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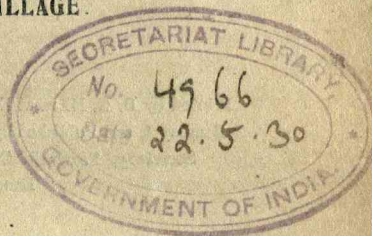


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A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY  
of  
A KONKAN VILLAGE.



BY

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

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## FOREWORD.

I am glad to accept the suggestion of Mr. Ranade to associate myself with this interesting volume by saying a few words about it.

India is a land of villages. The study of Indian economic conditions is, therefore, mainly a study of the economic life of the villages of India. This study is obviously the necessary precedent to the economic uplift of this great but poor country. It does not, therefore, require any elaborate argument to emphasise the importance of a detailed intensive study of the conditions of life in Indian villages. In saying this it is not intended to minimise the importance of the study of other equally important aspects of Indian economic development.

The pioneer work in this connection has been done in this Presidency by Dr. Harold Mann, whose famous village surveys will be the guiding lights of all future workers in this unlimited field. The spirit of Dr. Mann's work in the south has as it were flown to the north. The rural section of the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry is making organised efforts to do similar work in that Province, and has at present a programme of at least one village survey in each District. The Punjab imbibed the spirit of Bombay; Bombay must adopt the methods of the Punjab.

Though such desirable organised work has not yet begun in Bombay, it may be pointed out that signs are not wanting to show that a gradual development in the right direction is going on. Mr. Ranade worked as a research student of this School under my guidance during the years 1922-24. His work which forms the subject matter of this book, was submitted as a thesis for the M. A. degree of this University in 1924. Regarding the merits of the work, I can do no better than refer to the remarks of the examiners—"The thesis is an excellent piece of research work, showing an



almost unexpected grasp of the principles and methods of first-hand social and economic investigation. In a few places the candidate has allowed his statement of opinions to go beyond his data, but generally the papers submitted form a thoroughly scientific discussion of data carefully collected and presented. We congratulate Mr. Ranade on his work and the University on the possession of such a promising economic investigator."

As another illustration of the gradual development of such work, it may be pointed out that a research scholar in this School is at present engaged in the study of the social and economic conditions of a village in the Surat District.

Along with Mr. Ranade, those who are interested in such work will feel grateful to the authorities of the Provincial Co-operative Institute, Bombay, for kindly undertaking the publication of this book. The wider outlook of the Institute in connection with such economic investigation has been manifested in the enquiry conducted under their auspices in the Districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri, and more recently in the Pardi Taluka of the Surat District. I trust that the time is not distant when such independent efforts will be co-ordinated, and this important work carried on in an organised manner, in view of the fact that the Institute is already considering plans in this direction.

*School of Economics,  
University of Bombay, }  
March 1927.*

C. N. VAKIL





## PREFACE

What follows is an attempt to depict, as correctly as possible, the prevailing state of affairs in a typical Konkani village. Away from the gaze of public workers, the Konkani farmer leads his lonely life in his far-off village, unhampered by the feverish activity, so characteristic of big cities like Bombay. Having devoted myself to the cause of the Konkani Education Society, an educational body whose sole aim is the uplift of the masses in the Konkani by the spread of education, I was brought in direct contact with the Konkani villagers, which would not have been possible otherwise. I shall consider it a sufficient reward, if this publication succeeds in attracting the attention of social workers, to the great and urgent need of devoting some of their time to solve this vital national problem of revitalising village life.

I feel that the survey has not been as comprehensive as one would wish it to be. But it would have been difficult to present even these facts but for the guidance and help of several friends. Professor C. N. Vakil, who so kindly consented to write a Foreword to this book, was mainly instrumental in inspiring this work, and in enabling me to give a definite shape to my vague ideas on the subject, by continuous sympathetic criticism and encouragement during all its stages. I have also derived much help from Professor N. V. Kanitkar of the Agricultural College, Poona, whose work in Agricultural Economics is well-known. To Dr. H. H. Mann go my sincere thanks for enlightening me on many a difficult problem during the course of the work; and also to Mr. J. B. Hartshorne, the then Collector of Kolaba for his courtesy in placing at my disposal some of the figures included in this volume. My friend and colleague, Mr. K. R. Athavale, has been of great help to me in carrying on the tedious work of the actual village survey, for which it is impossible for me to express my obligations to him adequately.





I must also thank the Provincial Co-operative Institute, Bombay, for undertaking the publication of this volume. I must admit that but for their help it would have been difficult for these pages to see the light of day.

*Alibag,*  
*March 1927.* }

V. G. RANADE.



# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

The word Konkan is of considerable antiquity. The mythological seven Konkans are said to include the whole of the West Coast of India. Duff,<sup>1</sup> Ferista,<sup>2</sup> Khafi<sup>3</sup> Khair and various other historians mention Konkan with different limits at different periods. Whatever the old significance of the word might have been, the Konkan is now held to include all the land which lies between the Western Ghats and the Indian Ocean from the latitude of Daman on the north to that of Terekhol on the Goa Frontier on the south. This tract is about 320 miles in length with a varying breadth of thirty to sixty miles and is divided into the British Districts of Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri, and the Indian States of Jawhar, Janjira and Savantwadi. The Pant Sachiv of Bhore in Poona has also a small taluka containing a few villages under the Ghats.

The present political division of the district is between north and south Konkan. The boundary line is sometimes held to be the Savitri river which divides the Habshi's territories from Ratnagiri. Sometimes the North and South Konkan are held to mean the district north and south of Bombay.

"Of<sup>4</sup> this District it may be said generally, that the parts near the coast are fertile, highly cultivated and populous, and the inland parts rocky and rugged, not much favoured by Nature nor improved by man". Compared with other parts of India, the climate is moist, and the rainfall very heavy. Hot winds are but little felt. The climate is no doubt naturally enervating on account of the moisture present in the atmosphere, but being near seashore, it is more

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1. History, 3. 2. *Briggs*, II, 338. 3. Much of what is said in these pages is based on Mr. Nairne's valuable work, the History of the Konkan.

4. *Nairne*, History of the Konkan, Introduction, page X.





equable than that of the Deccan. The Northern parts are marshy, and in many places malarious. The middle and the southern parts are decidedly healthy.

"North<sup>1</sup> of Bombay the coast is low and sandy, the rivers few and shallow and the harbours insignificant. South of Bombay the coast is bold with a line of hills bordering the sea, never receding two or three miles from it. There are many navigable rivers and commodious harbours, and in most parts deep water near the shore. At various places along the coast are small rocky islands, generally within a quarter of a mile from the mainland, and which were in earlier times and especially under the Marathas fortified and highly valued. Such are Arnala, Kolaba, Danda Rajpuri and Suvarnadurga".

According to the well-known legend from the Sahyadri Khanda,<sup>2</sup> this coastal strip was reclaimed by God Parashurama from the sea after a fight and handed over to his disciples, the Chitpawan Brahmins, for the 'spiritual guidance of the Konkani peoples'. "You are to be the spiritual<sup>3</sup> guides of the Konkane people, to teach them and to protect them from other gods. To you I give these seven meadows of rich soil and seven lakes, from which to irrigate them. Obey my behests religiously, honestly and ye shall never die." It is very interesting how those Brahmins were in the end cursed by Parashuram for their disobedience, and how the whole land was cursed by him. But we shall have to refer to the subject once more while discussing the origin and the utility of the Râb. For the rest the reader is referred to the excellent book on the subject by Mr. Arthur Crawford.

The land could, however, be reclaimed by Parashurama only after a hard fight with the Sea-God. When the angry and confident Parashurama shot his unerring powerful arrow at the sea, it pierced his bosom as long as 18 Kosas<sup>4</sup> away

1. *Nairne*, History of the Konkan, Introduction, page X.

2. A wellknown "Pothi" or work printed by a Dashastha Brahmin at about 1912 A. D. It has been for a long time a subject of bitter controversy.

3. *Arthur Crawford*, Legends of Konkan.

4. Thirtysix miles.





from the foot of the mountain where he was standing. So superhuman was the power of the Demi-God that as the arrow shot the sea, "the chasms below the mountain (the Sahyadri) opened and shut again convulsively, volcanoes innumerable burst out beneath, and all around vomited forth fire, molten lava, ashes and red-hot rocks. "It was as if the end of the world had come. A dense black pall of smoke and noxious vapours began to rise from the newly created Konkan which was but a Ghataka before been covered fathoms deep by the briny ocean <sup>1</sup>!" Thus was created the land at present known as Konkan, according to the author of the Sahyadri Khand.

But whether it was owing to the angry command of a God or Demi-God, or whether it was owing to a passing freak of Nature, the receding of the sea from the foot of the Sahyadri can only be explained on the assumption of a great volcanic convulsion in the sea thousands of years ago. The rocky plateau slightly elevated, gradually slopes towards the sea. Owing to the continuous washing-off of the soil by the rapid torrents in the rainy season, (because almost all the rivers in the Konkan are nothing but seasonal rapid flowing torrents,) in places there is at present nothing but bare rocks instead of the ancient rich volcanic layer of alluvial soil. 'The North Konkan is still in most parts well-wooded. Parts of the Southern Konkan, also are well covered with trees'. In the coastal district of the Southern Konkan, large groves of cocoanut trees planted along the sandy coast, take the place of the palmyra and the date palm found in the North Konkan.

Whether, as Elphinstone <sup>2</sup> says, the population has always been Maratha, or whether the Marathas were the conquerors of the original Mahar <sup>3</sup> inhabitants, as others hold, so much is quite certain that until a comparatively late period, it was a province 'where beasts with man divided empire claimed.' The northern parts are comparatively thinly populated, while the pressure on land in the

1. *Arthur Crawford, Legends of Konkan, 20.*
2. *Elphinstone, History of India, 220.*
3. *Arthur Crawford, Legends of Konkan.*



southern parts is very heavy, and the people are forced to migrate to a considerable extent to other parts of the presidency.

The Konkans can scarcely be called historically famous. Owing to its long coastal line and its sheltered and convenient harbours as well as its nearness to sea, however, it was well known to travellers from very ancient times. In more recent history it assumed an importance, almost disproportionate to its size, owing to its natural strength and the warlike character of its inhabitants. It must be admitted, however, that it has never felt the advantages of one rule, and has always had its various parts attached first to one kingdom and then to another. It is only in recent times that the people have come to realise the province as one whole, from the time the tract came under the British rule.

For our purpose it will be better to divide the tract into three parts instead of two as follows :—The North Konkan comprising of the British District of Thana and the Indian State of Jawhar, together with most of the Karjat Taluka from the Kolaba District, is decidedly unrural in most of the places. This part is completely covered by a network of Railways,<sup>1</sup> and has the great advantage of being connected with Bombay by regular train service. The economical condition of this part is bound to be unlike that of the other two which are not so happily situated as regards means of communications. The tract is more or less under the predominating influence of Bombay. In fact some parts of the old Thana District have been combined quite recently together with the outlying parts of Bombay into a separate collectorate called the Bombay Suburban District. The rest of the Kolaba District, together with the Janjira State and the few villages owned by the Pant Sachiv of Bhore<sup>2</sup> form quite a distinct unit from the point of view of rural economics. This

1. By the Great Indian Peninsula and Bombay Baroda & Central India Railways. It is interesting to remember that the first Railway line in the whole of India was opened between Kalyan and Bombay in 1851

2. Comprising the present Sudhagad Taluka.





part, although not traversed by the Railway, is not completely shut off from the outside world in the rainy season like the Southern part. It has a fair number of decent cart road, and for the last two or three years has a tolerably regular motor traffic even in the rainy season. It may, therefore, be quite reasonably termed as Mid-Konkan, to distinguish it from the South Konkan, which contains all the remaining part south of the Savitri river and covers the District of Ratnagiri together with the Indian State of Savantwadi.

To understand the real economic condition prevailing in the Konkan as a whole, all these parts will have to be investigated as separate economic units<sup>1</sup>. The village under review is situated in what is termed as the Mid-Konkan. It is the intention of the writer to study at least a few of the typical villages in all these three units, if circumstances allow. The Konkan, owing to the want of communication and the prevalence of illiteracy has been yet completely neglected. It is only recently that interest seems to have been created into its economic and social condition in the minds of the social workers, as is evinced from the appointment of a separate committee to investigate into the economic condition of the province, by the Central Co-operative Institute, Bombay. It is hoped that the province will continue to attract more and more attention from economists in future.

Even to understand thoroughly the economic condition of what is termed as the Mid-Konkan, the detailed study of one village will scarcely be sufficient. The village under review, it must be remembered, represents only a type, and at least four other types will have to be studied to have a real insight into its economic condition. In addition to the village under consideration, which represents a type more or less under the influence of a market or Taluka town, it is necessary to study the following types:—

1. An economic survey of Posari, a village near Karjat, similar to the one in hand, has been undertaken by Dr. Mann, in collaboration with his colleague Prof. Kanitkar, and is expected to be shortly published.





1. An inland dry<sup>1</sup> village, which is not under the influence of a market town and is practically self-sufficient.

2. A garden village on the sea coast<sup>2</sup>.

3. A Kharepat Village<sup>3</sup>.

4. A Khot and an Inami village.

All these types together represent the District as a whole, and a minute economic study of the same is sure to present many interesting economic facts. The following, as has already been said, is an attempt to give a general idea as to the economic and social condition of only one type mentioned above, viz., a village more or less under the influence of a market or taluka town.

---

1. "By a 'dry' village I mean one where irrigation is very limited (and in a Konkan village practically nil as is usually found) in amount, and where the prosperity of the village depends almost entirely on the monsoon rain." *Dr. Mann, Land and Labour in a Deccan Village, Introduction.*

2. The coastal part of this tract is, as has been (already pointed out, covered with very rich cocoanut gardens, as well as betel-nut gardens. The tract is known as the Ashtagars (the 8 Agars or gardens) and extends from Kolagaon, opposite Bombay to Revdanda. Here the Kundalika creek separates the British from the Habshi territory. All over this coast as well as the villages surrounding Shrivardhan which is a great mart for merchants in the Habshi's territory, the country is thickly covered with cocoanut gardens, amply irrigated from the waters of the wells, which, unlike those on the Ghats, are very shallow, yet store a great deal of water. This is the only part of the Mid-Konkan, which can be called irrigated, though not in the sense in which the word is used in the Deccan, viz, irrigation from the canals of a great river.

3. "Especially in the northern sub-division of Alibag and Pen Talukas the most interesting feature in the tillage of the district is the large area of the salt marsh and the mangrove swamps that has been reclaimed (from the sea) for the growth of Rice. These tracts lying along the banks of the tidal creeks are locally known as the Kharepat or salt lands. The embankments are called Shilotris. Most of these lands have been embanked by the Angrias and other big capitalists between 1755 to 1780 A. D.



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## CHAPTER II

### PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The village of Roth Khurd is situated at a distance of about two miles from Roha, a Taluk town in the District of Kolaba, on the confluence of the Ganga and the Kundalika rivers, which practically surround the whole village area except on the East. The Kundalika hails from the Sahyadris near Patnus, the present power-house station of the Mulshi scheme of the Tatas, about twelve miles north-east of Kolad, where the branch road from Roha meets the Dharamtar-Mahabaleshwar Road. "After a westerly course of about twenty miles it meets the tide at Roha, and for about twenty miles more to the west and north-west, stretches a navigable tidal inlet falling into the sea at Revdanda. The upper part of its course has scenes of great beauty, especially above Kolad. The Ganga, which is the southern and the western boundary of the village, pours her waters into the Kundalika on the north-west of the village site. It is more a rapid-flowing torrent than a river, and the great number of pot-holes in the side-rocks of her bed indicate the extreme speed with which the river flows in the rainy season. It practically dries up in the summer and, but for the bund referred to elsewhere, would be completely dry. As matters stand, however, the bund prevents the tide coming up beyond the limit of the village and spoiling the only storage of water available in the neighbourhood in summer.

The villagers, it seems, have at least to work for ten days to erect the bund every year. All the adults in the village are forced to work by the village Jamat<sup>1</sup> to keep the bund in a sound condition. The villagers get generally about Rs. 20 from the Roha Municipality, for their labour as a compensation for the utilization of the water thus stored by the inhabitants in the Municipal area. The villagers very

1. See Chapter VI.



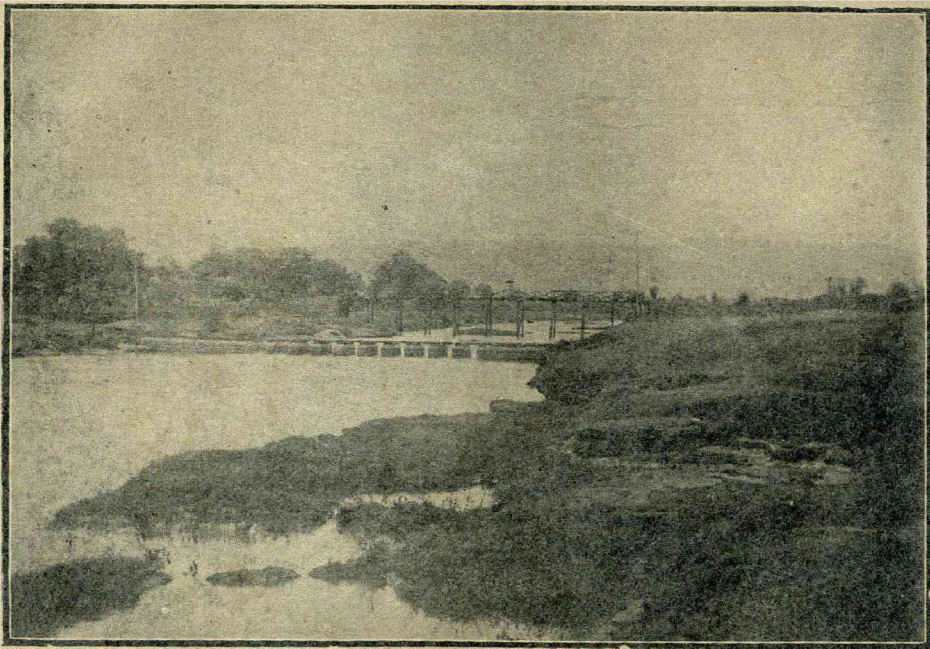
strongly expressed their desire to have the bund made permanent by using stone masonry, and concrete, if only the Local Board authorities would come to their help. Not a few of them emphatically protested against the neglect of their village by the District and the Taluka Local Boards, which by the by have also completely overlooked the upkeeping of the only wooden bridge used for crossing the river when in flood not only by the residents of the village but by all who have to use the main road to Kolad. The wooden bridge—or *Saku* as it is called—as it at present stands is more of a trap for tumbling down in the rapid and deep waters below than a means for crossing them, to so rickety a condition the planks of the wooden posts have been reduced. It is but proper that the Taluka Local Board or the Revenue authorities should look into the matter immediately, but as an old experienced villager, not without a touch of pathos, pithily put in, “Why care for the ignorant and the poor?”

The Tatas have recently constructed a narrow gauge line from Roha to Patnus for transmitting the heavier iron material to the place of their chief operations, in connection with the Mulshi scheme. This line passes through the outskirts of the village, giving the whole site an intimate touch of modern civilization. It is a great sight to see the simple villagers gaping in awe at the puffing engine carrying the train to Patnus in the morning and bringing it back again in the evening. The tail-water from the Mulshi dam, which will make the Kundalika overflow about two or three years hence, is bound to play a great part in the transformation of this District, and open great possibilities of industrial and agricultural enterprise. The subject will be treated more fully elsewhere.

