate deeply involved, his master may sell his sister's children to discharge the amount, and his services may be transferred to any other man who chooses to take him and pay his debts to his master. In fact, he differs little from a slave, only his allowance is larger, but then the master is not obliged to provide for him in sickness or in old age.
A male slave is allowed daily 1½ hunny of rice, or three-fourths of the allowance of a hired servant; a woman receives 1 hunny. The man gets 1 ruppee worth of cloth and 2 rupees or as much; the woman is allowed only the cloth. They receive also a tailing allowance of salt, earthen vessels, and other necessaries. A small allowance is given to children and old people. When a slave wishes to marry, he receives 8 pagodas (½ guinea) to defray the expenses. The wife works with the husband's master. On the husband's death, if the wife was a slave, all the children belong to her mother's master, but, if she was formally free, she and all her children belong to her husband's master. A good slave sells for 10 pagodas, or about 4 guineas. If he has a wife who was formally free and two or three children, the value is doubled. The slave may be hired out, and the master both owns his labor and tends him as a tenant. Slaves are also engaged in trade, and the master acquires, but the mortgage is not obliged to supply the place of a slave that dies, and in case of accidents the debt becomes extinguished, which is an excellent regulation. From one to five rupees, if they are in debt or trouble, sometimes sell their sisters' children, who are their heirs. They have no authority over their own children who belong to their maternal uncles.

However, in Ceylon,—In the towns of the Brahmanas most of the labor is performed by slaves. These people get daily 1½ hunny of rice; a woman receives 1 hunny. Each gets nearly 2½ rupees' worth of cloth, and they are allowed time to build a hut for themselves in the convent gardens. They have no other allowances, and evil of this pleasure must support their inanities and aged people. The women's share is nearly 10 bushels a year, worth nearly two or 14 rupees; to this if we add her allowance for cloth, she gets 10½ rupees a year, equal to £1 10s. 6d. The men's allowance is 22½ bushels, or 34 rupees, or £2 3s. 9d. A male servant, hired by the day, gets 9 rupees of rice; both work from seven in the morning until 9 in the evening; but at noon they are allowed half-an-hour to eat some victuals that are dressed in the family, so part of their allowance, and every mate can eat the food which a Brahman has prepared.

Bengal, North Country,—In this country a few slaves are kept; but most of the labor, except the grounds of the Brahmanas, is performed by the proprietors, or hired servants. The Hinds Brahman tell us that their own servants of every kind are idle, but they never work for hire. The hired servants seldom receive any money in advance, and consequently at the end of the year are free to go away. No warning is necessary, either on the part of the master or of the servants. Three or four times a day in their masters' houses, and are annually one blanket, one handkerchief, and in money 6 pagodas, or 2½ rupees, or £2 5s. 4d. Their wives are hired by the day and get 1½ rupees of rough rice and 2 daisies, of which 4½ are equal to 1 rupee. In a poor country these wages are very high. A male slave gets daily 2 rupees' worth of rough rice, with actually one blanket, one handkerchief, a piece of cotton cloth, and small oil, tamarind, and capers. He gets no money, except at marriages; but these cost 10 pagodas, or 5½ rupees, for the woman must be purchased. She and all her children of course become the property of her husband's master. The women-slave gets daily 1½ rupees of rough rice, a blanket and annually
a piece of cotton cloth, and a jacket. Children and old people get some ready-dressed victuals at the house of the master, and are also allowed some clothing. The men work from sunrise till sunset, and at noon are allowed one Hindu hour, or about 34 minutes, for dinner. The women are allowed till about 8 o’clock in the morning to prepare the dinner, which they then carry to the fields and continue to work there with the men until sunset.

Scenaria, or Currata.—A farmer who has five ploughs is considered a rich man. With these he must keep 6 men and 6 women and 10 laboring cattle, and at planting and harvesting he must hire additional laborers. Farmers who are not Brahmanes, unless their farms be large, work the whole with their own families; but rich men must hire servants, or keep slaves, and to hold their plough Brahmanes must always have people of the low castes. This is a kind of work that even a Hinge Brahman will not perform.

A man-slave gets daily 2 cears of rough rice, or yearly about 30 baskets, worth 37 3s. 4d.; a handkerchief, a blanket and a piece of cloth, worth 2 rupees (6s. 9d.); a pagoda in money (6s. 6d.); 6 caddies of rough rice at harvest (14s. 6d.); total 22 2s. 7d. The women get one piece of cloth annually, and a maul of unpolished victuals on the days that they work, which may amount annually to 18 15s. 3d. hired men get four more of rough rice a day, worth less than three halfpence.

Narration.—Most of the cultivation is carried on by the families of the cultivators; there are very few hired servants, and a good many slaves, by whom, on the farms of the Brahmanes, all the ploughing is performed. A slave gets annually 14 rupees for a blanket, 4 rupees worth of cotton cloth, quarter rupee for a handkerchief, 6 caddies of rough rice worth 4 rupees to procure salt, tobacco, etc., and daily 13 caddies of rough rice, or annually 273 caddies (or almost 60 baskets) worth 51 16s. 11d.; and the annual allowance is 17s. 7d., the total expenses of maintaining a male slave one year is 62 14s. 7d. A woman-slave gets as follows: 206 caddies of rough rice, one daily, and 2 caddies at harvest, or 211 caddies or 447 baskets, worth 14s. 7d.; rupees; 4 rupees’ worth of cloth, and quarter rupees for a jacket, in all nearly 42 rupees or 11 15s. 3d. The marriage of a slave costs 10 pagodas, or about 3 guineas. The wife belongs to the husband’s master. A master cannot hinder his slave girl from marrying the slave of another man, nor does he get any price for her. The widow and children, after a slave’s death, continue with his master. If a slave has no children by his first wife, he is allowed to take another.

Barbaria.—The greater number of the farmers have only one plough each, but all such as have not more than three ploughs are reckoned poor men, and are in general obliged to borrow money to pay the rent, and to carry on the expenses of cultivation. The rent is a security to the lender, who is repaid in produce at a low valuation. Farmers who have 4, 5, or 6 ploughs are able to manage without borrowing, and live in ease. Those who have more stock are reckoned rich men. Each plough requires one man and two oxen, and one cultivator two more of land, or about 17 acres. Inordinate and
latter, some additional laborers must be hired. All the harvest, and their children, even those who are richest. Besides exceptions, work with their own hands, and only hire so many additional people as necessary to employ their stock of cattle. A servant's wages are from 6 to 9 paisa per day, together with a blanket and a pair of shoes. The junksary pagoda is four shawls worse than that of Iker, which is maker less than 1 paisa. The wages are therefore from $2.75 to $3.11.6d. One of this they find everything but the shoes and blanket. Man laborers get daily half a ruin or 3d., and women receive one-half of this, which is seldom paid in money, but is given in jobs at the market price. The man's wages purchase daily about a quarter of busuk. The people here work from eight in the morning until sundown, and in the middle of the day are allowed 24 minutes to rest and eat. The cattle work from sight in the morning until noon. They are then fed for an hour, and work until about 3 o'clock.

Herries (Myvno.)—At Herries there are no slaves. Most of the labor is performed by the families of the tenants; but a few hire mandarins by the year, and in small-time harvest employ women by the week. A man gets from 50 to 70 rupees a year, or from £1 11s. 2d. to £2 2s. 8d. This is paid entirely in money, without addition, except that for himself and family he generally obtains corn in his master's house. Women get 1 fanak or 7d. a week. Advances to servants are not common, and of course they are entirely free.

The hours of labor in this country are from eight in the morning until noon, and from 2 o'clock till sunset; in about eight hours. The laborers get up about seven; but no particular time in additions, pay, working their farms with cultivated acres or stock, and in eating their breakfast. They eat three times a day, their principal meal being at noon.

Mallari (Myvno.)—In the Mallari there are no slaves. Most of the labor is carried on by the families and their own families. Servants are hired by the year, month, or day. A man's wages, when hired by the year, average among 3 pagodas, a pint of rice, a blanket, and daily a meal of three-dressed rice, worth altogether about 5 pagodas, or about £1. No one more than once, but this is at his own expense. A servant hired by the month gets half a pagoda, or about 4 shillings, without any addition. The daily hire is one-third of a Constable's anna or 4d. Hire servants work from eight in the morning until six in the afternoon, and half an hour's interruption is granted to them time to eat some ready-prepared victuals.

Oncekkally (Myvno.)—Most of the cultivation is performed by the hands of the farmers and their own families. A few hired servants, and no slaves, are employed. A servant gets generally of the merchant or 28 rupees of 72 inches, or nearly 24 bushels, worth at an average 25 rupees, with 12 rupees in money. In all, he receives 40 rupees, or £1 4s. 16d. The hours of work are from 6 a.m. in the morning until noon, and from two to the afternoon until sunset. The number of holidays allowed is very small, but the servant occasionally gets four or five days to repair his house. As soon as
and harvest, a day-labourer gets from one-sixth to one-fourth of a
fallowed, or from 2½s. to rather more than 14s. a day. Women get
daily from one-fourth to one-fifth of a fanned or about 1½.

Kollampanallu, Salem District.—Most of the labor is performed by
the farmers and their own families. A few rich men hire yearly
servants; and at seed-time and harvest additional daily laborers must
be procured. There are no slaves. A ploughman gets annually 3½
candareens of ragi (46 bushels), worth 16 fannas, with a hot and 16
fannas in money. His wage, besides his, are therefore 1s. 7½d. The
additional expense attending a plough is 3½ fannas for implement.
and 2 seers for the hire of day-laborers, or one candareen of
grain, worth 8 fannas, for what the plough will cultivate; in all 5½
fannas. Add 30 fannas for the rest of the dry field, and we have
84 fannas of expense, besides the interest of the value of the two
ears, which, however, is a mere trifle. In an ordinary year, the pro-
duce, after deducting the seed and the Government’s share of rice
with the stoppages for village offices, according to the farmers, will
be —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value (fannas)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ragi 45 colages, worth</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avare 19 colages</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, Raisa crop, 9½</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raha, Curr crop, 5½</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This amounts to just about the expense; but I have mentioned that
the produce of the dry grain is in this account understated by at
least one-half, and I have not brought into the account the half-pro-
duct of the 4 colages which the farmers are compelled to cultivate,
and which costs little or no additional expense.

