

RURAL ECONOMICS



E14084

R012F07

RAI SAHEB A. P. PATRO.

Berhampore, Madras.

PRICE RS. 3.

Studies in Village Economics

BEING A COLLECTION OF PAPERS

Rai Saheb A. P. PATRO, B.A., B.L.,

F. R. E. S., (London.)

Berhampore, Madras

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

BY

DR. GILBERT SLATER, M.A., D.Sc.,

Professor of Indian Economics, University of Madras.



MADRAS :

PRINTED AT THE JUSTICE PRINTING WORKS, MOUNT ROAD,

1919

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

My friend Mr. Patro has done me the honour of asking me to write an introductory note to this collection of papers on Village Economics. When I came to Madras as Professor of Indian Economics in the University it was with the definite idea that one of my chief duties must be to urge upon students the need for detailed study of their own native villages. It was pleasant to find that similar views were held by old residents in India, like Sir Harold Stuart and Dr. Harold Mann, and by a few Indians, like Mr. Patro. Since then I have had the pleasure of making an all too brief visit to Berhampore, and of visiting with Mr. Patro various villages in the neighbourhood.

As an owner of land, and a legal adviser to various Zemindaris and as a strenuous worker for the betterment of the conditions of life in the villages, as well as in the town of which he is the Municipal Chairman, Mr. Patro has exceptional opportunities of becoming intimately and personally acquainted with the lives of the ryots. I must confess that I do not think he has attained full mastery of the art of setting out what he knows in such a way as to convey the clearest possible idea to a reader unfamiliar with the district. I hope that he will remember that "practice makes perfect," and write much more on a subject in which he has such valuable stores of knowledge.

Mr. Patro deprecates any attempt to draw inferences from the family budget here recorded, beyond the necessity of further enquiry. But we cannot resist the temptation to group together the facts he has recorded in order to get a composite picture of the life of the Ganjam ryot. One fact that comes out clearly is the passionate clinging to the possession of jewelry. The first family recorded which borrowed Rs. 120, and is paying Rs. 30 per annum in interest, while possessing gold ornaments of about the same value as the debt incurred, and the second family, which has no levelling board and no mamuti, but which does possess various ear-rings and nose-rings, are thoroughly typical. We see very clearly how large a portion of the family expenditure is absorbed in food, and of the food consumed what a large proportion consists of the cereals, rice and ragi. With regard to the amounts of these available for consumption, and actually consumed, Mr. Patro's figures can be worked out in the following form :—

Family No. 1 20 oz. per head per day.

„	„	2	17	„	„
„	„	3	32	„	„
„	„	4	28	„	„
„	„	5	28	„	„
„	„	6	20	„	„
„	„	7	20	„	„
„	„	9	16	„	„
„	„	10	24	„	„

In several cases the family makes a statement as to the amount of grain required for full meals.

In family No. 3 (oz.) 40 oz. per head per day is specified, but 30 oz. is the most usual figure.

All these budgets were, I believe, collected before the failures of the monsoon in 1918, and it may well be that where the margin of income over necessary expenditure is so small in good seasons, high prices and scarcity quickly bring distress.

The pressure of population on the local means of subsistence is also shown by the diminution in the average size of holdings of land, and in the relative rise in the numbers of the landless families. The methods of cultivation, as described by Mr. Patro, appear to be susceptible of much improvement, though it of course is dangerous to criticise the customs which have been established in any particular District as the result of the experience of countless generations. In default of improved agriculture the great outlet for the pressure of population is emigration to Burma, and the difficulty of getting passages, gradually increasing throughout the duration of the war, has probably added in no small degree to the distress of the district during the last twelve months.

The further enquiry suggested by Mr. Patro might, in my opinion, be directed in the first place to the possibility of establishing a demonstration and experimental farm by the Department of Agriculture in the neighbourhood of Berhampore. It might, I suggest with advantage, be of considerable size, and aim, not at the solution of any one definite problem, so much as at the improvement of all the local agricultural methods. It might become a notable centre for the

breeding of buffaloes, and also do something to improve the miserable local breed of cattle. The special difficulties which seem to hinder the transplantation of rice, and to perpetuate broadcast sowing over so much of the area, deserve investigation ; and so also does the problem of the improvement of ragi. The methods of single plant selection which have done so much for cotton at Koilpati, and promise to do so much for rice in Tanjore, have yet, I believe, to be applied with the same thoroughness to the very important dry grains.

I echo Mr. Patro's hope that his example will draw more workers into the most attractive and fertile field of investigation into village Economics.

SENATE HOUSE, }
MADRAS, }
11—11—1919. }

GILBERT SLATER.

PREFACE.

No explanation is needed for the publication of the book at such a time as this when the economic distress is severe in Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. The information upon which the economic studies are based was collected in the years 1916 and 1917. The purpose of these studies is the description and statement of economic fact relating to agriculturists and not the discussion of a theory or suggestion of remedies. An enquirer making scientific investigation should be free from bias of any economic theory before he begins the study. I made specific references to emigration, division of holdings, indebtedness of ryots, the decline in the number of actual cultivators dependant on land and the increase in the number of non-agricultural class, because these facts are observed in the course of investigation. The deterioration of cattle, and the absence of sufficient grazing ground are facts which can be noticed by any careful observer. It is essential for the purpose of obtaining accurate information about the agriculturist, ryot, that one should be familiar with the people and the conditions of the district ; to investigate into the holdings of the cultivators, quality of irrigation, nature of the soil, the tenures obtaining in the firka, Taluq and the district, the relationship of landlord and tenant

the income of cultivators in every variety of occupation and the expenditure in every detail, a more than passing acquaintance with the village or district is necessary. Complete information, as far as may be, regarding all the cultivators and families of the village should be obtained by frequent visits to the villages. This will inspire confidence in the ryots and other residents of the village when all the leading people are collected to talk to them about several families in the village. After the informal talk it is possible to find a similarity in a large number of units, out of which a family may be selected for the purpose of study. When the information is gathered in the presence of the village officers and elders the budget of the family can be safely drawn up. I desired to include in my studies the two districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam but on familiarising myself with the conditions of one Taluq, Palakonda, in Vizagapatam I found the variations and contradictions are too many to combine in one series of studies. The selection of a typical village is not easy. I have to enquire into social and economic facts relating to a number of villages in a specified area or Taluq and then analyse the conditions of each to find an agreement or otherwise, the unit answering similarities is accepted for study.

I cannot presume that the studies in this book are complete in any manner. The notes taken by me were utilised at first for publication in the "Hindu" of Madras in order to popularise the studies and to stimulate serious enquiry by others

who could devote greater time. Enquiries were addressed to me from several parts of the country on the method of investigation pursued by me and for publication of the studies in a collected form. I have already said that the studies relate to different types in different parts of the district. Units were selected in the ryotwari area, and in inam and Agraharam villages. The budgets were not based only upon information of the ryot but also upon a careful inspection of the family and its circumstances.

In these studies I have adopted the local measures of grain and local system of weights and wherever it is possible the corresponding English measure is stated. There is no uniformity of measure between two Taluqs in a district. The measure *adda* is of two varieties, *sikha* and *bicca*, so also the measure Novuti; however the conversion rate is twelve seers per novuti. The conversion rates into bandies and a garce are also different and therefore in criticising the quantity of seed grain and of food used by the family care must be taken to use the general standard measure: The seer = 2 lbs. For instance, in the remarks of H. E. Lord Pentland, the use of proper measure was not adopted. In order to arrive at a fair test regarding quantity of food required for a family, I have accepted the diet adopted in the District Jail. The famine commission observed that $\frac{3}{4}$ seer of rice would be sufficient for an adult male, but they eat more. The families appear to consume more ragi or rice in order to make up

the food-elements required for maintaining and building up the physique ; we find on enquiry curry, vegetables, oil and proteid substances are lacking in their diet—hence the difference in quantity—moreover the quantity consumed by an aged male, adult male, young lad differs. The younger members eat more often than the older ones ; the quantity of food consumed varies also in different parts of the district. It is said that seed grain utilised by the ryots is more than normal. This depends upon the mode of cultivation practised in the locality. Where the seeds are sown broad-cast, larger quantity is required ; where it is by seed-bed and by transplantation less quantity is required. In the former case, after the seedlings develop, water is let into the fields and before weeding operations begin the seedlings are ploughed up with the weeds and levelling board is drawn on them, the weeds perish and the seedlings are evenly distributed, thus take root quickly and grow up. This is said to be more economic in the long run. In the case of transplantation of seedlings, where single-seedling system prevails and the soil is rich, this is more economic but in other cases the clumps are placed far apart so as to effect a saving but the room for development of the plant is limited. It is indeed a cantroversal matter whether small sub-divisions of holdings will tend to better and more economic cultivation. I have given examples of small holdings which seem to be productive of better results in dry lands and in raising dry crops. Sub-division of a

survey field is due to many other causes than a partition in Hindu joint family. In one survey number there are about sixty cultivators and there are fields of one cent and less. These are extreme cases but divisions of a revenue field into minute Subdivisions do not tend to economic cultivation. I will not attempt to discuss here the effect of subdivision of holdings on the economic condition of the ryot. My object in publishing these studies will be fully served and my labours will not have been spent in vain if the book will stimulate enquiry into the economic condition of the ryot, agriculturist, in one other district in the northern circars or in the southern districts of the Presidency.

Berhampore, }
 Ganjam. }
 12th Nov. 1919. }

A. P. PATRO.

It has been pointed out that the greatest defect about Economic Surveys of typical villages was that the "types" were presumed even at the commencement of the enquiry. Types and averages could not be discovered before, but only after elaborate enquiries. The investigation to be useful for generalisation must include every homestead and holding in a village and every village in a certain area; more than that it must be continued for a long time. Analogy did not warrant identity; what was true of one houses hold was not true of another nor of one village of another. It was rather more prudent to assume possibilities of difference and then to prove analogy or resemblance. I agree with this view of economic Survey and do not support 'a priori' method of drawing inferences. The historical method is more sound. The "studies" do not pretend to generalise or hold up "typical" villages for foreign area. A series of studies of different "types", bearing no analogy with one another, yet bear 'resemblance' and possess same "geological and metereological conditions" would certainly help the surveyor in understanding the "typical" village for the area. Conditions differ in different taluqs and divisions, a fact which I repeatedly pointed out in my studies. Investigations into economic conditions vary considerably according to conditions of society and soil and in the midst of these differences of society and soil, the investigator discovers strong resemblance

which does not offend against historic method to classify the unit as typical. Ganjam District presents a variety of units, wet cultivated areas, small sub-division of holdings, dry and irrigated cultivation; and again society and soil similarities largely group together in particular areas; separate divisions, in a survey, must comprise villages, families and holdings which might after careful investigation be brought together under one class and the investigation will then relate to every village and holding. We must begin with the study of social and soil conditions and then classify the area into small units. Study of each unit and investigation into economic condition should next proceed.

I would give below the study of a unit in illustration of the economic condition of a village in a particular area. You may scrutinize each holding in this village and each household; the conditions of society or soil are similar; take up the group of villages mapped out as proposed above and the same resemblance will be discernible, hence for this area, the holding and the village may, without offending against historical method, be taken up as typical. One should not assume the type or unit before careful examination of facts and circumstances relating to an area. Detailed knowledge of the area, previous acquaintance with the villages and contact with the people do facilitate investigation. It is therefore necessary that a study of rural economics for a district should be taken up by one who has some knowledge of the area, the social and the

climatic condition. One should not be ambitious to complete the economic survey within a short period or to do the work single-handed. The work demands a great deal of patience, energy and understanding. The work in this district was begun two years ago and yet the studies are still incomplete. It is said that extreme sub-division of agricultural land was an economic necessity and varied with the nature of the crop, of the market and other circumstances. The greater the care and attention required, the smaller should be the area of a holding. There was a time within memory when sub-division was considered to be the key to success. There is considerable difference of opinion on this question.

The tract of land along the sea-coast of Ganjam is dotted with many villages of a flourishing type. The soil is red loam and is suited to the cultivation of garden crops, dry crops. The rainfall is evenly distributed throughout the year and well irrigation is the common feature. A well can be sunk at a cost of Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 and a pikota is constructed for a small sum of Rs. 6. Golabanda is the first village, three miles from Gopalpur. Dunna Kristnama pays a kist of Rs. 22 for dry land, acres 2 and wet land acres 4. Three acres are in one block and one acre in six fields in another place. The dry land of acres 2 is covered with a plantain tope consisting of about two thousand plants. Round the hedges there are seven cocoanut trees and twenty more in a patch not yet begun to bear

fruit. Kristnama had three other brothers; twenty years ago the family was divided; he had then his eldest son five years old and obtained two acres of dry land for his share. A pair of bullocks, one brass tray and a bell-metal cup completed the moveable property he received at the family partition. He has now three sons, three daughters-in-law, wife, two daughters married and gone to live with their husbands. The eldest son and the youngest have a gold necklace each worth Rs. 28 and the wife has ear-rings, one and one-fourth tolas of gold valued at Rs. 30; he gave no gold to the daughters-in-law as they received one and a half tola of gold from their parents. The daughters were presented with ornaments of the value of Rs. 8 each in addition to household utensils of Rs. 10 each. The son was married three years ago at a cost of Rs. 100. There are two hundred families of pallis and the feeding expenses mount up high. In the case of the daughter's wedding the caste rules do not demand such heavy expenditure, the bridegroom has to bear most of the charges, and the cost of daughter's marriage was Rs. 40.

The plantain tope is ten years old. The plants are put on the ground in the month of Ashadha and the trees begin to bear fruit from Makaram or Pongal period. The plants give out shoots, and at the appearance of the first leaf, the cultivator must begin pruning and weeding and apply cattle-dung manure and ashes. Again a second weeding and pruning takes place at about Gowripournami or Dasarah time.

It is during this period, sheep-folding will be made at a cost of Rs. 16. Immediately after this the soil will be ploughed up and pulverised and the herd of cattle which the ryot owns of the value of Rs. 80 are regularly folded on the land, and cattle-dung is allowed to be mixed up every day. For weeding and pruning the ryot employs four labourers at As. 3 per day for three days in addition to the labour supplied by the family members, himself and his eldest son. On the third day after pruning, the plants are manured by the same labourers with twenty cartloads of manure at four annas each cartload. The seedlings, plants were purchased at one anna each and out of the clumps of the old tope, he planted another. Within three or four months one plant gives out three to five young shoots, these young ones are allowed to grow till the mother plant is cut down after the bunch was removed, these are clipped, separated pruned and manured again.

Two acres of dry land were covered with plantation, one acre of tope was leased out for Rs. 140 to Vanka Raghavulu of Gopalpur who exports plantains to Rangoon and supplies steamers calling the port. The other acre of land is reserved for meeting his daily expenditure. A bunch of plantains is sold at varying rates from eight annas to one rupee four annas. He carries them in a Kavadi to Berhampore market where shopkeepers purchase from him. The lease is for one year. The terms of the agreement are that the ryot will manure

and irrigate the tope and all bunches containing forty fruits and more only will be accepted by the lessee who should pay the amount of lease in advance to the ryot, before the tope begins to bear fruit. The smaller bunches are sold at annas four each. The total income from the tope under his personal control is estimated at Rs. 100 a year being an older tope, of about twenty years old (including renewals); the other plantation is five years old. Six years ago the ryot purchased three acres of wet land for Rs. 300 immediately after a year of draught and another acre of wet land was purchased for Rs. 250. The kist payable is Rs. 3 per acre and the land is irrigated by a tank. The lands are transplanted, he owns two ploughs and two pairs of bullocks and does not employ farm servants but during transplantation season he employs 20 labourers for eight days, the wages paid to each female labourer is three annas per day. These labourers begin work at about 10 o'clock in the morning and leave work at 5 in the afternoon. During harvest season he pays seven addas of paddy per day and about 80 labourers are employed for reaping the harvest. The total yield of the land is about seven bandies of paddy, a small measure of which is equivalent to sixty novutis per bandy, that is 420 novutis, and a novuti being equivalent to 12 seers, the total outturn is 5,040 seers.

The ryot has a debt of Rs. 120. He borrowed seed paddy for Rs. 20, owing to failure of crops last year. He mortgaged his wet lands to Kilu Chinnaya

for Rs. 60 and dry lands to another P. Samulo for Rs. 60. The interest payable is four pies per rupee for a month. The produce from the land is utilised for family consumption and six cartloads are taken up by the family. On a corner of the dry land the ryot raised ten novutis of raggi by well irrigation and a few garden vegetables are also raised for family use. On two cents of land two viss of tobacco was obtained which had gone for his use and in addition four viss of tobacco was purchased. Paddy sells on the average at Rs. 30 a bandy.