#### **Physical and Geological Features of the village.**

It has been already pointed out that the village is situated on the confluence of the Kundalika and the Ganga rivers. It lies nearly at the end of the broad curved valley made up on the south and partly on the West by the Kalasgiri and the Roha hills, and on the north, beyond the Kundalika river, by the Medha hills.

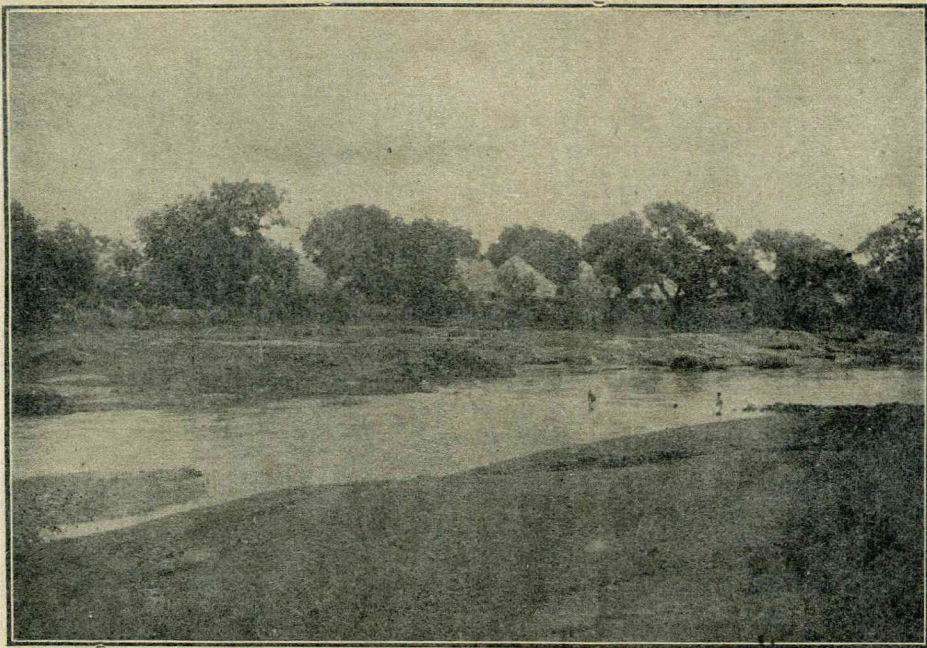




The Saku or Wooden Bridge over the Ganga.  
( In the front is seen the Roha-Bhira Railway Crossing. )



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A fascinating view of the Village from over the Ganga.





The village site lies on a natural rise of ground and its level is consequently higher than the surrounding parts. While the villagers are profited by this fact from the point of view of sanitation, they on the other hand cannot avail themselves of the supply of water from the adjoining rivers in days of scarcity.

The chief varieties of the soil are of brown and blackish colour. In most parts the surroundings as well as the underground rocks are trap, and the soil naturally is dark in colour. Only in a few cases the laterite red soil, common in villages situated on the top of the hills, appears.

The rock, as has been already said, is mostly trap. The soil in many places is scarcely as deep as six inches, and immediately below it, the trap rock can be found in tabular masses. Not infrequently it can be seen jutting out from below the surface. Its appearance in such cases is almost always rusty and shows the presence of iron. Red trap is not common, although found here and there. Rock crystals, feldspar, and flint abound in the river beds. Calcite and Glauconite are not rare. The rock below the layer of the trap, as can be seen in the bed of the rapid-flowing Ganga, is of a concretionary type. It is worn out in places into a number of pot-holes of various sizes which show that the river flows with a very great speed in the rainy season.

#### Rainfall and Climate of the Village.

The Konkan is a heavily rained rice tract, and the villages under survey is no exception to the general rule. The vicinity of the mountain covered with thick woods makes the total rainfall heavier than on the coastal parts of the District. The following figures are taken from the records kept for the measurement of rain at Roha, which is only three miles from Roth Khurd, and may be taken to represent the rainfall of the locality.



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	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Jan.				0.05				0.08	0.90	0.28	
Feb.				0.07		0.40					
Mar.				0.99			0.18	0.11			
Apr.		0.14		0.13		0.80					0.45
May	0.49	0.15		0.07	0.64	0.93	7.54	0.05			0.10
June	27.22	44.37	25.25	37.32	29.97	35.86	12.20	26.87	11.79	36.26	28.42
July	59.99	56.90	71.50	37.50	32.73	34.40	18.72	46.43	41.35	38.73	59.77
Aug.	20.01	12.27	31.26	17.30	41.11	49.0	23.13	30.59	13.85	38.73	12.31
Sep.	5.02	6.75	29.99	16.02	23.15	20.15	4.90	8.71	11.56	17.59	13.77
Oct.	2.15	7.36		6.16	7.59	15.87		8.43	1.38	2.83	2.53
Nov.			0.17	0.34	2.21		0.78	0.62			1.42
Dec.											
Total	119.33	127.94	158.17	115.85	137.40	157.41	67.45	121.89	80.83	134.42	118.83

The average rainfall according to the figures quoted above comes to 125.15 inches. If we exclude the year 1918, the famine year, we get 127.1 inches as the average. There is only one year viz. 1918 in which the total comes to less than 70 inches. This is, however, far in excess of the year 1899 which had only 50.17 inches as the total rainfall. This is the smallest figure reported as yet. It would be interesting to compare the two famine years as regards the distribution and quantity of the rainfall side by side. The following table gives the required figures:—

Name of month	1899	1918
January to April	4.78	0.18
May	0.20	7.54
June	17.10	12.20
July	8.42	18.72
August	13.31	23.13
September	6.34	4.90
October	0.02	—
November	—	0.78
December	—	—
Total	50.17	67.45

The very scanty rainfall in July should be noted. Similarly the fact that there is practically no rain from October to December is also noteworthy. The year 1918 is, of course,





a famine year like 1899, which witnessed the strange phenomena of bags after bags of Rangoon rice being imported into this District, which has always been the granary for the neighbouring Konkan Districts, viz. Karwar and Ratnagiri, a great deal of unhusked and recently husked<sup>1</sup> rice being exported every year from the Mahad, Mandad, and Roha Creeks. The bumper crop of the year following, and the exceptionally high rates of paddy, no doubt, compensated for the hardships that had to be undergone by the people in the preceding year. But the villagers say that some of the less fortunate amongst them had to leave their homesteads to find better employment elsewhere.

From the figures given on page 10 it will be easily seen that the months from June to September, are the rainy months of the year. July is the month in which the rainfall in any given year will be the heaviest. The following table will show the average rainfall in each month during the last eleven years. An attempt was made to get the figures for the years 1902 to 1912, but without success. The average rainfall for nineteen years preceding 1902 is also available and is given with the average rainfall for the last eleven years below :—

Month	Average for the years 1912-1922, Inches.	Average for 19 years preceding 1902, Inches,
January	0.12	0.1
February	0.04	0.12
March	0.11	—
April	0.14	0.50
May	0.91	0.70
June	28.68	23.20
July	48.91	46.45
August	26.32	31.58
September	14.33	17.39
October	4.94	3.50
November	0.91	0.81
December	—	0.14
Total	125.41	124.49

1. The number of rice mills has greatly increased during the last two or three years in the District.



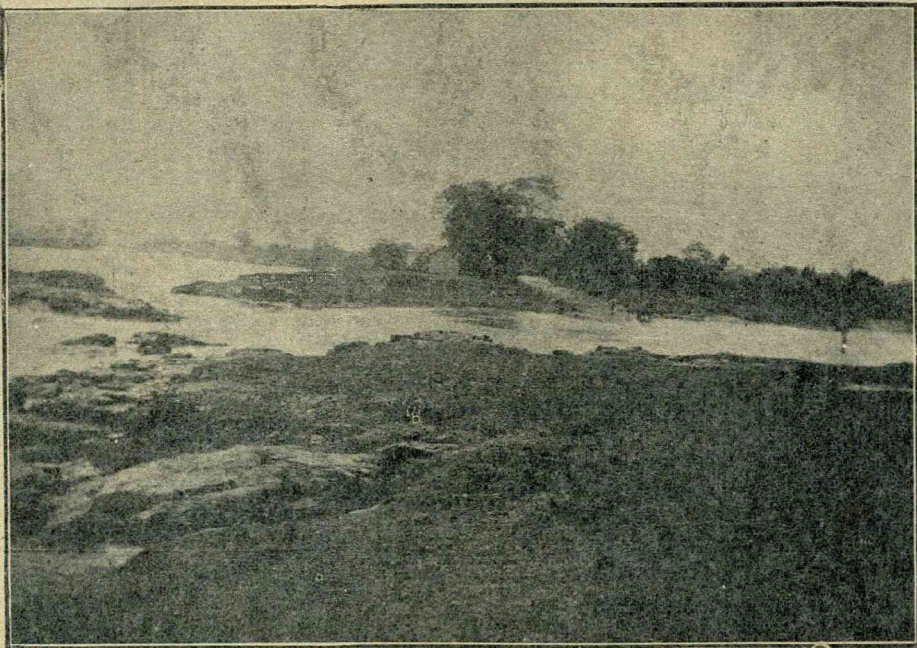
It will thus be seen that more than 96 per cent. of the total rain is distributed over the months of June, July, August and September. The remaining mostly covers the month of October and is useful for the second crop. Except in 1915, so far as the figures for the last eleven years are concerned, we have scarcely any rain from January to April. For eight out of eleven years there are stray showers in May; but the total never exceeds one inch. The month of December, however, is totally dry throughout.

It will be interesting to study these figures with those of a famine year, a bumper crop year, and a normal year, side by side with those for the maximum, minimum and average rainfall.

Month	Minimum 1899	Famine year, 1918	Bumper crop year, 1919	Less than average, 1920.	General average	Maximum, 1872.
Jan. to May.	4.98	7.72	0.24	0.90	1.32	-
June	17.10	12.20	26.87	11.79	28.68	24.27
July	8.42	18.72	46.43	41.35	48.91	52.65
August	13.31	23.13	30.53	13.85	26.32	50.27
September	6.34	4.9	8.71	11.56	14.33	26.57
October to Dec.	0.02	0.78	9.05	1.38	5.85	8.4
Total	50.17	67.45	121.89	80.83	125.41	162.15

We see from the above that so long as we have at least 11 inches of rain in June, the rice crop seems to have no fear. Only it must be continuous and must not fall all of it for a day or two only. The amount in June will naturally depend on whether the monsoon sets in earlier or later. But that is not the case with the month of July. The total amount of rain in this month must come to somewhere near 40 inches. In 1918, the famine year, it was the scarcity of rain in this month that spoiled the crop in spite of a good average in June. On the contrary in 1920, we see that in spite of the comparatively small total of 80 inches, no less than 41 inches fell in July, the most critical month in rice cultivation, when the ploughing and the transplanting are going on. In August too, we have only 13 inches, not sufficient for the growth of





Where the two rivers meet !



the young seedlings freshly transplanted. In September we have 11 inches of rain, very near the average. This explains why in spite of the comparatively deficient amount of rainfall in that year the crops did not appreciably suffer.

The August and September rains, improve and nourish the grain and the straw, but as we see above, even 13 inches in August and 11 inches in September may be sufficient to given an average crop. The later rains in September and October are more useful to Garvi (later) than Halvee or earlier varieties of paddy. They may even prove harmful to the earlier varieties, which are mainly grown in these parts.

It will thus be clear that in any given year, not only the total quantity of rainfall, but its distribution over the months of June, July, August and September, and especially the total amount in the month of July must be very carefully studied, to get a correct idea as to its effects on the rice crop.

We see then that the main characteristics about the rainfall in this tract are as follows :—

(a) There is very little rain before June. On an average only one per cent. of the total rain falls from January to the beginning of June.

(b) There are very heavy showers in the beginning. This heavy rain continues for about three months, viz. June, July and August, when more than 80 per cent. of the total rain falls.

(c) That the rains practically close in September, a comparatively early period, as only four to five per cent. of the total rain falls in the months of October, November and December.

(d) The absence of rains from the N. E. Monsoon, contrary to what is found in the District of Kanara <sup>1</sup>.

1. "In the southern Collectorates of the Presidency, especially in Canara, Rabi rice which ripens in the hot weather is grown. This is called Vaingan Rice. The District gets the benefit of the North-East Monsoon and gets late rain." Mollison, A Text-book on Indian Agriculture, Vol III, page 27.





### Climate.

The climate of the village on the whole is very cheerful and healthy. It is true that in the months of April and May the heat is very severe, but the village being situated on the mouth of Kundalika creek on a natural rise of ground, much of its intensity is mitigated by the cool refreshing breezes from the north-west. Except in the rainy season the climate is decidedly dry, unlike what is found on the sea coast in the same District, where the climate, although healthy, is somewhat damp owing to the large amount of moisture present in it, and is more enervating. The complete absence of Malaria is probably due to the effect of the sea breezes. It is noteworthy that in the last influenza epidemic the village suffered very little from its ravages. The maximum and minimum temperatures from the month of June to the month of October were found to be 82°F and 78°F respectively.

### Drainage and Water Supply.

There are only three wells at present in the village. The same number is reported to have existed for a number of years, according to the village records. One of the wells is situated in Survey No. 65, Pot No. 1, and it is stated in the village records that the water is used for drinking purposes 'both by men and cattle'. The other two situated in Survey No. 3, Pot No. 3 and Survey No. 54, Phalni No. 2, respectively, are said to be used by men alone. From personal inquiry it was, however, found that very little use was made of them by the villagers. One of the wells is practically silted up by this time, while the other is on its way of doing the same in a short time. The well in front of the village temple, called Pashkarani contains water for almost eight months in a year, and is availed of during the period to a certain extent. None of the wells is 'Pacca-built'. All are without steps.

The village, however, depends for its water-supply mainly on the adjoining Ganga river. As has been stated above, the villagers construct a bund across the river



every year for storing up water near the wooden bridge or Saku immediately after the rainy season is over. Another bund is thrown across the bed of the river, about a furlong to the North, not for storing but for obstructing the salt water coming up through the main bund and spoiling the main stores. There is no chunam used in the construction of the main bund, and so there is a danger of the salt water penetrating through it, if allowed to dash against. Hence the necessity of another bund, which prevents the tide coming up near the main bund. Even if some water percolates through it and approaches the main bund, it has got no force and so cannot affect it in any way.

It seems that an attempt was made formerly to secure a permanent store of water by means of a strongly-built *Dharana* across the bed of the Ganga, on the south-east of the village site, at a distance of about three furlongs. The *Dharana* can still be seen standing intact, except on the south, where the embankment on the sides has given way owing to the absence of strong rocks behind it. It is said that it was constructed mainly for the use of the adjoining town of Roha but was given up when the new water works at Karivana were constructed. It seems that, although at present out of order, it can be repaired at a comparatively small cost. If reconstructed, it will not only be a boon to Roth Khurd and the surrounding villages, but can be availed of by the residents of Roha, who are forced every year to undergo great hardships owing to the defective supply of water in spite of the newly constructed water works. It is likely that the owners of the fields adjoining the river might make use of it for irrigation purposes by means of water-lifts and may grow vegetables such as brinjals etc. as is done by one or two farmers even now with the scanty supply of water available.

In spite of the bund, however, the store of water practically dries up by the end of April. Then begins perhaps the most trying period of village life. Even when the water has practically dried up, or when what remains





in the river bed is nothing but mud and filth mixed in water, the villagers try to eke out the water-supply by digging small narrow holes, called *Doharas* in those parts, at a distance of about a yard from the main, now spoiled, store of water. Owing to filtration, the water which percolates through the sandy bed, and slowly accumulates in the *Doharas* is pure enough for everyday use. For about fifteen days before the river completely dries up women and children can be seen throughout the day, at times at night too, filling by means of *Davalies*,<sup>1</sup> in small quantities each time, their earthen vessels very patiently while squatting on the sandy bed. It takes nearly 40 to 50 minutes for an earthen vessel of an average size to be filled up.

But just before the rains, when the Ganga completely dries up, their state is simply horrible. The main business in everybody's life throughout the period is somehow to secure water enough for cooking and for household purposes from the tank at Ashtami about two miles away. As will be seen later, there are only two carts in the village. The unfortunate villagers, therefore, have to carry the water on their heads. It takes nearly the whole of their time and they are greatly handicapped, as that is also the season of their *Râb* and of collecting fuel and other necessities for the monsoon, not to mention the re-thatching of their houses.

The *Kundalika* is also completely dried up in the month of May, although about three miles to the North at Dhatao,<sup>2</sup> there is a good supply of pure water in the somewhat deeper bed. It is used for the cattle, which are taken thither every evening.

The drainage of the village on the whole is fairly satisfactory. The village being situated on a high level there is naturally some erosion in the monsoon in part, which are not protected by embankments. But the fields are very carefully embanked and the bunds kept in good

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1. A cocoanut shell with a short bamboo stick serving as a handle.
  2. A small village.



order. In spite of the Khalati or the field area being divided into terraces at different levels, as is always the case with rice cultivation, a comparatively small amount of soil is washed in the adjoining rivers in spite of the heavy rains probably owing to the watchful care of the field bunds.





## CHAPTER III

### LAND AND ITS DISTRIBUTION

Land forms one of the most important and vital factors of production. Nay, one may say that it is the most important factor, especially in a predominantly agricultural country like India. "In quite a Physiocratic fashion, the mass of Indian people attribute to the soil almost exclusive productive capacity and other industries appear to them as more or less parasitical."<sup>1</sup> In the discussion about the economical condition of an Indian village, therefore, close observation as to the existing distribution of land amongst the inhabitants, and the size, shape and constitution of the holdings form a very important part. Successful farming and agricultural production depend to a very great extent on several factors: (1) Whether the total available land for cultivation is concentrated in a few hands or whether it is evenly distributed between the mass of the people on an economic basis; (2) whether the size of the holdings is such as to allow the holder to get sufficient return to maintain himself and his family after working on it for all his time in a year; and (3) whether there is wastage of his labour owing to the scattered character of his holding. An attempt is made in the following lines to embody the results obtained after a minute inquiry in the village of Roth Khurd regarding the existing conditions about this and other allied topics.

The total village area consists of 271 acres 32½ Gunthas<sup>2</sup> of land. According to the village records the land is divided as follows :—

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1. V. G. Kale, Indian Economics, Page 71.

2.  $\frac{1}{40}$ th of an acre.

Extract from the Kharip Sud of the Village

Kind	Area		Assessment.		
	Acres	Gunthas	Rs.	As.	Ps.
1. Kharip Khalsa	128	21	668	15	6
2. Rabi Khalsa	11	6	18	7	6
3. Pot Varkas Khalsa	44	12½	14	7	0
4. " " "	23	26	6	7	6
5. Common Pasture	14	15			
6. Salt Land	5	18			
7. Under River-beds etc.	32	26			
8. Gavthan	5	34			
9. Roads etc.	5	24			

Out of this about 192 acres only is cultivable. The remaining is either utilized for some special purposes such as roads, common pasture, and Gavthana, etc., or occupied by salt lands and river beds etc. About 45 acres is classed as uncultivable.