The farmers in general content to advance money to their servants
for marriages and other ceremonies. This money is repaid by instal-
ments out of the wages that are given in cash; for the people here are
not anxious to keep their servants in bondage by a debt hanging over
them. A day-labourer, whether man or woman, gets daily one-eighth
colage of rough rice or 1½ parts of a bushel. Of this, as it must be
observed, one-half is composed of leaf.

The following is an account of the wages now (1811) prevailing
at the place visited by Dr. Burnham in 1806 —

Rahden.—The rates of wages of the agricultural laborers have not
much altered since the beginning of the century. There are no slaves
now. The wages of the agricultural laborers, who are named parattu
and ponnal, are 20 fannas in kind per month and from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3
in money. Their wives get wages at other ordinary laborers.

Day-laborers at harvest, whether man or woman, get one to one-
and-a-half bushes of grain according to request and demand. For
weeding, transplanting, and planting, the laborers are paid from half
to three-fourths of a bushel. A laborer working in the field with
a hatchet or carrying earth or masses is paid one bushel in kind or
Rs. 3 in cash.
A porter taking a load is paid one bushel of grain or 5 Rs. for a whole day.

Districts, Chhatari District:—Agricultural labourers in the period of Chhitari (April) are hired for a year. They change their service when their term expires. They demand hire from their masters, but when they do, they repay the loan at the end of their term by the boojum is of their cattle. A male labourer gets 20 bundles of paddy for labour on wet lands, and 16 bundles of dry grain for work on dry lands, in villages at his monthly wages. A labourer on wet lands gets also annually a salory of paddy with a present of one or one and-half rupees or cloth of equivalent value for approved service. Where the labourer does not own a house in the village in which he is employed, the master provides for him a thatched hut to live in, 18 be rearranged to the employer on the termination of the period of service. The worker's wife works in the master's fields at reed-time and harvest and elsewhere at other times. A woman's daily wages are one bundle of dry grain and a cloth worth about one anna. For working, a man gets 6 paddies and a woman 3 paddies a day.

The labourer's diet consists of boiled grain and soup prepared of malt or wheat (beans) with curd and capricum ground into a paste mixed with salt. A rug is his clothing and hat his home. The labourers are strong and brawny and are not overfed with Dunali and nutritious food as a class. The women, although uneducated, are fully clothed.

Polity:—There are now two kinds of servants, called peddylas, employed by the peasants to cultivate the lands, and pangaals. The peddylas are engaged for a year, the year running from Chhitari to Chhitari (April) in some places and Tithi to Tithi (January) in others. The peddylas invariably receive an advance of money varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50, which they have to repay on quitting the master's service. The advance is taken by the peddylas out of necessity and partly in order that they might have a hold on their employers against summary dismissal of their servants at the pleasure of the masters. The peddylas are paid monthly in kind. Persons between 12 and 15 years of age are paid from 10 to 12 bundles of grain according to age and nature and efficiency of work. Those over 20 years of age receive 18 bundles. Besides the wages in grain, such peddylas are provided with a rumali or As. 8 to Rs. 15-6-0 for the purchase of one. He is also supplied with 2 pairs of slippers. The wife and children of the peddylas are paid for whatever work they perform, the wages of a female for transplanting being 5 rupees or one bundle of grain. If the peddylas leave their masters' service before the expiry of the term of their service, the masters seize their cattle and sell them and recover themselves for the money advanced to the labourers. If, on the other hand, the masters disengage with the wages of the peddylas, they cannot recover the losses before the full year of engagement expires.

The pangaal goes to a rich farmer and for a share of the crop undertake to cultivate his lands. The farmer advances the cattle, implements, seed and money or grain that is necessary for the subsistence of the pangaal. He also gives each family a house. He takes no share in the labour, which is all performed by the pangaal and his wife.
and children, but he pays the rent out of his share on the division of the crop which takes place when that is ripe. If a farmer employs a penguol to cultivate his lands, the produce is divided into two equal portions, one-half going to the share of the farmer as his interest. Of the remaining half, i.e., yoorvaran, in proportion to the number of ploughs owned by the farmer and penguol, the shares are divided at the rate of a share for each plough. For example, if the farmer owns three ploughs and the penguol one plough, half the produce above referred to (noonvaran) will be divided into 4 portions. 3 going to the share of the farmer and the remaining one for the latter. Every penguol should contribute a plough or two or else he will not be considered as such, but will be treated as a mere penguol. The penguol should pay from his share of the produce to the farmer the rent which he received for the substance. The farmers are better off with penguoles or with penguols; the greater portion of the responsibility is shored on the penguol, who have equal, if not better, interest in the cultivation of the land. The farmer has therefore less anxiety and greater profit when he employs a penguol than when he employs a penguol.

Pulikot, Mul內部 District.—The greater part of the labours on the field is performed by the chourmows. Persons of other castes are also engaged for the labours when necessity arises or on payment of higher wages. The chourmows, who were once slaves, are now ordinary natives. The landlords and landholders have now an absolute control over them, nor do they maintain the chourmows when their services are not required. The chourmows are in perfect liberty to procure wherever they choose and obtain subsistence. They receive 2 pounds of paddy and two pieces of cloth a year as long as they remain in the service of their masters. They also obtain some pecuniary and other assistance when a marriage, death or other contingency occurs in their families. The daily wages of a chourmow, both male and female, are 2 dangaalies of paddy and one dangaalie for a boy or girl. The daily wages of labourers other than chourmows are 4 dangaalies for males, 3 for females, and 1 for boys and girls.

Thrissur, Mul内部 District.—The daily wages paid in grains to agricultural labourers in 1891 were much the same as those paid in 1880. The rates generally given are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To able-bodied men, 14 dangaalies of paddy or 6 nalis leap</td>
<td>1404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To able-bodied women, 11 dangaalies of paddy or 6 nalis smoked</td>
<td>1044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To old persons and children, of paddy, 2 nalis leap</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They get a present of 2 pounds of paddy during the harvest and 3 or 4 pieces of cloth. In times of scarcity, which generally happens in the months of July and August, their masters give them pua and jappu, plantains, etc. This year when there was a general failure of pua, yams, etc., the starting population were driven to the necessity of extracting almost from the pua and jappu and subsisting upon the seeds formed out of the juice obtained. The rates above given are higher than the rates given for the labourers who receive advances.
of money and are required to work out the advances by contributing manual labour.

**Pollilerry, Malabar District.**—The cultivators, i.e., tenants, are now worse off than in 1880. They get at the most only one-half of the produce of paddy fields they tend out, and as for plantations, if the loan has not been paid (buyukkam) prior to the famine, the tenants get two-thirds of their produce; in other cases they scarcely get enough, the rest being appropriated by their landlords. All tenants, whether of paddy field or of plantation, have the same complaint to make, that they gain little or no profit from selling or holding lands and pasture under the terms now obtaining in Malabar.

Three tenants are mostly wracking themselves; and all able-bodied men and women of their household work in and for the interest of the farm. But if at any extra labour is wanted, they hire other men and women at the usual rates of wages. The tenants do not now possess slaves, though it cannot be denied that in remote parts peasant slaves are secretly leased out with the fields. The hired servants are chiefly *Tutus*, *Nairs*, *Moplas* and *Polavans* (who were slaves in 1880). Polavans are hired as day-labourers. The working hours are now, as in 1880, almost the same, viz., 7 A.M. to 1 P.M., but the rates of wages are now only 2 angamallis of paddy against 3 1/2 in 1880. All the afternoon the tenants work for themselves.

The adangally in North Malabar, familiarly known as McLeod's own, contains—

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Cheralal</td>
<td>... ... ...</td>
<td>100-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Kottum</td>
<td>... ... ...</td>
<td>97-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Kazun</td>
<td>... ... ...</td>
<td>97-79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total earnings, at the present rates, of a day-labourer in Malabar for a whole year may be taken at 639 angamallis of paddy, or Rs. 674 in money at the present market rates. This gives Rs. 5-4-0 a month for a labourer working half a day.

**Cheralal, Malabar District.**—The following states were once slaves in this taluk: (1) Polavans, in the plains near the sea coast; (2) Mavilam; (3) Konkanals; and (5) Vettarmers on the hills. There are now no slaves in the sense that their owners and children are not now openly held, mortgaged or leased with the lands to which they are attached. But the master or tenant takes particular care that they are not taught to read and write. In remote parts they are even now covertly sold, mortgaged and leased with the lands by word of mouth. In such cases the old allowances are still paid to them, viz., a hut, two pieces of cloth annually and the daily allowance of rice or paddy. The usual money allowance for oil and salt is not now given.

The pasters or agricultural labourers are generally *Nairs*, *Moplas*, and *Kors*. Though the master does not now give the average a hut to live in, yet many have become koyikamati tenants of the former. They are not bound to render gratuitous service to their masters. For all work done to the masters, they are paid the same wages as are given to non-tenants.
In cases of indigence, the debts are not recovered by deductions from wages, but in due course of law. No annual presents are given to the labourers nor are they dugged on any account.

The rates generally given are:

- For tilling (work done till 1 p.m.)
  - 2 acres
- For tilling (work done till 12 noon)
  - 4 acres
- For weeding (woman), whole day
  - 14 shares
- For reaping (woman), whole day
  - 10 shares
- For turning up panchas (till 1 p.m.)
  - 3-4 shares
- Cozy work (full day) in urban parts
  - 1 share

(C.)—Abstract of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 23rd November 1819, on the subject of agricultural slavery.