The family requires three addas of husked rice in the day and four addas in the night. Two addas of raggi with one adda of broken rice is also required. Sixteen addas are equivalent to twelve seers. Three addas of rice is equivalent to two and a quarter seers of rice, four addas of rice are equal to three seers of rice, and two addas of raggi equivalent to one and a half seers of raggi. Husked rice sells at 0-2-0 per adda and raggi at 0-1-0, and broken rice at 0-1-4 per adda. The family consumes daily one anna worth of gingelly oil and kerosine oil, and the cost of salt, chillies, tamarind, turmeric is estimated at 0-0-6 per day. The ryot buys the weekly requirements in the shandy held at Berhampore on Saturday. Fuel is purchased from the forest contractor; a cart is hired for Rupee one and an advance is paid to the wood-cutter to cut wood, the servant is fed and the total cost of a cart-load of fuel comes to about Rs. 4-8-0. Two cart-loads or Rs. 9 is expended on fuel. Two pairs of cloths are purchased for each male

at Rs. 3 per pair and two cloths for the wife at a cost of Rs. 6. The daughters come home for Pongal feast and new cloths at a cost of Rs. 6 are presented. Re-thatching the roof every year entails an expense of Rs. 5 when the ryot takes a kavadi load of plantains to the market and when he goes to shandy every Saturday he brings with him fish usually nine pies. His habits are temperate, he takes no alcoholic drinks but uses tobacco. The family consumes six visses of tobacco for a year. In this village ryots left their holdings and had gone to Burmah. There is a class of people who own no land but depend on land for their living. Wages are not obtainable every day regularly, and with the rise of prices of food grains, such people are obliged to leave the village in search of better wages. Fifty people went to Rangoon, and twenty of them returned with money, and live now above want ; these will return to Burma at the happening of the first year of scarcity. The number of occupied houses was 384 and the total population is 1,827 of whom 851 are males and 976 females. Of these 647 are directly connected with land as pattadars and agriculturists and the others form the bulk of the population. After the census of 1901, matters did not improve very much because the roll of others swelled and emigration to Burmah has become general. The number of holdings is 68 and the amount of indebtedness is estimated at Rs. 3,630, that is about Rs. 42 on each holding, or about Rs. 5 per head of agricultural population and about Rs. 18 on each acre

of cultivable land where land sells at Rs. 100 per acre on the average. The statement of receipts and expenditure, the family budget of the ryot, discloses many interesting particulars. The ryot swore that the family lives on two-third rations. A full meal would require 7 addas of husked rice and one adda of raggi. The total consumption would be 156 seers of rice every month and 24 seers of raggi. The price of an adda of rice is two annas, while raggi and broken rice sell at one anna and one anna six pies per adda. The cost of a full meal would cost Rs. 337-8-0 grains only and two-thirds of this will be Rs. 225-0-0. The ryot raises vegetables which are used for the family and buys tobacco in addition to what he raised in the farm. The whole family of eight persons contribute their labour throughout the year and the land is not neglected because special attention is paid to manuring the garden land and the wet land. In spite of a large number of field labourers living in the village, the wages range between three annas and four annas per head for a female and this is probably due to a large number of people emigrating to Burma and other places. The feeding of cattle is not expensive as the ryot does not spend much upon them. During the transplantation season paddy bran is given mixed with gram and kanji, and at other times cattle feed on field bunds and straw provided for them. Special care is taken of one pair of cattle which are fed on the remnants of household kanji and paddy husk. This item therefore is not taken into consideration.

The income from cows is practically nothing as the cattle are kept for manurial purposes. The summary of the investigation into family budget :

RECEIPTS.

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Income from plantain topes ...	240	0	0
2.	„ wetland, average produce at six Candies of paddy ...	168	0	0
3.	Raggi ...	10	0	0
4.	Tobacco ...	4	0	0
5.	Garden Vegetables ...	14	0	0
6.	Thatch and Straw ...	10	0	0
7.	Milk and Manure ...	10	0	0
	Total ...	456	0	0

EXPENDITURE.

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Cost of seed paddy ...	28	0	0
2.	Kist paid ...	22	0	0
3.	Feeding charges at the rate } deposed to by the ryot for a } full meal. }	(337	8	0)
		225	0	0
4.	Sundries, Kerosine, Gingelly, Tobacco, Tamarind ...	33	12	0
5.	Clothing ...	30	0	0
6.	Fuel ...	10	0	0
7.	Manure and Wages ...	49	0	0
8.	Interest on loans ...	30	0	0
9.	Expenses at feasts and festivals ...	10	0	0
	Total ...	437	12	0

Thus the description of the life and living of a ryot who owns two acres of garden dry land with plantain tope and four acres of wet land, discloses a surplus of about Rs. 18 to his credit ; this is so granting the average rainfall and favourable season. The burden of a debt of Rs. 120 has to be discharged and can only be done in two ways, either the lease amount of the topes should rise by proper cultivation or by a rise in the price of paddy which was taken at Rs. 30 a cart load on the average but is subject to fluctuation, and a reduction in the rations of the family. As it is, the ryot explains that they adopt two-third rations, the young folk getting a full meal while the older persons and women satisfy themselves with less than a full meal. The loan must be paid ; it is secured on the holding. In a good year the ryot's frugality enabled him to buy land and he hopes that if successive good years prevail the debt will be discharged. A single year of scarcity will collapse him.

Studies in Village Economics.*

The study of rural Economics is a very useful and interesting business ; but it is a very difficult task to investigate and gather all the relevant circumstances that affect the economic condition of the village. The present economic condition of the village can best be studied by a disinterested and careful inquiry into the family budget. Dr. Gilbert Slater in the last of the series of lectures delivered at the Senate House is reported to have said : "So far as he was concerned he regarded the village economic problem as the very root of the problem of Indian Economics." When he accepted the Professorship of Indian Economics his object was to do something to clear up the problem of the possible means of increasing the prosperity of the ryot and of the cultivator. It is not a thing that can be achieved by a few earnest workers in Madras. Publicists and students of Economics and political workers in the districts should apply themselves to ascertain accurately the agricultural condition of the ryot, economic facts or factors that brought about the present state of things and the condition of local industries. In order to realise the ideal which Dr. G. Slater has so rightly placed before the Indian public the

* An address delivered at the Senate House Madras on 11th Jan. 1917 at the annual Meeting of the Madras Economic Association.

energies of a single individual, however earnest he may be, or a few men in the city are hardly sufficient. Each district and division of a district should be divided into *firkas* where similar conditions prevail and typical villages should be chosen for study in consultation with experienced persons in each Taluq. This is by no means an easy task as it would require a full knowledge of the condition of things all over the district area ; but there are people who can undertake this preliminary work. When this survey is fully understood, as a Settlement officer would map out the area, the typical villages should be visited and some time should be spent in the village with the villagers. By frequent visits to the village one will be familiarised with the real state of things, it will bring the ryots closer and closer to the visitor—a typical family selected for study will yield by far an accurate history of an agricultural village and disclose the family budget in all its details. Even then it is not possible to claim absolute accuracy for all the statements in spite of the precaution taken to collect the village elders and village officials, which acts always as a healthy check on the ryot indulging in exaggeration or untruth. There were instances where the villagers corrected the ryot and the labourer whenever they were not accurate in giving the details of expenditure.

An attempt was made in the Ganjam District to work out a scheme such as the one described above and sixteen varieties of villages were studied in Government, Zamindari and Inam areas. In this

connection I should not omit to mention the excellent opportunity I had in meeting Dr. Slater and discussing with him the best method to be adopted in these studies. I read a book prepared by him which would give a comprehensive survey of the economic, agricultural, political and administrative condition of the village, in fact a history of the village. It is a scheme of investigation superior to the course adopted by me but it is difficult to obtain accurate information on all the points for his investigation.

I shall now take up for our study one village remote from the principal town of the district, and remote from railway communication ; a second one in the southern part of the district irrigated by river channel, and not far from the railway line ; and the third and fourth villages in a Zamindari or a proprietary estate.

Banginabadi is a village in the Berhampore Taluq and is situated about six miles north-west of Berhampore. It is a mile distant from the metalled road to Digupudi. The re-settlement was introduced in this village in Fasli 1320. The cultivated area is 820 acres. The ryotwari holdings may be classified as follows :—

Pattas paying Rupee one and less	...	32
• Pattas paying Rs. 10 and less, but over		
• Rupee one	... ..	60
Pattas paying Rs. 30 and less, but over		
Rs. 10	... ..	16
Pattas paying Rs. 50 and less, but over		
Rs. 30	... ..	3

Pattas paying Rs. 100 and less, but over
Rs. 50 5

Pattas paying Rs. 200 1

The total assessment levied is Rs. 1,152-7-0.

The total population is 784 in 1911, with 129 occupied houses. In 1891 the village had a population of 635 which rose to 684 in 1901.

In 1891 the number of agriculturists
amounted to 473

In 1901 the number of agriculturists and
agricultural labourers fell to ... 319

In 1911 the number as reported by the
villagers amounted to 277

The strength of "others" who had no connection
with land correspondingly increased from
121 to 314.

The houses are well arranged, most of the inhabitants are *Doluvas*.* There are three *Bavuris* and a *Dandasi*.† Most of the houses have their front room set apart for cattle. The village head and the principal ryot have houses built of chunam and brick with tiled roof. A typical house consists of three rooms. The front room is used as cattle shed, and two pials to the street are used in the day for sitting and in the night for sleeping. Two other rooms in the interior, one of which is devoted for storing grain and other property and gives sleeping accommodation for women and children, the third is used as kitchen. The back is secured by a door which leads to the small backyard. There are two good wells in the

* Agricultural Class

† Village Watcher.

village ; and a large tank which dries up in summer and the wells form the chief source of water-supply. The cost of constructing the last well was Rs. 290. The largest number of ryots are those who own pattas of Rs. 10 and are less, that is, out of a total of 117 pattas, 92 pattas pay from Rupee one to Rs. 10. There are 104 land-owners, 23 agricultural sub-tenants and 192 agricultural labourers and two money-lenders. The total number of ploughs is 134. The grazing ground for the village is a rocky hill with barely anything on it. The cattle feed on field bunds and tank beds.

The ryot who is the subject of our study pays Rs. 11 kist to Government and Rs. 28 to the Inamdar and cultivates *Patta* land, ac. 1-40 dry and ac. 2-20 wet, and 4 acres of *Inam* land as a tenant of the Inamdar. He works also as an agricultural labourer. The family consists of himself, wife, two sons, two daughters and his mother. The land yields two crops, paddy and raggi. Paddy seed is sown at the rate of 18 seers for every 20 cents of land or 90 seers per acre.....all the wet lands are sown broad-cast and transplantation of seedlings is rare. The first tilling of the soil commences with Vysakha with a pair of bullocks, which with a pair of cows and a calf form the entire live-stock of the ryot. He has no cart of his own, but borrows one from his neighbour in order to convey manure from the pit in his backyard to the fields or to carry harvest to the thrashing floor ; this loan is given in exchange for labour supplied gratis to the neighbour

when occasion demands. The cows, as seen by me, are bony creatures and hardly capable of giving any milk for they are not fed for the purpose. The bullocks were purchased about five years ago at a cost of Rs. 45 and as one of them became unfit for use it had to be sold last year for Rs. 5 only and replaced at a cost of Rs. 20. The money was borrowed at an interest of Rs. 24 per cent. per annum.

The agricultural implements consist of a plough, a yoke and a pair of traces, of choir rope. He has no levelling board, no *mamooti*. All the members of the family work in the fields; he does not employ labour, but when he and his women go out to work in the agricultural season, the wages they earn are four annas for the male and two annas for the female. The average yield from dry land is two *bharnams* of raggi or 480 seers, the average yield from wet land is four *bharnams* of paddy or 960 seers of paddy; from the other land which he cultivates as a tenant he receives 3 *bharnams* or 720 seers of paddy. The value of raggi is Rs. 34, The rate per rupee varies from 14 seers to 16 seers. The value of the paddy is Rs. 70 to 84. Last year there was a failure of raggi crop and the produce was worth only Rs. 5. The kist payable by him is Rs. 11 for *patta* land, and Rs. 28 for *Inam* land.

Cost of cultivation of the land.

			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Manure	...	...	3	0 0
2.	Cart hire (exchange)	...	...	1	0 0
3.	Ploughing	...	...	5	0 0

			Rs.	A.	P.
4.	Seeds, 480 seers (Rs. 15)	...	15	0	0
5.	Weeding	...	2	0	0
6.	Reaping and harvesting	...	2	8	0
7.	Kist	...	39	0	0
			67	8	0

N.B.—Ploughing, weeding and reaping is done by family members.

Cost of produce from land.

Income.

			RS.	A.	P.
1.	Value of Raggi 480 seers	...	34	0	0
2.	Cost of paddy ....	...	84	0	0
3.	Cost of hay	...	6	0	0
Total			124	0	0

The food on which the family subsists is an instructive enquiry.

In ordinary season the ryot takes his food at noon but in agricultural season he takes an early meal in the morning in addition. Raggi gruel, a thick kanji mixed with broken rice, forms the staple food of the family; a rice meal is available occasionally for a night. The eldest member takes two meals a day. The only curry they know is tamarind mixed with salt and chilly made into a *chutney*. The women and children go out at leisure hours and pick up some roots and

greens which are cooked into a *curry*. The clothing for the man consists of two pairs of cloths for the whole year at a cost of Rs. 2. The wife and mother will have cloths at a cost of Rs. 2-8-0 a year and the sons get cloths worth Re. 1. During transplantation and other favourable seasons a saving is made.

The marriages of his daughter and his two sons cost him Rs. 100, one rice meal was given to his relations and two *bharnams* of paddy was used for the purpose. New cloths were purchased for Rs. 20 and jewellery worth Rs. 20 were made and other expenses were incurred. He borrowed Rs. 55 from the village *Sahukar* at an interest of three pice per rupee per month. According to the custom of the caste, the near relatives send in presents for the occasion with which he met the balance of cost. The jewellery of the family is indicative of his economic condition. The old mother has two ear-rings worth about Rs. 3, the wife has a pair of ear-rings worth about Rs. 6. The daughters were given ear-rings and nose-rings worth Rs. 10. The roof of the house is re-thatched every year and the cost of re-thatching is about Re. 1. In the evening the house is lit with a kerosene light and a pice worth of gingelly oil is required for the day. There are no brass utensils in the house, three bell-metal cups form all the metal-ware of the family. Fuel he is unable to buy; but the children pick up cow-dung which is dried and used as fuel and the ashes thrown into a pit for manural purposes. The only luxury which he

indulges in is chewing a pice worth of tobacco for two days. Fish or meat of any kind is totally absent from his diet.

There is a grant-in-aid school in the village, the two lads attend school when they have no work in the fields. The fee paid is as. 3 per month. For a meal the family requires one adda or $\frac{3}{4}$ seer of raggi (0-0-10) and four addas or 3 seers of rice (0-4-6) On the day I met him he had one adda, $\frac{2}{3}$ seer of rice and one adda of raggi in the morning and the day before he had $\frac{3}{4}$ adda of raggi with broken rice and $\frac{3}{4}$ seer of rice in the morning and two addas of rice for the night. He borrows paddy during the cultivation season on condition of repaying the same after harvesting the crop with an interest of 25 % per annum, that is for four months only. About 40 people emigrated to Burmah in search of better wages. The ryot has a debt of Rs. 65 in money and one and a half *bharnams* of paddy.

The family budget stands thus :—

(a) *The Income of the family.*

		RS.	A.	P.
1.	Profit from land ...	56	8	0
2.	Wages earned by the ryot in the year 180 days at As. 4 a day (average) ...	45	0	0
3.	Wages earned by two women at As. 2 each (average) ...	45	0	0
	Total ...	146	8	0

(b) Expenditure.

			RS.	A.	P.
1.	Rice three seers per day (full meal) at 0-1-6 per seer (for a year)...	...	101	4	0
2.	Raggi $\frac{3}{4}$ seer ...	...	18	12	0
3.	Tamarind, salt, chillies ...	...	5	10	0
4.	Kerosine and tobacco ...	...	3	12	0
5.	Festivals ...	...	2	0	0
6.	Clothing, re-thatching etc. ...	...	5	8	0
7.	Contingencies ...	...	2	0	0
8.	Annual interest on loan ...	...	10	5	0
9.	Kist ...	...	39	0	0
Total ...			188	3	0

N.B.—The ryot has to pay principal sum borrowed.

It is instructive to compare the diet and expense incurred per head in the District Jail. The mixed diet given to prisoners in the Jail consist of—

(a) *Morning.* Raggi kunji at about 6 A.M., that is 4 oz. of raw flour which when cooked becomes eight times the quantity and to non-labouring prisoners 3 oz. of flour is given.

(b) *Mid-day meal.* 8 oz. of raggi flour cake or pudding for non-labouring prisoners and 9 oz. for labouring prisoners. The weight of pudding will be 2 lbs 12 oz.

Vegetable curry is provided—

The curry consists of greens, vegetables, dhol, all mixed together and cooked into a *sambar*, one lb. of which is given to each prisoner.

To make up the curry the following is supplied :—

3 oz. of vegetables
 2½ oz. of dhol
 ¼ oz. salt
 ¾ oz. tamarind
 ¾ oz. onions
 ¼ oz. oil
 2 drams curry powder.

(In the case of rice diet prisoners 5 oz. of dhol and 6 oz. vegetables and ½ oz. gingelly oil are supplied.)

(c) *Evening.* Rice diet except on Wednesdays, Saturdays. Boiled rice 7 oz., when cooked it gives 3½ times the quantity.

In the case of prisoners who were ordered to be under rice diet, in addition, to curry, 4 oz. rice kunji for morning meal, Midday meal 9 oz., evening 7 oz. is supplied. The total consumption is 20 oz. for labouring prisoner and 18 oz. for non-labouring prisoner.

(One Bengal seer = 2 lbs. = 80 tolas)

Note.—Under the old rules previous to 1912 the maximum quantity of food given was 25 to 26 oz. and this is now limited to 20 oz. The prisoners were allowed mutton thrice a week which was reduced to once a week later, and now completely

removed. I was informed that butter-milk was used to be given to prisoners.

The budget of the ryot shows a deficit of Rs. 41-11-0*. If in every year there is no normal crop the ryot's statement that it is not possible to obtain full meal every day seems to be not incorrect. The cost of cultivation includes the labour of his whole family. He does not seem to be over-feeding himself.

The next village for our study is a village in the Chicacole division, Korlakotacheemalvalsa. Re-settlement was introduced in Fasli 1319, the village is situated about eight miles north of Chicacole and is two miles from the road leading to Palakonda. The irrigation sources are satisfactory, commanded by channel from Languliya river, the total cultivable area is acres 1819, the *Manvari* cultivation in this village is only acres 45. The present population of the village is 2298 (1911). The total number of landholders and agricultural labourers were as follows :—

In 1891 there were in this class	1303
In 1901 the number fell to	943
In 1911 the number reduced to	820

The total strength of "others" that is those who have had no connection with land shows as follows :—

In 1891 this class represented	298
In 1901 " "	1324
In 1911 " "	"

* Interest on loan, etc.