This land is held by 52 Khatedars or Dharekaries. The average area of each holding per Khatedar is, therefore, 3 acres and 2½ Gunthas. Out of the 52 Khatedars as many as 24 are non-agriculturists, while the remaining 28 are classed as agriculturists. Thus the number of agriculturists exceeds that of non-cultivating landlords by four. When we take into consideration the area of land held by each class, the state of affairs is quite different. The 24 non-agriculturists hold between themselves as much as 113 acres of cultivable land, while the 28 agriculturists have only about 78 acres distributed among them. This works out to an average holding of about 4.71 acres each for the non-agricultural land-holders while the area of an average holding for the agricultural comes to 2.85 acres.

According to Mr. Keatinge the area of an average holding in Konkan comes to somewhere between two to three acres.<sup>1</sup> In a typical case he cites, viz., that of Nehuli village,

1. "It will be recognised that, in the Konkan, the west Deccan and part of Gujarat, the land has become subdivided to an excessive extent, and fragmented in a manner which is generally recognised to be intolerable. The average holding of rice land in the Konkan is only two



Taluka Alibag, District Kolaba,<sup>1</sup> the total number of land-holders is 43, of whom 19 are non-agriculturists and 24 are agriculturists. The average holding for an agriculturist is, however, only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres in area, while that for the non-agriculturist comes to about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres. The following table will give a clearer idea as to the area of cultivable land held by both the classes, as well as the size of the average holding for each class in both the villages:—

	Nehuli, Tal. Alibag.	Roth Khurd, Tal. Roha.
Total No. of holders.	43	52
Number of agriculturists.	24	28
" " non-agriculturists	19	24
Total area of cultivable land	125 acres	192 acres
Percentage of land held by		
Agriculturists.	45.45 p. c.	40.62 p. c.
Percentage of land held by		
Non-agriculturists.	54.55 " "	59.38 " "
Area of average holding	2.9 acres	3.67 acres
" " " for agricultu-		
turists.	2.33 "	2.85 "
" " " non-agricul-		
turists.	3.5 "	4.71 "

It will be easily seen that the conditions prevailing in both the villages as regards the distribution of land between the agriculturist and the non-agriculturist classes are very similar. Indeed, it may be taken that Roth Khurda is representative of conditions prevailing all over the Konkan in this respect.

As has already been stated, there are 52 Khatedars or land-holders in the village. There are no Inam lands in the village; neither are there any joint-holdings. The following will give a clearer idea as to the size of the different holdings:—

to three acres and a single field of an acre in area will often be divided up into 8 or 9 separate plots." *Keatinge*, *Agricultural Progress in Western India*, page 70.

1. *Keatinge*, *Agricultural Progress in Western India*, pages 204-5.



Number of holders with more than 15 acres ...				1
" " 10 to 15 acres ...				4
" " 9 to 10 " ...				2
" " 8 to 9 " ...				1
" " 7 to 8 " ...				0
" " 6 to 7 " ...				3
" " 5 to 6 " ...				1
" " 4 to 5 " ...				5
" " 3 to 4 " ...				3
" " 2 to 3 " ...				5
" " 1 to 2 " ...				15
" " $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 " ...				7
" " less than $\frac{1}{2}$ acre ...				5
Total ...				52

*Are the holdings economic ?*—It will be seen from the above that only 12 or 23·08 per cent of the total number of holdings are of more than 5 acres, while an equal number are of less than one acre. Only 9 per cent. of the holdings are of more than ten acres; while about 77 per cent. of the holdings are of less than 5 acres in area.

At first sight the size of the holdings appears quite ridiculous! And when we take into consideration the fact that these holdings are by no means to be found in one block, but are scattered all over the village area at random, the case may well appear to one, accustomed to the comparatively large size of the holdings in other parts of the Presidency like the Deccan, almost imaginary. As will be seen later on, the biggest holding in one block is only 4 acres and 24 gunthas in area, while the smallest dwindles into  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a Guntha! If we take into consideration only the size of the holdings existing in different parts of the Presidency, which is held to be sufficient to make it economical, it is clear that none of the holdings in the village is economical. But while deciding the minimum size of an economic holding in any part of the country, we must take into account many factors,<sup>1</sup>

1. "The value of the holding cannot be judged by its size alone,"—*Dr. Mann, Land and Labour in a Deccan Village.*





other than the mere size of the holdings, such as the value of the crops grown, the total yield per acre, the proportion of land revenue and other taxes to the net produce after deducting the expenses of cultivation, and last, but not least, the standard of living of the people.<sup>1</sup>

According to Keatinge,<sup>2</sup> an ideal economic holding would consist of (say) forty to fifty acres of fair land in one block, with at least one good irrigation well and a house situated on the holding. The desirable area would greatly vary with different parts according to circumstances. A gardener in the Surat District with three acres of good garden land can support a family in comfort, while in a dry part of the Deccan with poor soil thirty acres might not suffice. Dr. H. H. Mann estimates that 20 acres would be an economic holding for a typical dry village (Pimpla Soudagar) in the Western Deccan according to the standard of life prevailing in the village and not making allowance for the uncertain climate<sup>3</sup>.

A detailed discussion about the various factors influencing the size of an ideal economic holding in Roth Khurd will be found elsewhere. For the present it is sufficient to state that taking into consideration all these factors, an economic holding in the Konkan (excluding the coastal parts) would consist of not less than five acres. If anything, this is less than what would be found if due allowance is made for the seasonal changes in the yield of the crops as well as the slow but steady rise in the standard of living in these parts owing to the increasing contact with big industrial centres like Bombay. For our discussion, however, five acres may be taken as the minimum area for a holding to be classed as economic.

According to this total, we find that as many as 76.92 per cent. of the holdings in the village are uneconomic. It is

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1. "An economic holding is one which will provide for an average family at the minimum standard of life considered satisfactory." *Dr. H. H. Mann, Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, 43.

2. *Keatinge, Rural Economy in the Bombay Deccan*, 52-3.

3. *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, page 43.



interesting to find that, in his study of Pimpal Soudagar, Dr. Mann finds that as many as 77 per cent. of the total holdings in the village are uneconomic. This figure exactly tallies with what is found in the village under review, viz., Roth Khurd. This state of affairs is far from satisfactory. But when we remember that these holdings only represent nominal holdings, and that each is divided into a number of separate plots scattered all over the village at random, sometimes at a great distance from each other, the evil becomes still more aggravated. Their scattered character will be apparent from the following typical cases recorded in the village records:—

Case No. 1.

*Khate No. 18.*

Name of the Khatedar:—Dharmi Dharma More.

Total area of the holding:—4 acres 36 gunthas.

Assessment:—Rs. 16-5-10 (including Local Fund).

Survey No.	Pot No.	Area contained	
		Acres	Gunthas
2	1	0	34½
2	1	0	32½
5	4	0	30
5	15	0	11
13	3	0	2
51	2	0	8½
52	1	1	18½
54	3	0	24

Case No. 2.

*Khate No. 19.*

Name of the Khatedar:—Dhondu Malu More.

Total area of the holding—3 acres 38½ gunthas.

Assessment:—Rs. 17-7-2 (including Local Fund).

Survey No.	Pot No.	Area contained	
		Acres	Gunthas.
32	2	0	26½
32	10	1	35½
39	5	0	25½
41	1	0	31



Case No. 3.

Name of the Khatedar :—Santokbai Dayal Gujar.

Total area of the holding :—3 acres 1 guntha.

Total Assessment :—Rs. 15-2-3, (including local Fund).

Survey No.	Pot No.	Area contained.	
		Acres	Gunthas.
1	4	0	12 $\frac{3}{4}$
2	3	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	5	0	27 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	6	0	12
7	1	0	32 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	4	0	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
26	5	0	$\frac{1}{4}$
62	1	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

According to Keatinge, this 'fragmentation' is due to the "indirect effects of Hindu law of inheritance", and to "a desire to provide an automatic method of securing a mathematically accurate partition of a holding amongst the heirs." He adds that in addition to the fields being split up into a number of fragments, "in the case of the rice fields consisting of a terraced slope, this fragmentation is very marked, for each heir will aim at getting a share of each terrace, and sometimes there is an arrangement for the heirs to take each share 'turn and turn about, so that the property owned by each man in any plot of land, amounts to the right of temporary cultivation rather than the ownership of land'." It is gratifying to find that the latter stage has not been reached as yet in the village, nor is there any fear in the near future of its being approached, to judge from the custom of dividing lands at present in vogue in the village.

Let us now turn our attention to what is termed 'subdivision' of the holding. This refers only to the size of the holding. It will be seen from the following that the subdivision has gone apace in the village. But a word of caution is necessary, while comparing the subdivision in a rice tract to other parts of the Presidency like the Deccan. It must be remembered that the conditions

1. Keatinge, Agricultural Progress in Western India.



of rice cultivation and the value of the rice crop, which can support a larger number of individuals per acre than an acre of dry land in the Deccan, naturally favour and tend towards the existence of small holdings.

*Division into separate plots :—*The number of subdivisions is 288. Out of these 8 Pot numbers or subdivisions are covered by the common pasture and the main road leading towards Kolad. These are held by 52 landholders. So that the average number of plots per landholder comes to 5.6. The following table will give an idea as to the actual conditions :—

No. of Plots held.	No. of holders with this No. of plots.	Average area per holding in acres	Largest holding in acres	Smallest holding in acres.
1	12	0.71	1.52	0.105
2	10	2.35	4.7	0.97
3	3	1.32	1.89	0.68
4	5	2.66	3.96	1.31
6	5	2.54	4.13	1.51
7	4	4.59	8.0	0.92
8	4	6.34	10.90	3.0
9	2	7.06	6.1	9.03
10	1	4.41	4.41	4.41
14	2	9.57	13.38	5.77
16	1	11.70	11.70	11.70
17	2	14.6	17.15	12.09
23	1	9.35	9.35	9.35

The plots vary in size from about four acres and a half to one-fourth of a Guntha. The following table will give a clear idea as to their size :—

Size of Plots.	Number of Plots of each size.
Over 5 acres	0
5 to 4 acres	3
4 to 3 "	5
3 to 2 "	9
2 to 1 acre	48
30 Gunthas to 40 Gunthas	23
20 to 30 Gunthas	33
10 to 20 Gunthas	68
5 to 10 "	46
Less than 5 Gunthas	45
Total	280





It will be seen that only 6.1 per cent are above two acres. While there is none above five acres. About 17.1 per cent, are between 1 and 2 acres. The rest, *viz.*, 77 per cent, are of less than one acre. It is noteworthy to observe that of these as many as 45 or about 16 per cent, of the total number of plots are of less than five Gunthas ! Further comments are needless.

*Division of land according to ownership:—*It has been already stated that the total area of the village is about 272 acres. Out of this, land measuring about 80 acres is given for special purposes such as Gavthana, roads etc. The remaining land, measuring about 192 acres, is owned as follows according to the village records :—

Acres	Gunthas	By what right held.
40	20	By inheritance.
25	28 $\frac{3}{4}$	By old occupancy.
18	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	Kabje Gahan. ( Possessory Mortgage. )
17	27 $\frac{3}{4}$	Without record.
1	39 $\frac{3}{4}$	Bedawa Patraka.
The rest		By Purchase.

About 80 per cent, of the land held at present by the rights of inheritance belongs to the Mores and Borekars etc., the old Agree stock of the village. The remaining 20 per cent, was found to be either purchased or acquired by the fathers or grandfathers of the present owners, and so is recorded to have come to them by the right of inheritance. The same is the case with owners of the land who hold it by the right of 'old occupancy'. With the exception of the Bartakkes and the Gujar Savkars, all the land held by the right of old occupancy, it is worth noticing, belongs to the old Agree inhabitants. This makes one strongly suspect that the land must have wholly, or at least mostly, belonged to the old Agree inhabitants. Nor is this surmise contradicted by the evidence of the old records and the testimony of the oldest inhabitants of the village. The question then arises how nearly three-



fourths of the remaining land passed from the old owners, the Agrees, to the present holders. One need not seek far to find the answer. If we look into the transfer of the land either by purchase or by Kabje Gahan, we find that almost all the transactions have been executed within the last fifty or sixty years. This clearly proves that the land has undoubtedly come to the present owners on account of the indebtedness of the old Agree ryots, who were forced to dispossess themselves of their rights in their ancestral lands, either by sale or as exchange for their ever-increasing debts, and hand them over to the present owners, most of whom are shrewd Savkars from the neighbouring parts. In the words of Mr. Keatinge "the checks that were sought to be placed on the free transfer of land by the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act of 1875 and the Amendment to the Land Revenue Code of 1901, seem never to have had much effect". The land continued to change hands inspite of them, at least in Roth Khurd, and instead of finding the village being inhabited and cultivated by 'capitalistic cultivators' as Captain Wingate and other Bombay Revenue Authorities expected to find, most of the land is at present held by the absentee landholders who have obtained proprietary rights over the land and who rent their lands to the former owners<sup>1</sup>.

There is no doubt that a few cases of extortion and transfer of land by intimidation of the poor ignorant owners by the Savkars for their heavy debts are included in the land classified as "possessed without record". It was but too easy for the Shylocks, selfish and keenminded, to

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1 'The most effective measure at our command for preventing the land becoming the inheritance of a pauper, or at least of poverty-stricken peasantry, is to afford the greatest possible facilities for its conveyance from one party to another, so that when a cultivator becomes impoverished and by his inability to cultivate property deprives the community of the wealth it is capable of producing, the land may get into the hands of some one better able to turn it to advantage,' Wingate, Principles of British Land Policy, 1835.





dispossess the poor whining owners of their lands by simple intimidation on account of their fear of them <sup>1</sup>.

*Areas taken or held for cultivation:*—There are in all 70 cultivators. Out of these only two cultivators cultivate their own land. There are 25 more, who possess more or less land of their own and in addition rent other land for cultivation. The remaining 43 are mere tenants and possess no land. These 70 cultivators have 192 acres of land divided between themselves for cultivation. This works out to an average holding of 2 acres and 29 gunthas. From what has been said above it will be easily seen that this is quite insufficient to support an average family. The villagers, in addition to the land belonging to their village, cultivate about 60 acres of land from the neighbouring villages, which clearly proves that the available land in the village is insufficient. For our discussion we shall exclude this outside land rented by the villagers.

It has been shown above that the distribution of the land in the village is far from satisfactory. The cause of it is not the absence of wide diffusion of ownership, but the contrary—excessive subdivision and fragmentation of the holdings. Let us now see if the village satisfies the other condition of 'wholesome agriculture', *viz.*, cultivation by the owners <sup>2</sup>.

It will be seen from what has been said above that more than 60 per cent. of the cultivators are mere tenants. About 60 acres or 31 per cent. of the cultivable land is cultivated by

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1. "What we wish to point out is that their intentions have not been fulfilled. They expected the accumulation of capital; but their plans did not promote thrift, nor did they conduce to the independence of the Ryot. They looked for capitalistic cultivator; and we find the Sowkar's serf." (Extract from the Famine Commission's Report 1901)—*S. C. Page, Agricultural Indebtedness and its Remedies*, page 68.

2. 'A wide diffusion of ownership in land and a predominance of cultivation by the owners, are the most wholesome agricultural conditions.' *Tausig, Principles of Economics*, 72.



the owners, the rest being cultivated by mere tenants. This predominance of tenancy is bound to increase if the same state of things continues, as most of the land now possessed by the Agree inhabitants is at present mortgaged to the Sawkars, and when it passes into their hands, a larger number of the villagers will be reduced to the condition of mere tenants.

"In Western India," says Keatinge, "peasant farmers dominate the situation." In Roth Khurd, at all events, they do not. It is found that owing to most of the cultivable land having passed into the hands of the non-cultivating classes, tenants form the majority of the cultivators. The same is the case with village Nehuli<sup>1</sup> in Alibag Taluka in the same district, where the absentee landlords form the majority. There are strong reasons, therefore, to suspect that tenancy is on the increase in these parts to judge from the available data.

The problem of the village is thus a problem of tenancy and its effects on the cultivation of land. That tenancy is an obstacle to the best use of land is admitted on all sides.<sup>2</sup> In comparison with farm ownership, there can be no argument for farm tenancy as a system of land tenure. Tenancy, while inferior in every way to farm ownership, may not, however, be necessarily an evil, if conducted under a system which protects the tenants, and assures cultivation of the soil under proper and economical methods. As for the first condition, it must be remembered that owing to the increasing pressure on land the tenants are unable to secure anything

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1. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress in Western India*, page 205.

2. 'Almost always tenancy is an obstacle to the best use of land ; for the tenant is concerned only in getting out of it what he can during his term, and is tempted to employ predatory methods. In the lowest form, where the landlord does nothing, and the land is simply let to the tenant from year to year,' (and this is the case in the village under review) 'it results not only in bad tillage, but demoralised tillers.' *Tausseig*, *Principles of Economics*.





like fair rents and after paying off the rents to the landlords have scarcely sufficient left to cover the expenses of cultivation, much less as profits. Fixity of tenure again is conspicuous by its absence, most of the rent-notes being for one year only. The tenants, again, have no capital to invest and following strictly the ancestral methods of cultivation are generally deficient in enterprise. In many cases, therefore, the soil deteriorates, and the fields are not properly cared for, as the tenant tries to take as much out of the land as possible, not being sure of the next year. To judge from the conditions existing in Roth Khurd, it seems necessary that steps should be taken to protect the tenants so as to secure fixity of tenure and fixed and fair rents. The necessity of some such measure is made quite obvious from the recent big tenant strike in the Pen Taluka. The sentiment is spreading by slow degrees to other parts of the District as well and it would be wise to devise some such measure before it be too late.

In addition to the prevalence of a predominating system of tenancy, there is another obstacle in the way of proper cultivation of the soil. It is the still greater fragmentation of the holdings for cultivation. Dr. Mann, in his study of two dry villages in the Deccan, finds that 'in a highly sub-divided and fragmented village, the areas of cultivation tend to become larger than the area owned.' In Roth Khurd, however, in spite of the fact that the fragmentation of holdings is greater than in the villages studied by Dr. Mann, the areas taken for cultivation, instead of becoming larger than the areas of the holdings tend to become smaller and smaller as the following figures will show :—

	Holdings		Areas cultivated by one man,	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Above 15 acres	1	1.9	2	2.9
10 to 15 acres	4	7.6	1	1.4
7 to 10 "	3	5.7	3	4.2
5 to 7 "	4	7.6	2	2.8
4 to 5 "	5	9.6	6	8.6
3 to 4 "	3	5.7	5	7.2
2 to 3 "	5	9.6	9	12.8
1 to 2 "	15	29.3	18	25.8
$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 "	7	13.4	14	20.0
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ acre	5	9.6	10	14.3
Total	52	100.0	70	100.0

It will be hazardous to try to explain why this should happen, at this stage, unless it is found that the phenomenon is repeated even in other villages in the Konkan, and unless statistics to that effect are forthcoming. In the meanwhile, it is suggested that the following may be taken as the causes of the phenomenon that in spite of excessive fragmentation of holdings in the village no tendency in the opposite direction regarding the consolidation of large holdings for cultivation can be seen:—

- (1) The higher value of the rice crop.
- (2) The nearness to Roha, where labour is available and can be taken up easily without much hampering the cultivation of the rice fields.