Sialus.—There was no vestige whatever of slavery in the district nor had any such practice obtained from the time the district came into the possession of the Company.

Modern and Distinct.—Slavery had existed during the Moplahs, under which government, and the slaves were sold as the pleasure of their masters. Since the assumption of the country by the Company, some slaves had continued with their masters; others had left them and even enlisted as sepoys. The Collector could not discover that any Pulpak had sold himself as a slave. Indeed slavery seemed gradually disappearing.

Govinda.—Slavery existed in the district in but a very few villages and the number of slaves was always inconsiderable.

Tegler.—Slavery existed in the district, but it was founded in the first instance upon a voluntary contract. The condition of the slaves differed very little from that of the common labourers, and the treatment of both was nearly the same. The system of slaves attached to the soil and transferable by purchase, as appurtenance to the land, did not obtain in the district.

Yonkardi.—Slavery existed in the district. It was usual for slaves to be sold or mortgaged, either with the land or separately, at the pleasure of the proprietor. The slaves were afforded subsistence on the lowest scale of allowance, being generally not more than 3 measures of paddy a day on working days. They were also entitled to the time of harvest to a small deduction from the gross produce, which generally amounted to 25 per cent. It was usual for the masters to send the slaves with necessary funeral expenses, and to grant them presents on occasions of marriages, births and festivities.
South Arcot.—The system of slavery, originally founded on contract, existed in the district. The slaves were given a certain prescribed grain allowance and a proportionate existence for each of their children or others of the family. They were also housed and clothed and during the principal festivals certain other allowances were made to them both in money and in articles requisite for their services; their marriages were also performed at the charge of their masters; and when reduced by infirmities they were also supported by their proprietors. The conditions of this description of people, comprising the chief part of the Dabas of the district, had, of late, considerably changed. In consequence of the vicinity of the town of Madras where many of them obtained employment and their properties found it difficult to maintain them.

Trichinopoly.—Slavery existed in the district, the number of slaves amounting to 10,000. They were usually sold with the land and sometimes mortgaged. They were supposed to be entirely supported by their masters in sickness and in health. Their marriages were made at the expense of the minions and the expenses of their funerals were also defrayed by them. The slaves enjoyed some little gravity at every birth and received a certain establishment as the principal Hindu logicians. A list of the yearly cash-products which a slave was properly entitled to receive is noted below. They were not treated harshly.

The quantity of land to be cultivated by a slave is an extent capable of yielding 120 kaham of paddy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Varna of a Fallen</th>
<th>Kachas</th>
<th>units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do. Polissi</td>
<td>8 3/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beta for ploughing</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatiya for sewing</td>
<td>2 1/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revangi, share at 3 per cent.</td>
<td>7 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tharding</td>
<td>1 9/16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pungal foot</td>
<td>1 0/16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dheenapali</td>
<td>1 1/16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradavalla</td>
<td>2 1/16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total annual: 30 4/12 Rs. 9 14 Senas.

For a marriage: 2 0 rupees.
Do. birth: 0 2 rupees.
Do. death: 0 2 rupees.

Total: 30 4/12 Rs. 9 14 Senas.
COURT.—Slavery existed in the district, the number of slaves amounting to 83,000. The right of life was the master's exclusive privilege, with or without the fork. The slaves could not be let on hire. They were fed and clothed by their masters, who also presented them with a small sum of money on their marriages or on occasions of particular ceremony. The average quantity of food and clothing given was—

For a man—
11 Coarse ear of rice rice,
2 pieces of salt, a little boiled and fed.

For a woman—
1 piece of salt, a little boiled and fed.

For a child—
1 piece of cloth, 2 cubits.

The slaves were not cruelly treated.

Maladies.—There were slaves in the district numbering 100,000. They were frequently transferred by sale, mortgage, or hire. The mode of subsistence to be given by the proprietor was fixed, and he was bound by the prescribed customs of the country in so far as it served out to the slaves daily. The slaves were in more comfortable circumstances than any of the lower and poorer class of natives.

(1.)—Extractions from the Report of the Commissioners for the investigation of alleged cases of Torture in the Mopane Province, 1856.

Mr. Forbes has declared to us that the people would be satisfied if the demands of the Bounty Officer were met by the Government; we entreat an answer hereinafter, that the reduction, of what we occasionally termed "Bulbs," is unfounded, and that where payment cannot be obtained by fair means, bond will be required to the Todd is brought into play, all that perfect but silent machinery which combines the forms of senseless demands and Police authority: the most ingenious affreets which the subjection of the native mind and invent are had recourse to; and it seems highly probable to us that it is a common practice with the natives officers to give their own distasteful demands precedence, when pecuniary means being more plentiful or easily procurable, the process of extortion is more readily complied with, under hopes and promises of future services, perhaps that of assisting in chastising Government among others, especially with a view to keep the revenue demand as a corps de costume in full back upon, the practice of oppression and violence to extract that, being not so apparent as inscriptions in the eyes of the people, as the application of the same measures for more private personal purposes.

1. Mr. Forbes, Collector of Dangers, written as follows:—"The people of Dafha have a wide distribution between square to only produced with a possible interest, and from which, however, immediately, they will not be prohibited, and appeal upon appeal for the failure of a great wrong, when they will in the same time receive much more justice rendered in a public seat, the natives of the same are not to be pleased, and which is quite natural in the other."
The descriptions of violence commonly in vogue for revenue and private extortion purposes, which have been spoken to in the course of this inquiry, are as follow:—Keeping a man in the sun; preventing his going to meals or other calls of nature; confinement; preventing cattle from going to pasture by shutting them up in the house; quartering a pone on the defaulter, who is obliged to pay him daily wages; the use of the kibbe; disembowel; squashing the ground fingers with his hands; pinches on the thighs; slaps, blows with fist or whip; running up and down; twisting the ears; making a man sit on the sole of his feet with brickbats behind his knees; putting a few coarse in the back; striking two defaulter’s heads against each other; or tying them together by their black hair; placing in the stocks; tying the hair of the head to a donkey’s or bullock’s tail; placing a muzzle of horn or other disgusting or disgusting materials round the neck; and, occasionally, though very rarely, more severe discipline still.

Some stress seems to have been laid upon the existence of “instruments” of torture, and many of the gentlemen who have sent in reports to Government state their belief that the kibbe has become obsolete in their districts.

That the “saahal” (in Telugu, garuge) or tying a man down in a bent position by means of his own body or a rope of one or straw over his neck and under his toes is generally common at the present day; is beyond dispute; and we see no reason to doubt that the kibbe (in Telugu, chundru) is also in frequent use. It is a very simple machine, consisting merely of two sticks tied together at one end, between which the fingers are placed in a piece of wood; but in our judgment it is of very little importance whether this particular form of compression be the man in ordinary use or not, for no equal amount of bodily pain must be produced by that which has suspended the kibbe, if anywhere it has gone out of vogue, the compelling a man to interface his fingers, the ends being augmented by the hands of persons, who occasionally introduce the use of sand to gain a firmer gripes; or making a man place his hands flat upon the ground and then pressing downward at either end of a stick placed horizontally over the back of the sufferer’s fingers. Independently of the general testimony to its use depose to before us by the complainers whom we have personally examined, we find its use believed in by Mr. O. Fortes, and admitted by the sherif, who says—“Kibbes are sometimes kept in both taluks and villages; if they are not forthcoming in places where they are required for us, the village carpenter is immediately ordered to procure the required number of kibbes, which cedar is implicitly obeyed;” and in the case of Akbari Aqwan, we find a Teludars told and mantained to six months hard labour in prison and a fine of Rs. 200 for having supplied this instrument known in Telugu districts by the name of chundru to the faggs of the complainant so lately as the middle of the last year.

It is quite certain that the practice of torture prevails to a much more aggravated degree in Polock cases than for reducing the revenue. The modes resorted to in the former appear to be many such and crude, though we doubt if anything like an equal number of persons is annually subjected to violence on criminal charges or for default of payment of revenue.
We have instances of torture being freely practised in every relation of domestic life. Servants are thus treated by their masters and fellow servants; children by their parents and schoolmasters for the most trivial offences; the very play of the populace (and the point of a rude people’s drama in its native) excite the laughter of many a rural audience by the exhibition of scenes arranged out of a defaulter who, by coin through the appliance of familiar “persuasive” under the superintendence of a sanctioned Rabindranath, it seems a “unnameded” institution, and we cannot be astonished if the practice is still widely prevalent among the ignorant and mistaught class of native public servants.

Among the judicial tortures in vogue in Police cases we find the following: twisting a rope tightly round the entire arm or leg so as to impede circulation; lifting up by the nostrils; suspending by the arms while tied behind the back; seated with hot iron; placing scorching insects such as the carpenter beetle, an the navel, nape and other sensitive parts; dipping in wells and rivers till the party is half suffocated; pressing the testicles; beating with sticks; prevention or sleep; slipping the flesh with pincers; putting pepper or red chillies in the eyes; these cruelties occasionally persevered in until death occurs or later course.

In the course of this investigation there is one thing which has impressed us even more painfully than the conviction that torture exists; it is difficulty of obtaining relief which confirms the injured parties.

In stating this melancholy fact we are very far from seeking to cast any unfounded suspicion upon either the Government of its European officers. We think that the servos is entitled to the fullest credit for its disallowance of all instances of the cruel practice which prevail in the Revenue as well as the Police department. We see no reason to doubt that the native officials from the highest to the lowest are well aware of the disposition of their European superiors; and although very many of the parties, who have appeared before us in reply to our inquiry why they have not made an earlier complaint, have asked what is the use of appealing to the Collector, we have seen nothing to impress us with the belief that the people at large entertain an idea that their maltreatment is condoned or tolerated by the European officers of Government. On the contrary all they seem to desire is that the Europeans in their respective districts should themselves take up and investigate complaints brought before them. The instances which the natives will often travel at great personal loss and inconvenience to make complaints even of a very petty nature to the Collector or Sub-Collector is of itself a proof of the condition which they place generally in these offices. The abstinence of the native officials from such practices in or near stations where Europeans, by their official, private, consanguine relations or other offices, reside, and the prevalence of torture increasing in proportion as the taluk appears less exposed to European scrutiny, are strong arguments in favor of a conclusion on the part of the native officials that they cannot with impunity exact to illegal and personal, violence when it admits of easy and openly substantiation before the European authorities of the district; and the
whole or of the people which has come up before us is to save them from the cruelties of their fellow natives, not from the effects of unkindness or indifference on the part of the European officers of Government.