There are traders in the village, their strength is 428. The total number of pattas in this village is 489 paying an assessment of Rs. 5,641-2-0. Out of this about 440 or about 90 per cent. pay assessment between Rupee one and thirty. The village with a cultivated area of ac. 1819 has nil acres for cattle-stand and nil acres for grazing-ground. The strength of the live-stock according to Census of 1909-1910 is as follows :—

Bullocks and buffaloes	172
Cows	64
She-buffaloes	12
Young do.	53
Sheep and goats	142

There are 28 carts and 85 ploughs.

In consequence of the absence of grazing-ground even the big pattadar is not able to keep cows and she-buffaloes which would be of such immense use to him. The cattle are fed on grass stumps picked from field bunds, the stumps are beaten and washed and then used as grass when dry. The well-to-do ryot feeds the animals with ricebran mixed with gram.

Tirlangi Appadu owns wet land acres 5 54 and dry land 51 cents and pays a kist of Rs. 34 to the Government. A pair of buffaloes was purchased by him at a cost of Rs. 50 last November 1916. The family consists of himself, two sons, and a daughter-in-law. Four of his daughters were married and left the parental roof about six and eight years ago. He lives in a thatched house of two rooms and a kitchen. The

cattle shed is to the front. One of the sons assists him in cultivation, the other tends the buffaloes. He engages labour for agricultural purposes during transplantation season and pays labour in kind which works out at 0-3-6 per head of male and 0-2-0 for a female per day. He has a cart but does not hire out. The yield of the land was 50 puttis this year, that is one garce and 20 puttis; out of this he reserved 5 puttis for seed-grain and spent 3 puttis per acre or 15 puttis for cultivation expenses. These items seem to be rather heavy. He pays Rs. 34 or 11 puttis worth of paddy to Government. The net balance available to him is 19 puttis or Rs. 57. The present price of putti is Rs. 3 or the price of garce is Rs. 90. This year's crop was said to be fair and so might be accepted as the average yield. It is represented that in the past two Faslis there was loss of crop and poorer ryots got into debts on paddy loans; their holdings were sold for arrears of revenue and others surrendered them to the villagers. In Fasli 1318 there were actual attachments of patta lands for arrears of kist and in 1912 there were distrains against seventeen pattdars. On wet lands again the ryot raises summer raggi crop; the dry land also yeilds raggi and black gram. The total quantity of raggi realised by him is about 5 puttis and two puttis of black or green gram. The custom at harvesting the raggi or black gram is to divide the quantity gathered by each lobourer into sixteen shares and give away one share in remuneration of labour.

The marriage of the daughters cost him Rs. 50-6 each and at about the same year there was a dispute regarding irrigation source to his lands and he was obliged to spend Rs. 180 on that account. Thus he raised a loan of Rs. 380 in 1907 and he discharged the same in 1913 by sale of paddy and living on raggi and the profits of rice pounding. He buys two or three rupees worth of paddy, he and his sons unhusk the same during leisure hours and carry the rice on a kavadi to the shandy for a small profit. The husk is used for feeding buffaloes and the broken rice remains for their food. This he can do only at intervals. His son was married recently at a cost of Rs. 60. In order to discharge the debt which was running at 12 per cent. he sold paddy and is labouring hard to live on raggi, broken rice and paddy borrowed, five puttis payable at harvest season with an interest of 25% in kind. The usual rate of interest is 8 *Kunchams* per putti (which is equivalent to 20 *kunchams*) the paddy or interest in kind runs from July or August to the month of January.

The daily food consists of raggi kanji or gruel in the day and rice or broken rice with raggi flour in the night. Generally rice meal is available in the night. A full meal for the family requires three addas of raggi flour in the day and four addas of rice in the night which will be held over for the morning meal to be taken with raggi kunji. From January to the month of May the family has full meal. Three addas of raggi are

equivalent to one *seer* and four addas of rice are equivalent to two and two-third seers of rice. Salt, chillies and tamarind are purchased at the Shandy, ordinarily four annas worth each week. Gingelly oil nine pice and kerosiene oil half-anna per week. During the rainy season for four months in the year, some vegetables and greens are grown in the back-yard or in the dry field which serve as curry. At other times tamarind water or tamarind chutney is the only recipe for curry. The clothing of the family requires six pairs of coarse cloth and a female cloth. Two pairs for himself, at a cost of Rs 3, for his sons two pairs for both Rs. 3 and for the daughter-in-law Rs. 2.

The stream of emigration to Burma and the Straits Settlements is growing larger every year while conditions of labour in these parts are becoming increasingly difficult. The class of agriculturists and agricultural labour is decreasing as far as I am able to understand the labour problem. The cost of cultivation has increased but the rise in prices is not able to afford adequate relief. Increased production and more efficient and economic method of cultivation are some of the means of relieving the situation but it is foreign to my studies to enter into the discussion of the remedies. The budget of the ryot may be stated thus :

Income for the year.

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Net Income from wet land is ..	57	0	0
2.	Net income from dry land ...	12	8	0

	RS.	A.	P.
3. Black gram and green gram ...	6	0	0
4. Profits from rice pounding every week at eight annas per week.	24	0	0
5. Occasional hiring himself, wages, (account uncertain) ...	30	0	0
<i>N B</i> —15 puttis spent under cultivation expenses includes the labour of family ...			
	45	0	0
	<hr/>		
	174	8	0
	<hr/>		

Expenditure.

	RS	A.	P.
1. Cost of rice (full meal) two and two-thirds seers of rice per day at 0-1-9 per seer or 0-4-8 per day ...	105	0	0
2. Cost of raggi 2 seers a day, 0-2-6 ...	56	0	0
3. Cost of gingelly oil, kerosine oil...	3	8	0
4. Cost of tamarind, chillies ...	3	0	0
5. Cost of clothing ...	8	0	0
6. Feasts and festivals ...	4	0	0
7. Contingent expenses ...	2	0	0
	<hr/>		
	181	8	0
	<hr/>		

There is a deficit of Rs 7 a year. This can be explained only on the hypothesis which the ryot stated, that they have full meal only from January to the month of May.

N.B.—Comparing with the Jail diet, this patta-dar paying Rs. 30 kist, may be taking more food and reducing this by 20 per cent or by Rs. 32 from grain diet, there is only a balance of Rs. 25 for payment of interest payable on debt and the liability to discharge the debt.

The third subject for our study relates to the economic position of a ryot, agriculturist, in Zamin-dari village. Sindiripur is an estate in the Chatrapur Taluk. There are 533 houses with a population of 2,816, of whom 105 are landowners in the sense they hold *firayati* patta under Government, also 979 agricultural tenants or holders of ryoti land and 79 agricultural labourers. Others who have no connection with the land number about 1634. Korapada in the west and this village in the east may be taken up as typical villages in a "Zamindari" in the division. The total extent of Sindiripore is about 2500 acres of which nearly three-fourths is cultivated. Gopimondalo is a cultivating ryot of 10 acres of land of which 60 cents is dry garden land. The family consists of himself, wife, three sons, a daughter and a daughter-in-law. The sons are aged 24, 16, 3 respectively. The daughter is 12 years old. He raises paddy crop on wet land and raggi crop on dry land. The land would be first cultivated in Vysakha; part of the land is sown broadcast the other part is transplanted with paddy. The lands are irrigated from Diali tank. With two pairs of bullocks one of which was purchased five years ago at a cost of Rs. 60 he

carries on agricultural operations. Two of his sons, wife and daughter help him in all seasons; he owns a cart and a full set of agricultural implements. The family lives in a thatched house with three rooms and a shed for the cattle. Recently he put up a room with brick wall in mud roofed with tiles.

Double crop of paddy is raised on wet land. The second crop is limited however to a smaller extent. Melons are grown on about 40 cents of land and summer raggi is raised on 60 cents. This latter crop is harvested in August and paddy is transplanted immediately after that. The ryot reserves about two and half *bharnams* of paddy for seed grain or 600 seers of paddy, one *bharnam* is equivalent to 20 novuties and one novuti is equivalent to 16 addas or 12 seers. For the dry land he uses 6 seers of raggi while 8 seers of green gram is reserved for two acres of land. For summer or *Daluva* second crop 10 novuties or 120 seers are set apart. The average produce from the land is as follows:—

1. Paddy 40 *bharnams* or 9600 seers.
2. Raggi produce from dry land 10 novuties or 120 seers.
3. Gingelly 10 novuties or 120 seers.
4. Summer paddy 720 seers.
5. Green gram about 84 seers.
6. Summer raggi 10 *bharnams*.
7. Melons and cucumbers uncertain, mostly consumed by the family.

The landlord receives an equal share of produce in all the crops raised by the ryot. The cost of cultivation stands thus :—

Exclusive of the labour of the members of the family :

1. For transplanting and weeding— $2\frac{3}{4}$ *bharnams* of paddy or 640 seers.
2. For folding sheep, cost of manure Rs. 8.
3. For reaping, harvesting, 2 *bharnams* or 480 seers.

The rate of wages prevalent in these parts during agricultural season is two *Kunchams* of paddy equivalent to As. 4-6 per day for a male and half of it for the female. Cash wages are paid at As. 3-6 and As. 2 in other seasons.

The head of the family doles out one novuti or 12 seers of unhusked paddy per day with one and quarter seers of raggi for the consumption of the family. One novuti or 12 seers of paddy will yield five seers of husked rice with broken rice. The cost of paddy is As. 8 and of raggi As. 1-6. The male members of the family take three meals a day. The morning meal consists of raggi gruel cooked last night mixed with rice and kunji. In the language of the ryot "hunger is appeased by drinking kanji." For the morning meal two addas of rice and two addas of raggi will be required, that is one and one-third seers of rice and of raggi. The senior members of the family, father and mother do not take the morning meal and leave it to the younger working folk to satisfy their appetite. The midday meal

consists of rice (first part) and raggi pudding next. During the night rice is the principal diet. It is for the night meal some sort of curry is prepared out of greens or vegetable produce from the land. Fish of any kind or meat is out of the question. The ryot said : for a full rice meal for the whole family in the night one *kuncham* or five addas equivalent to two and two-thirds or three and one-third seers of rice would be required. The other ryots present at the time agreed in this observation. Thus for a day full meal requires $6\frac{1}{4}$ seers of rice and three seers of raggi, the actual allowance on which the family subsists is five seers of rice and one and quarter seers of raggi. The clothing of the family costs Rs. 14 a year. He purchases cloths worth Rs. 2-12-0, for his sons Rs. 6-4-0, for the wife, and the daughter Rs. 5. Immediately after the reaping of paddy the cloths are purchased at the beginning of cold weather. His sons were married ten and five years ago. The first lad was married at the expense of his maternal grand-father, the second one cost him as follows:—Rice 120 seers, dholl 18 seers, vegetables Rs. 3, cash paid to bride's father Rs. 12. The daughter's marriage cost him Rs. 48 four years ago. The marriage lasted for one day. The value of jewellery given to daughter and daughter-in-law is Rs. 12 each. The ryot raised a loan at an interest of four pice per repee per month. The ryot has a pair of gold ear-rings worth Rs. 8 presented to him by his father-in-law, the eldest son has a pair of ear-rings of the same value, the wife has ear-rings and other orna-

ments of the value of Rs. 14 presented to her by her grand-father at the wedding. The re-thatching of the house costs Rs. 3 a years. The ryot is not able to buy fuel except that which he could gather from trees on his holding and *vrattis* from cattle-dung. The only luxury the family members have, is smoking tobacco worth 3 pice a day Gingelly oil of the value of 5 pice serves for two days and so also kerosine oil worth three pice. The members render Vetti or free labour work for the landholder one or two days in the year. The ryot pays Re. 1 for the village expenses and nine pice for every *bharnam* of produce raised on the land.

His sons were educated in the village pial school, the eldest son is able to read Puranam the youngest now attends night school; the villagers organised a free night school at which sons of ryots and labourers read for two hours in the evening after sunset. The salary of the teacher is paid out of common funds and presents are given at Sreepanchami which falls in the month of Magham. The ryot borrowed three *bharnams* of paddy from the landholder repayable with an interest of 20% after the harvesting of crops.

Within the last few years there has been a steady flow of emigration to Rangoon, Arakan, and Calcutta. Two hundred persons have thus left the village. In some cases where the family consists of more than one adult male member, one or two of these go out for two years and supplement the resource of the family by remittances from their

place of exile. The interest paid on money borrowed passage and other expenses is four annas per rupee for less than six months and if not paid within the period the interest is doubled.

The Budget

<i>Income</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Paddy 20 <i>bharnams</i> or 4,800 seers ...	200	0	0
2. Raggi, ryots' share, 60 seers ...	6	0	0
3. Gingelly, 60 seers ...	6	0	0
4. Green gram, 42 seers ...	4	0	0
5. Summer paddy 1,200 seers ...	50	0	0
6. Summer raggi ...	6	0	0
7. Melons, cucumber, etc. ...	4	0	0
8. Hay-paddy, 2 <i>bharnams</i> ...	20	0	0
9. Hay-paddy 2 <i>bharnams</i> ...	20	0	0
	316	0	0

The custom prevailing in this village is the seed grain (paddy) is taken out first and what remains is divided between the landholder and the ryot. The ryot bears half the seed grain.

Expenditure.

	RS.	A.	P.
1. Seed grain $2\frac{1}{2}$ <i>bharnams</i> 600 seers, half of it ryot's share ...	12	8	0
2. Seed grain raggi 6 seers ...	0	10	0
3. Green gram ...	1	0	0
4. Summer paddy ...	3	0	0
5. Cost of folding sheep, etc., manure	8	0	0
6. Cost of transplanting, weeding ...	27	8	0

			Rs.	A.	P.
7.	Reaping, harvesting	... ..	20	0	0
8.	Paddy at 1 novuti per day	360			
	novuties (feeding)	... ..	180	0	0
9.	Raggi for food	... ..	33	12	0
10.	Clothing	... ..	14	0	0
11.	Chillies, turmeric, oil	... ..	12	0	0
12.	Festivals, ceremonies	... ..	5	0	0
13.	Miscellaneous	... ..	4	0	0
			321	6	0

There is a paddy debt outstanding against him.

I shall place before you one more study, a village in the Zamindari area. Korapada is situated about a mile from the road leading from the Digupudi to Chikati. There are 150 houses with a population of 833 in the year 1901 and 878 in 1911. The revenue payable to the Zamindar is Rs. 5,250 according to the lease of Fasli 1324. Izara or middle-man system prevails in the Zamindari. It is not relevant to discuss the evil effects of this system. Suffice it to say that the ryots are placed under a most baneful influence which creates discontent in the estate. In Fasli 1322 the village was leased out to a mustajary (renter or farmer of rent), differences arose between the ryots and the farmer of rent regarding rates of rent and appraisement of crops. On account of this the produce was reaped and stored in a thrashing floor, but permission was not given for the purpose of thrashing and paddy could not be divided till the month of Kartika

(October, while the custom of the village is to finish division by the end of the month of May. The paddy in the thrashing floor was considerably damaged by exposure and the ryots received a fourth of what they would have had. The postponement of division of crops is one of the ways in which ryots are coerced to accept the terms of the mustajar. A remedy is provided in the Estates Land Act for the ryot to seek redress but these ryots prefer to put up with the loss to going to Courts.

Raghunadha Prodhano is a cultivating ryot whose holding consists of 50 bharanams or 10 acres of ryoti land and 20 *bharnams* or 4 acres of Inam land. He pays to Government Rs. 16 kattubadi on the Inam land. Two farm servants are employed by him who are paid each 3 *bharnams* or 96 novuties of paddy equivalent to 1,152 seers of paddy. That is at the rate of $3\frac{1}{5}$ seers per day and a pair of cloths during winter at a cost of one rupee.

The family consists of three brothers aged 26, 23, 10 respectively and a mother. The first two brothers are married and their wives live with them. Paddy, raggi, gingelley crops are raised every year and green gram occasionally. The produce of the Jiroyti or Ryoti lands amount to 28 *bharnams* 42 3 garces or 896 novuties or 3,584 kunchams. One kuncham is equivalent to 3 seers. The price of paddy is Rs. 18 per *bharnam* or Rs. 108 per garce. The ryot pays Rs. 20 a year on account of cesses and customary charges such as joint village expenses. The raggi produce was 128 kunchams the value of

the same is Rs. 32. The yield from gingelley crop was 8 novuties or 96 seers, the cost of the same is Rs. 10. The total yield from Inam land was ten bharnams or $1\frac{1}{2}$ garces of paddy. The seed grain he stocks amount to 4 *bharnams* or $\frac{2}{3}$ of a garce of paddy. For weeding, transplanting and harvesting the total expenditure is seven *bharnams* or about one garce of paddy. The removing of seedlings from seed-beds for the purpose of transplantation wages are paid to labourers at one half the quantity of seeds sown. The seed grain for raggi crop is one kuncham, the price of which is annas four. Cost of manure for the raggi crop, folding sheep and cattle is Rs. 2 the cost of transplanting raggi seedlings is two novuties or about Re. 1. The wages paid for gathering raggi crop is one-tenth of the crop reaped by the labourer. Forest tax Rs. 4 is paid to the Zamindar at one per cent. on the estimated income of the ryot, this cess gives him the right to get fuel free and bamboo thorns necessary for agricultural purposes. For other purposes he has to pay the usual rates.