The following will give an idea as to the fragmentation of the holdings taken for cultivation :—





No. of Plots,	No. of cultivators with this No. of Plots,	Average area of cultivator's holding,	Largest holding.	Smallest holding.
		Acres	Acres	Acres
1	28	0.78	3.9	0.05
2	9	1.82	2.85	0.62
3	6	2.32	4.66	0.18
4	8	2.77	3.66	1.75
5	3	5.04	8.37	1.5
6	3	3.45	6.89	1.46
7	3	3.06	4.89	1.08
8	4	6.54	9.07	4.5
9	1	10.12	10.12	10.12
10	2	3.56	4.37	2.75
13	1	4.6	4.6	4.6
16	1	17.5	17.5	17.5

It has been already remarked that the villagers cultivate about 60 acres of land from the neighbouring villages of Nivi, Roth Budruk and Dhatav. The minimum distance between them is 2 to 3 miles from the village. Not only are the various fragments of fields cultivated not close together, but sometimes the same cultivator will cultivate land situated in more than two or three villages.

*Land Revenue of the Village* :—An attempt was made to investigate into the methods of revenue collection prior to the introduction of the original Revenue Settlement in the village in 1860, but owing to the defective nature of the records, no satisfactory information could be secured on the point. We have, therefore, to be content with what we can gather from the two reports of the original and the revision survey settlements at present available.

I. The Original Survey Settlement was introduced in the village in 1860. Roth Khurd was at that time included in the old Rajapuri Taluka under a mamlatdar. Its gross area, according to the report, was 283 acres. Out of this 94

acres were not available for cultivation. The total list of the village amounted to Rs. 629, the average rate of assessment per acre coming to Rs. 3-5-3.

Major Francis, who was then in charge of the measurement operations, divided the whole Taluka into four groups, according to the nature and fertility of their soils and their position as regards communication etc., in the manner explained in the following statement :—

Group	No. of villages.	Rate Rs.	Character, position and peculiarities of the villages of each group.
I	30	7½	Rice lands very fertile, Villages within a circle of 5 miles of the town of Roha.
II	64	7	Lands very fertile, but villages distant from 6 to 10 miles from Roha.
III	81	6½ & 6	Situated for the most part in the centre of the District.
IV	42	5½, 5 & 4	Jungly villages. Distant from Market and difficult of access.

Roth Khurd is included in Group No. 2, in spite of its being within a circle of five miles from the town of Roha. Obviously the village lands were not considered as very fertile and, but for its so-called position advantage, would have been probably classed still lower in the list. The maximum rate proposed for Varkas land is Re. 1 per acre, while for the rice lands it was fixed at Rs. 7. The total assessment for the dry lands in the village came to Rs. 19 only. The average rate of assessment for the dry crop lands came to As. 4 P. 1 only. For 115 acres of rice land, the total assessment came to Rs. 610, Rs. 5-4-10 being the average rate.



II. The Revision Settlement was introduced in the year 1898. Mr. Hearne, Superintendent, Konkan Revenue Survey, who was in charge of the operations, combined Major Francis's four groups into two and proposed Rs. 7 and Rs. 6 as the maximum rates for the rice lands. Roth. Khurd was placed in group No. 1. The following table will give the necessary data for both the surveys<sup>1</sup>.

Group	Maximum rates for Dry Crop rice		Dry Crop Area	Assess- ment	Aver- age	Rice Area	Assess- ment	Aver- age.
	Rs.	Rs.	Acres	Rs.	Rs.	Acres	Rs.	Rs.
O. S. II	V. 1	S. 7	74	19	0-4-1	115	610	5-4-10
N. S. I	V. 2	S. 7	R. 11	20	1-13-1	S. 13	662	5-13-9
	R. 2	No. 2	U. 55	23	0-8-2	N. 8	9	1-2-0

The total assessment of the village was increased from Rs. 629 to Rs. 719 and the average rate of assessment was shifted from Rs. 3-5-3 to Rs. 3-13-6, an increase of 14.3 per cent.

The original classification was found sufficiently accurate to be confirmed, but was, however, re-examined and all serious differences adjusted. Position class was applied to Rabi and Pot Varkas and entire Varkas land to a certain extent. This is obvious as assessment for dry crop land was increased from Rs. 19 to Rs. 23. The incidence per acre of rice land was also increased. There was a net increase of Rs. 90 in the total assessment of the village.

1. O. S. = Old Survey; N. S. = New Survey; V. = Varkas; R. = Rabi;  
 S. = Sweet lands; N. = New lands.



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## CHAPTER IV

### CROPS AND CULTIVATION OF THE VILLAGE

We have studied in the last three chapters the soils, the climate, and the water supply of the village of Roth Khurd, as well as the conditions under which the land is held and cultivated. Let us now turn our attention to the actual crops that are grown, as well as the trees that grow on the unimproved land without any special cultivation. We shall first study the trees of the village, and will then describe the crops and the methods of cultivation as they exist in the village.

*The trees of the village:*—Considering the proximity of the village to the Roha mountains, which are well covered with trees, the comparatively small number of the trees in the village is difficult to explain. It is probably due to the washing off of the soil in the village for years together, which has left the layers of the soil very shallow.

The total number of trees is 358. Out of these as many as 94 trees are planted on the Roha-Kolad Road by the Public Works Department so that the real number of trees is only 264 or 0.98 per acre.

The number of fruit-trees is comparatively small. The only tree that is planted in the hedges of fields is Bhend which gives every year about 6 to 10 straight shoots, which can be used as rafters. Indeed Bhend serves the same purpose in a Konkan village, as Babul does in a Deccan Village, although in a different way. The Jambul and the mango trees predominate amongst the trees. The following list shows the number of species of trees found in the village:—



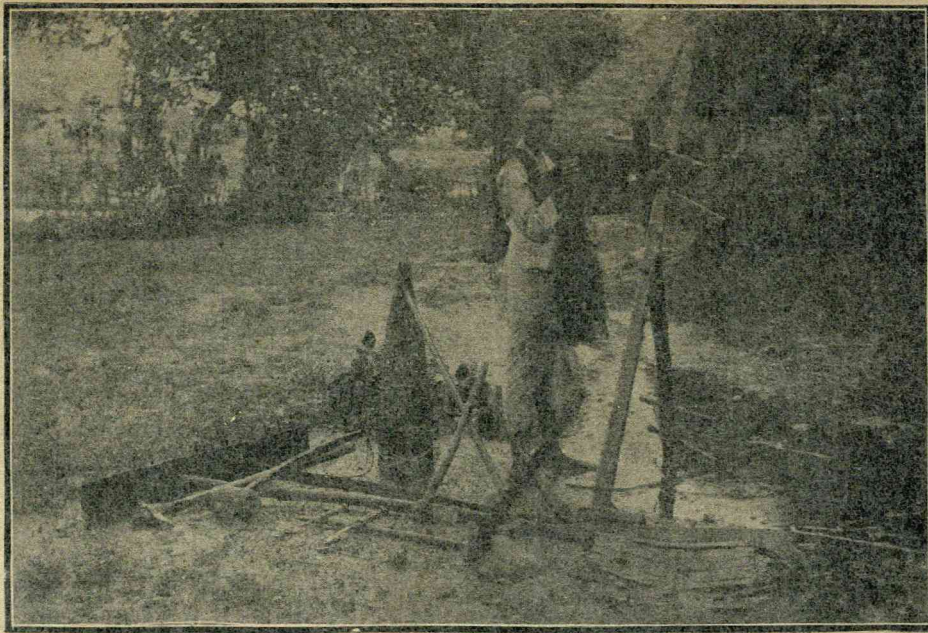


Name of Tree	Number planted in the village	Number planted on road	Total Number of trees in the village.
<b>1. Fruit Trees :—</b>			
Ramphal ( <i>Anona reticulata</i> )	3	nil	3
Bhokar ( <i>Cordia mava</i> )	1	1	2
Chinch ( <i>Tamarindus indica</i> )	1	18	19
Jambhul ( <i>Eugenia jambolana</i> )	4	31	35
Mango ( <i>Mangifera indica</i> )	11	13	24
Bor or Jujub ( <i>Zizyphus jujub</i> )	14	2	16
Phanas ( <i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i> )	2	nil	2
Sita Phal ( <i>Anona squamosa</i> )	10	nil	10
Shekata	6	nil	6
Karanja ( <i>Pongamia glabra</i> )	9	14	23
Kaju ( <i>Anacardium occidentale</i> )	nil	4	4

**2. Ornamental or other trees :—**

Bhend ( <i>Thespesia lampas</i> )	180	1	181
Vayavarana ( <i>Capparis trifolia</i> )	3	nil	3
Tambana ( <i>Lagerstræmia reginae</i> )	2	1	3
Asana ( <i>Terminalia tomentosa</i> )	3	nil	3
Vada ( <i>Ficus indica</i> )	1	2	3
Chapha ( <i>Magnolia champak</i> )	3	nil	3
Savar ( <i>Bombax heptaphyllum</i> )	5	3	8
Kanchana ( <i>Bauhinia purpurea</i> )	1	nil	1
Pimpal ( <i>Ficus religiosa</i> )	1	nil	1
Bamboo ( <i>Bambusa arundinacea</i> )	4	nil	4
Umber ( <i>Ficus glomerata</i> )	nil	1	1
Payeer ( <i>Ficus cordifolia</i> )	nil	3	3
Total	264	94	358

*Implements for Cultivation*—Unlike what is found elsewhere in the Presidency, the implements for cultivation used in the Konkan are comparatively few in number. Roth Khurd may be taken as a type. This is probably due to the fact that there is practically no other important crop except



The implements of the Village,  
together with the *Bagali* or the fishtrap and the net ( held by the boy in his hands )  
used by the Villagers for fishing,





rice. The plough, the leveller and the clod-crusher are practically the only important implements.

The soil in most parts is very light and shallow, in places rocky and stony; the ploughs, therefore, are generally very light and go from 2 to 4 inches deep. Sometimes a heavier plough is used for opening the land for Val, practically the only second crop grown in the village. To secure deeper ploughing, sometimes the plough is weighed down by means of a heavy stone, about 40 lbs. in weight with a slit.<sup>1</sup>

Considering the proximity of the village to Roha, as well as the fact that a good metalled road passes through the village area leading to Kolad, the small number of carts, both Ohhakadies<sup>2</sup> and load carts, is difficult to explain. The number has never exceeded four. There is a good field for plying carts for hire in the fair season. One of the more enterprising villagers, who possesses the only Ohhakdi and a load cart, told the writer that he could secure a good business in fair season by plying his cart for hire.

According to the village records, the number of ploughs and carts for the different years is as follows:—

Year	Ploughs (Big)	Ploughs (small)	Ohhakdies	Carts
1894-95	nil	52	1	0
1900-01	"	49	1	1
1908-09	"	46	1	0
1919-20	"	51	1	2
1921-22	"	49	1	0
1923 (May) ,,		67	1	3

The leveller or toothed harrow is the second important implement used. It is used for levelling the fields after ploughing, by smoothening the mud. It also brings to the surface weeds that are uprooted in ploughing.

1. For a detailed description of the plough, see 'Indigenous Implements of the Bombay Presidency' by Rao Sahab G. K. Kelkar, Department of Agriculture Bulletin No 66 of 1914.

2. A light cart.



The third common essential instrument is the clod-crusher. It is used for crushing small clods in the fair weather as well as before sowing Val.

The *petari*, a kind of leveller, is used mainly for repairing the lands in fair weather. It is also sometimes used for levelling the rice beds. The number at present in the village is only 3.

There are no harrow drills or hoes.

The following hand implements are in common use:—

Marathi Name	English Name and description.
1. Kharali	A saw or plane-edged sickle.
2. Koyta	Large sickle used for cutting wood and Tahal (branches of trees) for the Rab.
3. Kudal	One-bladed pick.
4. Pickav	Pick-axe.
5. Eurhad	Axe.
6. Baila	Head load-carrier.
7. Ghadvanchi	A threshing bench.
3. Tivai	A tripod seat about 9" to 10" high. It consists of a plank 6" by 6" mounted on three short legs. It is used by women to sit upon while lifting seedlings in the rice beds. It gives them a resting support and prevents their clothes from getting dirty.

According to a house census, the village possessed in May 1923 the following implements:—





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Ploughing.



Name	Total number	Number per Cultivator.	Price of each article. Rs. As.	Total Cost Rs. As.
1. Plough	67	0.95	5-0	335-0
2. Kudal or Picks	54	0.77	1-4	67-8
3. Crow bars	30	0.43	1-8	45-0
4. Axes	37	0.53	1-8	55-8
5. Spades	37	0.53	2-8	92-8
6. Pick axes	2	0.03	2-0	4-0
7. Sickles (big)	36	0.5	1-0	36-0
8. Sickles (small)	77	1.09	0-8	38-8
9. Carts	4	0.06	50-0	50-0
Chhakdi load			60-0	180-0
10. Petaries	3	0.04	5-0	15-0
11. Saws	1		10-0	10-0

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Rs. 929-0

A complete set of implements according to the standard in the village consists of a plough, a Kudal, a crow bar, an axe, a spade and a sickle. Only 19 cultivators or about 27 per cent. of the cultivators possess such a complete set. The number of ploughs appears to be sufficient, if we do not take into consideration the distribution. As many as 26 or 37 per cent. of the cultivators do not possess any ploughs. They have naturally to borrow from others at the time of ploughing.

The prices quoted above are according to the rates current in the village. The total cost of all the implements comes to Rs. 929 or about Rs. 12 As. 4 each cultivator.

Other implements, such as the Bails, the Tiwai, or the threshing bench, are excluded from the above list, as they can be prepared locally and cost very little.

There are no carpenters or blacksmiths in the village. The villagers get their implements repaired at Roha.

#### The crops of the village.

It will be seen from the Table attached at the end (Appendix No.1) that rice is the main and practically the only important crop grown. Nagli and Vari are the crops grown on Varkas





land. They occupy about 10 per cent. of the rice area. Varana or Val is the usual second crop grown. If we exclude the year 1922-23, we have for the preceding decade the area under this crop practically constant. In the year 1905-06, the area recorded as under double crop reaches its maximum, the year 1900-01 with 16 acres under double crop coming next. In addition to these we have occasional mention, of Mug and Tur (only once in the year 1905-06). About one-fourth of an acre is reported to be under Bhendi in the years 1917-18 and 1918-19. Some enterprising villager seems to have tried his luck at water-melons in 1920-21. I learned that although the attempt proved fairly successful, he gave it up on account of a superstitious fear of drawing upon himself the wrath of the village deity owing to the fact that he lost in the same year one of his sons.

Unlike his brother on the Ghats where the farmer can turn his hand to a variety of crops, the cultivator in the Konkan has to depend solely on his rice crop. This is the peculiar feature of the Konkan which distinguishes the tract so markedly in its rural aspects from the Deccan. There is no irrigation and so the cultivator has to depend solely on the monsoon for his crop. He is engaged on his farm for about six months in a year. It is true that a careful and painstaking farmer will be engaged at stray intervals of time in preparing the Rab or in repairing or reconstructing the embankments of his rice fields which need a very careful handling every year, as well as in levelling them with his Petari, throughout the year. But as will be seen from the distribution of his time throughout the year, the farmer on the whole, if he is to cultivate his field properly, has to work no less than 7 months in a year on his field. The quality of the soil rapidly deteriorates if the fields are left uncared for in summer.

As the pressure on land increases and life becomes more a vain struggle to extract a starving maintenance from the soil, the cultivator has of necessity to leave the village and migrate to Bombay or other industrial centres to escape semi-starvation. Whether he profits on the whole by this



step or not is another question. The net result so far as the effect on the land is concerned, is that the fields scarcely receive the care they badly need at his hands in the off-season. A cultivator in the Konkan scarcely gives up land taken for cultivation when he migrates to Bombay. He generally keeps his wife and children in his ancestral home, at least so long as he can. He comes back to help them at the time of sowing in the middle of June for about a week or so and again at the time of transplanting in the middle of July. He is sure to be found for his Ganapati holidays back in his village home, when he is able to supervise the crop. He will finally return home for Divali when the threshing season is at its height, will somehow get his paddy threshed and collected even at fancy wages and after paying off the Savkar return again to his field of employment. He scarcely cares to look towards his fields again until it is high time for him to prepare his Rab, and the whole cycle begins afresh. If his wife and children are sensible, they do collect sometimes a small quantity of cowdung and village rubbish and spread it in the field for the Rab. But it is done only in a hap-hazard manner. The net result of all this is that this cultivator-cum-millhand unfits himself for both the professions he follows. His fields suffer, because he has very little time to devote to them, and he can scarcely hope to rise in his line as a mill labourer, as his attention and time are divided between Bombay and his native village.

The above remarks are applicable to those cultivators who have left their village for better employment elsewhere. As will be seen later, fortunately as yet a very small number of cultivators have left the village. But it is likely that as years pass away, more and more of the villagers will be attracted towards Bombay and other industrial centres, by the prevailing high nominal wages, and the tightening grip of poverty at home. The village is at present just near the margin and is scarcely able to support its inhabitants. That the land under the village is quite insufficient to give adequate employment to the inhabitants is quite clear from the fact that as much as 60 acres of rice land is taken from the neighbouring villa-





gers for cultivation, at a distance of about 3 miles. How to solve the problem of this would-be cultivator-cum-millhand is a difficult question. But one thing is clear. So long as life in Bombay and other industrial centres continues to be what it is, the cultivator is sure to look to his native village home as a last resort to fall back upon in case of sickness, disease and unemployment.

But to return to our discussion about the crops. The fallow area reported reached its maximum in the year 1922-23. It is strange to see that the area reported as being fallow in the year 1898-99 should be as low as 43 acres 6 gunthas. The minimum figure reported is in the year 1906-07. The area reported in the year 1892-93 as being fallow is practically identical with that in the year 1922-23. From the year 1909-10 the area remains practically constant except in 1922-23, when there is a sudden upward tendency. We may take it, therefore, that so far as extension of the present cultivable area is concerned the village has reached its maximum limit. The constancy of the fallow area indicates also the sameness of the seasons for a number of years.

#### Rice.

*The Rab:*—It has been already remarked that rice is the main crop of the village. As soon as the rains are over and the harvest gathered in, the farmer begins his collection for the materials for Rab. All the cattle-dung which is stored in the round pits around the village site throughout the rainy season, is taken out and spread over a rectangular plot generally by his wife and children. This serves for a bed for the seedlings in the rainy season. The covering of the plot with cow-dung is known as 'Vadi Karane'. This work goes on at intervals throughout the months of December, January, February and March. Before spreading the cow-dung, the bed is loosened by hand-digging. This is an important operation. In the beginning of April the farmer collects grass or small branches, called Kat or Tahal, lopped off the village trees and in some cases forest trees such as Ain and Kinjal, and spreads it over the cow-dung. Many farmers use the old straw from the thatched



houses which has to be renewed every year instead of the Tahal, as owing to the unnecessary severity of the forest laws it is becoming almost impossible for the cultivator to secure materials for his Rab. After the Tahal is spread evenly over the cow-dung, the whole bed is covered with a layer of fine dust, and in some cases water mixed with an appreciable quantity of cow-dung is sprinkled over the dust to ensure slow combustion. The whole is set fire to someday in the month of April or May either in the morning or in the evening. The bed is now Rabbed and is ready for sowing.