Want them, it may be asked, are the reasons on which we found our opinion that while the natives have confidence in their European superiors, they do not promptly seek redress at their hands in every instance of abuse of authority? They are as follows: In the first place the inflation of such descriptions of ill-treatment in the collection of the revenue as we have above quoted has, in the course of events, come to be looked upon as "Mamool," 1 an expression, a thing of course to be submitted to as an every day unavoidable necessity. It is generally practiced probably only on the lower order of rats, whose circumstances last permit of their making any complaints on the one hand, whilst their ignorance and timidity render them less inflexible on the other; such is the native character that very often those able and ready to pay their due will not do so unless some degree of force be resorted to. "I brought it up to my house," says a rat, in a deposition referred to by Mr. Lushington, 2 "but only paid it. I brought the said money to pay, but no violence was used towards me. I did not do so. Had I been compelled, I would have paid them." 3 And in all three cases, it is probable that a sense of the injustice of the claim operates in their minds against seeking redress for ill-treatment, which, but for their own straitness, they might have avoided. The violence ordinarily used is not of such a character as to leave these marks upon the person which might be appealed to in incontestable corroboration of the truth of the native's story, and we cannot attain to inferring our opinion that the great proportion of the petitions made or the lightness of the punishments consequent upon such cases as appear to have been submitted to the satisfaction of the magistrate, may have had a serious effect in deterring the rats from bringing forward more serious complaints.

The distance which those who wish to make complaints personally to the Collector have to travel, the fear that their applications by letter if permitted to reach head-quarters undisembarrassed by military pretext will be returned with the ordinary endowment of a reference to the Tahidah, the expense and loss of time which a visit to, and more or less prolonged attendance upon, the Collector's office entails, the utter hopelessness after all is said and done, of the European authorities personally investigating the case, generally speaking the permission that a reference of the petition to the Tahidah is likely to end in a reality; the immense power wielded by the native servants in the districts and those in the Collector's office, who work together in concert to render all complaints to the superior European officials nugatory; the probability that if any trial takes place before the Tahidah the complainant's witnesses will either be bribed and brought off or intimidated, or, if they appear, that their statements will not be

1 Mr. Bolton, Collector of Bengal, evidence read. — The rats will not go away at the suggestion of the Tahidah in all instances, looking to each case what the particular circumstances may be. They know that if they do not pay they will be punished, not because they could not pay it, but simply because he was not allowed to do so.
believed, or will be published, and an unfavourable report upon them returned to the Collector; above all perhaps, the certainty that he who seeks release at the hands of the Europeans is therein both a mark was amongst the native officials, and that his whole future peace and life are jeopardized by this attempt, and that every means of oppression, and of expiation, even with the acquittal of justice, will be brought into play against him, until his own ruin and that of his family are sooner or later consummated; some or all of these circumstances unite in every case, in more or less feasible combination, to render refusal not only difficult, but in many instances almost impossible; at the same time it is to be remarked that the authority of the Taxidermists must be supported by his European superiors against the numerous false charges which are unscrupulously preferred by the intriguing cates.

The character of the Native Police has been drawn by more than one writer in the reports furnished to Government.

Mr. Macquarie writes as follows:—"I have no hesitation in stating that the so-called Police of the metropolis is little better than delusion. It is a term to well disposed and sensible people, none whatever to thieves and rogues, and that if it was abolished or into the saving of expense to Government would be great, and property would be not a whit less secure than it now is."

Mr. Sandford says:—"The Police establishment has become the base and pest of society, the terror of the community, and the emblem of half the misery and discontent that exist amongst the subjects of Government. Corruption and bribery reign paramount throughout the whole establishment; violence, torture and cruelty are their chief instruments for detecting crime, impounding innocents, or extorting money. Robberies are daily and nightly committed, and not unfrequently with their connivance. Certain suspicious characters are taken up and conveyed to some secluded spot far out of the reach of witnesses; every species of cruelty is exercised upon them; if guilty, the crime is invariably confess’d and stolen property discovered; but a tempting bribe soon releases them from custody. Should they persist in avowing their innocence, relief from suffering is promised by 지금마지막 appears to be the recipient of stolen goods. In his turn he is compelled to part with his hard earned coin to avert the impending danger. Even the party accused does not escape the clutches of the heartless press and difficulties; he is threatened with being torn from his home, dragged to the constables and detailed there for days or weeks to the actual detriment of his trade or livelihood, unless he point out the supposed thief. The dread of, or avarice to, the constables is so great the owner would sooner divide the stolen articles and disclose all knowledge of the property, though his name be found written upon it in broad characters; while such is the actual state of things, and while the people entertain such a lively horror of the Police, it is not possible to expect a single victim of torture to come forward and arraign his tormentors; or to bring the charge home to any one of them after the deed has been perpetrated in some remote part or deep ravine situated miles away from the town or village."
Mr. J. Mackenzie, merchant of Bikanpore, gives the following account:—"Since the receipt of your communication, however, I have made it my duty to inquire into the subject as far as my opportunities permitted, and the result of my inquiries leads me to the conclusion that the charge has been greatly exaggerated, and that although the use of torture or coercion in the collection of the revenue cannot be denied, its practice is of very rare occurrence, and at all of the deep and extensive nature alleged, and I can confidently state, that it is not the custom to order an immediate kist, or, in some instances, to detain the assignee, to secure out of the ryot, over and above his kist, a further sum for the benefit of the revenue servants. I am convinced that this charge is quite unfounded at least as regards the district of Vizagapatam. It is not in this way that the revenue servants make money. I believe I can explain when torture is made use of. There is a class of ryots known as nudars, (poopers) whom a family revenue system has taken out of their proper position and converted into ryots, whereas they were never intended for any other position than that of labourers or servants to Mootahar ryots. Now these nudars are compelled to undertake the cultivation of lands which the Mootahar ryots are not disposed to take up. It is unsafe to make them such advances as would give them the means of well cultivating their lands; they cannot be trusted; they are not to be made honest or respectable; their lands are consequently badly cultivated and their crops scanty, and scanty as they are, they generally endeavor to make away with them and evade the payment of their kist, as they really live by what they can pilfer. Now it is in such cases that punishment, or, as it is called torture, is had recourse to. The Tahsildar knows that crop has been made away with, and that this ryot has the proceeds concealed on his person; he refuses to pay. What is the Tahsildar to do? Sell his property! He has no tangible property. Send him to jail he is well lodged and fed at the expense of Government! His house neither; he flags him or coerces him in some other way, and so on by stages, until by turns, deep down out of suspected places. One such case is named above, and the example serves for a long time. This I believe to be the true statement of the torture used in this district. I need not say that it is difficult to prove. The Tahsildar takes good care that no witnesses who are likely to give evidence against him are present. No laws can eradicate it, it has been the practice of the country from time immemorial; the natives in general think it all right; the very nature of the people must first be changed."

(E.)—The Modern East by Mr. R. A. Hodgson in 1855.

During the ten years preceding 1856, the price of all agricultural produce has nearly doubled, and that consequently the agricultural proprietor was much better off at the beginning of 1856 than he was at the beginning of 1846, and that there was a still greater improvement in his position as compared to what it had been in 1846. As nearly the whole of his outgoings, whether for food or wages, were deductions from the gross produce of the land as his family...
on the grain raised and wages are paid in the same commodity, but staple produce has remained fairly the same in quantity during the twenty years, whereas the market value of that surplus has increased threefold, if no allowance be made for the depreciation of the value of the precious metals which has taken place during this period.

In order to the better understanding of the extraordinary improvements that has taken place in the position of the agricultural labourer, it will be advisable to consider the tenure on which land is held in the Madras Presidency. As already stated, a very large proportion of the individual area is held direct from Government by peasant proprietors termed Government ryots. According to the statistical returns, there were no less than a million and three-quarters of these people entered in the registers as land-holders, and their holdings are usually indefinitely small. Only 420 paid £100 and upwards as Government land-tax, which is supposed to represent half the net produce of the land. Upwards of a million and a half paid less than Rs. 10 or Rs. 5. Of these latter, upwards of a million paid less than Rs. 10 or Rs. 11. As has been already shown, the cultivated land held by the registered ryots is about 18 million acres, the average extent of the holdings is therefore 9 acres, but if the million sub-tenants who are entered in the returns as holding under these registered ryots be taken into account, the average size of the holdings will be reduced to 6 acres, supposing, of course, that every registered ryot who sub-lets land retains an equal quantity for his own use. This minute subdivision of the land into small holdings, has often been advanced as the great objection to the tenant system of tenure, but after all it should be remembered that this objection applies equally to the landlord system, and that, notwithstanding the difference in the value of money, only a few years back there were nearly two millions of small landed proprietors in France whose holdings in no case exceeded 5 acres; that in the present Kingdom of Prussia, out of a population of nine millions dependent on agriculture, there are upwards of two million proprietors of land, and that upwards of a million of these do not possess more than 3 acres; and that in Ireland, in 1863, there were 92,916 persons holding land less than an acre in extent as proprietors or tenants, 70,144 holding between 1 and 2 acres, and 16,764 from 2 to 5 acres.