The family requires one *bharnam* of paddy and three novuties of raggi a month for their food. They do not buy any vegetables for the curry. Meat and fish are totally absent from their diet. During summer months cucumber, gogu leaves are grown on a piece of dry land and in the rainy season greens and vegetables are grown in the backyard of the house. Six pairs of cloths are required for the male members which cost him Rs. 9 and three

cloths for the females at a cost of Rs. 6. He buys salt, chillies, tamarind in retail at four annas worth each time, the total cost on this amounts to Rs. 12. Gingelley oil for domestic use and kerosine oil for light are estimated at Rs. 9 a year. Tobacco costs him 3 pies every day. One of the brothers was married at a cost of Rs. 160. The marriage of three sisters cost him Rs. 200. Two years ago one sister was sent to live with her husband. She was given jewellery worth Rs. 80, metal-ware Rs. 30, cloths Rs. 20 and feast cost him Rs. 40. He raised a loan of Rs. 160 at 12 per cent. to meet this charge, he has a debt of Rs. 400 in cash and 6 *bharnams* of paddy. The debt is running from year to year although payments are made now and then to discharge the burden.

The ryot has two pairs of bullocks, one pair of he-buffaloes and seven pairs of cows. Every year a pair of cows or calves are sold for Rs. 30. The milk is used for the family either as butter-milk or curd. During summer no milk is available. Last year he purchased a pair of buffaloes for Rs. 80 and has sold his old pair for Rs. 35. He owns three ploughs, a levelling board and a *kurili*. The brothers work in the field. The women assist in agricultural operations. At the time of transplantation wages are paid at ten addas or six seers per day which will be worth Re. 0-5-0 for a male, for a female, seven addas or $4\frac{2}{3}$ seers cost of which is Re. 0-3-6. The family lives in a thatched house with two rows of houses. In one, cattle are stalled and

seed grain is stored, the other is used for dwelling purposes. The houses are re-thatched every year which would cost about Rs. 10. The Zamindar collects presents at the birth of a son or daughter to him and for every ceremony. He has on his person a necklace worth Rs. 35, ear-rings Rs. 20. The women have each one and half tola of gold worth Rs. 35. There are two brass pots and two lotas.

Last year 100 persons left their lands and had gone to Burma. A family consisting of two or more adult members sends out one or two of them to earn wages. After residing in the foreign place for two or three years the emigrants return home. Poor ryots do not possess credit with Sahukars and the interest on loans advanced to them is exorbitant, it varies from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent. Paddy loan received in the month of July is returnable in January next and the interest payable for these five months is at 40 per cent. per annum.

The family budget stands thus :—

Income.

1.	Produce of ryoti land, paddy ...	Rs. 504
2.	Produce of Inam lands paddy ..	180
3.	„ „ of raggi ...	32
4.	Cost of gingelly	10
5.	„ green gram ...	15
6.	Cost of vegetables grown ...	6
7.	Sale of cattle ...	30
	Sale of milk ...	9
		<hr/>
		Total Rs. 786
		<hr/>

<i>Expenditure.</i>		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Paddy seed grain ..	72	4	0
2.	Cost weeding, transplantation.	126	0	0
3.	Sheep folding	2	0	0
4.	Forest tax	4	0	0
5.	Kattubadi paid	20	0	0
6.	Clothing	15	0	0
7.	Salt, chillies and tamarind ...	12	0	0
8.	Oil	9	0	0
9.	Tobacco	4	10	0
10.	Purchase of cattle	80	0	0
11.	Re-thatching the house ...	10	0	0
12.	Presents and expenses ...	10	0	0
13.	Feasts and festivals ...	12	0	0
14.	Feeding expenses ...	256	0	0
15.	Interest on loans ...	56	0	0
16.	Miscellaneous	10	0	0
Total Rs. ...		698	14	0

Thus there is a balance of Rs. 68 to his credit when the family affairs are conducted in a most economic way. This sum is not a profit, in reality it represents the wages which the members of the family, two men and three women, earn for their personal labour on the land, at Rs 14 per head or Rs. 1-2-6 a month.

These studies place before you actual conditions observed in my investigation into some of the villages in the Ganjam District, the investigation commenced more than two years ago, and I do not

attempt to discuss the many problems to which the studies gives rise. Others will have to draw conclusions and advocate remedies.

H. E. THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

His Excellency in initiating the discussion said :—

GENTLEMEN,—“ The dismal science ” is a term of reproach which has too long attached to the study of economics being as sometimes divorced from the familiar facts of every day life and the statement of these facts, where attempted, is not always free from the same reproach. Mr. Patro has collected his facts, and figures with zeal and enthusiasm and has marshalled them and invested these family budgets with that human interest which I hope will always characterise the proceedings of this Association. Without necessarily regarding the investigation as a complete basis for economic deductions or accepting the conclusions drawn by Mr. Patro in their entirety we are grateful to him I am sure for the interesting and suggestive paper which he has so kindly prepared and for the manner in which he has reproduced for us the environments of four economic units of family groups. The method adopted by Mr. Patro has this initial advantage ; we have here four independent sets of figures and statements from different parts of his district. No collusion among his informants was therefore possible and a scrutiny of the data thus given should either give reliable

results or at any rate suggest fresh starting points for further inquiry.

At a meeting of this Association I need not lay emphasis upon the immense importance to all economic enquiries of the careful investigations and verification of facts. It is a labourious work and long and patient endeavours are required to establish a sound basis for deductions, for one investigation opens our eyes to the necessity of another as we advance new factors and problems come into view and we are faced with the necessity of readjustments and restatements. But such labour is never thrown away. Each investigator can feel that his contribution is helping to build up the fabric of a body of knowledge which is essential to sound understanding and good government. There is I am glad to say gratifying evidence that our public men are more and more realising the necessity of the examination of actual conditions as the basis and the only safe basis for social and legislative reform and if this Association can demonstrate the spirit in which that examination should be approached and illustrate the manner in which it should be carried out, it will indeed justify its existence. For this reason I know that you will understand that it is in a spirit of appreciation of Mr. Patro's efforts and not of carping or disparagement that I offer some desultory criticisms or suggestions rather : for indeed my limited knowledge of conditions does not, I feel, entitle me on this occasion to do more than provoke discussion.

You will perhaps then permit me to suggest a few points on which the necessity of further investigation which may be undertaken by the other members of the Association seems to be indicated by the dry light of science.

In the first village with which Mr. Patro dealt the population, so he informed us, rose from 635 to 784 in 20 years between 1891 and 1911. This was accompanied by a drop in the number of agriculturists, in which term I presume farmers and agricultural labourers are included, from 473 to 277. The number of those who had no connection with the land increased from 121 to 314. Now it would be interesting to know in what occupations these 314 are engaged, because on the face of it these figures indicate nothing less than an economic revolution in that particular village. It is, on the other hand, possible that the apparent changes are due to different methods of census classifications which often baffle and confuse such enquiry. If so, any conclusions drawn would be seriously vitiated. Again in the same village out of 117 pattas distributed among 104 landowners no less than 32 are for one or less, presumably these do not represent farm holdings but either petty houses or shop sites or small garden plots which we call in Scotland allotments. They cannot even approximate to what is known as the economic holding and a mere list of pattadars may be very misleading as regards the distribution of land in a village.

Again to a farmer the total produce of his farm

is the all-important matter, for from that he has to meet his rent or taxes, the expenses of cultivation if he has no other source of income or means of livelihood, to support his family and also to secure the reward of his enterprise. In the holding in this village analysed by Mr. Patro there is included 4 acres of inam land for which he pays a rent of Rs. 28 to the inamdar. The produce is said to amount to 720 seers of paddy, the value according to the commutation given being Rs. 30. Now would any ryot be content to accept a return of Rs. 2 on the cultivation of 4 acres? Would he not be out of pocket and seriously so? and although he might burn his fingers by one experiment, would he not if that represented a normal result at once relinquish his tenancy if he could? Again the proportion of seed sown to outturn given is an important and interesting point though a detail. The figures of these four holdings show remarkable variations in this respect. In the first holding 480 seers of seed were required for a total outturn of 2,160 seers a proportion of 1 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ in the second holding 5 puttis give 60 puttis: a proportion of 1 to 10; in the third from 600 seers of paddy the produce is 9,000 seers a proportion of 1 to 16. In the case of ragi, $\frac{1}{2}$ seers produced 120 seers; a proportion of 1 to 20; and, for summer paddy 120 seers produced 720 seers; a ratio of 1 to 6. In the fourth holding apparently 4 *bharnams* of seed produced 38 *bharnams* of paddy, the ration being 1 to $9\frac{1}{2}$. These variations are considerable and it would be interesting to

know if they are due to differences in the fertility of the soil or in the skill of the cultivators or to other causes. The third is an interesting case relating as it does to conditions in a Zemindari village. The ryot apparently pays a rent of Rs. 26 for each of the 10 acres which he holds, as against Rs. 4 or 5 the average assessment on the three ryotwari holdings. A general comparison would seem to show that the figures of the first case would require careful check and further examination.

Mr. Patro has also given us some interesting information as to the indebtedness of the ryots and the interest which they pay on loans. But as far as I can see this debt account appears in only one of the budgets which he has prepared possibly the others also may be considerably affected by it.

Again it is curious to find apparent variations in the ideas of the ryots as to what constitutes a 'full diet' a matter in which one would expect certain approach to uniformity and possibly for future inquiries. It would be useful to determine approximately the normal diet for adults and children so as to afford a standard basis of comparison in such matters.

Possibly a more detailed comparison of the budgets now presented with those of other studies to which Mr. Patro has referred may perhaps enable this process of check, in connection with which I have ventured to put forward a few desultory suggestions, to be more elaborately worked out than I have been enabled to do with the materials available.

Mr. Patro, I observe, is decidedly pessimistic in his conclusions. As far as I can understand, his conclusions oblige us to reconcile an increasing population with economic retrogression, which in the summary at the end of his paper he appears to assume as established by the data. Some points in that summary seem to require further elucidation. For example he states that the actual cultivating owners are decreasing but that holdings are being split up. The splitting up to holdings seems to me to be difficult to reconcile with a decrease in the number of cultivating owners, without some supplementary information. Of course, it may be that more and more landowners are handing over their farms to suitable tenants. I pass to another point. The existence of tenants again shows that the produce of the land is able to support not only the cultivators and their families and the assessment and taxes but that it can also find a rent for the landlord. Mr. Patro also refers to the growing poverty, physical deterioration and indebtedness of the agriculturist, points which require a most urgent and vigilant attention. The proof of these statements is not I think, wholly presented in the analysis which he has given. There may, of course, be independent proof of them and certainly deserve close and unprejudiced investigation. A careful inquiry into the indebtedness of ryots would be most valuable. Whence are derived the increasing sums of money or the larger quantities of grain which are lent to the ryots and constitute their increasing indebtedness?

It may be the case that the evil lies not in any decrease in the average wealth of the community but in an inequitable distribution and that owing to high rents and exorbitant interest the ryot enjoys only a small share of the net produce of his industry. Apparently Mr. Patro regards emigration to other parts of the country as a sign of economic deterioration. That is a tenable hypothesis ; but it is also possible that the opportunities thus afforded enable the labourer, at any rate, to secure more regular employment elsewhere and at the same time to stand out for higher wages and better remuneration in his own village. These conditions may be economically adverse to the larger farmer who employs labour and he may grumble, but that again would require very careful investigation before any pronouncement on the subject could be justified.

Possibly other members of this Association may be able to suggest other directions in which we may carry these investigations to some further stage. Possibly a series of inquiries into the circumstances of a number of villages and a number of families or economic units belonging to the same village would, by throwing light upon their mutual relations and interactions, help towards a comprehensive and systematic view of those village economics to which Mr. Patro has made such an interesting contribution.

I have mentioned these various points in the hope that they may initiate discussion.

STUDIES IN VILLAGE ECONOMICS.

PART II.

Amudalavala is situated about seven miles north of Chicacole and the road from Chicacole to Gunapuram passes through the village site. The area according to re-settlement is 446 acres. It is noteworthy there is no manvari or rainfed cultivation in this village. It is a flourishing village as the Chicacole road station is close to it and two rice hulling factories and two oil presses for crushing ground-nut were set up within last four years.

The population of the village, as ascertained by different censuses was as under :—

In 1881 the population was 289 and in 1891 the strength rose to 373, of those the number of agriculturists and landholders were 323 in 1901 there was an increase to 481 with 278 in the class of agriculturists. An examination of those results show that for every ten years there is an increase in the class of "others" who are not agriculturists and decrease in agricultural population. For, in 1891 the number of agriculturists were 328 and in 1901 the strength fell to 278 and a corresponding rise in "others" from 34 to 179 shows that there is large drop in the class of agriculturists and those who are connected with land. The ryotwari holdings during the year of Re-settlement, fasli 1316, may be classified as follows :—The total number of pattas in the village is 53 with an assessment of Rs. 577-3-0. The number of pattas paying a kist

of Rupees one and less is 11 and those between Rs. 10 and less but over Re. 1 is 29 and pattas paying Rs. 30 and less but over Rs 10 is only 6 ; the total number of agricultural stock in the village according to the census of 1909-1910 is ; Bullocks and he-buffaloes 72, cows 73, she-buffaloes 26 and sheep and goats 113. Nil acres are reserved as cattle stand and 36, acres are set apart for grazing. The cattle also feed on patta lands and Government waste. There are 15 carts, 34 ploughs and mills noted above.

Bandi Yerranna Naidu, is a cultivating ryot of Amudalavalsa, paying a kist of Rs. 9 to the Government. The family consists of six people, wife, two sons, brother and his son. The holding consists of one acre dry and wet two acres. He raises dry crops : raggi, cholam and ground-nut ; last year he produced ground-nut, raggi and cumbu. The quantity of seed grain sown on the land was three kunchams the price per kuncham is Re. 1, fifteen persons were employed for weeding out and pruning the crop on two occasions, the wages for a female labourer is Re. 0-2-0 and annas three for a male. In 1915 the ground-nut crop failed. He realised only Rs. 12 out of the ground-nut crop. The yield from raggi crop was four puttis, the seed grain used was five kunchams, he gathered one putti of chamalu or millet. The price of raggi per rupee is five and one fourth kunchams, the total gross yield, from dry land is Rs. 31-4-0. The yield from wet land was ten puttis

of paddy whereas in good seasons it yields fifteen puttis. (Thirty puttis make one garce). The price of a garce is Rs. 80. The cost of paddy is Rs. 26-10-8 deducting the cost of cultivation including seed grain the net income from wet land is Rs. 21. The net yield from the dry land is Rs. 21. The total yield amounts to Rs. 42. The kist he has to pay is Rs. 9. Thus a balance of Rs. $33 + 12 = 45$ stands to his credit which includes the labour of his whole family consisting of six persons. After agricultural operations are finished all of them work on others' holdings as labourers and earn wages. The value of this cannot be ascertained accurately but may be fitted at 160 days and a sum of Rs. 80. He owns a pair of bullocks purchased two years ago for a sum of Rs. 34. He owns no cows, no buffaloes ; he has only a plough and yoke and has no spade and pick-axe. The wages for the sons are at two annas per head and four annas per an adult per day. He has no cart.

The ordinary meal of the family consists of raggi. The family eats raggi gruel mixed with broken rice. Two addas of raggi flour with one and a half addas of rice or broken rice are required for the day meal. In the night four addas of rice is necessary, but actually two addas of raggi flour is available in the day and two addas of rice in the night with one adda of raggi flour. The rice meal is held over for the early morning. The price of rice is 8 seers or $10\frac{1}{2}$ addas per rupee and raggi sold at 6 kunchams per rupee. Prices fluctuate from time to time. The

curry used by the family is greengram (boiled) with vegetables. In a year he has to buy cloths of the value of Rs. 21 but he is able to spend Rs. 16 under the head. This charge is met from the savings of the wages earned in harvest season. One of his relatives died recently and he was obliged to spend Rs. 30 which he borrowed from a Sahukar at an interest of 12 per cent. per annum and paddy interest at 5 puttis per garce. He has a debt of Rs. 100 and mortgaged his lands to Patitni Narasimhulu. He had to perform the marriage of his son and nephew. According to the customs of the caste he should send rice to the bride's father and bring the girl to his house. Early marriage is the rule. The advent of a girl to the family would add to the wage-earning capacity of the family. Among this class marriage after puberty is permissible and widow remarriage is sanctioned. The cost of marriage already performed was Rs. 48. On one day the relatives were fed. New cloths of the value of Rs. 10 were purchased as presents for the bride and her parents ; a loan of ten kunchams of rice was obtained. No drums were beaten. New pots and pans were purchased. The caste head who was the priest officiated at the ceremony which consisted of the Tali blessed by elderly women and men being tied around the neck of the bride ; then rice is thrown on the head of the married couple. The Vaishnava or Ayyavaru repeats a blessing after which the couple go round the pots filled with water and covered with mango leaves.

He has no gold or silver ornaments, his wife and children have none except the women have a nose ring worth a rupee each. He owns two lotas and a bell-metal cup of the value of Rs. 2-10-0 each. His house has two rooms and it is rethatched annually at a cost of Rs. 2-8-0. He buys no fuel. The man requires 4 pies for his tobacco, he does not drink arrack but chews tobacco. The 4 pies tobacco is shared by his brother also. Wages are paid in kind at 3 addas per day for a female and 0-1-6 in cash. There is weekly shandy at Chintada and the provisions required for the family are purchased therein. The price of raggi varies from $4\frac{1}{2}$ kunchams to $6\frac{1}{2}$ kunchams for a rupee and rice is sold at 8 seers to $8\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee. The family prefers to buy paddy and broken rice or unhusked rice.