Volumes have been written for or against the Rab. Learned Professors, English and German, have condemned the system not only as being wasteful, but as useless. The orthodox people believe that the rabbing has become necessary owing to the curse of God Parashram. The legend<sup>1</sup> runs as follows:—

After Parashuram had conquered the Konkan from the Sea-God and handed it over to the Chitpavan Brahmins for the spiritual guidance of the Konkani people, the Chitpawans became very arrogant. They became so oppressive and licentious, that Parashuram in the end had to take away his promise of immortality, and make them mortal like other men. One day while Laxman, his younger brother and disciple, was walking on the red laterite rocks of the Konkan thinking very deeply about the treachery of the Chitpawans in disbelieving the power of the almighty Parashuram, his elder brother approached him. The moment, however, Parashuram came to his side, Laxman began to denounce him in the most insolent manner without any apparent cause, and accused him of deceit and ingratitude after all his personal devotion and obedience for so many years. The all-knowing Parashuram immediately divined the cause of his anger, and without a word took him up on the top of the adjoining mountain on the black soil. The moment Laxman stepped on the black soil, he repented of his arrogance and disobedience and begged Parashuram to excuse him. Parashuram again took him

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1. *Arthur Crawford, Legends of the Konkan, page 36.*





on the red laterite soil of the Tal-Konkan, when Laxman immediately became more turbulent than before. Once more did they ascend the top of the mountain when Laxman immediately repented of his foolish action and "wallowed in the dust in remorse." Quoth Parashuram very calmly, "Brother mine, it is the fault of the soil ( Jaminicha Guna Ahe ) and not yours. See what will happen when I sprinkle this laterite soil on this black soil path on which we are standing." So saying he sprinkled the red laterite soil of the Tal-Konkan on the path and asked Laxman to step on it. The moment Laxman touched the soil with his feet, he again began to revile his master, and repented of his action as soon as he stepped back on the black soil. "Behold, Laxhu, said I not truly 'tis the fault of the treacherous soil !" cried Parashuram. Whereupon Laxman in his wrath cursed the soil, saying " Jalo " ( or May it be burnt ); but Shree Parashuram, in the kindness of his divine heart, qualified the curse, " Jalo pun piko ! " ( May it be burnt, but let it be fruitful ).

Many substitutes have been tried for Rab by a number of scientists. Experiments with various kinds of manures, such as ashes, fish manure, nitre, sulphate of Ammonia, oil cakes and others, were carried on by modern experts like Dr. Mann, Prof. Knight and others to see whether it would be possible to dispense with the apparently wasteful method of Rabbing by the direct application of manure to the soil. Whether it is due to the curse of Laxman or to the peculiar properties of the soil, all have in the end agreed that at least for the trap soils of the Konkan, where the rainfall is heavy and the monsoon breaks in with full force all of a sudden without allowing sufficient time for the manure to decompose, Rabbing is the only and the best method of cultivating rice. The effect of burning Rab material on the seed-bed is not so much manurial as physical. The following advantages are claimed for the method of rabbing:—

1. Rabbing loosens the soil and separates the particles.
2. Owing to its very high temperature it promotes certain chemical combinations of the different constituents of the soil, which is very beneficial to rice cultivation.



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Uprooting for transplantation.  
( Mark the *Virle*, villagers' umbrella, lying on the ground. )





3. It kills harmful bacteria.
4. It gets rid of the weeds by burning their seed.

*Sowing*:—After the seed beds are rabbed, they are ready for sowing. As soon as the rains set in, the seed beds are hastily ploughed and the seed broadcasted. On an average about 8 lbs. are sufficient for a Guntha (  $1/40$ th of an acre ) of seed-bed, and about seven Gunthas of seed-bed are required per acre of cultivation. The seed can be sown with the first signs of rain, and if the rain holds off, artificial watering can be given to the small patch for a few days. When the seed is sown before the rains set in, and finely mixed up with the ashes of the Rab, it is called 'Dhul Vapha' or sowing in the dust.

*Uprooting*:—After about a fortnight or so, if the rains are continuous and regular, the young seedlings grow about a foot tall. If they are healthy and wellgrown, the bed has a dark green colour. If the rains are insufficient, or the bed not properly rabbed or manured, they have a yellowish tinge. They are then uprooted. If the seed-bed is properly rabbed, the operation of uprooting is comparatively easy. If not, it is rather difficult to uproot the young plants without hurting their delicate roots. The uprooted seedlings are bound in small bundles as shown in the illustration. The women use a sort of tripod-stand to rest on while the work of uprooting is going on. It is called Tiwai, and it also serves the purpose of preventing their clothes from being spoiled. The up-rooting proves a heavy task, if the soil is sticky and ill-manured and the roots have gone deep. The bundles are then taken to the fields which are in the meanwhile made ready for transplanting by repeated ploughings with a light plough, described elsewhere. It is a characteristic of this tract that a great number of buffaloes are used for ploughing. The fields generally get two cross ploughings, by which time they are puddled into thin mud. In the process of tillage, the stubbles and weeds and remnants of previous vegetation disappear.

The operations of uprooting are always performed in the morning until 10 A. M., when the labourers go for their breakfast. In some cases it may even continue until 1 P. M.



*Transplanting:*—This is perhaps the most critical operation. As has been already shown elsewhere, if the rains fail at this time, there is no hope of a good crop. "The seedlings are planted by women by hand, the root-ends being simply forced into the soft mud." Single transplantation is totally unknown in these parts. Generally two to six seedlings are planted together at intervals of 6" to 8". The number depends on the strength and vigour of the seedlings. The regularity and deftness with which the work is done is astonishing. For uprooting seedlings, carrying to the field and planting, 12 to 15 men and women are required for one acre per day. The workers are protected by a simply-constructed Virlen ( shown in the illustration ) from the heavy rains in which the work is generally conducted. The Virlen is made of Bamboo strips and overlapping leaves bound securely and so shaped that it covers the head and back. Immediately after planting, the seedlings stand in water with their tops just above it. In a week or so they take root. After transplantation the only care required is to drain off the water from time to time to allow the women to remove any weeds that might have sprung up. But if the water is sufficient, little weeding is required. The fields are generally dry by the time the crops are ready.

*Harvesting and Threshing:*—Most of the varieties planted are Halvi or early. They are generally ready for reaping by the middle of October. Reaping is done with a sickle and close to the ground. The cut crop is laid in open bundles of sheaf-size. In some cases they are exposed to the sun for a few days. After the crop is completely dry, it is bound in big bundles known as Bharas. An able-bodied labourer can carry with difficulty on his head one Bhara. These Bharas are then stacked in a heap called Udve. The grain is nearly all easily separated by beating small united bundles called Machundas or Gundies on a board. A large gunny cloth is spread somewhere in the field, on which is placed the Bânk or threshing bench. Sometimes a portion of the field is specially prepared for the purpose by spreading a layer of hard Murum,





wetted with a mixture of cowdung in water, and beat for a long time with a wooden beater or Chopne. This is finally covered with another layer of cowdung mixed in water. The ground thus prepared is called Khala. A few vigorous strokes on the threshing bench will separate the grain from the bundles. The straw is tied up into neat bundles after threshing and stacked.

*Yield per acre*:—A full yield of paddy under favourable conditions of rainfall varies between 18 Mds. to 1½ of a Khandi her acre. The quantity of the rice-straw varies in outturn with the variety. Coarse varieties have long rank inferior straw. Two tons of straw per acre are often obtained. The straw is much used for thatching the houses. It is renewed every year, and the old straw, called Kembali, is used as Rab material.

The following is an estimate of the cost of cultivating an acre, both for a capitalistic farmer and a working cultivator, for an acre of transplanted land in a village where Rabbing is practised on a very large scale:—

	With hired labour		With cultivator's own labour.	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
Cost of preparing seed-bed, arranging, burning Rab, hand-digging, levelling, sowing seed and covering, with the cost of seed at current rates	14	0	10	0
Ploughing and puddling fields:—				
(a) <i>Ukhalana</i> or first ploughing,	2	0	2	0
(b) <i>Ber</i> or cross-ploughing	1	0	1	0
(c) Puddling	2	0	2	0
Labour for transplanting	8	0	6	0
Reaping, bundling, carrying and threshing.	8	0	5	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>0</b>
Assessment	5	12	5	12
	<b>40</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>12</b>

**Income:—**

Value of grain (Average one Khandi at Rs. 55 per Khandi )	55	0
Value of Straw (Average 500 bundles at 40 bundles per rupee )	12	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	67	8

This shows a net return to the capitalist farmer of Rs. 26 As. 12, and for a working cultivator Rs. 35-12-0. It must be, however, remembered that the cultivation in the village is mainly carried on by tenants who rent their lands from the absentee landlords and that there are practically no capitalist farmers. The few persons who own their lands in the village are working cultivators. It will be seen that for a tenant who works himself with his family on the land, the total expense of cultivation per acre comes to Rs. 26. The rent that he has generally to pay to the absentee landlord is settled in kind and fixed at 10 maunds of paddy. In some cases an additional rent in the form of 250 bundles of straw per acre is exacted from the tenants. But generally a large portion of the tenants keep all the straw to themselves. If we exclude the straw, this hardly leaves any balance to the cultivator in the form of paddy. The question then naturally arises as to why the tenants cultivate the lands. It is probably because of (1) the strong attachment to the soil which once belonged to their ancestors but has now passed from their hands to the Savkars, (2) the few days' maintenance after the harvest, (3) the possession of straw which gives them a means to reap all the profits from their cattle, and (4) employment for at least four months for all the members of the family near their houses. The strong conservatism and the almost insuperable reluctance to leave their native village unless forced by starvation probably play a great part in keeping the tenant to the soil in spite of semi-starvation.

**Nagli.**

Next to rice the second important crop grown in the village is Nagli. Nagli is grown either in the Varkas lands or





lands which are too light for rice and cannot be terraced on account of their steepness. Like rice, Nagli can be grown vigorously only on lands which are rabbed. The process of Rabbing is very similar to that of rice, already described. The soil is ploughed twice soon after the first rainfall, and is again ploughed after a week's interval. The other processes are similar to those of rice.

The area under Nagli in the village has varied very greatly from year to year. In the year 1906-7 only 12 gunthas are reported to be under the crop, while in the year 1921-22 as many as 18 acres are said to be occupied by it. The same is the case with Vari.

The expenses of cultivation per Guntha come to about four annas, two annas for ploughing and two annas for other sundry labour. This works out to Rs. 7 As. 8 per acre of cultivation. The average yield per acre, according to the information supplied by the villagers, varies between 11 and 13 Maunds. At the current rate of Nagli this gives Rs. 18 as the gross income per acre for grain. The straw is used in some cases as fodder, but is of a very inferior value. The income for the straw per acre may be put at Rs. 2. This gives a net profit of Rs. 10-8-0 per acre, excluding the land assessment.

#### Vari.

Vari like Nagli is a Kharip crop and is raised from Rab seedlings. The cultivation of both the crops is much alike. While the seedlings are growing the field is ploughed three or four times during the first three weeks of the rains. About one lb. of seed per guntha is broad-casted on the seed bed and five to seven Gunthas of seedbed will furnish seedlings sufficient for an acre of cultivation for transplantation. Transplanting is done very carefully similar to Nagli or rice. The number of seedlings planted together in one whole depends upon their strength. If they have grown vigorously in the seedbed fewer are required.

No extra manuring is necessary; the residue left after the previous crop is gathered is sufficient. If transplanted in July, it becomes ready in October. A long stubble is generally left



in the field after the harvest is reaped, the straw having no economic value, except as a Rab material.

The yield per acre is similar to that of Nagli. The expenses of cultivation per acre also approximate to those of the same, except that the crop needs one weeding more. The straw having no commercial value, the net profit per acre works out to Rs. 8/- for a working cultivator. Nagli and Vari are not grown on lands rented in the village.

Both Nagli and Vari are used by the villagers as a staple food in addition to rice. It is also used on fast-days by the middle and the richer classes.

#### Val.

It would be seen from the table given in Appendix I that the area reported under double crop varies from 16 acres and 5 gunthas in the year 1905-06 to 1 acre and 10 gunthas in 1920-21. Owing to the heavy rainfall, one would expect a larger area under double crop. But Val is the only second crop grown in the village, although, as has been remarked, there is an occasional mention of Mug and Tur. It must be remembered that the most suitable soil for the Rabi crop of Val is either black or clay soil, very retentive of moisture and if possible situated in a lowlying damp situation. It will be easily seen from what has been said in this and a preceding chapter that the soil of the village is scarcely suitable for the growth of this second crop of Val. It is by no means retentive of moisture, and moreover most of the fields lie on a natural rise of the ground. This makes it almost impossible for the soil to retain moisture for any length of time after the rains are over, and so renders the raising of this crop impossible, to any appreciable extent.





The Village Cattle.



## CHAPTER V.

### THE LIVE STOCK OF THE VILLAGE.

Next to the soils and the crops of the village, the live stock forms an important economic factor, and deserves a great deal of investigation if we want to have a real insight into its economic condition. After a minute house to house inquiry it was found that the village possessed cattle numbering 231. The average number per family comes to about 3. It will be seen from the following table that this number is slightly in excess of that for 1919-20. The tendency on the whole is towards an increase.

	1894-95	1900-01	1908-09	1919-20	1923
Bullocks and Bulls	54	37	38	50	60
Cows	22	34	33	37	39
Calves	27	24	33	42	32
He-Buffaloes	56	50	56	61	70
She „	20	16	20	12	19
Buffalo-Calves.	9	7	19	11	11
Total	188	168	199	213	231

The large number of buffaloes should be noted. The number in 1900-01 seems to be affected by about 11 per cent. by famine.

Out of the 76 families as many as 18 or about 24 per cent. do not possess animals of any kind. It must be remembered, however, that one of these is a beggar, one an old woman supported by her son who works in Bombay, while 6 are mere labourers and till no land. Out of the remaining 10 families, who either own or cultivate some land, two are regularly engaged elsewhere, one at the Tata Company as a fitter, and the other in a wine shop at Roha, and so consider agriculture as a by-industry, to be managed by their wives and children. One, again, is a widow who gets regular instalments of money





from her two sons working at Bombay and Basra, and looks upon agriculture as a pastime. She can very easily afford to take on hire ploughs in the rainy season, even at fancy rates. The remaining do not cultivate more than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  acre each. These families can scarcely be classed, therefore, as agriculturists. As will be seen from below, all who follow agriculture as a serious pursuit are well supplied with cattle.

Only 29 or 30 per cent of the total number of families possess milking animals. This is by no means a satisfactory state of affairs.' There are 44 families who possess one or more working animals. The total number of oxen and he-buffaloes in May 1923 stood at 60 and 70 respectively. The distribution of working animals, however, is far from desirable, there being as many as 10 out of the 44 families who boast of only one bullock or he-buffalo. So the remaining 120 working animals are divided between 34 families. These of course let out their ploughs, but not unless their own work is over, to their neighbours.

If we take, however, the village as a whole, we have 130 working animals for 121 acres of the available paddy land. Including the additional 60 acres of outside land that the villagers at present cultivate in addition to village land, we get about three acres for each pair of working animals, a very satisfactory state of affairs. The villagers hold that a pair of bullocks put in  $1\frac{1}{4}$  times as much work as a pair of he-buffaloes. The buffalo is somewhat slow and difficult to manage, while ploughing. The quality of the work turned out by a pair of buffaloes, however, is far superior to that of the bullocks, as deeper tilling is ensured on account of the buffalo's greater stamina and strength, and more than compensates for the deficiency of the volume.

The common pasture of the village comes to about fourteen and a half acres. Adding to this area about 40 acres of Varkas land, which is generally available for grazing, we get 54 acres 15 gunthas as the total area available for grazing.

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1. We shall have to refer to this while discussing infant mortality,



This is quite insufficient for the comparatively fair number of cattle existing. The available grazing area consists mostly of rocky ground, and can afford but a scanty supply of fodder. The grass is coarse and not of a very superior quality. The grazing is found only during the rainy season, and generally lasts for about two months more. For about a fortnight in the beginning of the monsoon, untilled rice fields afford a nice grazing. From July to November, the bunds of the rice fields, often as broad as four feet, supply a great deal of fodder. The grass is sometimes well grown, and can be cut and baled either for immediate use or for storing.

From the beginning of January, however, the condition of the cattle becomes quite miserable. The rice and the Nachani straw is given generally to the working animals and the cows and she-buffaloes in milk. The dry cows and the young stock, except those which are more or less depending on their mothers' milk, are let loose to roam about in search of food and pick up what they can find throughout the day irrespective of the limits of ownership.

The water supply too, as has been already pointed out elsewhere, is quite defective. The Kundalika and the Ganga practically dry up by the middle of April, and what drinkable water there remains in the bed of the Ganga, on account of the bund erected by the villagers to prevent the tide coming up, is scarcely sufficient and suitable. Not only this, but for more than a month or so it is no more than a revolting mixture of mud and filth. I have personally witnessed not a few of the idle and indolent owners coaxing their cattle to accept the disgusting stuff as drinking water, and the cattle with a better sense of sanitary requirements, stoutly refusing to drink! The more sensible and careful owner, of course, takes his cattle to Dhatao, about three miles away, where in the deeper bed of the Kundalika a good supply of water is still available. But on the whole, so far as the supply of fodder and drinking water is concerned, the condition of the cattle is pitiable in the extreme during the hot-weather months.





It will be seen from the above that the inadequate supply of water and the scarcity of fodder dominate the situation. In addition to these the trying heat in the months of April and May affect the animals, especially the buffaloes a great deal. Systematic cattle-breeding is particularly absent. No care is taken about mating. As a result the breed is stunted, pigmy and poor. The cows especially are very poor milkers, and give on an average about one seer of milk per day for six or seven months during the year. They are looked upon more as breeders of draught animals than milkers. The she-buffaloes on the contrary are fairly good milkers, giving from four to five seers of milk per day. They are generally given about two seers of Mahadi—a coarse kind of red rice boiled and mixed with sometimes about half a seer of rice husk. The mixture is known as Khichadi. In the month of November, and at times throughout the year, they are given the stalks and turfs of Varana, called Guli in those parts. After five or six months, however, the animals become practically dry, owing to neglect and want of adequate supply of fodder and drink. There is no reason why the villagers should not make a decided effort to develop the dairy industry on more systematic and rational lines, when they have a good ready market at Roha within easy reach. A successful dairy industry at Padam, another village near Roha, where similar conditions regarding the supply of fodder and water prevail, has made its inhabitants very prosperous. Carelessness and lethargy are probably more responsible than the difficulties of the situation.

The buffaloes are a somewhat short and active breed and are extensively used as draught animals. This is a characteristic of a Konkan village. Some of the bullocks have been bought from the Hed from above the Ghats, but it is said that they do not stand the heavy rainfall as well as the local Konkan breed.

There are no horses, goats or sheep in the village.

Generally all the work cattle are castrated.<sup>1</sup> Castration is carried on by the process of mulling. In this method the glands are destroyed by beating or crushing with a heavy wooden mallet. The Mangs from the neighbouring village have a monopoly of this work, there being no people belonging to these classes in the village itself as pointed out elsewhere. They are paid at the rate of As. 6 per bullock and As. 8 per buffalo in addition to one seer of rice each.

The people seem to be somewhat practical so far as the use of she-buffaloes, which are either permanently barren or are so for more than three or four years, as draught animals is concerned.<sup>2</sup> Of course owing to religious scruples nobody in the village would ever think of treating a barren cow in the same way.