Unfortunately the system of Government was generally fixed too high, and the result of this over-assessment, increased as its pressure has been by the fall in the value of produce since the settlement was made, has never allowed the system a fair trial. Various restrictive rules also led to much interference with the ryots, though they were far from being a necessary consequence of the system. These restrictions are now being removed and the reductions recently made, or in progress, and the correct survey, classification and re-assessment of the land now in contemplation, will do away with these disadvantages, and it may be expected that the superiority of a system which encourages industry and enterprise, by being based on individual proprietorship, will be more clearly exhibited.
The position of every description of landholder, whether ryot, semiuder, or insinuder, must have improved very materially during the last 15 years. No far as the first class was concerned, the fall in prices, which had taken place between the early part of the century, when the money rates of land-tax payable to Government were fixed, and the year 1850, had had such a serious effect upon their resources, that very liberal reductions were then made in the assessment of all the arable lands in those districts where the rates were paid with severity upon the ryots or where they were so high as to keep land out of cultivation altogether. A special department for the encouragement of all districts on liberal and scientific principles was also organised. The position of the irrigated land was consequently as much improved and the steady rise in prices, which has taken place since that period, has, of course, still further benefited him, but the latter benefit has also been obtained by the holders of land on other tenures, the semiuder and the insinuder, and their respective connexes. It has been already shown that an acre of irrigated land produces on the average 146 Mades or more, or about 5 cwt. of grain, and that an acre of irrigated land produces 370 Mades or 10 cwt. of rice. The Government ryot, therefore, who held, say, 6 acres of "dry" land and 5 acres of "wet" land, for which he paid, say, Rs. 20 per annum to Government as land-tax, obtained for the produce Rs. 195 in 1850 and Rs. 240 in 1856, as noted in the margin. On the other hand, the ryot holding the same extent of land under a semiuder or insinuder, after giving half the produce to his landlord, obtained in 1850 only Rs. 52-8-0, the price of 5 cwt. of dry grain and 10 cwt. of rice in 1856, and in 1856 Rs. 104-8-0.

The figure of the same quantity of grain in that year, the semiuder or insinuder, in this case, taking the balance of advantage obtained by the Government ryot. This improvement in the position of the agriculturist has manifested itself in the very large increase in the area of land under cultivation, for, whereas, even in 1856, there were less than 50 millions of acres held by registered Government ryots, there were upwards of 16 millions of acres so held in 1865.
were still paid in grain, and that those grain wages had not risen materially during late years. As to other classes of labourers who were paid in coin, they observed that their wages had risen consider-
ably, and that the increase had then kept pace with the enhanced price of food. Compared with former rates, the wages were stated to be, in some cases, double of what they formerly were, but the general proportion of increase was 50 per cent., and only in a few cases had the increase been as small as 20 per cent. These conclu-
sions are borne out by the increases which have taken place, during this last 15 years, in the pay of all domestic servants in the families of Europeans in India.

The position of that portion of the population whose wealth is derived from agricultural operations has improved, at any rate, in an equal ratio with that of the agriculturist, if we may judge by the progress which has taken place in the trade of the Presidency. The principal portion of this trade is carried on at the port of Madras, that is, about one-half of the export trade and two-thirds of the import trade. The greater part of the balance of the export trade is from the ports of Coonambo, Negapatam and Tuticorin, in the East Coast, and from Cutch, Guzerat, and Madras, on the Western Coast. Large exports of cotton take place from Coonambo and Tut-
corin, and of grain from Negapatam, whereas the principal articles of export from the western ports are coffee and oil-seeds. The principal item of import at these ports is rice, though grains of other kinds are also largely imported into the Malabar district.

On the whole, then, it is impossible to arrive at any other conclu-
sion than that the mass of the population of the Madras Presidency have considerably progressed in wealth during the 10 years previous to the famine of 1866. The whole of the agricultural interest, which includes certainly three-fourths and perhaps four-fifths of the popula-
tion, were, in twice as good a position at the end of this period as they had been at its commencement, and a large number of them had made enormous gains during the cotton famine in England, the price of the district of Ballary alone having, it is estimated, obtained an increase to their capital of nearly a million and a-half sterling on this account. The mercurial class, or, at any rate, such portions of them as were interested in the cotton trade, had doubled their business, and the position of the poorest classes had certainly not deteriorated. Further, while private wealth had increased to this extent, taxation had been augmented by less than 10 per cent., so that, certainly, three-fourths of the increased profits obtained by the population were enjoyed tax free. At the commencement of the distress the people were, consequently, in a better position than they had ever occupied in any previous year of famine.

(F.)—Remarks of the seigneur state by the Board of Revenue on the sta-
status of the labouring classes in 1872 (Proceedings of the Board of
Revenue, dated 11th November 1872, No. 2179).

Board of Revenue—Labourers.—The general opinion was that the con-
cdition of the labouring classes was rapidly improving. Mr. Hoondt
and Mr. Stuart took the opposite view, but they evidently referred to
farm labourers, the old pradhu slaves. Wages paid in grain, like
those of farm labourers, continued almost stationary, and the rapid
increase in money wages was to a great extent neutralised by an equal
rise in prices. The labouring classes had, however, fully shared in
the general improvement which was visible everywhere, and in many
places large public works, increasing trade, and improved facilities
for emigration had made their advance more rapid than that of other
classes.

Honourable F. Ransomgaper.—The agricultural labourers in Tanjore
called "parichal" were a kind of semi-serf attached to the estates
to which they were attached. According to the practice of the
district, 40 godails of dry land out of the holdings of a minorikatu
were exempted by Government from assessment and made over to each
"parichal" working under him. The minorikatu supplemented
this with a grant of 40 godails, of which he himself paid the
assessment. He further granted to each labourer 50 godails of
"unnah" land free of assessment. The 100 godails of dry land was
calculated to yield 7 kahmals of paddy, besides vegetables and enough
of groundnut to supply him with oil for the use of the family. The
50 godails of wet land were computed to yield 5 kahmals of paddy.
His wages for daily work consisted of a Madras measure of grain per
daim and this for about nine working months in the year would give
him 9 x 30 or 270 measures = 11¾ Tanjore kalanis. His subsistence
on the threshing floor at the time of harvest gave him about 11
kahmals more. The pannai’s wife earned, by beating paddy and
separating the husk from the grain on the minorikatu’s estate, about 6
kahmals of grain a year at the rate of 12 measures a month, so that
the total earnings of the family in one year were as below—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KAHMAL</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yield of dry land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yield of wet land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily wages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calorimetry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnings of the labourer’s family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

which at an average price of one rupee a kahmal was equal to about
Rs. 45 in money. The labourer generally earned something by work-
ing as coydi during three months in the year in which he was not
employed in the field, and including this, and the presents he got on
festival days, the total earnings of the family were Rs. 4 a month. A
non-agricultural labourer and his family in the rural parts of the
district earned about the same sum at the rate of three annas per
daim.

The agricultural labourers in other districts did not earn so much
as in Tanjore. In some districts, their wages were, on an average,
but two Madras measures of grain per daim, or 60 measures a month,
equal to 12 x 45 or 720 measures or 40 mockals per annum. This

1 A Tanjore kahmal = 1 Madras mockal or 30 measures, each containing 150 kahals of rice.
was worth Rs. 30 or Rs. 24 per month. Taking the whole Presidency, it was of opinion that it would probably not be much wiser of the work to assume the average earnings of unskilled labourers to be about Rs. 3 a month. There was no doubt that the wages of labour had increased since fall 1832 (1833-34); though not in proportion to prices, the latter having risen by 100 per cent, while the former rose by about 50 per cent. So far the condition of the labouring classes must be held to have improved.

Mr. Chittenden Bow.—The money wages of labourers everywhere nearly doubled, but wages to agricultural labourers were paid in grain and continued unaltered. A full grown labourer in Nellore (of which Mr. Chittenden Bow was a native and a landlord) got from 14 to 2 tons* of paddy or one ton of jowar or ragi usually with a camel and a pair of slippers a year. This was all that had been always paid. The condition of the agricultural labourers had not materially or at all improved, excepting in towns and villages in the vicinity of the railway.

Mr. Walkerhouse, Collector of Guindy.—Wages were good and employment general; in some places skilled labour, such as, that of the ironworkers, the grooms, &c., was very high owing to the extension of the railway.

There was an increase in money wages; grain wages were the same as to quantity; but more valuable relatively to money. The cultivators or field-hands of the irrigated lands working for the landlords remained in much the same condition; rents cultivating their own lands, in other words, owners of dry land, had, by the sinking of wells at their own cost, without being charged for the improvement, as was usual under the old native system, advanced in wealth and comfort. The pice proprietor and his sons worked their fields, tended the cattle, and ploughed the fields; all worked who had not the means to be idle; the females also spuds.

Next there were the lowest classes in every village who earned their subsistence by cutting grass, weeding fields, &c.; exempt in unfavorable seasons when grain failed or cultivation was not carried out, they maintained themselves according to their own standard; when there was no thought of the narrow and people multiplied without the restraint which better circumstanced or higher standards of living entail, there was no likelihood of much advancement. But though emigration again were being up for recruits in every village and bazaar, and promised food, clothing and Rs. 5 per month, apparently they met with limited success; 90 in a population of 14 millions supposed before him as magistrate, as he ascertained, in the course of 11 months from November 1872 to November 1873. There was neither fear of the sea nor of distant travel and those that went had usually no local ties.

* A ton = 37-5 Mundes measures; 80 bales in the country was about Rs. 12.
Mr. Vakharia, Deputy Collector, Chhindwara District.—The wages or earnings of the labouring classes were then nearly double of what they were some fifteen years before, owing partly to the rise in the price of grain and partly to the liberal rates at which they were paid by the Railways Company and the Public Works Department. A coolie labouring working at the railway got as much as three annas a day, while his wife got no more and a-half. Thus a family consisting of a wife and a husband made up about Rs. 80 a year exclusive of non-working days, whereas their annual income in former days had not exceeded half the latter sum.