It is interesting to get at the correct account of income from wages earned by the several members of the family ; long time was devoted to obtain an accurate measure of wages but the narrative was confounding ; on a rough estimate for 160 days wages may be fixed at Rs. 40. The purpose which this study can serve is to arrive at the net income from lands during the last fasli, the family is not able to get full meal, the wages are fluctuating between two annas and four annas for an adult and one anna six pies to two annas for a female per day. The indebtedness of the family is not more than ordinary. The funeral expenses and marriage expenses are normal but a necessary item which is

got from borrowing money for interest in kind with half yearly or yearly rests. The total amount will ultimately swallow the holding and drive the wage-earning members as labourers to emigrate to Burma or other places to get a better living. This indebtedness is not due to extravagant living or drink in the family, it is inevitable. Circumstances such as insufficient produce, cost of production, irregular wages and the customary charges incidental to family life enter largely to determine the present low position of the family.

The family budget :—

Income :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Net value of produce from dry land	33	0	0
Net value of produce from wet land			
including hay 	21	0	0
Net wages earned for 160 days,			
at eight annas for the adult mem-			
bers 	80	0	0
	<hr/>		
	Rs.	134	0 0
	<hr/>		

Expenditure :—

Food at two addas of rice and two			
addas of raggi per day ...	96	0	0
Cloths for the family	16	0	0
Interest payable 	12	0	0
Tobacco 	7	8	0

	Rs.	A.	P.
Chillies, oil, tamarind &c., ...	7	8	0
Feasts and festivals ...	3	0	0
	<hr/>		
Rs.	14	0	0
	<hr/>		

N.B.—In a fair year the yield from ground-nut crop will be more and there may be a balance.

II

Koyyana Papayya, a ryot residing in Chicacole, cultivates lands in Balaga. He has been cultivating lands from the days of his forefathers and pays a kist of Rs. 32 for a holding of four and half acres in extent. Balaga is a village attached to Chicacole and in revenue accounts Balaga is taken as the agricultural unit. The resettlement was introduced into this village in fasli 1316. This village is situated on the left bank of the Langulya river to the north of Chicacole and the metalled road from Chicacole to Palakonda passes through the village site. The area according to resettlement is 2,540 acres. It is significant there is no manwari land in the village; the occupied dry land according to latest revenue accounts is 436 acres. The population of the village as ascertained by different censuses was as under: In 1881, the total number living was 346 the bulk of them were agriculturists and landholders; in 1891,

the population rose to 445 but the number of agriculturists and agricultural labourers fell to 252 while the class of others rose to 94 and the census of 1901 discloses a slight rise in population by 15 making a total of 460 but the reduction in the class of agriculturists and labourers is still greater than last census, this class showed a strength of 214 while the class of persons unconnected with land or torn away from land showed an abnormal rise to 256 as against 94 of previous census. Village accounts do not show accurate figures for the census of 1911 and the drop in the class of agriculturists is still large while the number thrown out of land is increasing every year.

It is interesting to record the ryotwari holdings in the year of resettlement, fasli 1316, and the classification of the same. The total number of pattadars is 309 and the extent of cultivation is 1192 acres paying assessment of Rs. 5,274-5-0 to the Government. The largest number of pattadars consists of those paying kist from ten rupees and less but over one rupee.

Patta paying one rupee and less are	...	36
Pattas paying ten rupees and less are	...	128
Pattas paying thirty rupees and less are	...	95
Pattas paying fifty and less are	...	30
Pattas paying one hundred and less are	...	13
Pattas paying two hundred and fifty and less are	...	1

The total number of agricultural stock consists of mainly : bullocks and he-buffaloes 187 ; cows 391 ; she-buffaloes 136 ; young stock below 4 years

441 and sheep and goats consist of 691. The census of 1909-1910 records the above. No acres are reserved as cattle stand and 55 acres are set apart for grazing. The cattle feed on patta lands and waste lands.

Koyyana Payya cultivates lands (under Andhavarapu Venkatanarayana) by well-irrigation. The holding is dry land. There are three wells constructed by the pattadar who pays a kist of Rs. 60. The family of our study consists of five persons : his two wives, nephew of ten years old, daughter three years old. Ragi, horsegram, cumbu and brinjals are raised on the land. The cost of cultivation runs as follows : (a) He buys 2 kunchams of ragi seeds and the annual yield he realised is three puttis, (b) one and quarter kuncham of millet or cumbu produces three puttis and horse-gram seed seven-kunchams produces in four puttis in return. The price of raggi is $5\frac{1}{4}$ kunchams for a rupee and one putti consists of twelve kunchams ; the price of millet or cumbu is the same but horse-gram is sold at six kunchams per rupee. The cost of producing the three puttis of ragi absorbs (1) labour worth Rs. 1-2-3 as three males and five females are employed in transplantation and the wages for a male is As. 4 and of a female As. 1 3, per day ; (11) The wages paid in kind at harvesting and reaping stand at one-sixteenth of the crop gathered by the labourer, male or female. The cost of raising cumbu, cholam is the same ; in the case of horse-gram the cost of

harvesting is two addas per head per day sixteen addas are equivalent to twelve seers ; four persons are employed for gathering the crop. He purchased a pair of bullocks last year at a cost of Rs. 54 and owns a cow with a calf of the value of Rs. 14. These are essentially utilised for cultivating the land and occasionally during days of leisure, he would take his cart to the Railway station and earn wages. For the last three years he has not been able to pay kist to the pattadar regularly owing to failure of crops. He borrowed money at high rate of interest with which he paid portion of the rent due. Even a balance of Rs. 7-2-0 which was due to the pattadar could not be remitted for him. The milk from the cow came to his relief and the supply of milk of the value of Rs. 10 had gone to work out the balance of Rs. 7-2 arrears due by him.

The agricultural implements possessed by him are : a plough, a yoke, pair of rope traces ; he obtains a loan of levelling board, etc., from the neighbouring cultivator. A cart which is available for carrying manure to the fields also supplements the income by occasional trips to the Railway goods shed conveying tradesman's goods to the station. This is so especially during three months in the year. The cow is also a source of production, one seer of milk per day is sold for two or three annas and feeding of the same costs on the average one and quarter anna to one and half annas. The young lad tends the cattle, picks up grass for them. The ordinary wages for the cart is ten annas a day and this is not worked

regularly in the month during the three months of the summer season. Out of the wages the ryot spends two annas per day for his food and pays an annual vehicle tax of Rs. 6.

His daily food consists of one adda of raggi flour and half an adda of rice for the whole family. One adda is equivalent to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a seer. For the night meal two addas of rice are required. From this meal a portion is kept over with tarvani for the next morning. This serves for the breakfast for the two little children. The women eat raggi gruel only. Rice is a luxury to them. The cost of one adda of rice is 0-1-8 and the cost of one adda of raggi varies from 10 pice to an anna. The family does not get full meal. For a full meal he requires one adda of raggi flour and one adda of rice in the day and two and half addas of rice with $\frac{3}{4}$ adda of raggi will suffice for night meal. During the winter and rainy season the men and women live on half rations as the budget of the family indicates; the use of vegetable curry is a luxury. Bengal gram raised on a portion of the holding or a brinjal grown in the backyard is all that is available. During summer months when regular wages are obtained for the cart fish worth six pies are taken home. Turmeric, chillies and tamarind cannot be kept in store and these articles of domestic necessity are purchased in the retail shop at pice worth each day. The clothing is scanty. He requires three pairs of cloths a year but is able to provide himself with two only. The cost per pair is Re. 1-4-0 each. The wives

require six cloths at Re. 1-8-0 each but they are able to get two each. One cotton blanket was used for three years after which the nephew was given the same. The torn and tattered cloth, cast away by the father is used by the nephew and daughter to cover their loins. In the months of makaram (January) and in Ashada month (July) the cloths are purchased. His children are not yet married. The debts of the ryot amount to Rs. 70 the Sahukar being V. Appalaraju ; the money was borrowed for the purchase of bullocks and for maintenance. Interest in kind is payable and the interest in money is at four pice per rupee per mensem. Neither he nor his wives have any silver or gold ornaments, the little daughter has two silver bangles worth three rupees. The dwelling house consists of two rooms and a small shed for cattle. Every year the thatch is renewed ; the cost of renewing the roof costs as follows : thatch straw for three rupees, labour cost one rupee, cost of bamboo rupee one, and fibre costs annas five. If in one year the roof is neglected the cost becomes heavier the next year. To light up the house no gingelly or castor oil is used. One anna worth of kerosine oil per week is sufficient. For consumption gingelly oil of the value of 0-1-6 is used for a week. The daily necessities are bought in the retail shop on credit and the arrears are gradually paid up, hence the price is usually higher than bazaar rate. He has one brass pot worth Rs. 5 and a bell-metal cup worth Rs. 5. This is his ancestral property.

We find the wives earn wages by labouring during agricultural season. They hire themselves out for pounding rice. The wages for the latter kind of work are paid in kind at one and half addas of broken rice, and for the former they are paid at one anna per day. With this supplemental income he is able to buy fuel. The wives go out into fields and topes and gather dry leaves and small faggots from hedges. The dung from the cattle shed is converted into varattis "I am not able to send my boy to school for want of money, he is a smart lad, I shall be willing to send him to school if free education be given" is the answer to a question put to him on the subject. Several cultivating ryots left their lands and emigrated as labourers to Khargpur, Burmah, Money for passage is raised at one anna six pice per rupee for six months returnable during the period, in default payable at As. 8 per rupee. Wages for agricultural labourer are low, hence emigration follows. For a farm servant six puttis of paddy are paid for the year with a morning meal in the day. The price of paddy per garce is Rs 90, present rate, and thirty puttis make one garce. For ordinary labour the wages vary from three annas to four annas for a male. Emigrants from Burmah or the Straits return with money but they find themselves too soon deprived of their wealth, schemes will be laid to go back and give up house or holding. "I am holding on to the land being my hereditary profession and it gives me a status as royt." The nearest

forest to his village is Saribujjili, about 18 miles distant.

The family budget stands thus :

Income

Dryland produce	...	21	0	0
Sale of milk	...	10	0	0
Cart hire	...	40	0	0
Cost of hay	...	3	0	0
Wages of the family	...	40	0	0
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		114	0	0

Expenditure

Cloths	...	6	0	0
Cost of rethatching roof	...	5	8	0
Cost of oil, chillies &c.	...	4	0	0
Lighting	...	4	0	0
Festivals &c.	...	4	0	0
Feeding...	...	112	8	0
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		Rs. 136	8	0

There is a debt outstanding against him. The deficit is made up probably by reduction in diet charges.

STUDIES IN VILLAGE ECONOMICS.

III

The family of the ryot which is now taken up for our study is unlike the last one which was the case of a peasant cultivator and an agricultural labourer. The village selected is Palakonda where

paddy, sugarcane, indigo and ragi were raised at one time and now sugarcane and indigo have almost been obsolete. The irrigation source is the Vani Gedda and the recent construction of Nagavalli channel does not directly benefit the lands, there being no branch channel and the various anicuts for the Vani Gedda are not properly strengthened for want of timber supply free from the adjoining forest. The Poonu or anicut is the only means of conserving water and diverting it for the benefit of ryots. The total assessment of this village is Rs. 5,778-13-0. The area cultivated as per re-settlement is 1,511 acres, there being a decrease of 630 acres, the area recorded prior to re-settlement was 2,141. There are 2,131 houses with a population of 9,531. The land pattas are 79. The cattle of the place came up 1,317 and sheep 536. Cattle are fed on the jungle lands of the Haripuram, Pallapuram village. The number of pattadars who pay kist between Rs. 30 and rupee one is the largest. Forest grievances of various kinds are strongly urged by the ryots and the effect of rigorous working of rules is manifest. The Poonu which benefits their lands is not repaired properly, as a consequence of which the storage of water for irrigation purposes is becoming gradually diminished. Rain-water has also to be conserved in connection with this village for minor irrigation and for supplementing the Vani Gedda supply. The collection of water-rate for percolation from Nagavalli Channel seems unjust in as much as no direct supply is guaranteed

for second crop. The Union Panchayat under the energetic Chairman has been able to obtain water supply for the drinking-water tanks, a commendable act on the part of the Chairman.

Duppada Nammi Nayudu and Papi Nayudu are brothers, Kapus of good reputation, free from any extravagance or vices. There are two peculiar features of the life of Kapu ryots of this Taluq : (i) That drink of arrack, intoxicating liquor is strictly prohibited and the Kapu that trespasses this rule is at once put out of caste and on payment of heavy fine he is readmitted. There have been few cases in this place where the penal powers of caste were exercised, (ii) That the woman or wife of the managing member has complete management of family affairs. Most men do not know their family income or the cost of living. They pay up their earnings to the wives and they regulate the diet and domestic economy. It was therefore difficult for me to secure a male among small pattadars, as a competent person for purposes of cross-examination. By the help of the Mirasidar and the big ryots I was able to select an intelligent and typical ryot of the class. Tammi Nayudu pays a kist of Rs. 16-4-0, he holds a third share in the joint patta paying a kist of Rs. 47 exclusive of water-rate. On the wet lands paddy is raised. He has two sons, two daughters, a wife and two daughters-in-law. His first son has a male issue, the daughters had been married and went out of the family. The total extent of the wet land is two acres. Paddy green-gram

and summer ragi are the principal crops raised by him. The seed-grain reserved for his holding is two putties and half valued at Rs. 10 in ordinary seasons. He has a pair of buffaloes purchased for Rs. 40 last year, and owns a full set of implements for cultivation. The customary wages for the village smith and carpenter for making and repairing agricultural implements is one Panthum. He is in possession of a cow with a calf. The milk of the cow is used for the family and is of no other value to him, that is, he is not able to sell and make money out of it. In agricultural operations the women help him. His sons work in the fields and on completion of work in their holding they go out to work in other holdings and earn wages therefrom. One of the sons takes out cart for hire, the other goes out to work as field-labourer. The wages earned average four annas per day. The ryot employs labour during agricultural season, for removing seedling and for transplanting them. The wages paid for women varies from annas two to two and half. The total wages paid by him for paddy produce is Rs. 6, exclusive of the labour of his family members. For producing ragi he employs labourers for baling water for three days at a cost of Rs. 0-8-0 per day. In two and half months summer ragi crop is ready for harvesting. The son hiring out the cart earns on the average Rs. 0-4-0 per day. If the cart is taken out to the Railway Station, and distance of about eighteen miles, a charge of rupees one is paid out of which a fourth will be spent for feeding

the buffaloes and one-eight is paid for his own food, the balance eight annas remains as wages for three days. The produce of the land was 12 Putties last crop. One garce of paddy is sold at Rs. 85 now and 30 Putties make one garce. The value of paddy is Rs. 34. The family members take three meals a day, the male members two only. The first meal begins in the early morning and consists of Tarvani and a little cold rice left over in the previous night. It is this Tarvani Kunji that forms the most substantial part of the morning meal. The midday-meal consists of ragi ambali mixed with little rice; a bit of dried fish or green-gram boiled with salt and chillies forms the curry. Very occasionally, the son returning from his trip in bringing back the cart supplies fish worth half an anna and that is divided among the several members of the family. The ordinary meal for the day requires two addas of ragi and one adda of rice. The cost of ragi is Rs. 0-0-11 an adda, rice sells at Rs. 0-1-4 per adda. A full meal for the members required four addas of ragi flour and one or two addas of rice for the day and for the night and morning meal four addas of rice. Sometimes when wages are received fish and vegetables are purchased for half an anna, during season some vegetables are grown in the backyard of the house and on field bunds which are utilised for the family. Three pairs of cloths are purchased for the male members and a blanket once in two or three years. The cloths for the males cost Rs. 1-8-0 p r pair and for females

Rs. 2. The cloths are purchased at the shandy with an advance obtained from the sahakur which is repaid with interest at the end of the season. He got his sons married 15 years and four years ago respectively. In addition to rice and grain purchased from time to time he spent Rs. 60 for each marriage. The rate of interest payable is 18 per cent. per annum. Paddy and rice were also borrowed. The present rate of interest is 6 Putties for Rs. 100 per annum. During the period of kist the prevailing rate of interest is 36 per cent. but usually it varies between 18 per cent. and 24 per cent. It is interesting to note a peculiar custom prevailing in the caste. The nearest relatives of the family bring with them to the marriage house one Edum or five kunchams of rice and one cloth. Of course these presents are returned, in turn, to the relations but at distant periods. In the meanwhile the family in which the marriage is celebrated is helped to a large extent by the presents which are compulsory even on a poor man. The jewellery, gold or silver ornaments with the family is nil. The wife was deprived of her ear-rings for payment of debt to the village shop-keeper. Only one daughter-in-law has half a tolah of gold. The house is of three rooms with a thatched roof, which required rethatching every year at a cost of rupees three. Bamboos cost very much, three rupees for one hundred. The cost of fuel is prohibitive. The forest department sells coups to the contractor who stocks them and sells

at his own pleasure. Government fuel depots were a relief before, because the price was fixed per head-load or for a bandy-load. There are no brass pots in the house except two chembus purchased by the father some years before and four bell-metal bowls. It is very important for the Kapus class to celebrate the goddess festival immediately after the transplantation of paddy crop ; it is essential to sacrifice a fowl and a goat jointly with others and also offer a female cloth. At the first sowing season when the land is broken a fowl is sacrificed for the goddess of Earth. In some villages in the neighbourhood, Kapu ryots offer four sacrifices throughout the cultivation season. Further north among the Savara agriculturists there is a custom of offering she-buffaloes as sacrifice to the goddess at each stage of cultivating the land and raising crops, jointly by the villagers or individually by the leading ryot. It is reported that a Savara cultivator of the Mutta sacrificed sixteen buffaloes to appease the goddess Earth ! That mother Earth instead of enriching the fields and filling the granary consigned the reckless tiller of the soil to a state of indebtedness from which he has not yet recovered—a just retribution of justice against a reckless son of the soil. The dearth of fuel was already noticed, the forest charges for head-load of fuel are 0-1-0 and 0-2-0 for a female and male respectively. The charge for bandy load is Rs. 3. In consequence of the high rates agriculturists utilise the cattledung for fuel and are hardly able to place manure of any value on the land. The

sweepings of the cattle shed thrown into a pit form the only manure to recoup the exhausted soil of the holding. The ryot and his sons use tobacco, it costs them four pice a day. He was not able to send his sons to school but is willing to do so now if education is free. There is a lad on a salary of three putties a year for tending cattle, the cow and the buffaloes. He has now a debt of Rs. 50. The daily requirements of rice and ragi are purchased from a retail leader. On some days the family is content with one meal a day. In agricultural seasons the wages are Rs. 0-1-6 to Rs. 0-2-0 per female and Rs. 0-3-6 to Rs. 0-4-0 per male. Several ryots residing in his street sold their lands and left for Burmah and other places and others went and settled down as labourers in towns. Last year seven cultivators left the village. Uncertainty of living, shortness of food and burden of a holding as a means of securing credit are not factors which would tend to develop agricultural efficiency. Labour to be efficient must be well sustained, ryot to be contented must be properly fed when the food elements are deficient, improvement of rural life becomes impossible. Cultivators, ryots sell lands, Jirayati lands at Rs. 300 an acre and inam lands at Rs. 400. Asked why the price of land is going up when land fails to be remunerative the explanation offered is that land is no longer with cultivating classes, it has passed to landless classes, professional classes, who do not cultivate lands but invest their money on

land. Cultivators for want of any occupation or employment compete with one another and bid high, knowing as they do that they have to surrender even the Kudivaram share to satisfy the high rental. These vendors of lands became sub-tenants. Four hundred ryots sold their lands and were reduced to the class of sub-tenants. This ryot cultivates dry land kisted Rs. 14 and produces horse-gram and ragi. He realises 100 Putties of ragi and horse-gram worth Rs. 10 with which he paid kist. This year the ragi crop failed. Asked why sugar-cane cultivation has gone out of use in these parts, the reasons given are most extraordinary. Sugar-cane garden requires thick fence to protect the plants; large number of bamboos are required to prop the canes, the forest fees are so high that the ryots do not find it worth their while to raise the crop. This grievance so strongly pressed by all those that were present at the time requires careful investigation. But it is foreign to the scope of the present study.