#### Poultry.

About 59 families out of the total number of 76 possess a greater or less number of fowls. The total number in May 1923, according to the house to house census taken, stood at 241. This means that on an average each family has 3 fowls. Now, unlike what is found in a European<sup>3</sup> or American village, where cattle are looked upon not only as draught and milking animals, but also as a source of meat and where, while discussing the problem of live stock in Agricultural<sup>4</sup> Economics, we have to lay great stress on the economic methods of the quick growth and fattening of the animals, the proper methods of slaughtering and packing the meat, the utilization of the by-products etc., in an Indian village the only industry other than the

1. See *Prof. Knight's* "The Value of Castration of the Deccan Bullocks" Agricultural Department Bulletin No 62-1914.

2. "In some parts of Europe the peasant farmers meet this difficulty (*viz* the maintenance of draught animals) by working their cows even when they are in milk." *Keatinge*, A Note on Cattle in the Bombay Presidency Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 85 of 1917 page 6.

3. The United States, Argentine, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and Denmark, are the chief live-stock countries of the world.

4. Page 365, *Boyle*, Agricultural Economics.



sowing and gathering of the corn that the farmer can follow both as a source of food and a means of supplementing his scanty resources is the proper rearing and management of poultry. The soil near the river is dry and sandy and is likely to be suitable for an ideal poultry farm if an enterprising villager gets it into his head.

A young fowl generally fetches from four to ten annas while a full grown up one brings in about a rupee and a half. An egg in the fair season, when communication with Bombay is easier, fetches about an anna each.

The fowls are mostly of the usual kind found in these parts. Most of the hens are sitters. The villagers, however, often cannot resist the temptation of disposing of the best males for a fancy price in the brisk season, notwithstanding that the breed thus on the whole deteriorates.

*What is the live stock worth ?* :—There were, as has been stated above, 231 animals in the village in the month of May 1923. The following is a more detailed statement :—

Cows (dry).....	24
Cows (in milk).....	15
Bullocks.....	16
Bulls .....	44
Calves.....	32
She-buffaloes (dry) .....	12
She-buffaloes (in milk)...	7
He-buffaloes.....	70
Buffalo-calves.....	11
Total	231.

Out of these one bullock and one he-buffalo were taken on hire —on Vafa— and so must be excluded. At the rates existing in the village, based on minute personal inquiry and recent sales both in the village and from the Hed, the total valuation of the whole stock comes to Rs. 7,615, a fairly large figure, as follows:—

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1. In the recent World War the Dutch and Danish farmers amassed amazingly large fortunes by supplying eggs and meat to the belligerent nations.



15	Bullocks at Rs. 50 per animal.....	Rs. 750
40	Bulls for ploughing at Rs. 45 per bull.....	„ 1800
4	Bulls used for Chakdi and cart, at Rs. 70 each,,	280
32	Calves at Rs. 10 each.....	„ 320
24	Cows ( dry ) at Rs. 15 each.....	„ 360
15	Cows ( in milk ) at Rs. 35 each.....	„ 525
12	She-buffaloes (dry) at Rs. 30 each.....	„ 360
7	„ „ in milk at Rs. 50 each.....	„ 350
69	He-buffaloes at Rs. 40 each.....	„ 2760
11	Buffalo-calves at Rs. 10 each.....	„ 110
Total		<u>Rs. 7615</u>

#### The housing of the cattle.

The housing of the cattle, it must be admitted, is fairly adequate, most of the owners who possess a large number of animals having separate cowsheds. The average area of a normal shed comes to about 300 sq. ft., as can be easily seen from the table given below:—

Area <sup>1</sup> in sq. ft.	Number.
400 to 500	1
300 to 400	8
200 to 300	9
100 to 200	5
Below 100	2
Total	<u>25</u>

A majority of the sheds have mud walls, an open enclosure being infrequent. The floor is made of hard Murum, which is generally renewed every year. Formerly it was usual for the villagers to keep their cattle in their fields at night during the fair season. This custom seems to be partly given up. There is no arrangement in the cowsheds for collecting cattle urine to be utilised as manure, a valuable part of it thus being lost. Unlike what is found in a Deccan village, a very small portion of the cow-dung is used for cakes, a greater portion of it being required for the preparation of Rab - the rice seed bed in the fields prepared in the summer - which has been already described.

1. From personal inquiry.





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## CHAPTER VI

### THE PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE

We have already studied the physical, geological and the climatic condition of the village. We have also gone through the rainfall, the main crops, the implements of cultivation, and the live stock of the village for a number of years and have recorded some valuable information. Now we turn our attention to the people of the village; because it is after all the personality of the agriculturist, his grit, energy and his moral fibre that counts most. Nature may bless a particular province with all her abundance; but if the agricultural population is totally devoid of intelligence, industry and initiative, the advantages are likely to remain unavailed of. It is, therefore, a very interesting and important part of our inquiry to study the people, their manners and social customs, along with their economic condition. Are the people, as revealed from the close personal investigations, able to make the two ends meet? Have they got sufficient incentive and food to exert themselves to the utmost? Can they ever hope to rise above the struggling level by dint of hard and systematic labour? Is there any room for immediate improvement in their ways of life? Are the general health and the sanitary condition of the village as they should be? Are the majority able to live in 'comfort' according to their own standard of life? These are some of the questions that must be answered correctly if our investigations are to prove of any avail. An attempt has been made in the present and the next chapter to give an adequate idea as to their present social, economic and sanitary condition. The figures were obtained after a minute house-to-house inquiry, with the co-operation of a few intelligent villagers. They were tested and corroborated, whenever possible, with the help of Government Records. The writer himself lived for more than two months in the village and made himself very familiar with



the people. This enabled him to get information which somewhat cautious villagers are not prone to give easily. He has been in general contact with the people for more than five years, and has had many opportunities of minutely observing their ways of life. The people owing to various reasons are very suspicious, especially when they find that inquiries regarding their annual incomes and expenditures are so zealously undertaken. The villager is quick to scent even in those innocent inquiries a preliminary stage of a new tax or perchance another campaign for recruits! A very cautious and skilful handling only will succeed in coaxing him to be more confidential and in dispelling his somewhat just fears and resentment, before he gives confidential answers to such inquiries.

According to a house-to-house census undertaken in the month of May 1923, the village contained 76 families, with a total population of 346 souls. With the exception of two Bhandari families, all the inhabitants belong to the Agree caste. The Bhandaries, who are generally found in the coastal garden villages in the district in great numbers, have followed for generations together the profession of the extraction and sale of Toddy-country liquor. One of them owned formerly the liquor shop in the village until it was abolished six or seven years ago. He naturally made a great deal of money in his profession, the Agree villagers always being his willing and eager customers. He has lived uptil now on what he saved, and by this time has been reduced to the common economic level of the village. He has, however, the unique advantage of being the only literate adult, and on account of his shrewdness and business capacity, has become the common referee of the whole village, whether for drafting the mortgage or the sale deeds or for sound advice in matrimonial and family disputes. He has managed to outshine even the village elders, who are generally the natural leaders of the village and the Mulki and Fonzdari Patils who always have their own way in other villages. The manager of the only other Bhandari family is an old man who has opened a tea-shop on the road side.





As<sup>1</sup> stated above, more than 95 per cent of the population are Agree by caste. Out of the 74 Agree families, it is noteworthy to remember, not less than 58 are Mores<sup>2</sup>, the rest having surnames such as Daces, Bhois, Minminas, and Borkars. There are no Mahomedans or Jews, neither can we meet here the inevitable Marwadi money-lender. The proximity to Roha where the villagers can easily secure the necessary loans either from the Marwadi, Gujar or the Brahmin Savkars, probably accounts for this. The total absence of the untouchable classes is also not less striking. The villagers firmly believe that the presiding deity of their village site cannot tolerate the presence of the untouchables, and would be very angry if the site is polluted by their stay. It is interesting to remember that the Gaothan (village site) is not polluted if the untouchables visit it by day. Only they should not pass any night within the limits of the Gaothan. The real reason, however, seems to be that the usual work of the village to be managed by the untouchable classes, to wit the removing of the dead bodies of the cattle, castration of the young bullocks and he-buffaloes etc., has been managed probably from the very establishment of the village by the Chamars and the Mangs of the neighbouring villages, there being insufficient work to support even a few families of the untouchables in the village itself. This superstitious belief in the likes and dislikes of the presiding deity of the Gaothan is a characteristic of the Konkani agriculturist. Not a few of the village sites have been completely given over simply because the village magi ordained it so.'

The total population of the village<sup>3</sup>, as has been already stated, stood at 346 in the month of May 1923, distributed according to castes as follows:—

1. From personal investigation.
2. A surname.
3. From personal inquiry.



Caste	No. of Families	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Agree	74	108	108	67	54	332
Bhandari	2	5	3	4	2	14

Boys above the age of 16 years are classed as adults. Girls who were married and were living with their husbands were also counted as adults. As Dr. Mann remarks in his "Land and Labour in a Deccan village," in an Indian community girls very early take up the full duties of a grown-up woman generally about the age of 14 or 15 and the Agree community in our village is no exception to this general rule.

It will be interesting to compare these figures with those of the preceding three censuses.<sup>1</sup>

Year	Men	Women	Total
1861	—	—	376
1901	188	188	376
1911	169	163	332
1921	144	152	296
May 1923	Men 108 Boys 71 } 179	Women 111 Girls 56 } 167	346

The low figure in 1921 is probably due to the direct and indirect effects of the famine in 1918-19, when, according to the account of the villagers, a large number left the village in search of better employment to make up the debts incurred and went to Bombay.

Two points are worth emphasising. Firstly, except in 1921 the number of males either equals or exceeds that of females. If we take the average for four years, the total number of males slightly exceeds that of females. Secondly, the average number of men, women and children per family comes to 1.4, 1.5, and 1.7 respectively. The average number of persons per family is 4.6. The largest family contains as many as 13 members, having 3 men, 3 women, 5 boys

1. From Government Village Records.





and 2 girls; while there are no less than 4 families having a solitary male or female member. It may be stated, therefore, that so far as the homogeneity and the balancing of the sexes are concerned, this village is very much like a typical village in the Deccan.<sup>1</sup>

The following table gives the birth and the death rate for the last ten years.

Year	Births.			Deaths		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1911	13	4	17	4	3	7
1912	6	3	9	1	9	10
1913	10	12	22	9	3	12
1914	8	9	17	9	8	17
1915	10	9	19	11	7	18
1916	10	8	18	5	3	8
1917	6	4	10	6	8	14
1918	6	4	10	10	9	19
1919	4	6	10	5	6	11
Total	73	59	132	60	56	116

Taking the average population at 325, this gives a birth-rate of 15, or 4·6 per cent, and a death rate of 13 or exactly 4 per cent. It is remarkable that the village emerged unscathed from the ravages of the influenza epidemic, which took a very heavy toll of life elsewhere in the Taluka, some villages being virtually depopulated owing to its ravages. Not only this, but the number of deaths recorded in 1918, is the least, if we exclude the figure in 1912 when the number recorded is as low as 9, or 2·7 per cent of the population.

It should also be noted that the proportion of the total deaths recorded to the total births in the case of males during these years is lower than that in the case of the females.

For the five years following 1915, of the total deaths of 70 recorded in the village register, as many as 27 or 38·5 per cent were of children below the age of three years, as the following table will show:—

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1. *Dr. Mann, Land and Labour in a Deccan Village.*



Year <sup>1</sup>	Total deaths recorded.	Deaths of children below 3 years.
1915	18	11
1916	8	2
1917	14	5
1918	19	5
1919	11	4
Total	70	27

This is certainly alarming. Considering the general health of the village as a whole and the comparatively low death-rate, the large number of child-deaths is rather difficult to explain, especially when they have got the advantage of medical aid within easy distance at Roha, unless we ascribe it to the glaring deficiency of the milk-supply as well as to the fact that the population as a whole gets scarcely sufficient nourishment.

Except for this excessive child death-rate, the health of the village on the whole is very satisfactory. The people are practically free from the pest of thread-worm, a disease which is common in almost all villages in this Taluka. This is striking, especially when the water supply is defective. Malaria and Cholera, the two common diseases in these parts taking a heavy toll of life, generally leave this village untouched, while the ever-devastating pestilence of plague is conspicuous by its absence.

The good health of the village is probably due to the unique advantage the village possesses in being situated on a comparatively higher level. As has been already remarked, the village is constantly exposed to the refreshing cool breezes from the Kundalika creek. These sea breezes probably account for the absence of Malaria. They also mitigate to a great extent the extreme heat of the Sun in the summer. The drainage is naturally good, as the village filth is more or less practically washed away in the rivers near by. The fact that a

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1. From Government Records.





large number of families have separate sheds for cattle may also be held accountable for the general good health. The high foundation of almost all the houses probably keeps the floor dry in the rainy season, and thus checks the growth of malaria.

*Housing of the village:*—Out of the 76 families only 5 live in rented houses. The rest of the villagers own their sweet homes. Two of the families possess two houses each. Unlike what is found in a coastal garden village in the District, or in a typical Deccan<sup>1</sup> or Bengal<sup>2</sup> village, the houses are cramped together in the decidedly narrow and insufficient area of the village Gaathan. It is already stated that the Gaathan measures only about five and a half acres.<sup>3</sup> The Gaathan lies on the banks of the Ganga to the south of the Roha-Kolad Road. There are no compounds either big or small, surrounding the homesteads. At many points the lanes are as narrow as three feet. Generally all the houses are tiled. A tiled house is considered as a mark of riches. As the straw rises in value, however, as it has done in the last four or five years, the cultivator is bound to find it economical to cover his house with tiles. This has been already done on a large scale in other villages especially on the sea coast, where year after year more and more neatly tiled houses are appearing in the villages in the place of the old thatched ones.

Most of the houses have three compartments, one for cooking, the other used as a sitting and a common room, while the middle front part is used for a chat with the outsider or for midday nap. There is very little furniture to be met with, except a rough wooden cot and a plank supported by two small wooden blocks at the end forming a sort of rough bench. The front room will generally contain a cradle, and a small Chakki for grinding the corn, with its wooden accessories. There are only two chairs in the whole village, one in the house of the Mulki Patil, and the other with the Bhandari.

1. *Mann*, Land and Labour in a Deccan Village, Page 113.
2. *J. Jack*, Economic Life of a Bengal District, Page 19.
3. Government Village records.



wine merchant. Except in the houses of those who are comparatively well off, there are very few brass or copper pots. Not a few of them, with a touch of pathetic humour, assured the writer that the household utensils were generally of Damakhadi<sup>1</sup> make, where they are manufactured by the village potters.

The houses are, however, clean, warm and well kept. About 15 houses have merely Bamboo partitions, covered with a layer of earth and cowdung. About ten more have half mud walls, the upper portion being covered with Bamboo or Karvi<sup>2</sup> partitions. The rest have full mud walls. Unlike what is found in a Deccan village, there are no stone buildings.<sup>3</sup> In this respect the village resembles a typical Bengal village<sup>4</sup>.

The average area per house is about 400 sq. ft., a fairly large one. The following figures were obtained by rough measurements, while making a house-to-house survey, and will indicate how widely they differ in size:—

Size of the houses in Sq. ft.	No.
1200—1300	1
700— 800	2
600— 700	3
500— 600	7
400— 500	14
300— 400	19
200— 300	19
100— 200	6
Below 100	1

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Total 72

*N. B. (1)* 6 families share their houses with their brothers, the partitions in some cases not being yet complete.

(2) 2 have 2 houses each.

*Some Religious and Social Customs of the Village:—*It would not be out of place at this stage to discuss some leading prevailing social customs and religious beliefs of the people.

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1 Another village near Roha, 2. Straight long off-shoots of trees found in abundance in the forest 3. *Mann*, Life and Labour in a Deccan Village. 4. *J. Jack*, Economic Life of a Bengal District.





Because it is after all these that count for much of the larger outlook of life, and provide the chief motive for action in every community.

In common with other Hindus, the Agrees, the caste to which most of the inhabitants of the village belong, believe in a number of gods and goddesses ; but the following are the chief amongst others, whom the people specially worship:—

- (1) Khanderaï, the Chief God of worship.
- (2) Bahiri, the Protecting Deity, and
- (3) Bhavani, the goddess who gives response to Navas (a sort of promise, made by the devotee to god in return for some favour).

All the three deities are offered once in a year a "grand sacrifice" consisting of a goat, a cock, cocoanuts and rice covered with Shendur. Every house is asked to contribute one fowl and one cocoanut for the common sacrifice, called " वड (वडी)", held once in a year, generally "on the last day of the month. It is noteworthy to remember that the only temple in the village (seen in the accompanying picture) contains the goddess Bhavani, and not the God Hanuman or Maruti, as is common in every village in the Deccan. This is a peculiar characteristic of most of the Konkani villagers.<sup>1</sup> Most of the Agrees maintain that they belong to Kashyapa Gotra. They believe in rebirth and perform the Shraddha ceremony, when the village astrologer, a Brahmin from the neighbouring village, presides. It is noteworthy to remember that as yet there are no traces of revolt against Brahmin priesthood.

The people assemble every fortnight generally on the eleventh day ( or Eka-dashi ) of the month in the village temple for Bhajan when songs in praise of God are sung in company with music. Tukaram is the favourite saint whose wellknown Abhangas are very popular.

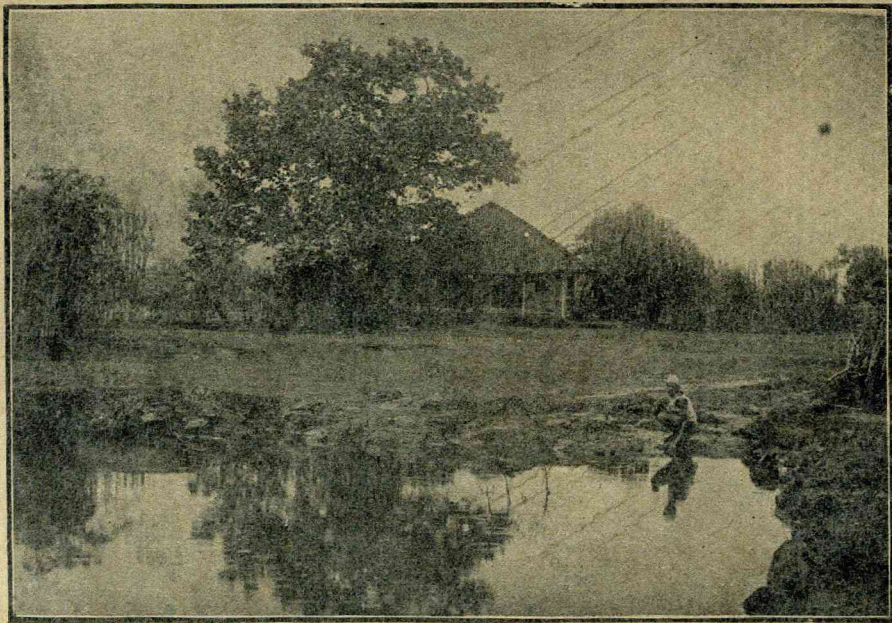
There is a peculiar custom amongst the villagers by which each person has to publicly acknowledge a 'Garu' or preceptor, belonging to a wandering sect of mendicants,

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1. See Jackson, Folklore in the Konkan, page 11.



CSL



The Village Temple.





On an auspicious day, the preceptor tells in the ear of his would-be disciple a "mantra", for which he is entitled to a yearly tax. On that day there is a common feast, in which all have to partake of a large common bread and have to drink from a common cup.