Mr. Chawle, Collector of Kurund.—Agricultural labourers were generally paid in grain and so the rate of payments seldom changed, their condition had been stationary and had made no perceptible improvement. The wages of non-agricultural labourers, however, had considerably increased, owing to the operations of the Irrigation Company and the general rise of prices; but after the completion of these works in 1870 and the fall in prices, especially in that of cotton, the rates of wages had a downward course, and the condition of the labourers at that time was not much better than what it was 10 years before; and any increase in the rate of wages was nearly counter-balanced by the enhancement of prices, so much so that when coconuts were wanted for road work at a time when field work was available, they invariably preferred the latter, which was paid for in grain, to the former, which was paid for in money. Their food and clothing were of the same kind as what they were before. They ate the same coarse grain and used as clothing the same clothing composed of hemp-sacks or tannstedt tartar. They wore the same coarse clothes and slept on the same rope cots. The women put on no more jewels than they did in former days; he mentioned this because it was a well-known fact that when a native was improved in condition, the first thing he did was to purchase jewels for his wife and children.

Mr. Khalil, Deputy Collector, South Agra.—The position of the labouring classes had improved. In the South Agra district indigo cultivation had increased enormously. Indigo rates were found everywhere. The rate of daily wages to labourers in fields had almost doubled in the past years when there had been a rise in prices. There was a demand for labourers in every direction. A labourer in the field got his wages in kind at the time of harvest and in money at other times. In cash it was two annas and in grain three annas and a half more than three Madras measures. Labourers working in the indigo rate obtained three annas a day; but they were not employed all the year round. He estimated their monthly income at Rs. 5. or Rs. 42 per annum. There was another class of labourers who worked for monthly wages in kind. Their monthly wages were 27 Madras measures of paddy or ragi; besides one meal every day. They also got about 7 or 8 per cent. of the output at the time of harvest called chabhaewad and also a repute in cash. If the approximate output of a field managed by one servant was 146 kalan, the labourers' income would be—monthly wages = 941 Madras measures; chabhaewad = 222 Madras measures, and this at a repute for 20 measures would be Rs. 20; adding to this one rupee in cash and also the money value of one meal every day, which at 5 or 8 pies a day amounted to one
Mr. Poochla, Collector of Tinnevelly.—The wages of labour in this district were high. Four annas a day for men, coolies had been the general rate for the previous 10 years. At harvest time everywhere and throughout the year in the northern hills the rate had been as high as six annas a day, but lately there was a decrease and during the non-cultivation season of 1874 any quantity of labour was procurable at 4 annas and a half per diem. At the coffee estates at Tiruchiyur men could be receiving four annas a day, and in the coffee estates on the hills the same rates prevailed. The agricultural potters attached to the land received their wages in kind as formerly. The position both of the free labourers and the potters in this district was remarkably good; they were better fed and clothed than similar classes in many of the districts south of Madras, and their houses as a rule were superior to and were very different from the spindly huts that were to be found elsewhere.

Mr. Bassett, Sub-Collector of Tinnevelly.—The following was the result of his experience and of inquiries made unofficially among those personally acquainted with the matter, and among some of the labourers and coolies themselves. The hereditary cultivating potters, potters as they were then called, who not many years previously had been absolute slaves and whose condition was but little short of slavery, were incessantly paid in grain, whether in coolies or本人 held by other landlords. The working season was about 8 or 9 months in the year, of which some 60 days they were employed in cultivation and some 30 days in harvesting operations; during the rest of those 8 or 9 months they got some odd work in the way of baking water and so on.

The earnings of a potter and his wife during the working season in the Valiyaper division of the Mangalore taluk were as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two measures of rice</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest allowance</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The expenditure was as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Value of diet and household expenses</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink, without which they would not work</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>95</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Shemshabad in the Ambadannur
area taluk, a palus was reckoned
to get about a measure and a-half
and his wife a measure a day in
the working season or .... 1 10 8

Allowances at panchan harvest ... 0 10 6

Rs. at fair harvest ... 0 7 4

Swastikam ... 0 1 0

My other field labour ... 0 10 0

Ghasitai ... 0 9 6

Extra jobs ... 0 7 7

equivalent to Rs. 43 per annum. The expenditure was fully equiva-
lent to the income. For a considerable part of the year these
labourers could not make a full meal at all.

A daily or day labourer's wages varied from two to three annas four pies per day and his wife's earnings were taken at from
one anna four pies to two annas, according to the nature of the work;
for more heavy and light jobs the lower rates were given; for the
higher, such work as cutting unit walls, road building operations
and so on, was exacted. The higher rate was that usually paid by
the Public Works Department. They were paid sometimes in kind
and sometimes in money. Allowing for about 20 days, days on which
religious ceremonies, fasting in all, &c., were performed, a daily
would get work more than two-thirds of a month and the working
season could not be put down at more than 8 months; the earnings
of a daily and his wife might accordingly be taken at between Rs. 48
and Rs. 60 annas, according to the nature of their work, and taking
their expenditure as equivalent to 7 kottas of paddy (or at 6 a
kotta) equivalent to Rs. 45 yr at the higher rate as equivalent to Rs.
55 a year, there was a surplus of saving which, however, was actually
not taken put by. There was, however, no doubt that this class was
better off than the hereditary farm servants.

The chauras or pahuvu-tillakars got a share of the sweet
fruits and the jaggery or suvadi sugar which they collected, from
their employers. One chauru would not extract the produce of more
than 30 litres in the working season and from this he got a share and
sold much of the jaggery as he did not require for consumption. The
working season comprised six months and his earnings could not
be more than Rs. 16 or Rs. 21-4-0 per annum, or in other words Rs.
24 or Rs. 28 43 per year. They had only one meal a day, consisting of
rice or other grain, with some toddy or jaggery during the days.
O n the whole, the labouring classes could earn little more and
often not enough to keep them in the bare necessities of life; where
a man and his wife had children not old enough to contribute their
small quota of labour, they were still more badly pressed; when their
children were old enough to labour, their family earnings would be
more, while their expenditure was not proportionately increased.
There had been no increase in the wages of the hereditary farm
labourers nor was there any likelihood of its increase. These people
were destitute of any wish, or, at all events, any idea as to how to better themselves; they had no inclination to emigrate, as many of the coolie class did. If they could live and marry in a condition short of absolute destitution, that was enough for them. In the earnings of day labourers there had been a rise as calculated by money as there had been in the earnings of more skilled labour, such as that of carpenters, smiths, masons, &c.; but these have not been, in the case of the former at all events, more than commensurate with the diminished purchasing power of money.

In the condition of the farm labourers there had been one decided improvement, of which they themselves were aware, that their employers, not being so illiterate then as overwork them with impunity, and they knew that they could have recourse to the courts to obtain redress in cases of injustice, and compulsory labour was an end. But so strong was the feeling of dependence of their employers and so great the influence of the latter, in consideration of a small present, cases of serious ill-health and violence were even then funded up. They were, moreover, very often in debt to their employers, for goods advanced for articles of daily necessity, for food advanced for articles of daily necessity, for food.

Mr. G. T. Langley, Collector of Salem. — Labour in the Salem district was of two kinds—ordinary and agricultural. The first represented labour employed on petty trades and other public works and the second, labour connected with cultivation.

Ordinary labour. — Both men, women and children of both sexes (above 7 years old) were employed on ordinary labour. Their wages were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A man</td>
<td>2 to 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A woman</td>
<td>1 to 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A boy or girl</td>
<td>1 to 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rates of wages varied according to the demand, but the average might be set down as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A man</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A woman</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A boy or girl</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The classes chiefly employed on ordinary labour were Pathans, Paharis, Patans, Parades and Babbed. Muhammadans were also employed as labourers, but not extensively. The classes employed on ordinary labour were mainly those that had no lands or crafts. But the women and children of the peas were frequently employed on ordinary labour, when they had no work on their own land. When agricultural operations were extensively carried on, especially at sowing of the wet crop, labourers for ordinary labour were very scarce owing to wages of agricultural labour being much higher.

Agricultural labour. — Agricultural labour may be divided into two kinds viz., ordinary and extraordinary.
Ordinary agricultural labour. — Every zyd whose holding was larger than he could cultivate with the assistance of members of his own family was obliged to call in the assistance of labourers known as paddun (pass or means of cultivation and al, labourers). These padduns were paid in two ways—

(1st) by a monthly grain for varying from 24 to 40 measures of either chowhan, umba or ragi, besides an annual ready money allowance of Rs. 2 to 3.

(2ndly) by a monthly payment in money of Rs. 3 to 4.

The first mode of payment was the one universally observed in all purely agricultural villages, i.e., those which had no trade, like the Gavlaw village.

Extraordinary agricultural labour. — Extraordinary agricultural labour was chiefly required for irrigated cultivation. The labour consisted of ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting. The wages were high. Females as well as children were employed. Men ploughed, made stigds, and levelled fields; the children trod in leaves for manure, whilst women took out the seedlings from their nursery and transplanted them over the field at a distance of about two inches apart. This was at the commencement of the rice cultivation in September and October. A month subsequently females only were employed for transplanting and weeding. They were paid from one- and-a-half to two annas in ready cash. At the harvest time the labourers would receive payment in money, but demanded it in grain. They were paid from 5 to 5.5 Madura measures per man, two annas six pice or three annas four pice at the commissariat rate.

Increase in the number of labourers. — The extension of cultivation and the prosecution of works of public and private enterprise had to a great extent increased the number of labourers. Besides the labouring classes already mentioned, there was a third class, the purely cooly class, who had no lands or other means of livelihood. They had no houses of their own and they generally emigrated to places where they could get housed as well as earn wages. They were employed chiefly on the Bhavvari hills, where they occupied the cooly buns of the planters and were paid at the rate of a rupee for 6 days’ labour.