		RS.	A.	P.
<i>Income</i>				
Produce from land	...	48	0	0
Paddy for raggi	...			
Cart hire	...	90	0	0
Wages of others number	...	30	0	0
	Rs.	168	0	0

Expenditure

Kist on land	...	16	4	0
Wages paid	...	7	8	0
Food	...	142	0	0
Oil, tobacco	...	6	0	0
Clothing	...	14	8	0
Feasts and festivals	...	4	0	0

Rs. 190 4 0

The cost of fuel is not included. In good years the yield from dry land will be more.

STUDIES IN VILLAGE ECONOMICS.

IV

Gowzu village is situated about four miles from the metalled road and lies near the sea-coast. The total area of the village is 1076 acres according to the re-settlement of fasli 1320. The population varied as follows :—In 1891 it had a population of 1009 and in 1901 the figure stood at 1057 and in 1911 it rose to 1216. This village is typical of the coast villages which lie along the east coast in the district exclusive of what are known as Uddanam villages where dry cultivation and Topes are the rule. There are fishermen in this village, known as Tyarpalli hamlet of Aruvapalli. The condition of these fishermen and of the cultivators who are of higher castes will be known from the study :—

The number of agriculturists, land-

holders and agricultural labourers was 591

In 1891

The number of agriculturists, etc., were .. 292

In 1901

There is a fall in number :— ... 268

In 1911

The class of labourers and “others” was gradually rising. The latter class showed in 1891 a strength of 210 and in 1901 the figure considerably swelled into 765 while in 1911 there was a further increase. The total number of pattadars ryotwari holdings in the year of re-settlement was 265 paying an assessment of Rs. 1910 5-1. The classification of ryotwari holdings may be seen from the following figures—

Ryots paying kist of one rupee and less ... 81

Ryots paying kist of ten rupees and less ... 141

Ryots paying kist of thirty rupees and less ... 32

About four-fifths of the ryots pay kist of Rs. 10 and less. The total agricultural stock (1909-1910) stands as follows :—

Bullocks ... 329

She-buffaloes ... 8

Cows ... 131

Young stock ... 171

No acres are set a part for the cattle stand and no acres for grazing ground. There are nevertheless 71 carts and 151 ploughs and 49 boats.

There was some difficulty in the selection of a cultivator but the Panchayat helped me in selecting proper ryot paying ten rupees and less to the Government as land revenue. The real state of things cannot

be got without persuasion. The object which we have in view has to be explained to them straight and then we have to cross-examine the ryot in the presence of Panchayat. The formation of a panchayat is necessary as a corrective influence over the deponent and to check him from going into by-paths or to exaggerate the situation. Bhikari Bissayi is a permanent resident of the village and owns land paying a kist of five rupees and cultivates further land for sharing with the landholder. He was working as a co-tenant with one Arjuna-Jenna for some years but now is independant and has set up his own cultivation. The family consists of two sons, two daughters and a wife. Ten *bharnams* and eight *novutis* of land forms the extent of his cultivation. The sons are aged 4 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ and the daughters 5 and 10 years. He cultivates paddy and uses seed grain of 10 *novutis*. The first period of agricultural operation begins in the month of Vysakha. He owns no bullock of his own, hires ploughs or works for another ryot from whom he borrows his bullocks and ploughs and cultivates his land. According to him he ploughs up the land six times before seeds are sown broad-cast. He transplants some portion of the holding. His wife and daughters help him in cultivation. They assist in breaking clods, removing weeds, and harvesting crop. He works as a labourer, farm servant during the season. In other seasons when agricultural labour is not available he works as an ordinary day labourer. Employment is very scarce. For half-day's

labour he earns Re. 0-1-3 and in special periods he is able to secure 0- 0 As. as wages. Labourers in agricultural season are paid at 0-2-6 per day and farm servants who work throughout the year are paid in kind at four *bharnams* to five *bharnams* a year. The price of paddy per *bharnam* is now Rs. 12. In addition by way of payment in kind the farm servant receives a pair of new cloths or a blanket in winter season. When there is urgent work in the field the landholder will feed the farm servants in agricultural season to get through the work quickly. Generally he is able to earn Rs. 3 a month in the shape of wages for all work done by him.

The produce from his holding is four *bharnams* a year in good season which is on the average Rs. 40 out of which he pays a kist of Rs. 6 and reserves ten *novutis* of seed grain which is Rs. 5; the balance includes the wages of his whole family throughout the year. The wages include the exchange value of his labour supplied to the neighbouring ryot for borrowing his cattle and plough—a system of mutual assistance in land-tillage. The food generally taken by the family is *ragi* which is sold at 17 seers per rupee, the present rate being 15 seers. *Ragi* flour is mixed up with broken rice and is made into a thick *kanji*. He purchases two cloths for his daughter at a cost of Rs. 2 for the year and for the wife two cloths at Rs. 2-8; for himself he has a pair of coarse cloth at Re. 1 the sons are not clad for most period, a pair of “*gavanchas*” at a cost of As. 9 is purchased occasionally which are used both by himself and the

lads. He provides himself with the clothing in the month of Margasira before the cold weather sets in, money is borrowed for the purchase of the cloth and is paid back by compulsory payment of half of the wages earned during the season and with interest at 4 pice per rupee per mensem. He has a debt of Rs. 10 owing to the local dealer in ragi and rice. The two daughters were married 10 and 3 years ago. He got the first son-in-law into his own house and spent Rs. 11 for the marriage expenses. It is instructive to know the details of expenditure ; (1) New pots and pans, (2) pair of cloths for the bridegroom Re. 1-8-6, (3) a cloth for the bride Re. 1, hire for the drums Re. 1 ; the marriage was over in a day. The second daughter was sent to the bridegroom's house and the cost of the marriage was Rs. 10. He obtained a loan from the village Sahukar, not being able to repay, a parcel of land was sold to discharge the debt with interest at 4 pice per mensem, that is at 25 per cent. per annum. His wife has a pair of ear-rings given by her parents worth Rs. 6 and a nose pin worth Rs. 4. The daughters have none except a hollow nose ring worth Rs. 3. He rebuilt the house ten years ago at a cost of Rs. 10 ; besides the labour of the family members and rethatching the house every two years costs him Re. 1. The daily necessities : salt, oil, tamarind and chillies cost him six pice, a pice worth of kerosine oil is utilised for two days. Lamp is lit when it is quite dark and is promptly put out after the night meal is finished which is usually at 8 P.M.

The daily meal consists of : (1) ragi gruel in the day without any admixture of broken rice, and (2) ragi gruel mixed with broken rice for the night. Two meals are taken for the whole day. The lads go out into the fields or to tank-bed and pick up green leaves or roots. They are prepared into a keera or kanji which takes the place of curry ; vegetables such as brinjal, green-plantains are a rarity and a luxury. A full meal for the family requires two addas of rice and two addas of ragi. He is now able to get one adda of ragi and the same of rice or broken rice. The raggi and rice are purchased from a local dealer. The first at $1\frac{1}{4}$ addas for an anna and rice at one adda per an anna. The first meal is taken at about 11 o'clock in the day, a morning meal is foregone in favour of the younger members of the family the remains of food kept over in the night is hardly sufficient for all the family members. The family, possesses a bell-metal bowl and two small cups, two bigger cups. The big bowl will cost Rs. 3 big cups Rs. 2 and small ones Re. 1. They have no fuel to use. The wife picks up grass weeds in the Tampara and cow dung is dried and collected for fuel. Tobacco is used by him for chewing, a pice for two days. In search of labour he goes to the principal town of the District at a distance from his village when there is no demand for labour in the neighbourhood of the village. There is a grant-in-aid school in the village, which is always full in non-agricultural season, one of his lads attends the school, though not regularly ; for he is a "charity" boy.

The schoolmaster demands no fees each month except what may be paid to him for *Dasarah* or *Sri Panchami* ; two annas or four annas. The average wages as indicated before is 0-2-6 per day for an adult. During harvest and agricultural seasons, wages are usually paid in paddy at three addas per day—one of his sons (the eldest who is dead) had gone to Burmah about four years ago ; he was there for two years and was remitting not less than twenty rupees a year. A loan of thirty rupees was raised for his passage and equipment, but he died in the third year. Large number of ryots and agricultural labourers from this village and from the neighbouring villages left their home in search of bread ; on the average about thirty people go away from the village and return after three or four years with some small savings after defraying the expenses of passage and food. During their stay in Burmah small remittances are made for the maintenance of the family. These emigrants raise money at 25 per cent. per six months or 50 per cent. per annum. If the money is not returned within the stipulated period compound interest is charged. He states that out of 360 days the family goes without any sort of meal for 60 days—on further cross-examination it was discovered that the man and woman of the family give up a meal in order to feed the little ones. The husband and wife are satisfied with some sag, leaves of creepers, aquatic plants in the Tampara or swamp cooked with tarvani and a thin mixture of broken rice. This year, fasli

1325, the land yielded only three novutis ! not even a third of seed-paddy expended on the land. He had no remission of kist. He is holding on to the land as he has nothing more to do and this brings him some credit in the village. Rarely any manure of value is used on the land ; ashes thrown into a pit in the backyard and street-sweepings are collected therein and stored. This rubbish is removed in baskets to the field. Including the preliminary tilling of the land, work on his field occupy him for 18 days with five days more for harvesting. But during the whole season he has to be watchful for irrigating lands and patching up bunds and removing weeds. The wife performs some viratams in the month of Margasira and Sravana. At that last Thursday of Margasira 0-6-0 is spent and on Sravana Pournami 0-4-0 is spent, besides these, the daughters receive four annas each. This is met by the savings which the woman can make out of pounding rice for others selling bran and occasionally selling vegetables grown in the backyard. During these festive days half an anna worth of dhol is purchased for the family, a rare luxury ! This is the type of a small agriculturist. The deficiency of all food requirements in the family dietary is clear.

STUDIES IN VILLAGE ECONOMICS.

V.

Pullata village is situated about three miles south east of Berhampore and two miles distant from the metalled road. The descriptive memoir of the village for fasli 1,320 discloses the following facts :—

The area by re-settlement is 1,146 acres. The population of the village is 1,635 according to the census of 1911 as against 1,810 shown in the censuses of 1901. The number of agriculturists in 1901 was 1,110 as against 1,249 in the year 1891. Between 1891 and 1910 there was a fall of about 140 ryots. Those who were agriculturists and land-holders in 1891 became landless in 1901 and there is a further fall by about 80 in the year 1911. This rapid fall is accounted for by the inability of ryots to cultivate the lands profitably and the consequent indebtedness and helplessness. Some holdings were sold for arrears of revenue, others were given up to Sahukars. The village officials in these parts do not bring the holding to sale directly under revenue rules ; a creditor is brought in to aid the ryot and the poor ryot is ultimately relieved of the holding by transfer to the Sahukar.

The ryotwari holdings in the year of re-settlement were classified as follows : Out of a total number of 286 pattadars in the village 203 pattadars pay assessment between Rupees one and less and Rupees ten and less. Those who pay Rs. 30 and

less but over Rs. 10 are about 65. The number of agricultural stock in the village according to the census of the year 1909-1910 is 373 out of which bullocks and he-buffaloes are 219 and cows 35. No land is reserved as cattle-stand and no land set apart for grazing. The cattle feed on patta lands after harvest season but during the cultivation season on small poromboke land. This is a subject which will be dealt with later.

The pattadar ryot is a permanent resident of the village and pays a kist of Rs. 6-8-0 for a land of 8 bharnams or ac. 1-60c. He had 15 bharnams three years ago but sold 7 bharnams to meet arrears of kist and for purposes of maintenance. He is also an agricultural labourer and the family consists of four persons, himself, wife and two sons. Paddy crop is raised on the land with a seed grain of 8 novuties or 96 seers. The first ploughing of the land commences in *ashadha* or *Jeyshtha* after "mango rains," with a pair of bullocks which cost him Rs. 20 and are exclusively used for ploughing. One of these was purchased two years ago for Rs. 5 the other for Rs. 15 a year back. He has no cows. Paddy crop is raised on part of the holding by transplanting seedlings. The agricultural implements consist of a plough, a yoke and a pair of traces or ropes. He is not able to own a levelling board or a *mamuti*, which is borrowed from his neighbour for his use during the season of transplantation. The two sons and the wife help him in cultivating the land. After the work on their holding is finished

they work as labourers. The father and the son get three annas each. Work will be available for two and half months during the season. The eldest boy is able to go out for work with the father. When there is no work they go out to pick "Boduva" grass to preserve it for weaving mats with. The grass is cut, dried and seasoned and stored away till summer when they engage themselves in weaving mats. Each mat occupies a week and is sold for three annas on the shandy day at Berhampore. From the month of Pooshya to Ashada employment of labour is scarce. The ryot has no cart to carry goods to the market for hire.

In good seasons, the holding produces one bandy of paddy, which fetches according to average rates at harvest season Rs. 30. The kist payable is Rs. 6-8 and 8 novuties of seed paddy to be reserved at a cost of Rs. 4. The cost of labour and of manure may also be deducted in order to arrive at the net profit.

The daily food is an interesting study.

(a) In the day "we are able to take only raggi gruel." "We are able to use one *adda* of raggi and one *adda* of broken rice"—one *adda* is equivalent to $\frac{3}{4}$ seer.

The cost of an *adda* of raggi is Rs. 0-1-0 and broken rice is Rs. 0-1-4. For a full meal we require one-and-a-half *addas* of raggi and three *addas* of rice or broken rice.

(b) For the evening, two *addas* of rice with raggi flour at a cost of Rs. 0-2-4 but for a full meal they require Rs. 0-5-0.

This does not include any curry or chutny. He buys a pair of cloths a year for himself at a cost of Rs. 1-4-0, for his wife one cloth and a gavanha at a cost of Rs. 2-8-0 and for his sons he spends Rs. 1-8-0 for their clothing. The savings made during the transplantation and harvest season are utilised at convenient intervals for the purchase of clothing. He had his two daughters married about ten years ago. The eldest daughter's marriage cost him Rs. 30. The bill runs as follows: Clothing for the son-in-law and daughter and relations Rs. 20: feeding charges Rs. 10 in addition to one bharnam of paddy borrowed from the Sahukar. The second daughter's marriage cost him Rs. 20 and one bharnam of paddy borrowed from the Sahukar. The eldest son was married three years ago at a cost of Rs. 20 and fifteen novuties of paddy borrowed from Sahukar. A portion of the land was sold to discharge these debts. The interest payable on cash loans is three pies per rupee per mensem and interest on paddy loans is at one toom per novuti per year or part of the year that is at 25 per cent. per annum. The jewellery of the family also indicates their condition. The wife has two gold nose rings at a cost of Rs. 3 and a pair ear-rings, valued at Rs. 5 pre cent by her parents at her marriage twenty years back. The utensils he possesses are one brass lota, (2) two bell metal cups (3) two bell metal mugs valued at Rs. 5. His thatched house of two rooms should be re-thatched once in two years at a cost of Rs. 2-8-0 exclusive of his labour.