The villagers believe in ghosts. They believe that small-pox are due to the curse of a goddess and worship her accordingly, whenever a person is attacked with it.

In addition to cremation, it is not uncommon to bury the dead. It is believed that the person departed returns back on the 12th day from his death, when the ceremony of " " is being performed. It is said that he communicates any of his desires that remain unfulfilled through his newest heir, who is said to be haunted by him temporarily.

As has been said elsewhere, polygamy is common; so also re-marriage is allowed and is common. It is called Pat. Marriage with the daughter of one's father's sister is sanctioned and often takes place.

*Education*:—Literacy is at a very low ebb in the village. Only three males, all from the wine-merchant's family are able to read or write. One of these attends the Konkan Education Society's High School at Roha, and is studying in the seventh standard. But there is not a single individual in the whole of the Agree community, who can read or write. Only one youth in the whole of the village made the reluctant admission that he attended school in his childhood for some days, but could scarcely recognise the letters of his vernacular alphabet. He, however, tried to convince the writer, that he was doing well in spite of it. This point is mentioned here, because it is generally thought that by bringing to the agriculturist's door the blessing of primary education we place in his hands a powerful weapon to fight all the evils of his

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1. It is said that the Mantra is "तन, मन, धन, करी गुरुला अर्पण" or I offer my body, soul, and wealth to my Preceptor."



situation. Primary education, in short, is held to be the panacea for all the troubles. It must be remembered, however, that to be really effective, primary education will have to be made universal, and supplemented by continuation classes in agriculture and kindred subjects. Failing this, instead of really improving the condition of agriculturist, we shall only make him discontented with his present lot and, as the villagers firmly affirm, shall be the cause of drawing away the better intellects from the field of agriculture to more tempting and seemingly profitable avenues of life. To avoid this, the present course of primary education shall have to be thoroughly revised and repast, so as to suit the agriculturist and to create in him a genuine liking and grasp of rural conditions and problems. The present course is too literary and one-sided, and is bound to create in the mind of the would-be agriculturist an unjustified contempt for all sort of physical work, and make him unfit for his future life.<sup>1</sup> As is found elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> if no improvements are effected in the present educational curriculum, there is a great danger of the blessing of primary education being turned into a disguised curse<sup>3</sup>, as it is bound to draw away from agriculture, the mother industry of India, the discontented men from the villages to the industrial centres like Bombay, and to its inevitable degenerating and enervating influences.

*Emigration* :—Even at present, owing to various causes, which it will be better to discuss elsewhere, a fairly large number of villagers have left the village in search of better employment. According to the available statistics, as many as

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1. *J. Jack*, Life in a Bengal District.

2. Report on Emigration from Rural Districts in England and Wales by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, London, 1913 (*Boyle*, Agricultural Economics).

3. "Not much value can be attached to elementary schools, which teach village children little more than to read and write". *Dr. G. Slater*, Some South Indian Villages.



67 individuals, or 19 per cent of the whole population,<sup>1</sup> have left the village either partly or permanently. The Konkani villager, like his brother upcountry,<sup>2</sup> always looks back fondly to his native village, when residing in Bombay or other industrial centres, even when he may not possess anything except a flimsy claim of blood relationship to some of the village families, and never leaves the hope that he may one day or other be able to return back to the homestead of his forefathers.

Out of the 67 persons who have left the village, as already remarked, 28 are men, 27 women, 8 boys, and 7 girls. Two of the men have gone to Busra. The rest are in Bombay. An attempt was made to get a reliable figure of the net amount sent to the village by the emigrants. It was found that only Rs. 250/- or so were received annually by the families of the emigrants. The figure is not a very large one, but perhaps it is due to the fact that as many as 17 men have taken their wives and children with them.<sup>3</sup> There are only 7 adults who live singly, and can be said to be in a position to make remittances home. This added to the peculiar weakness of the Agree for liquor, especially in the face of innumerable temptations in the stimulating atmosphere at Bombay, makes it almost impossible for the average man to lay by anything, in spite of the high nominal wages. It is not an uncommon occurrence in the village, that an emigrant, freshly returned from Bombay, has to be equipped afresh by his friends or relations with the money necessary for his passage back to Bombay. An agriculturist generally loses his grit and patience even by a short stay in the emasculating environments of Bombay life, and on his return

1. It is interesting to find that the committee recently appointed by the Central Co-operative Institute, Bombay, to suggest suitable methods for the introduction of Co-operation in the Konkan Districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri find that about 85 to 90 per cent of the population of the District of Kolaba is stationary.

2. Dr. Mann, Village Study No. 2, page 111.

3. Findlay Shirras, Working Class Budgets.



home generally finds himself unequal to the exacting labour of agriculture. In addition he contracts not a few of the expensive and unnecessary fashions of Bombay life. His brain is whirling with ideas about his social position which are too idealistic and impracticable, and he very soon becomes discontented with his lot. There is no wonder that the average farmer, patient, painstaking, and generally content with his home and family in spite of the innumerable drawbacks of his situation, looks upon the foppish dandy fresh from Bombay as a good-for-nothing idler.

*Litigation:*—The Agree agriculturist, at least in these parts, is scarcely litigious by nature. The inquiries made at Roha in the civil and the criminal courts confirmed this impression. The reason is probably found in the fact that most of the petty disputes are settled in the village Jamat by the Panchas or elders. The village Jamat is a free assembly of the people, in which every adult householder has a right to vote. All the disputes are settled by a majority of votes, at least it is believed that they are so settled. In practice, however, it is invariably the loudest voice, backed by physical force, arrogance and bullying, that carries the day. There is at least one 'session' of the Jamat every month. It is interesting to observe that the Jamat never rises up without punishing somebody for some fault, genuine or otherwise. Before the session begins, the elders "clear up" their brains by a dose or two of strong liquor specially brought for the occasion from the neighbouring town of Roha, the cost of which is invariably defrayed from the would-be-coming-in fines. Every sitting makes the culprit or culprits pay a fine of at least Rs. 5 which is credited to the general funds and utilized the same evening for providing liquor to all the members of the village. It is not uncommon to find a man fined to the extent of Rs. 20 for a trivial fault of abusing or insulting the elders. The severity of the fine, however, varies with the means of the culprit, the frequency or otherwise of the total number of sittings in the month, and the degree of good or bad blood existing between the culprit and





the dominating party of the village elders. A young intelligent boy, recently come of age, thus summed up the position: 'The Village Jamat is the supreme equalising force. It relieves a person of any surplus that might have been saved by him through dint of hard work,—which is however very rare—in the form of fines and compulsory contribution to the general fund. On the other hand it provides the pauper and the spendthrift with the one article of luxury—liquor—from the general funds. It chops off those of the branches that have overgrown, and tries to make up for the deficiency in growth in others by occasional doles and allowances for liquor. It thus tries to keep everybody, as it were, within proper limits and ensures a uniform economic level. It is thus a great socialistic equalising agency.' It should be remembered, however, that the man who expressed these ideas is a well-to-do person, and has been fined very recently by the Jamat rather heavily for a trifling breach of the Jamat Regulations.

Notwithstanding what has been said above, the Jamat saves the people a great deal of trouble, expense and worry and serves a great purpose as a unifying social force of invaluable strength.

*The Daily Routine and Amusements of the Villagers :—* To a man living in a city like Bombay, the life of the average villager appears to be a dull one. It is true that in the harvest season, a large number of Kolhaties, Phanse Pardhis and other wandering tribes visit his village, and especially the Kolhaties amuse him with occasional nights of music and dancing, of which he is extremely fond. A young inexperienced farmer not infrequently spends quite a disproportionate amount on this sort of amusement. The wandering juggler or ropedancer also at times does away with the monotony of daily life. Except for such occasional amusements, the life of the cultivator runs in a smooth monotonous groove. It is very like that of the Bengal villager in the districts like Faridpur<sup>1</sup>, in which only one rice crop is grown. The whole year is divided into

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1 J. Jack, *Economic Life in a Bengal District*.



periods of hard work, light work and idleness in turn. As has been already pointed out, for the months of June, July and a fortnight in August, he has to work very hard in ploughing his fields and transplanting his paddy. In these days he gets up very early in the morning and after a puff or two at his Chilim-tobacco pipe, starts off to his fields often as distant as three miles. There he is soon followed by his wife and children, together with the hired labourers, if any. On their arrival the up-rooting of the young seedlings begins, and continues until about 9-30 A. M. when soon the breakfast arrives. After breakfast (which consists of bread and Chatni), the farmer and the other male labourers begin ploughing, and the women and a few male labourers who are not ploughing engage themselves in uprooting the paddy. By the time the sun has turned half way to the west, the work of transplanting the paddy is in full swing and continues until it is quite dark, when the weary farmer, accompanied by his wife and children turns his steps towards his home. But this is not always; at least for half the days in this brisk season he can be seen mending his way in the opposite direction from his house, either alone or in company with his neighbours, to Roha. There he makes himself free with the wine glass, and half drunk returns home to his wife and children. If he is in his senses, he will first wash himself and do justice to his frugal meals, consisting of hot boiled rice, mixed with curry made of Dal and fish, prepared by his wife, and perhaps after chatting for a while over his affairs with his neighbour, will go to sleep on a blanket.

This hard work lasts, however, only for a month and a half. Then a period of idleness intervenes. For the months of August and September, there is no regular employment for him. Generally, the women look to the weeding, and the farmer is free to engage himself as a day labourer, if work is available, at Roha or on the roads which are generally repaired in this season. On days on which he is not engaged, he will go a-fishing in the rivers near by with his fishing rod





or at times with his net, at which he is extremely dexterous. The net is generally shaped like a parachute. It is weighted all round the hem with lead balls (See picture). The young boy is seen holding the net on his shoulders). The net is held by a rope attached to the top and thrown with a jerk in the water, where it is spread wide and falls level on the surface of the water. It gradually sinks down owing to the weight of the lead balls, and any fish which is underneath its meshes is thus caught. Various other forms of nets and traps are also in use, a typical trap called Bagali being shown in another picture. Of fish the farmer is extremely fond and Nature is bountiful to him in this respect. A large number of fish, both small and big, are caught in this manner. An additional supply of dry fish can be had at Ashtami, where large consignments of dry fish from Revdanda daily arrive for being sent upcountry. The item of fish is thus quite a respectable one in his family budget, which we shall have to discuss in the next chapter.

For the months of October, November and December the farmer is engaged in reaping and thrashing the paddy. He is generally very busy throughout this season. In addition to reaping and thrashing, he has to look to the sowing and growth of his second crop, generally Varana, if he at all grows any. Throughout the summer again, he is comparatively free from agricultural work to engage himself elsewhere, except for those days on which he is engaged in preparing his Rab, which has been already described, or in collecting fuel and other necessities for the rainy season. A great deal of his time is wasted in these days in bringing water from the tank at Ashtami. In fact it becomes the most important part of the daily routine of all the members of his family. Morning and evening, the farmer together with his wife and children can be seen toiling his weary way home with large earthen jars full of water on his head. As has been already remarked, except on the coast, the supply of drinking water throughout the District is defective in the extreme.<sup>1</sup>

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1. As we go more and more to the south, the scarcity of water becomes intense and harassing.



The children, especially the boys, spend a great deal of their time in fishing with their rods in the waters of the Ganga or the Kundalika in winter and in the rainy season. In summer, when the tide comes up, they enjoy themselves very much by swimming in the salt water. They play the ordinary Indian games, such as Atya-Patya, Khokho, and Viti Dandu. When they are five or six years old, they are made to look after the cattle. The girls are very early taught to clean the household utensils and to cook, and always have the charge of their young brothers and sisters, when their mothers are engaged in cooking or are away on the fields or outside work. They are married after they are five or six years old. They become mothers at the age of 15 or 16. The period of child-bearing extends from 20 to 24 years.

Polygamy is not uncommon. In short, a second wife is considered as an additional economically advantageous bargain, since the farmer can till more land and has one more faithful hard-working assistant in his work who need not be paid in cash beyond the minimum requirements of human life.

A marriage in a family means invariably going in for a debt. The average expenses on marriage were found to be Rs. 300/-. The feast given to the villagers and the expense on liquor are items which are always compulsory, and form a large part of the total expense. Another item of expenditure for the villager is the funeral. The Jamat seems to be determined that on every such occasion, at least Rs. 25 must be spent on liquor. If the householder is very poor, the villagers contribute the necessary amount from amongst themselves; but spend they must and they will. Then there is the funeral feast on the tenth day of the death of the person departed, which is attended by all the relations of the family. The richer the person, the larger the attendance.





## CHAPTER VII

### ECONOMIC CONDITION—GENERAL FEATURES

It has been already remarked while discussing the ownership of land that there are strong reasons to suspect that most of the land at present possessed by the outside non-agriculturists has passed in their hands from the old Agree owners owing to their indebtedness. A glance at the list of landholders, attached at the end (see Appendix No. ) classified as cultivators and non-cultivators according to the present Record of Rights, will be sufficient to convince the reader about the truth of the above statement. Out of the twentyfour landholders classified as non-cultivators, as many as six are Gujars who have only recently established themselves at Roha. The following will give an idea as to the various castes to which the non-cultivating landholders belong.

Gujar	Brahmin	Marwadi	Prabhu	Shimpi
6	4	1	1	4
Parsee	Mahomedan	Saraswat	and	others.
1	1	1		5

It will be seen that none of these belongs to the old Agri stock. Most of the Gujars and other non-cultivating landholders are moneylenders from Roha and other neighbouring villages who have stepped in the place of the original owners on account of the ever-increasing debts of the inhabitants of the village.

Nor has this process of transfer come to a standstill by this time. The old inhabitants have already lost a greater portion of their ancestral lands, which have passed to the



hands of the Savkars. Out of 192 acres of cultivable land that once belonged to the old inhabitants as much as 111 acres is held at present by the absentee landlords. According to the village register about 78 acres only are held by cultivating farmers. When one is told that out of these 78 acres as much as 64 acres or so has been already mortgaged, one need not be much of a prophet to predict that within a few years the whole village land will pass away from the hands of the villagers, and all of them will be reduced to the position of mere tenants. These 64 acres are mortgaged for a sum of Rs. 7,905 with 15 Savkars, out of whom as many as ten have become Khatedars in the village and own more or less land. Three more are Marvadees and the remaining two are Brahmins from Roha. This fact lends additional support to the argument that the village lands are slowly but surely passing to the absentee landlords on account of the indebtedness of the villagers, who once caught in the nets of the Savkars are never able to extricate themselves. The number of cases of redemption from debt is practically nil.

All this alienation of the village lands from the cultivators to the absentee landlords has been going on in spite of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. Had the transfer of ownership simply meant the passing of the land from one peasant to another, one would never have much cared. After all such transfers are but natural and inevitable. But what makes one despondent is the fact that this alienation means the increase of tenancy and absentee-landlordism and the consequent deterioration of the soil.

The landlord looks to his rent which, in case the tenant fails to pay, he is able to recover from him with the aid of the civil court. The tenant on the contrary tries to extract as much as possible without investing anything towards the improvements of the soil. The net result of the situation is that both the landlord and the tenant are dissa-





tished. The rents in many cases accumulate and the tenant is forced to mortgage any land that remains with him, and the process continues until the farmer is reduced to the position of a mere tenant.

Indeed this increase of tenancy owing to the chronic indebtedness of the villagers is the dominating feature of the economic condition of the village. The total debts of the village as revealed by the village records and by a minute personal inquiry amount to Rs. 12,965. Out of this, Rs. 5,060 is taken on personal security while Rs. 7,905 are advanced on land. The rates of interest vary from 9 to 30 per cent. The rate of interest on loans on land is generally less than that on personal security. It is not rare to find the interest paid in kind. In such cases according to the current prices the actual rate of interest is very high and fluctuates between twentyfive to fifty per cent. This is due to the ignorance of the Rayat and to his inability to keep accounts. So long as he is able to secure the necessary loan, the villager does not care what he has to pay as interest. The following table which gives the details of the village debts will give an idea as to the various rates of interest current in the village:—

Rate per cent	On personal security Rs.	On land Rs.
9	nil	2260
10	nil	525
12	450	1300
15	1026	2670
16	800	nil
18	155	nil
20	nil	140
25	1568	500
30	127	nil
One man's one year's service,	125	nil
In kind	809	510
	<hr/> 5060	<hr/> 7905

The debts on landed security amount to 60.2 per cent of the whole. There are only two cases of debts having been incurred on lands owned in the neighbouring villages in common with those owned in the village. Many of the debts could be easily checked by comparison with the village records and minute personal inquiry.

The mortgages are of three types. These are:—

*I. Najar Gahan or ordinary Mortgage:—*

Out of the total area of 63 acres and 34 gunthas which was mortgaged, as much as 46 acres and 16 gunthas or 27.5 per cent of the whole were mortgages of this type. These were mortgaged for a sum of Rs. 5,905 or Rs. 107.9 per acre.

*II. Tabu Gahan or Possessory Mortgage:—*“In which land is handed over to the creditor but can be redeemed on payment of debt and interest”. About  $17\frac{1}{2}$  acres was mortgaged under this condition for Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 114.3 per acre.

*III. Mudat Kharedi:—*There were no cases of Mudat Kharedi or deferred sale in which the lender automatically takes possession of the land if the loan is not paid within a definite period.

The average rate of interest on money raised on land is 14.3 per cent, while that on personal security is 22.6 per cent. On the whole the village has to pay a sum of Rs. 2,274.3 as interest for its total debt.

The causes of indebtedness are as follows:—

(1) In cases of extreme poverty, loans are contracted for a temporary period to make the two ends meet.

(2) Generally a marriage, a funeral, sickness in the house which necessitates forced idleness, are the occasions on which the cultivator is forced to contract a debt whether on personal or landed security.

(3) The inability to pay off arrears in rent, and in some cases accumulation of former loans often handed down from father to son is the reason for contracting fresh debts, in many cases at compound interest, ending in mortgaging and finally selling off of any ancestral property, that might have been left. This is very common.





(4) Temporary seasonal debts for agricultural expenses in the form of paddy or money at the time of transplantation. At such times as much as  $\frac{1}{4}$ th to  $\frac{1}{2}$  time of the paddy that might have been borrowed is paid as interest.

(5) In some cases high rents cause debts.

(6) The prevailing insufficiency of the village land to support the pressure of population depending upon it. It should be remembered that as many as 70 p.c. of the holdings are uneconomical. Even taking into consideration the additional land from the neighbouring villages, which the inhabitants cultivate the proportion of the total cultivable land to the population is far from satisfactory.

The following abstract will be sufficient to give a clear idea as to the pitch of indebtedness in the village :—

Total amount of debt, Rs. 12,965.

On personal security, Rs. 5,060; on land, Rs. 7,905.

Average amount of debt per family, Rs. 170·6.

Average amount of debt per head, Rs. 37·5.

Average amount of debt per family amongst the indebted families, Rs. 240·1.

Number of families free from debt, 22.

“ “ “ in debt :—

up to about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total income	19
from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ “ “	18
“ $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ “ “	16
“ $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 “ “	2
“ 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ “ “	4
“ $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 “ “	3
“ more than 2 “	2

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Out of 22 families, who are classified as free from debt, 8 are only labourers and cultivate no land; one is a beggar; one is an old widow, supported by her son working in Bombay; one is a hotel-keeper and may be said to have some



subsidiary profession other than mere labour; one owns sufficient land in addition to what he rents to render his holding economical. Of the remaining, 8 cultivate less than an acre. It is interesting to note that of these 22 families, 10 have no children, 3 one each and the remaining have more than two. With the exception of one, all the families under this list are either mere labourers cultivating no land, or are tenants cultivating less than an acre. All the rest, who follow agriculture as a serious business, are more or less involved in debt. This is sufficient proof of the precariousness of Agriculture.