Condition of the purely cooly class. — The condition of the purely labouring classes had certainly improved during the previous 10 years. They were better clad, were semi-oratants, and sought for more comforts and better living. Their condition, however, depended on the different castes in which they belonged. For instance, the Katak was frugal and saving in the extreme. His hard-working wife knew no luxury and was content to wear for the whole year one, or at the utmost two blue cloths. The husband lived on the cheapest of dry grains and it was only at high festivals that a plate of rice and a little meat were prepared. On the other hand Pallis and Pallers were the very reverse, especially the latter. They were improvident of the present, “sufficient unto the day was their motto. They spent their money as fast as they got it. They lived upon rice and mace, as often as they could and delighted in gay clothes and ornaments.
Mr. J. F. Price, Sub-Collector of Bidasore.—Artisans were usually paid by the day, but they sometimes did piece-work. The exception was the village blacksmiths who were paid sometimes in charcoal, but custom in this respect varied and in all large villages this workman was either paid by the job or by the day. Woodcarriers, who did stone and earth work, usually made a contract, and the chief man and his gang united to do the work and divided the sums paid for it among themselves. When they worked for daily hire, their charge was from 4 to 5 annas a day. For ordinary coopers the payment ranged from 2 annas for the first labourer to 3 annas for a small boy of about ten years of age. Women ordinarily got one anna six pies and young girls 6 pies per day. The customary arrangement as regards farm labourers was that the master gave from 3 to 4 rupees a year, from 3 to 4 Vus (93) labourers (180 Mudaas measures each) of rai, and if he was a wealthy and liberal man, a couple of coarse cloths at the Pucaal. Boys were hired by the year, and the arrangement was that the master gave them their food, a place (usually the stable) to sleep in, an ordinary handkerchief for the head, a small cloth and a mussal. When Mr. Price said that distinct, the regular rate of hire of farm labourers had been a pagoda for a year, and from one and a half to three haadis of rai. The terms for boys had not altered, but there was then a tendency to ask for a small money payment, a repair, or so, in addition to food and clothing. The rates for daily coopers, when he first went there, ranged from 2.5 annas to 6 pies for males and from one anna to 4 or 5 pies for females. The wages of artisans were on the same scale; a bricklayer who claimed 12 annas a day only got 9 previously and that was the charge for the best class of workmen. The increase to the price of labour dated from the time of the famine, when the cost of the necessaries of life of every kind was so great that the Government officials had to increase the wages paid by them to labourers. Since then though rai, for instance, had fallen from Rs. 20 (sic) to Rs. 21 per haadis, which latter was the price at that time, it was impossible to reduce the rates. Coopers could get work almost everywhere, and in order to be able to retain them during the washing and harvesting seasons, when the ryots paid the grudging rates and added to them a_merana or a couple of measures of rai a day besides food, the Government was obliged to pay the same price all the year round. Mr. Price once tried to reduce the pay of the coopers, and they nearly all struck and brought his road work to a standstill as the most important part of the season.

There had been a marked improvement in the condition of both the labouring and artisan classes during the previous 8 years. The famine had given them an opportunity for increasing the rates paid to them, and they had availed, though there had been a considerable period of exchange and plenty, allowed them to reorganize. The labourers then received three annas instead of two annas one-sixth and he paid only Rs. 25 instead of Rs. 26.66 (sic) a haadis for rai, which was his chief article of food. It was similar, therefore, that if he could have lived on his two annas one-sixth when rai was sold at Rs. 26 (sic) a haadis or over Rs. 12 or 15 at which it stood for some time, he must have either saved or spent something on extra articles or luxuries when he received 3 annas and spent only Rs. 21 for a haadis of rai, which would last for some two months. His
personal observation fully bore out this view. The carpenter dressed
tanter than he used to dye occasionally he wore a blue turban instead
of the inviolate red cloth, handed him chief of former days; was sick and
fat; had often land of his own and was careless in his work. The
labourer too was to be seen with a decent cloth instead of a dirty rag
round his waist; he occasionally used away at creeping time to saw
his small patch of land and returned to toil work when there was no
cultivation going on. He was independent and would not be broken
down in his wright; and there were fewer beggars or paupers who
stood from want, than there used to be. Any able-bodied man or
woman must got work, and the difficulty was not to select务工
from a large number of applicants, but to get them at all.

Mr. Harpocarp, Collector of Madhubani.—Except in the neighbour-
hood of large houses, wagers were paid in kind and averaged two
rupees measure of rice for a first-class coolie. The women and
dwarfan women earned proportionately less. The great majority of agri-
cultural labourers were permanently engrossed by the landowners, and
therefore paid a measure and a-half per day whether they worked
or not. This rate of pay was very little more than enough for a bare
subsistence. It amounted to an occasional drink. From a report
drawn up by his predecessor in 1861, there was little difference per-
spective since then in the rate of wages.

There was no marked improvement in the position of the agricultural
labourers during the thirteen years he had experience of the
district. They were slaves in everything but name and up to no
very distant period had invariably been sold with the land. There
were abundant opportunities for this class to better themselves by
going to work in Wyanad, but comparatively few availed themselves
of this, because they preferred the broken from slavery which the
protection of a landowner afforded.

In the terms there had been a marked increase of the rate of
wages, which was 4 rupees. This claim was not much better off
than it had been previously as the price of food had also increased.

Mr. Patane, Collector of Godavari.—The ordinary labourer in the
Godavari district got 2 or 4 rupees a day; they were almost entirely
paid in money; before the anuit was made, the daily wage of
common labourers was one rupee and half a rupee a day; and that was sufficient to maintain
them. The cultivating labourers were usually kept as private ser-
vants by the proprietors and were given food, &c., all the year round and about two rupees of grain at the harvest, which, if roughly,
would be worth about Rs. 40. Many of these labourers had had a
large share in local parades and parades, employing in their turn
hired labourers. In the Bellary district the practice of hiring
labourers to cultivate was not so common as in the Godavari district;
the poorer classes there had small holdings and all the members of
the family assisted in cultivating the land; but in the delta tracts of
this district the landholders and his family seldom took any part in the
actual cultivation of the land; they did not let it out so much as
cultivate it by their own private servants maintained all the year
round, so that the position of these labourers was much better in
Godavari than in poorer districts; but this was the case in the years
preceding 1872, after which a change was made. In the flood the labour-
ing classes ate in and the clothes and jewellery they wore there had been a great improvement since that time.

Mr. A. J. Stuart, Sub-Collector of Rajahmundry — The ordinary rate of wages obtained by a labourer was 5 annas a day or Rs. 0.64 per annum, if he managed to find employment every day, which probably was nearly possible. The price of rice then was an anna a
neer in Rajahmundry and 8 annas would have done little more than feed 4 or 5 people. Occasional expenses, such as a shirt of cloth-
ing for men and a sreevans cloth for women, would have disposed of
any balances and there was always the taddy shop at hand if there
was any unearned balance. The farm labourer was paid chiefly in
gruh, his earnings were less than the above, but more certain, and he
had a muster to depend upon in case of any unexpected expense, or for
such merits as were insured in marriages or funeral, the earnings might be estimated in the delta at about 2 pintas of payable
worth Rs. 5. It was paid in various ways, but amounted on the
average to about 2 pittas, just sufficient for the support of his
family. On the whole, by far the greatest part of the population
was poor and bad, little beyond food, clothing and shelter, in its
own country in the world was the taxation so high in proportion to the
income of the people as was raised from; and little or no advance
was observable in the condition of the masses and certainly none in
the of the labouring classes.

Mr. H. E. Sullivan, Collector of South Arcot — The full and interest-
ning accounts furnished by Mr. Sullivan regarding the condition of
the labouring classes in the South Arcot district is given below —

As regards the present condition of the labouring classes, there
is not the least doubt that it has materially improved during the
last twenty years. It is somewhat difficult to estimate the annual
earnings of a labourer, as the majority are not employed on the same
work or remunerated in the same manner all the year round. Agri-
cultural labourers may be divided into two classes: those who form
the regular farm staff and who are engaged at the rate of one anna per
plough and the occasional hands who are taken on when required.

When the first description of labourers is engaged, it is usual for
the employer to make him an advance of money, varying from
Rs. 1 to Rs. 5, which is known as the “Mottakasam” or first loan, which
starts him in the service of his master. Should this loan, or any subse-
quent advances, which, on the same principle, he may receive from his employer, bear interest nor be repayment of the
capital sum advanced unless the labourer signs to quit the service.
This system of advance, although they are attached to the farm under
the system above described, are not employed on it all the year
round, and during certain months of the year their services are dis-
patched with, and they are as liberty to with佣 employment elsewhere
being bound, however, to come back whenever required. Whilst
regularly employed on the farm which is generally from June to
November they are paid monthly and in kind, never in money. The
following are the ordinary rates:

45 Madras measures of varaga,
11 d. d. of ragi,
or occasionally thirty-four measures of paddy are substituted for the
seeds. When taken on again for the harvest, which commences in
December, the labourers employed receive as their remuneration 6
per cent, of the grain harvested. This is called calvesanam, the
labourers receiving five hundred out of every 100 hundred got in:

The extant bands who are taken on when agricultural operations
are in full swing are paid daily wages, either in money or kind or
both. If in money, the wage is one aina per day and two meals
of curpu, if in kind two Modern measures of paddy, besides the
curry.