The use of gingely oil is a luxury ; cheaper oil groundnut oil, of three pies is purchased for two days and one pie worth of kerosine oil for lighting the house from sunset to night meal time. The fuel used by the family chiefly consists of stumps of paddy plants picked in fields, dry leaves and cow-dung cake (varattis). Occasionally a few bundles of fuel are purchased from the forest depot which would be used for the whole year. His habits are quite temperate and the only luxury he indulges in is chewing a pice worth of tobacco for a day or two. Poor as he is, the second son was sent to the village pial school for sometime but as he has now grown up he is not able to spare him and cannot afford to pay school fee. For daily use raggi and rice are purchased on credit from the village retail shop. The arrears are gradually paid with interest and if the arrears are accumulated, a bound is executed in favour of the shop keeper. "We do not get a full meal every day, once in a week or ten days we can get a full meal for the family." The wife goes out into the fields and picks up leaves of *Tottidi* which are cooked into a broth. "Very rarely we get a brinjal or a drumstick." Most often the meal is eaten with a chutny made of salt, and tamarind. The wages for work done are paid in grain and cash. Wages in this locality vary from Rs. 0-2-6 to Rs. 0-4-0 on the average about Rs. 0-3-0. Fifty people from this village had gone out to Burmah and the Straits. Most of them borrow passage money at an interest of 30 per cent. per year or part

of a year and often working in foreign country for three years return with a small capital and take up land again for cultivation from the ryot who has become impecunious. It will be his turn now to leave the land and house to go out in search of labour and living. This is happening every year in these parts.

STUDIES IN VILLAGE ECONOMICS.

In a previous study a village along the east coast of the district was taken up and a family was selected for investigation of the economic condition of the agriculturists who owned dry and wet land and paid a kist of Rs. 22 to Government. The village was selected for study after careful investigation of similarly situated villages along the coast and the family selected also bears strong resemblance with many others in the village or villages. It would appear that this is an *a priori* method and a presumption is made in favour of a "typical" village and family, but I explained at length in the introductory note to show that the selection made out of several units with similar social and climatic conditions does not offend against the deductive method. The preliminary investigation and previous knowledge of the units does certainly enable the Investigator to select a typical village, the resemblance of other units being accepted in the preliminary work. In other words the method pursued by me is this: for a long time before selection of a village, the local

conditions of soil, climate, customs and conditions of agriculture of a large number of villages are studied with a view to find resemblance or contradiction and for a specified area a unit corresponding to others similarly situated is selected. This is the method adopted in the preliminary survey by a settlement officer who maps out the division and district into sections more or less conditioned similarly and then proceeds to group the firkas or taluqs under certain rules for purposes of investigation, classifies them according to facilities of communication, market, conditions of climate, soil and agriculture. With certain limitations therefore the method has all the advantages of a deductive method and avoids great delay and diffusion of energy. The following study will illustrate the points discussed above and will answer the difficulties raised in the discussion of the question recently in the Legislative Council of Madras. The method is not combur-some if enquiry is conducted on proper scientific lines without any prepossession or prejudice to support a theory or a proposition. Let us examine the economic condition of a village in Parlakimidi Zemindari—Kottur, in Sarvakota Thana.

Kottur is situated one mile from Narasannapeta-Parlakimidi Road—Bodavalsa hill lies close to it and Rangasagaram, otherwise known as Mattu-cheruvu irrigates its land. This tank though situated in the village of Karidi is a source of irrigation to about fourteen villages. About three years ago the village lands were surveyed and

record of rights was prepared, settlement of rent or assessment was fixed. The population of the village consists of three agricultural castes: 1. Talagas, 2. Velamas, 3. Malas. The non-agricultural castes are: 1. Chakali, 2. Segidi, 3. Mangali or barber. Seven families of Talagas are ryots and pattadars, eight families are unconnected with land and agriculture. There are two hundred people Valamas as cultivators and the same number have no land. Thirty families of Malas are agriculturists and twenty seven families live on agricultural labour. The population of the village in 1901 was 612, there were 102 occupied houses, 200 landowners, 42 agricultural subtenants, 58 agricultural labourers and 316 others. Eight infants, within six months after birth died. There is no dry land in the village, the entire land is irrigated by Sagaram and the village common or grazing ground is non-existent. Cattle are taken to Badavala hill for purposes of grazing as a portion of that hill is now disafforested by the Estate. Ryots pay at the rate of three annas per head of cattle annually to secure grazing rights. Two old mango topes and four cocoanut topes and about 25 trees in each complete the groves and shady shelters for men and cattle. There is a drinking water tank but cattle are washed in the channel leading from Ramasagaram. It is singular that there is no well at all. Difficulty is experienced in hot weather. The pattadar ryots cultivate lands themselves except in a few instances where a holding is sublet. Forty-eight families have no lands. Cash rents are

paid to the zamindar. The total extent of cultivable land and the total rent payable are ascertained. The holdings are small and very much sub-divided. Cess is levied for second crop at the rate of Re. 1-8-0 per acre. The major portion of the land is a single crop area. Summer ragi and gingelly are the two second crops raised. Gingelly crop is sown at about Sivaratri period and it is said to be ripe by Chaitram. The village raised sugarcane at one time and it was a profitable source of income to ryots but unfortunately owing to restrictions of forest rules inaugurated by the Court of Wards, this crop became costly to raise and so it was gradually abandoned. Two buffalo herds belong to Badena Simhadri and Rami Naidu are used for manura¹ purposes. Ploughs are made of babul and tamarind tree. The cost of a plough is fourteen annas. The charges paid to village carpenter for making pair of ploughs are one putti of paddy; plough share costs four annas cross pice twelve annas and yoke with traces costs annas eleven. The cost of making a cart is Rs. 70, a pair of buffaloes can be purchased for Rs. 100, on the average and pair of a bulls at Rs. 50. The price of buffaloes is rising high as people from Godavari District import them from the shandy at Sundarap^{tr}. There is a cattle mart at Sarvakota which meets on Tuesdays. With one plough lands yielding two garces will be cultivated. Twenty puttis is the highest yield of one acre of land. That is with one plough six acres of land will be cultivated if the bulls are good. Working cattle are fed

on paddy bran mixed with horse-gram. For about thirty days in the cultivation season poonaku is supplied to the bulls employed in the work. Paddy straw is the only food given daily to the cattle—when the forests were free cattle dung was entirely used as manure but owing to great restriction of rules relating to fuel and grazing the dung is used as fuel. Four cart loads of cattle manure is used per acre and four cart loads would be sufficient to cover one bharnam of land $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre. No green manure is used. The paddy crop is occasionally damaged by insect pests. In 1915-1919 locusts came and swept across the growing crops, the ryots were helpless. Cattle disease also caused havoc in the village. There is a simple treatment for foot and mouth disease. When the throat of a cow or bull is swollen, a green stick of the tree from which nuxvomica nut is taken is dipped in hot oil and applied to the throat. A dose of chilli powder in warm water also sets the animal all right. Fuel and wood is obtained by the villagers from Badavalsa, Bonthu, Mahasingi: these are about eight miles from the village. Forest tax is Re. 1-5 for a cart load of fuel. Wood cutters are paid, five persons, eight addas of paddy and $1\frac{1}{4}$ addas of rice each. That is seven and half addas of rice and 12 Kunchams of paddy making a total cost of Rs. 2-1-6 and if there be no cart of the ryot cart hire is charged at Re. 1-8-0. The forests are now reserved even for cutting wood for making ploughs. The price of fuel is therefore Rs. 4-14-6 a cart load which may

roughly contain about half a ton of wood. There are no tiled houses in the village. The ryots buy provisions from a shandy at Sarvakota. The price of salt and cloth rose enormously high. One adda of salt is sold for 0 1-6 and 0-2-0. Merchants from Sarvakota buy paddy in the village. These Banyas advanced money to ryots and contracted to buy paddy at low rates during harvesting season when the ryot wants money. Annually about ten garces is estimated to be paid to Sahukars for interest. The price which the Sahukar accepts is Rs. 70 when the price at other places or markets is Rs. 80 per garce. The customary wages are paid in kind, a female labourer receives 6 addas, a male labourer is paid 8 addas; these are the prevailing rates during the cultivation season which is about two months in transplantation period and one month in harvest time. Ryots are in debt. Interest is charged at twelve per cent. per annum. But paddy interest in kind is charged at five kunchams per putti, that is $7\frac{1}{2}$ puttis per garce payable from cultivation season to the month of Magha, harvest season. It was calculated that ten garces or at the rate of Rs. 70 a garce, Rs. 700 go out of the village annually towards interest. Capitalising it at 12 per cent., the principal amount would be about six thousand rupees. About 7 or 8 families, cultivators, Malas, left their holdings and had gone to Burma. There is only a small aided school; about fifteen pupils are within the doors and more boys would go into it if better facilities are given.

Bona Ramanna owns $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wet land and acre 1 manvari land. He uses 13 pattis of seed paddy and uses ten cart loads of other manure for seed beds with one cart load of ashes, the total cost being about Rs. 5-8-0. He pays Rs. 23 to the Zamindar. He raises a second crop on one and half acres. The ryot possesses one pair of buffaloes and one pair of bullocks. He hires out his bandy, to go to Tilaru or Parlakimidi. The cart hire to Tilaru is eight annas and to Parla it is Rupee one. If he carries merchandise to Chicacole he gets a fare of Rs. 2. The cart is plied by him about eight times a year during summer. On the average other ryots may use it for 30 days. He pays labour during transplantation season at ten addas per day for plucking seedlings, twenty-five men are engaged. For every putti of seeds, thirteen tooms are paid. For weeding out labour is paid at five kunchams per acre. For harvesting, reaping, he pays at thirty tooms per acre. One putti is equivalent to 20 kunchams. In addition to the labour thus engaged all the members of the family work on the lands. A farm servant is employed on daily wages of two kunchams. The ryot has a debt of Rs. 1,000 ; interest is running at nine per cent ; he paid fifteen puttis already and intends to sell two acres of land in discharge of the debt. The price of land which he is cultivating will sell at Rs. 300 per acre, good land—other land at Rs. 500. The yield per acre is 20 puttis. The highest assessment paid is Rs. 6 per acre. The family of the ryot consists of himself, two

wives, an adult son and a child. They feed on three addas of rice in the day and three addas in the night, six addas per day costing Rs. 0-7-6, ragi of the value Rs. 0-1-6 is also consumed. Every week the ryots buy lamp oil and gingelly oil Re. 0-12-0 and kerosine oil 0-2-0, tamarind, chillies, turmeric, salt, condiments cost him 0-8-0. Cloths of the value of Rs. 14 are purchased for himself and his son and Rs. 12 for his two wives. The wives have two tolas of gold on their pers on four brass lotas and four bell-metal cups complete the utensils of the family. The family budget therefore stands thus :

Income from eight and half acres of irrigated wet and one acre of rain-fed wet at 20 puttis and 15 puttis per acre respectively yields six garcés of paddy which at Rs. 80 per garce amounts to Rs. 480. The value of second crop, gingelly, income from cart hire and sale of straw amount to Rs. 58. Thus the total income is Rs. 538. The charges stand as follows: Seed paddy ten puttis, manure cost him Rs. 38-6-0 and kist payable to Zamindar is Rs. 23-0-0. Wages paid for transplantation, weeding, and reaping amount to Rs. 86. The feeding expenses of the family as detailed above 6 addas of rice and one adda of ragi per day amount to Rs. 202-8-0. The cost of oil, chillies, turmeric and other sundries is Rs. 66-0 0, cloths cost him Rs. 26-0-0. The charges of feeding cattle Rs. 24, cost of fuel Rs. 9-13, special expenditure, or feasts and festivals Rs. 8-0-0 and interest on loan Rs. 90. The total expenditure amounts to

Rs. 573-11-0. There is a deficit of Rs. 35 every year. The ryot intends to sell two or three acres of his land to discharge the debt. But the deficit will continue to accrue and the load of indebtedness will not be relieved. It is commonly argued, I believe without a full understanding of the social habits of the people of this province, that ryots give fabulous stories of their feeding charges. That this is not sound was proved in the previous studies wherein I detailed the several items of food—element given in jail diet. The scale of jail diet was scientifically prepared by experts, albumen, proteids, carbohydrates, sugar and other food element weighed and given out. Applying the same standard to the budgets-already discussed there is no exaggeration in the matter of feeding expenses. The food-element is made up by quantity instead of quality. The ryot is not able to get dhol, vegetables, oil and condiments &c., in proportion. To create and sustain energy which is required for field work, and rough work, greater quantity than a scientific standard bill-of-fare would admit of is required. The ryots are not gluttons and greedy folk. They are careful and frugal in their expenses and will not waste. The suggestion that the feeding charges are fabulous does not stand examination. I studied a large number of scientific menu prepared in the book by Mr. B. S. Rowntree "How the Labour Lives" a study of rural condition of labour in England. The budget estimates of feeding charges do not support the suggestion that the ryots over

estimate the charges of food as they like and live on more food than is required for them in their condition of life.

PART III.

RESOLUTION *RE* INQUIRY INTO THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF AGRICULTURISTS IN TYPICAL AREAS IN THE PRESIDENCY.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. KRISHNA RAO :—Your Excellency, I have the honour to move the following resolution :—

“1. This council recommends that the Governor in Council be pleased to direct a public inquiry as to the economic condition of the agriculturists in a few typical Government, zamindari and inam villages in the Presidency.”

* * * * *

“Mr. A. P. Patro rendered valuable service by making elaborate inquiries as to the economic condition of some villages in Ganjam district and the result of his labours were published in the “Hindu”, from time to time. Some of his views were embodied in the paper read by him at the meeting of the economic association held on the 11th January last.

“After Mr. Patro read his paper, Your Excellency as President of that meeting pointed out some omissions and shortcomings in the investigation carried on by him and suggested further examination of that subject. Dr. Gilbert Slater on the other hand contradicted some of the statements made by him with reference to the information he obtained

though he was not pleased even to disclose the name of his informant.

"Some of us have made some inquiries and have personal experience about the economic condition of the people in some other villages, we have come into contact with. I also believe that the ordinary average agriculturist is in a poor condition and that he is often involved in debt beyond his means.

"The problem before us is how to conduct such inquiries so as to inspire the confidence of the Government and so as to induce them to take necessary action thereon.

"I would gladly urge the co-operation of officials and non-officials in carrying on inquiries of this description. The information of the officials is mostly based on official returns and on information received from the village officers. It is now admitted by Mr. Slater on all hands that an enquiry into the economic condition of agriculturists is useless unless it is based on or accompanied with a close examination of the family budget of typical villagers. The non-official has better opportunities of obtaining correct information from the villagers than the official because he would move with and among them and because he comes into contact with them in various capacities. That would, in my opinion, be the most desirable method to be adopted in conducting such inquiries. I have however, not definitely suggested that machinery in this resolution in view of the difficulties we have generally experienced in inducing

the Government to appoint committees of officials and non-officials on such questions. I however want that the inquiry should be not a private one carried on by mere correspondence between an official and another but a public one so as to give due opportunities of and facilities to the public to make effective representations on the subject.

"I am limiting the scope of the inquiry to some typical villages in the presidency. An economic inquiry throughout the presidency would involve considerable delay. There are also several difficulties in carrying on a proper and satisfactory inquiry in all the districts and in all the villages at one and the same time. It will be really better if a few typical villages in various districts of the presidency are selected preferably in consultation with non-officials and if investigations are carried on there in a satisfactory manner."

"I hope and trust that there will be no difficulty in the Government making up its mind to accept this resolution. The resolution leaves the Government free to start with the best materials available. The only thing is that an opportunity should be given to all the people interested in the village community to make themselves heard and represent their views."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Row Said.

All that we ask for in this resolution is whether this 60 per cent. of these small holders of land have the where withal to put by any savings. As very aptly pointed out in this discussion reported in the

journal of the East India Association, in which Sir Arundel Arundel and Mr. Pennington took part, the problem really is whether the poorer agriculturist could have any surplus left except at the expense of his stomach. How could that be ascertained? My friend Mr. Patro made some statements and Dr. Gilbert Slater contradicted him and pointed out that the source of his information was not reliable. We are faced with this difficulty. Most of us believe that the lot of the poorer agriculturists requires consideration; that an enquiry such as this would lead to agrarian legislation such as that undertaken in other Provinces and would also lead to a revision of the present methods of assessment. If an enquiry such as this is suggested it is for all these purposes and not for making out any case either political or semi-political against the Government of this country. Therefore, I appeal to your Excellency that the enquiry such as the one suggested in this resolution ought to be made as early as possible. Here we are faced with certain facts and I believe that an impartial committee would be better able to thresh out the facts which really arise for consideration, so that remedial measures may be taken.

The Hon'ble M. E. Couchman Said.

"The subject of detailed village inquiries seems to be in fashion now. Honourable members have read some account of an inquiry made in England by people like Mr. Rowntree; and Mr. Patro's inquiry in Ganjam has been made somewhat on that model. Mr. Rowntree's inquiry was not a

public inquiry. Mr. Rowntree was a large employer of labour in York and the inquiry was made with a large staff of private individuals, who did it as a labour of love. I am sorry to have to add that there are many people who entirely dispute the accuracy of his figures. I have recently read—suspecting that this debate would be with reference to it—Mr. Patro's paper, which he read before the Madras Economic Association; and it affords me the strongest ground for thinking that no useful purpose would be served by any such inquiry as the one suggested. The results of Mr. Patro's inquiry only confirm me in my disbelief in the possibility of finding out the truth about the status of the agriculturists by direct inquiry. I see that in the first case his informant told him that the yield of the wet land was 660 lb. of paddy in one case and 270 in another while he used no less than 135 lb. of seed per acre. That would show that it is much better to eat his seed than to sow it. The same man told him that ragi was the staple food of the family and the rice meal was only occasionally available at night; but all the same he said that he expended $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of rice per day on food in addition to ragi. This would suffice, according to the jail scale of feeding, for ten adults; but in this case the household consisted of two adults, four children and one old woman.

"In the second case the man told Mr. Patro that the average yield of his wet land was Rs. 10 per acre, or 818 lb., while his dry lands yielded 1,260 lb. per acre and profit of Rs. 25 per acre. He

consumed $11\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of dry grain for a family of four persons of whom only two seem to be adults. The item of medicine to mitigate the effects of this excessive diet seems to have been omitted in both budgets, though I feel sure that must have been necessary.

"I have great respect for Mr. Patro. I have known him for many years ; and why I criticise his report is that I do not think any inquiry would yield any useful result in this country. I have considerable experience of making such inquiries and I know that they will never elicit any reliable information about matters so vital to the ryot, as the yield of his lands and the cost of cultivation. My deliberate opinion is that it is almost impossible to arrive at the truth by any regular public inquiry.

"Ryots are, by nature, very secretive ; and they distrust any one questioning them about their private affairs. In that they are not singular. You and I feel the same thing. If the Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao should bring a committee of officials and non-officials to my house and question me about my incomings and outgoings, I greatly fear that they would fail to arrive at the whole truth. In my case, it is very easy to find out my income, but it is not easy to find out all my expenses. We are all weak creatures and are well aware that in our annual budgets there are many items which, if published abroad, would excite the disapprobation or amusement of our friends and acquaintances. We are averse to the details of our private budgets being

published or being inquired into by a Committee of Commissioners. I should not like that my bills from the Madras Club should be published in the *Madras Mail* or in the *Hindu*. I know that several Honourable members will have the same objection as regards the bill they get from the Cosmopolitan Club or from the D'Angelis Hotel. This is a deep-seated instinct among all of us ; and as regards the ryot it is more deep seated, because he fears that the answers he may give will have some effect upon his future income. He thinks that such inquiries can only have the effect of raising the Government assessment. I know that we all have our own ways of evading inconvenient questioners. I myself or the Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao would probably be rude and tell our questioners to mind his own business. The ryot is too polite for this and so he gratifies the thirst for knowledge and at the same time thoroughly protects his own interest by giving free rein to his fancy, and this is evidently what has occurred in the case of the Victims selected by Mr. Patro,—they took good care not to let him know what their income and expenditure was. What I submit is that, when considering the capability of a tract of country to bear taxation, the Government can only consider facts which are not capable of dispute, and which are best ascertained from documentary evidence, such as we have in abundance in the revenue registers showing transfer, etc., registered sale and lease deeds, bonds, census figures and any other statistics, prepared in the ordinary

course of trade and business, and not got up *ad hoc*. Suppose you were to go to a village to make the inquiry suggested, what kind of information will the committee get? Every ryot who appears before the committee to give evidence will feel that it is his duty to defend the interests of the villagers; and he would come fully prepared not to tell the truth but to defend the village, for he will be blamed for the rest of his life if he did not give the impression that the village was in a state of despair and poverty. Many Honourable gentlemen are members of the legal profession and they know very well the section in the Indian Evidence Act which deals with the exclusion of oral by documentary evidence; there is no section dealing with the exclusion of documentary by oral evidence. Is it not a kind of treason to their learned profession to advocate such a disregard of the first principles of evidence? The documentary evidence regarding the economic position of agriculturists is full. Honourable Members do not like the figures which are beyond dispute—figures of registration showing the value of land from time to time, the rentals which it commands, the conditions on which it is rented out, the amount that the man borrows on it, the extent to which he is in debt, in how many cases he sells his land and what class of people buy it. We have such unimpeachable evidence in the documents of the registration and Revenue Department, and yet Honourable Members do not like it, because it lends no support to their case that the

agriculturist is going to ruin. What they want is a vague general inquiry in which they can set up oral and most untrustworthy evidence against the most unimpeachable documentary evidence. That is a position which, as the Honourable Members will see, it is impossible for the Government to accept—to have untrustworthy oral evidence given by people who are interested in concealing the truth, set up against the documentary evidence regarding the truth of which there can be no doubt. You are asking the Government to accept an absurdity. For the reasons I gave before, there will be no chance at arriving at the truth by means of a public inquiry.

RESOLUTION RE-EXAMINATION BY
SETTLEMENT OFFICER OF THE ECONOMIC
CONDITION OF A FEW TYPICAL FAMILIES
IN THE TYPICAL VILLAGES.

The Hon'ble Mr. K. RAMA AYYANGAR moved:—

“VII. This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that, in future, settlement officers be requested to examine the economic conditions of a few typical families in a few typical villages of the area proposed to be settled and the same be added as a part of the scheme report.”

“My Lord, I must mention here that in Madura, a philanthropic gentleman, the professor of Economics of the American College, Mr. Saunders, took up this question and took up three villages. He gives the names of the villages. The first village is Palanganatham which is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles

from the centre of Madura, where the influence of Madura is considerably felt. Then he took up another village, Sholavandan, a growing village, which has the advantage of the Periyar irrigation and which has a very rural and fertile appearance. He took also Sathangudi, a village 15 miles from Madura, away from the railway, and removed from even the main trunk roads. He examined in each village three families of the class I referred to. He did not take up the number of revenue pattas they had, but he relied on the number of acres held by each of these people and his general conclusions he laid down in full. The main point about which I am concerned here is indebtedness. About that he says :—"Indebtedness is an actual curse in every village. People more or less seem callous to it. They do not seem to understand the enormous rates of interest they are paying, how that cripples their working capital, and lessens their powers of production. Diminished production means less wealth and capital. And no country can become industrially and commercially great which has the great majority of its population continually in debt." My Lord, that is the conclusion he arrives at after a thorough examination of the condition of these villages. My object in placing it before the Government is that it may be that in the Madura district the villages are so ; but in South Arcot it may be quite different ; and in Godavari it might be quite different. But this examination will give an idea to the Government to decide what assess-

ment might be imposed in the several tracts. In the case of persons who cannot sell their produce but have to live upon their little produce, they may be given some consideration if in spite of their labour they are deeply indebted; and if they have no other go the Government will have to protect them. It may be in other cases there are great industrial resources. If their economic condition is quite good the Government need not be anxious about their being enabled to pay whatever assessment that might be imposed upon them, because the other income makes up for the bad or poor produce from the land. I do not say merely because a few ryots are indebted the Government must come to the conclusion that they should relieve them. I do not contend for that position. Other circumstances will also be considered in the course of the consideration of the economic condition of the family in connection with the family budget and that will help us to know how much they get by other means and how much they are able to resist the conditions that are adverse to them. If irrespective of the decision of the settlement officers, the families are helpless the Government need not lower the actual assessment levied in these tracts because there may be other circumstances which might outweigh it. But these are matters which ought to be known by the Government and the Revenue Board before definite conclusions are arrived at. My real point, therefore, is that for understanding the situation we must have all the materials; and this is a

material which ought not to be lost sight of. Any amount of general conclusions would not help us. It is just likely that in industrial towns and in places where we have large commerce and other things, the ryots do not care for the yield of the land and are willing to be burdened and will not relinquish the land but pay assessment. But in other villages people may take only one meal a day—I know that some people generally take only one meal in the day time and at the other times take only some *kuzu* which they mix with two measures of water and quench their thirst. In those cases in remote tracts, where agriculturists are really poor, where they do not have large holdings and hold only Rs. 10, 20 and 30 pattas, they may be given special consideration by the Government; and the settlement officer, and the Board may recommend that in case of persons holding less than Rs. 10 or 15 pattas there need be no increment. I do not say that it necessarily follows from it. But there are matters that must be within the knowledge of the Government before a correct decision can be arrived at in regard to assessment. These are materials which are necessary for judging of the position fairly correctly.

The Hon'ble Mr. L. E. BUCKLEY:—“Your Excellency, both the proposer and the seconder of the resolution have described what they want as a modest request. I dare say they think also that it will be a simple matter to carry out what they suggest. But if they go into details, I do not think

they will consider that the matter is so simple as they would have us believe. We are asked to make an inquiry among the typical families in typical villages of the districts to be resettled. There may be some consensus of opinion as to what is a typical village, though even on that point there is a possibility for difference of opinion. When we come to what is a typical family, I think there is very great room for differences of opinion. You have to consider what the size of the family should be ; you have to consider how many of them are to be women, how many to be men, how many adults and how many children. Beyond that you have to take into consideration the personal equation of the managing member of the family. One member may be lazy and idle ; another may be a very enterprising and hardworking fellow ; another may be a spendthrift and another may be a miser. Supposing you make your inquiry, your results may be likely to be attacked on any one of the grounds I have suggested.

“Let us suppose you have found a typical family in a typical village. Let us see if there is any possibility of getting any valuable result. Any inquiry of this kind, however sympathetically it may be carried out, must in the very nature of things be inquisitorial, and I think it is inevitable in such a case that a certain amount of annoyance and resentment must be roused. It is more likely to be the case when such an inquiry is conducted by an official. You yourselves heard some remarks which

the Hon'ble Mr. Couchman made at the February meeting of this Council on the same point. I was absent myself on that occasion. But I wish to associate myself with what he said then. If an official or a non-official should come to my house and wish to pry into my private affairs, I should tell him very forcibly as politely as I could that he might go somewhere else. There is some danger of resentment and annoyance being occasioned in villages if such an inquiry is conducted, specially by an official. Holding the view I do about prying into private matters, I should be very loath to undertake any work which might expose the head of the family, even though he might be the head of a typical family in a typical village, to an annoyance which I myself should resent.

"Supposing the inquiry was undertaken, it is possible, it is likely, that we shall get a lot of information which is quite unreliable although it is given in the best of good faith. These people amongst whom we make inquiries will not be able to account in detail for their expenses for four or five years. An inquiry has to be extended over a fairly long period. Beyond that, there will be a class of men who will feel resentment and annoyance at the inquiry and who may with deliberate purpose either withhold valuable information or place before us information which will be misleading. They will be perfectly free to do this. They are not bound to answer our questions. Nobody knows whether they are telling the truth or not.

"Supposing we went still further and we arrived at a conclusion which might be satisfactory to Government. Is there any guarantee that the result of this inquiry would be accepted by anybody outside the circle of Government? We should find that every item of this family budget is attacked; the outturn of the land would probably be said to be placed too high; the price of the produce to be placed too high; and the cost of cultivation to be placed too low. Then there would be the subsidiary occupations undertaken by all members of the family to make a living after the cultivation season. The results of the inquiry upon this point will be attacked and it will be said that the subsidiary occupations are not generally prevalent, that the remuneration for such occupations is placed too high, and that such occupations are not available for so long a period as stated. Again, it might be said, on the other side, that we have not allowed a sufficient margin for the necessities of life, whether for food, clothing or housing, and that we made no allowances for those little things which cannot be strictly classed as necessities but which can scarcely be classed as luxuries. Even supposing we were able to arrive at a conclusion which might satisfy the Government, I do not think we shall be able to satisfy the other side.

"For all these reasons it seems to be not a profitable task to undertake such an enquiry as the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar wishes to impose upon us. Mr. A. P. Patro, whose name is well-known to

you, has conducted an experiment of this kind, and he said the only way to get any accurate information was to go and live in villages amongst the villagers. Such a course would be absolutely impossible for Government servants. Such an enquiry into the economic condition of such families is better conducted by private persons like Mr. Patro and Dr. Gilbert Slater. For these reasons I am instructed by Government to say that they cannot undertake the duty which the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar wishes us to undertake as a part of the resettlement operations."

The Hon'ble Mr. LL. E. BUCKLEY further replied :—"Your Excellency, one of the questions which have been put is how can the economic condition of a tract be enquired into unless you go into the details? In regard to such an enquiry as we have, it has been based upon records which are incontrovertible such as the areas of cultivation, their increase or decrease from year to year, sale prices of land, lease values of land and the general prices of grain. It is true we have not gone further into the matter of details because it has not seemed possible to do so. The enquiry has been limited to ascertaining the general economic condition of the tract based on such items as I have mentioned. I may add the amount of goods traffic and the amount of industrial crops in a particular locality may also be useful guides. It has also been said that Mr. Gray has been making an economic enquiry of a kind which shows that such

an enquiry can be made. Mr. Gray's enquiry has not been an easy one but it has been nothing like so difficult as the one which the Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Ayyangar wishes to have.

There are two parties when enquiring into the wages of the agricultural labourer. There is the employer and the employed. If one party makes an incorrect statement there is the other party to correct it. There are the materials to enable one to come to a judicial conclusion. The Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achariyar offers a solution of the difficulty by the omission of the word 'typical'. There is no doubt that the omission of the word very much simplifies any enquiry that might be undertaken. If these words are omitted along with some other words, I am instructed by Government to accept the resolution which is proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Ayyangar. He referred to the excellent work done by Mr. A. P. Patro in Ganjam. We have also seen the results of his enquiry. Even he who was looked upon as a friend of the ryots has evidently got hold of some facts which another enquirer will not accept. I do not know whether members of this Council are aware that when resettlement is conducted there is an enquiry made into the condition of—I won't say typical villages—selected villages, a dozen or half a dozen villages, in each district and the Settlement Officer makes the enquiry himself. The results are not published. The enquiry is made with a view to help the Settlement Officer to come to his conclusion. They are

at the disposal of the Settlement Member of the Board of Revenue and the Government. These do not go into detail with regard to the personal budgets of individuals, but they show how the area of cultivation has grown from year to year or decreased from year to year and they show very clearly how the land has passed out of the possession of one caste to that of another, and how it is passing from the hands of the richer to those of the poorer or from those of the poorer to those of the richer. We have this information which may be taken for what it is worth. It is not complete, but it is based on figures which cannot be controverted because they are based on public documents.

MADRAS COUNCIL.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF AGRICULTURISTS.

The Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew said that under the rules, economic enquiry was about to be taken in each of the Districts by the settlement officer where resettlement was to take place. In such districts the enquiry asked for in the resolution was unnecessary. Public inquiry in the nature of forest committee was a cumbrous procedure, and truth would not come out. Government would give any help to an enquiry of the nature which Mr. Jack made in Bengal. If the Hon'ble Mover would drop the word "public" before the word "inquiry" he the speaker would have no difficulty to meet him. The inquiry made by Mr. Jack was not

public inquiry, Mr. A. P. Patro was a genuine worker, but the villagers told him fabulous stories about their requirements. They told him that they wanted three pounds of grain per head whereas the actual quantity required was only one pound per head. Government would be delighted to ask Dr. Gilbert Slater to do the scientific investigation. He was not an official, but the University Professor of Economics. Mr. Slater made inquiries and published his report, but that did not fit in with the views of the politicians. The results of those enquiries were misused by politicians. Simply because he showed that the income per head had increased since 1901 when Lord Curzon stated it was Rs. 30 per head per annum his figures were criticised. Government wanted to get at the truth and they were prepared to adopt a method by which they were likely to find out the truth. This was an inopportune time to appoint a Committee as recommended in the resolution. While Government were delighted to have an economic inquiry under proper and scientific conditions in select villages, they wanted to avoid having public inquiry asked for in the resolution. They were prepared to approve of the Settlement Officer making proper scientific inquiry, or to approve of Dr. Gilbert Slater, or of Mr. Patro, carrying on his inquiry. They could not possibly agree to the resolution which asked for quite a different thing. They did not wish to stifle inquiry, and did not want to prevent anybody from carrying on an inquiry.

The Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Row said that Mr. Jack was himself a settlement officer. He was asked to prepare a record of rights. In carrying on his duties in regard to the record of rights Mr. Jack went further and utilised the same staff practically to the economic inquiry in the district of Faridpur. That inquiry was not ordered by Government, but it was conducted by a Government Officer trained to sift facts and compile statistics. He was in close touch with the agricultural population and was carrying with him the prestige of Government, which meant a great deal in this matter. It was said by Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew that a committee of inquiry of the nature of the Forest Committee would not be able to discover the truth. He the speaker begged to differ from him. If it was thought that the procedure would be cumbrous a much simpler procedure might be adopted. So far as he could see, neither Mr. Patro nor Dr. Slater could undertake satisfactory inquiry such as that which the Hon'ble Mover had at heart, however genuine and disinterested investigators they might be. To make a thorough inquiry into the total debt of the cultivators, their total earnings, into the question who were above starvation, and who were below starvation, which families were in comfort and which families were not in comfort, what proportion of the population was living in comfort and what proportion was living below comfort, all that was impossible unless Mr. Slater or Mr. Patro was assisted by a large settlement party.

Unless that was done their compilation or information could not lead to any satisfactory results. Dr. Slater's articles contained some figures and conclusions as to the cause of poverty and they had been challenged by some of the investigators in Madura and by others also. The Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew need not on that account to put it down to the tendency of politicians to pervert facts or distort the truth or to exaggerate the defects of British administration. Unfortunately politicians should figure not only in this resolution but in a number of resolutions now and then. Politicians must be brought in some how or other in the discussion of this council. That apart, he would suggest for the consideration of Sir Alexander Cardew that he might instruct one of the settlement officers and his party to undertake an inquiry on the line suggested undertaken by Mr. Jack, when proceeding with the impending resettlement operations in one of the districts. The question of indebtedness of the ryot should be solved and Government should do much more than saying that they would welcome Mr. Patro or Mr. Slater to conduct the inquiry. The question of the economic condition of the ryot had been strongly urged in this Council for a long time and ought to be put on a workable basis. In the interests of sound administration and in the interests of solving the agriculturists indebtedness Government must have facts and figures. Mr. Gray's report threw a flood of light on the present condition of agricultural labourers and showed the

extent to which inquiry by a Government officer assisted by a number of other officers had resulted in placing before Government a mass of facts upon which it would be possible to take action. Supposing Dr. Slater or Mr. Patro compiled some statistics which might be thorough, what guarantee was there that those statistics and figures would be accepted by Government. Whatever might be the nature of the inquiry—public, semi public, or private—the inquiry should be one which would sift facts thorough by. The experience of many of the official members of the council might be made available on the present occasion. The question was one of great importance. The Viceroy in his closing speech in the Imperial Legislative Council introduced a new and wholesome departure by permitting official members to place their experience before Government in important discussions in the Imperial Council. He the speaker would appeal to His Excellency to make a similar departure in this council on the present occasion and to permit official members of the council to place their views on the question whether this inquiry might be usefully and satisfactorily conducted. He would therefore like to have a more satisfactory statement from the Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew.