Going back again to the permanent farm labourer as he is
known in the south the “padar” or “padaray” it would not appear
at first sight that his lot was a very prosperous one. The value
of the grain which he receives as wages from June to November does
not exceed, even at present prices, Rs. 2 per annum. Twenty
years ago, however, it did not represent a wage, so that although
he receives now the same quantity as he formerly did, he is certainly
better off (for he cannot consume it all) than he was then. But he
makes a great deal at the harvest and in addition he occasionally
cultivates a small portion of his employer’s estate on his own account.
He receives, moreover, at the different festivals, small presents from
his employer, and on the occasion of a marriage or other ceremony
in his own family a box to meet the necessary expenses is rarely
refused. It is true that this system must move or less tend to
prevent the labourer from ever emerging from that position, but this
is not universally the case. Instances not unfrequently occur of
these men setting up as independent farmers, although whether their
condition is thereby ultimately benefited very admit of question.
One bad season generally suffices to ruin them, and then they go
back contentedly to their old place. I use the expression advisedly,
for it is within my own tolerably varied experience that a load of
union exists in India between the landlord and his labourers, which
prevents the latter, as a rule, from following the example of their
brethren at home in striving for higher wages just at the time when
their services are most needed. But the law of supply and demand
are inexorable, and though the landlord in India is prudent enough
not to create an insurmountable precedent by raising the rate of
wages whenever labour is in greater request than usual, he is still
sufficiently alive to the requirements of the times by a judicious
enhancement of loans and presents during the period of pressure to
secure himself against the difficulties which at this moment beset the
farmers in England. There is, moreover, in this country a feeling of
sympathy between the employer and his men, which is not to be
found in European countries, where the latter are regarded as so
many machines out of which a certain amount of work is to be got,
and that done, the bargain is at end. A mistake philanthropist
might make great capital at a public meeting in England out of the
figures which I have given above, but my experience leads me to
believe that the “padaray” in India, with his comparatively scanty
wage, is better off than the farm labourer at home with his 8r. or 10s.
per week.
The wages of unskilled labour other than agricultural have advanced about 25 per cent. during the past twenty years, but the price of food has gone up in proportion. It is not, therefore, to this that we must look for the causes of the unshaded multiplication in the condition of this class of the population created by their dwelling in better houses, using more animal food, and indulging in other luxuries (drinking, I am afraid, amongst the number) to a greater extent than formerly. It is due mainly, I think, to the steady and ever-increasing demand for labour throughout the year, so that the man or woman who is willing to work need never want. This is caused partly by the introduction extending year by year, of the development of trade and by public and private works of utility being carried out on a large scale throughout the country. In this respect the expenditure on Local Funds plays an important part, and those who contribute them reap with interest in an indirect manner. In former days, within my own recollection, it was a very difficult matter for the labouring classes to tide over those months of the year during which agricultural operations were at a standstill. Public works were few and far between, and those who wished to obtain employment on them had often to travel and often camp many miles away from their homes to earn sufficient to save themselves from starvation. Now the work is brought up to their doors, and when the demand for agricultural labour is slack, employment is always to be obtained on imperial or local works. I believe this tendency to be as general in the land hopeful condition, and no better evidence can, I think, be adduced in support of the position than the undeniable fact that the labouring classes, by whose aid the bulk of the revenue of the State is produced, are in a happy and prosperous condition, although, as before observed, the figures above quoted might provoke an opposite conclusion.
### SECTION V—STATISTICS SHOWING THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE SINCE 1850.

#### (A)—Population.

(a) Statement showing the population of the Madras Presidency—1850 and after.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>Percentage of Increase from 1871 to 1881</th>
<th>Percentage of Increase from 1881 to 1891</th>
<th>Total Increase in the Whole Presidency up to 1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghoorjan</td>
<td>1,690</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>1,695</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vempammal</td>
<td>2,180</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>2,560</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vengavar</td>
<td>1,822</td>
<td>2,016</td>
<td>2,075</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satoor</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,520</td>
<td>2,440</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>62.1%</td>
<td>72.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madupak</td>
<td>1,050</td>
<td>1,110</td>
<td>1,072</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilmal</td>
<td>1,880</td>
<td>1,780</td>
<td>1,880</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annamal</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>1,766</td>
<td>1,868</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nizam</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>1,570</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>40.1%</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
<td>64.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cholapur</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Acre</td>
<td>2,150</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>2,580</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Acre</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>2,350</td>
<td>2,610</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coimbatore</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trichinopoly</td>
<td>1,260</td>
<td>1,310</td>
<td>1,330</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>2,640</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coimbatore</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>1,320</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>2,180</td>
<td>2,230</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Excludes the population of the Rythirtik and Rythittik districts transferred to the Madras Presidency from the Coorg Province in 1873.
2. Includes the population of the South-East Wynaad transferred from Madiker in 1873.
3. Includes the population of the South-East Wynaad transferred to the Nizam in 1877.

Note—1. The population given in this statement does not include the population of the Rythirtik and Rythittik districts.
2. The percentage of increase of the population in 1881 was read for the Rythirtik and Rythittik districts.
3. Excludes the population of the Rythirtik and Rythittik districts transferred to the Coorg Province in 1873.
4. Excludes the population of the South-East Wynaad transferred from Madiker in 1873.
5. Includes the population of the South-East Wynaad transferred to the Nizam in 1877.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of males</th>
<th>Proportion of males</th>
<th>No. of females</th>
<th>Proportion of females</th>
<th>Proportion of males</th>
<th>Proportion of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5—24</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25—34</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35—44</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45—54</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55—59</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and upwards</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note — These figures are estimates of 19,000 persons (13,000 males and 6,000 females) whose civil condition has not been stated.
(b) — Statement showing the civil condition of the population of England and Wales, as per census of 1881.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of males (in thousands)</th>
<th>Proportion of males</th>
<th>Number of females (in thousands)</th>
<th>Proportion of females</th>
<th>Proportion of males</th>
<th>Proportion of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0—14</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>4,728</td>
<td>6,518</td>
<td>7,450</td>
<td>6,718</td>
<td>6,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15—24</td>
<td>1,265</td>
<td>4,328</td>
<td>6,698</td>
<td>11,281</td>
<td>9,682</td>
<td>6,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25—34</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>3,151</td>
<td>6,400</td>
<td>5,934</td>
<td>5,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35—44</td>
<td>1,218</td>
<td>3,695</td>
<td>5,356</td>
<td>10,269</td>
<td>8,654</td>
<td>5,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45—54</td>
<td>6,372</td>
<td>1,244</td>
<td>1,815</td>
<td>9,431</td>
<td>7,678</td>
<td>1,815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55—64</td>
<td>2,234</td>
<td>1,808</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>5,165</td>
<td>3,852</td>
<td>1,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and upwards</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>4,352</td>
<td>6,168</td>
<td>11,336</td>
<td>9,582</td>
<td>6,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>4,871</td>
<td>12,827</td>
<td>25,198</td>
<td>19,092</td>
<td>12,827</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(c)—Statement showing the birth and death-rates in different countries per
1000 of the population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Birth-rate</th>
<th>Death-rate</th>
<th>Population per square mile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England and Wales</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andorra</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Estimated by Mr. Harvy—see Census Report of British India, 1881.
### Table showing the expectation of life and the number of survivors at different ages out of every 100 persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Madras Presidency</th>
<th>Whole of India</th>
<th>England</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expectation of life (years)</td>
<td>Number of survivors in every 100</td>
<td>Number of survivors in every 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 year</td>
<td>72.49</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>72.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72.49</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>72.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>82.65</td>
<td>92.88</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82.65</td>
<td>92.88</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>87.77</td>
<td>87.77</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>87.77</td>
<td>87.77</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>91.15</td>
<td>91.15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91.15</td>
<td>91.15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>94.15</td>
<td>94.15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94.15</td>
<td>94.15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>96.50</td>
<td>96.50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96.50</td>
<td>96.50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>98.44</td>
<td>98.44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98.44</td>
<td>98.44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>99.80</td>
<td>99.80</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99.80</td>
<td>99.80</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.90</td>
<td>100.90</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.90</td>
<td>100.90</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>102.40</td>
<td>102.40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>102.40</td>
<td>102.40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>103.70</td>
<td>103.70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>103.70</td>
<td>103.70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>104.90</td>
<td>104.90</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>104.90</td>
<td>104.90</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>105.90</td>
<td>105.90</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>105.90</td>
<td>105.90</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>106.80</td>
<td>106.80</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>106.80</td>
<td>106.80</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>107.50</td>
<td>107.50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>107.50</td>
<td>107.50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>108.00</td>
<td>108.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>108.00</td>
<td>108.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>108.25</td>
<td>108.25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>108.25</td>
<td>108.25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 and upwards</td>
<td>108.60</td>
<td>108.60</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes.—The life tables for the Madras Presidency and the whole of India have been taken from the Census Report of British India, 1881.
Table showing the proportion of population of various countries grouped according to ages per 1,000.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>0 to 14</th>
<th>15 to 64</th>
<th>65 and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitary</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States, white population</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The particulars relating to European countries have been taken from Germany's Federal Statist. The figures against Males and the upper set of figures against the Males Presidency are according to the Census of 1911. The lower set of figures against the Males Presidency is according to the Census of 1891. The figures for the United States, white population, and the Males Presidency do not include the population of the Indian States. The proportion of children under 15 years of age for India was taken from the Census of 1891 and the Census of 1911. The proportion of children under 10 years of age for the United States, white population, and the Males Presidency was taken from the Census of 1891 and the Census of 1911. The proportion of children under 10 years of age for India was taken from the Census of 1891. The proportion of children under 10 years of age for the United States, white population, and the Males Presidency was taken from the Census of 1891 and the Census of 1911. The proportion of children under 10 years of age for India was taken from the Census of 1891.
## Cultivation

Statement showing the extent of dryness or fully cultivated land cultivated in the several districts of the Madras Presidency (South Cannanore and Mollakan scrutinized) in thousands of acres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>1856-57</th>
<th>1857-58</th>
<th>1858-59</th>
<th>1859-60</th>
<th>1860-61</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Wet</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Wet</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9,037</td>
<td>5,263</td>
<td>14,300</td>
<td>18,937</td>
<td>10,267</td>
<td>29,204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** For remarks see page 517.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Percentage of Increase or Decrease in Thousand acres cultivated in 1927-28</th>
<th>Percentage of Increase or Decrease in Thousand acres cultivated in 1926-27</th>
<th>Percentage of Increase or Decrease in Thousand acres cultivated in 1925-26</th>
<th>Percentage of Increase or Decrease in Thousand acres cultivated in 1924-25</th>
<th>Percentage of Increase or Decrease in Thousand acres cultivated in 1923-24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar and Benal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: See remarks on page 113.