Any scheme that aims at removing the curse of indebtedness must first of all aim at placing at the disposal of the agriculturist sufficient capital at low interest. The evil effects of the difficulty of getting loans at high interest have been so disastrous that a majority of the cultivators have lost their lands, by the yearly accumulation of their ever-increasing loans due to their inability to meet the exorbitant demands of interest. The improvidence of tenants is many times responsible for their contracting small seasonal loans in the form of paddy at a high rate of interest, sometimes at  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a maund for 1 maund. There is thus a great field for State action and State help. A co-operative society and a grain-bank, managed on right lines by a competent chairman and a secretary, would go a great way in meeting this demand. It is necessary, however, to have a general policy for the whole district, if such societies are to succeed; and the recent Committee appointed by the Central Co-operative Institute in this behalf rightly suggests that a more active propaganda by its branch at Alibag should be taken up with a view to enlist public-spirited workers in the cause, and to organise co-operative societies and grain banks, wherever they get some local response.

The almost chronic indebtedness of the villagers presents, no doubt, a gloomy feature of the situation. Nay, it may be





also said that but for the demand for manual labour at Roha which offers the villagers an opportunity to supplement their meagre agricultural incomes by plying for labour it would have been almost impossible for the people to stick to their ancestral homes, even when they have been forced to part with their ancestral lands. As will be seen in the next chapter, in many cases the income from labour exceeds that from agriculture. Those, again, who are able to earn by working otherwise than as mere labourers and can earn consequently higher wages in their off-season, are generally better off.

The next redeeming feature of the situation is the fixity of the agricultural income, insufficient as it is, owing to the absence of the severity of famine. Indeed it may be said that this tract has never seen as yet anything like the severity of famines in the Deccan districts.<sup>1</sup> The anna valuation of the last five years, which represents the portion of a full normal average crop (12 as.) in the village in question, which grows in a particular year is given below:—

1918-19	7 As.
1919-20	12 „
1920-21	11.8 „
1921-22	12 „
1922-23	10 „

It should be remembered that the year 1918-19 was a famine year. The severity of the famine in the Deccan districts can be easily imagined from Dr. Mann's figures for the same year for the village of Jategaon. The crop as recorded is nil. ("There was no crop except on irrigated land.") In the same year, the crop in Rotha Khurda is valued at 7 as. or 54.4 per cent of the average crop. The probable crop in every year is, therefore, 87 per cent. of that of a good normal year.

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1. Mann, Land and Labour in a Deccan Village, 11.



## CHAPTER VIII

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

#### Occupations.

Out of the 76 families only 21 families, or 27.6 per cent of the total population, own more or less land. As has been already remarked, a large number has been reduced to the condition of mere tenants in the last 50 or 60 years from the position of landlords. The habitual ignorance, shortsightedness in incurring debts, and the fact that agriculture as a business will not pay cash for the labour and leave a balance (as has been revealed from the statistics), as well as the cupidity of the Savkars, have been chiefly instrumental in allowing outside capitalists to step in and oust out the original owner from his position of a landlord. Howsoever we may wish that the occupant should become the owner of the land he cultivates in every case to secure the maximum advantages from farming and to preserve the soil from the deterioration that naturally follows a system of tenancy on short-time leases as exists in the villages, we must remember that the millenium will never come. The problem of the villager thus becomes the problem of the tenant-farmer as even those who own any land have to cultivate additional land on tenancy. Not only this, but they have occasionally to supplement their incomes by working as day-labourers, either on the farms at the harvest season or at Roha where such labour is always in demand, to make the two ends meet. The rest are mostly tenants who work for about five months in a year regularly as labourers. Their wives also have to do the same. The following table gives an idea as to their occupations :—

Kind of occupation	No. of families
1. Partly owners and partly tenants	21
2. Partly tenants and partly labourers	41
3. Labourers	3
4. Beggars	1
5. Sawers and tenants	8
6. Hotel-keeper and Tenant	1
7. No regular work	1





It will be seen that while on the one hand we have a population which can scarcely be styled as purely and wholly agricultural, there being practically no family which is completely engaged in agricultural pursuits throughout the year and is in no need to turn their hands either to skilled or unskilled labour other than agriculture, we have on the other hand no serious problem of the 'landless labourer' like the Western countries, as nearly 86 per cent of the total population is connected with land in some way or other. There are only eight families who can be classed as 'labourers' pure and simple, forming about 10.5 per cent. of the total population. It is remarkable that there are no carpenters or blacksmiths in the village. The people get their ploughs and other agricultural implements repaired from the carpenters and blacksmiths of Roha. The only artisans in the village are three sawers, who are greatly in demand at Roha and the neighbouring parts. They usually get a rupee and a half per day, although payment according to the volume of work they put in is not uncommon. The occupation, however, is said to be very exhausting and a man usually becomes unfit for the work at about forty or so. According to the prevailing rates of labour, a man is paid at the rate of annas eight per day for ordinary labour while a woman is paid at the rate of five annas. Of course, at the time of transplanting and gathering the paddy when labour is greatly in demand a labourer can secure as much as Re. 1 per day. For the last two or three years, the villagers get a great deal of extra work at the Railway station of the Roha-Bhira Railway of the Tatas where a very large amount of loading and unloading the trucks is going on in the fair season. The villagers are paid at the rate of Rs. 4 for loading or unloading each truck. The only hotel-keeper is said to make about annas eight per day in his business. Out of the remaining families one is a beggar and the other is an old widow, who is supported by her son working at Bombay.

It will be convenient to examine the expenditure of an average family before discussing their income. The village



as will be seen from the above, is practically homogeneous. Stratification in different classes is almost unknown and all are equally ground down under an exacting burden of poverty. Their ways of living and their ideas of comfort vary but little from family to family. No doubt an occasional extravagance in expenditure on fancy-clothes or often on drink due to natural propensity or the influence of company may be met with. But as has been said while discussing the village Jamat, such aberrations from the common practices but go to impress upon one's mind the homogeneity of the village life as a whole.

There are two methods of preparing a standard family budget. One is to collect a number of normal budgets from different families and thus to arrive at an average family budget. The other method lies in deciding by minute personal inquiry the normal quantities of the various articles required by the villagers for an average family, and then value them at the current rates. The writer has been in contact with the villagers for over three years and has had opportunities to study their ways and customs and ways of life very intimately. It was possible, therefore, while studying the budget of the whole village to correct the standard budget by minute personal inquiry, wherever necessary. The quantity of paddy, pulses and other articles of food for an adult have been fixed upon by a critical inquiry as to the minimum rate of consumption per family according to the prevailing standard of life. They have been tested in a number of cases by collecting some typical budgets, wherever possible, and represent, if anything, the minimum below which it would be considered as impossible to live according to the testimony of the villagers. The villagers rarely keep accounts and are in most cases unable to state with any show of exactness the amount spent on the various items of expenditure. Even when after some pressure some of them attempted to do so, the figures they quoted could scarcely be relied on in view of the fact that not one of them was able to read and write. It was, therefore, thought advisable not to attempt at eliciting





from them the net amount spent on food and clothing but rather the quantities of various articles of necessity required. This was easier, as the villagers—at least those of them who can,—generally store for the rainy season the chief articles of food such as oil, chilies, condiments, salt etc.

#### Food.

The staple food of the villagers is rice. This is supplemented by Nagli, which is consumed in the form of bread. Vegetables are scarce except in the rainy season, when for two months or so the villagers use them. Except for Val, which is generally grown in the fields, and in very few cases a small quantity of Tur, pulses are conspicuous by their absence. The nitrogenous part of their food is supplied by fish, which forms an important item next to rice. Of fish the villagers are extremely fond and Nature has favoured them by bringing a good daily supply almost to their doors. All the villagers catch fish; most of them testified, however, that what they caught was scarcely sufficient and they had to buy almost daily additional dry fish imported from Revdanda at Ashtami. Indeed, every evening the village women can be seen returning to their homes with a small bundle of dry fish for daily use. But for the fact that a good supply can be secured by every one who is not too idle to exert himself for an hour or so when the tide is up, this item would have figured largely in the Bill for food. As it is, a family generally spends about Rs. 3 per month on this item.

There is no direct expenditure on milk. Although the villagers consume all the milk given by the cows and she-buffaloes they possess, it is very rare that they buy any quantity. No charge is, therefore, entered on that account nor for ghee which is scarcely used. It has been already stated that the actual number of men, women and children in an average family in the village comes to 1.4, 1.5, and 1.7 respectively. An average family has been taken, therefore, to consist of 1 man, 2 women and 2 children.

According to the villagers, the minimum quantity of paddy - unhusked rice - for consumption per adult per

month comes to 1 maund (about 82 lbs). If we count a woman as requiring four-fifths and a child three-fifths as much food as a man, the necessary amount of paddy per family comes to  $3\frac{4}{5}$  maunds. This is equal to about 56 lbs. of husked rice. The Nagli consumed per month comes to 1 maund or 82 lbs. The standard ration of an average family, consisting of 1 adult male, 2 adult females, and one male and one female-child, according to the standard of life prevailing in the village, is as follows:—

Material	Quantity required per annum.	Value.
1. Paddy (unhusked)	2 Khandies 6 mds.	126-8-0
2. Nagli	1 Khandi	24-0-0
3. Salt		5-0-0
4. Chilies and other spices <sup>1</sup>	1½ maund	7-0-0
5. Fish		30-0-0
6. Pulses		4-0-0
7. Oil		10-0-0
8. Gul		5-0-0
9. Miscellaneous		5-8-0
		<hr/> 217-0-0

Counting a woman as requiring four-fifths and a child three-fifths as much food as a man the necessary expenditure for food comes to about Rs. 51-2-0 per man, Rs. 45-14-0 per woman and Rs. 34-3-0 per child per annum.

The price of grain, although lower than what Dr. Mann finds in his studies at Pimpla Soudagar and Jategaon, still predominates in the cost of food. Owing to the fact that the villagers use a large amount of fish and use very little of any kind of pulses, the percentage of grain in the total annual expenditure on food comes to as much as about 71 per cent.

#### Clothing.

The village being situated in the vicinity of Roha, the standard of clothing prevailing amongst the villagers is probably higher than what would be found in a village away from

1. The somewhat larger quantity of chilies and spices is necessary on account of the larger consumption of fish in the village.





the influence of a market-town in the heart of the District, where the people are content with very little clothing of a coarse kind. According to the present standard, however, the following articles are considered to be quite necessary for a man, a woman and a child if they are to keep up appearances:—

*For a man.*

No	Kind	Price
2	Kudati or shirts	Rs. 3-0
1	Blanket	„ 2-8
2	Dhoties	„ 4-0
1	Woollen cap	„ 0-10
6	Langoties	„ 3-0
1	Pair of shoes	„ 0-14
Total		14-0

*For a woman.*

No.	Kind	Price
2	Saries	Rs. 9-0
4	Khans for cholies or bodices	„ 2-0
1	Blanket	„ 2-8
Total		13-8

*For a child.*

It is very difficult to state exactly the amount spent on account of the fact that every male under fifteen and every girl unmarried are classified as children. Taking into consideration everything it may not be far from right to place the figure at Rs. 5/-.

**Other Expenses.**

It must be remembered that the villagers have to spend almost nothing on rent. Even those who live in houses "rented from others" do not pay any rent in cash. They generally live in the houses on the simple arrangement of keeping the houses in repair, which costs very little, the necessary materials being very cheap. There is no expendi-



ure on medicine.<sup>1</sup> On an average about five rupees are spent on Kerosine oil for lighting, in those families which can afford to do so. Fuel, though growing scarcer, does not as yet form an important item of expenditure. There is no direct expenditure on education, except in one family. In the calculation of the Budgets, the minimum expenditure on items other than food and clothing is put at 5 per cent. of the total of other expenditures.

The total expenditure to maintain a family above want according to the prevailing standard of life in the village, therefore, would be as follows:—

Item	Man		Woman		Child		Total for a family of five persons.	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
Food	51	2	45	14	34	3	217	0
Clothing	14	0	13	8	3	0	58	0
Other expenses								
calculating income								
as Rs. 275/-							13	12
							288	12

It will be seen that no interest is calculated in the above estimate, although it forms a respectable item of expenditure in almost all the families. Similarly no account is taken of the rents, taxes and local cesses, which are paid by those families who own or rent some land. While calculating the budgets for each family, which are discussed below, due allowance was made for these items as well as the expenditure on marriages and funeral ceremonies. The latter was an item very difficult to calculate exactly.

The number of men, women and children per family as actually found in the village was, as has been already stated,

1. It may seem strange that no regular item is inserted for medicine but when we take into account the fact that the habit of "doctoring" is as yet completely absent amongst the villagers and the fact that there is free medical aid available within a reasonable distance at Roha, it will appear to be justified. The country medicines used by the villagers generally cost very little.





1.4, 1.5, and 1.7 respectively. The net income necessary to maintain an average family in comfort according to the village comfort would, therefore, be somewhat different from the figure quoted above. The actual sum necessary would be:—

	Rs. As.
Food	108-10
Clothing	44-8
Other expenses	13-12
Total	256-14

**The Balance sheet of the Village.**

Calculating on this basis the total income and the expenditure for the 76 families of which the village is formed, we get the following figures:—

*Income :—*

Income from land	Rs.	7,183
„ „ labour	„	13,103
„ „ other sources	„	688
Total	Rs.	20,979

*Expenditure :—*

Interest on debts	Rs.	2,274
Family expenditure	„	20,338
Total	Rs.	22,612

If there are no debts, we can easily see from the above figures that the village will just be able to pay its way. The fact that the village has to pay an annual charge of Rs. 2,274 as interest leaves an annual deficit of Rs. 1,633 or Rs. 21.5 per family.

If we try, however, to analyse further the economic condition of the village families, the results we get are very interesting. It has been already stated that there is no family which can maintain itself by income derived from agriculture, without being supplemented either by an additional income from labour or other sources. We shall divide the families, therefore into four groups as follows:—



- (1) Those families which are able to support themselves mainly by income derived from land, supplemented by income derived from labour, but in whose case income from agriculture predominates.
- (2) Those families which are able to support themselves, mainly by income derived from land, supplemented by income derived from labour, but in whose case income from labour predominates.
- (3) Those who maintain themselves purely by income derived from labour.
- (4) Those families which are in an unsound economic position, even when incomes from land and outside labour are taken into account.

The number of families in each class is:—

- (1) 10 families.
- (2) 35 families.
- (3) 7 families.
- (4) 24 families.

Total 76 families.

*Group I:*—This group consists of only 10 families. All cultivate more than 5 acres of land. It is strange that these families are heavily in debt. The average debt per family for the whole village is Rs. 170.5; while the average debt per family in this group is no less than Rs. 373. It is worthy to note that the number of adults is fairly large, viz. 34 out of 53 souls. No less than 16.2 per cent. of the total expenditure of this group is for interest. The following will give an idea as to their general economic condition:—

<i>Income</i> :—from land	Rs. 2,183-8
from labour	Rs. 1,643-0
„ other sources	Rs. 44-0
	<hr/> 3,870-8

*Expenditure*:—

Family Expenditure	Rs. 3,107-0
Interest on debts	„ 602-0
	<hr/> Rs. 3,709-0





*Group II:*—This group contains the largest number of families. In this group are placed the only hotel-keeper and an old man who is supported by an allowance from his nephew working outside the village. There are as many as six families who have no debts. The total debts of this group amount to Rs. 3,905 or Rs. 111·6 per family. The general position of the group is shown :—

*Income:—*

From land	Rs. 2,394-0
„ labour	„ 7,625-0
From other sources	„ 292-0
Total	10,311-0

*Expenditure:—*

Family expenditure	Rs. 9,543-12
Interest on debts	„ 672-0
Total Rs.	10,215-12

The income from land forms only 23·3 per cent. of the total income. The income may be said to exactly balance the expenditure, leaving an excess of only Rs. 95·3 or Rs. 2·7 per family. The number of children is lower than in Group I, coming only to 29·3 per cent. of the total number of persons contained in this group.

It should be remembered that not a few of the families at present included in this group would be insolvent at the slightest tendency of the current rates of wages towards falling. The increase in the rates of wages in recent years which have nearly doubled, and in the case of ordinary wages nearly trebled in the last ten years, coupled with the fact that the price for paddy has not advanced in proportion to the rise in wages, has enabled many of the families to keep the wolf from their doors away. Let the wages fall but a little, and many of the families at present included in this group would be reduced to the position of insolvency.

*Group III:*—This group contains all those families which cultivate no land, but are able to maintain themselves by the produce of their labour owing to either (1) the small-



ness of their families, or (2) the higher wages earned as skilled labourers, or (3) additions to their income by outside contributions from their relatives, if we include the case of a fitter, who is engaged at Patnus as a fitter in the workshop of the Tatas and draws a handsome pay of Rs. 50/- per month, the biggest rate for skilled labour obtained in the village. We find that the number of children is very low forming only 10 per cent. of the total number of population contained in the group. It is important to note that all the families in this group are free from debt. The heavy annual charge of interest thus completely disappears from their budgets. The following will give a general idea as to the economic position of the seven families contained in this group:—

*Income:—*

From land	Nil.
„ labour	Rs. 1,865
From other sources	„ 352
	<hr/> Rs. 2,217

*Expenditure:—*

Family Expenditure	Rs. 1,144
Interest on debts	Nil.

*Group IV:—* This group contains all those who, in spite of their efforts throughout the year either as cultivators or labourers, scarcely succeed in making the two ends meet. The total debts in this group amount to Rs. 5,330 or Rs. 222.1 per family. The number of children is the highest in this group, viz. 51.6 per cent of the total population contained in the group.

The following gives an idea as to the general economic position of the group:—

*Income:—*

From land	Rs. 2,605-8
„ labour	„ 1,975-0
„ other sources	„ 336-0
	<hr/>
Total	Rs. 4,916-8

*Expenditure:—*

Family Expenditure	Rs. 5,269-8
Interest on debts	Rs. 1,000-6
	<hr/>
Total	Rs. 6,269-14





Thus there is a total deficit of Rs. 1,353-6 for the 24 families included in this group. This works out to an annual deficit of Rs. 56-4 per family. It should be remembered that about 20 per cent. of their actual income or 16 per cent. of their standard expenditure is absorbed in paying off the interest on debts. It must be admitted that if we exclude the item of interest from the total expenditure, the income and the expenditure sides nearly balance.

The following table summarises the economic position of the different groups into which the village is divided :—

	Group I Rs. A.	Group II Rs. A.	Group III Rs. A.	Group IV Rs. A.
(1) Income from land	2183-8	2394-0	Nil.	2605-8
(2) „ „ labour	1643-0	7625-0	1865-0	1975-0
(3) „ „ other source	44-0	292-0	352-0	326-0
<i>Total Income</i>	<u>3870-8</u>	<u>10,311-0</u>	<u>2217-0</u>	<u>4916-8</u>
(1) Family Expenditure	3107-0	9543-12	1144-0	5269-0
(2) Interest on debts	602-0	672-0	Nil.	1000-6
<i>Total Expenditure</i>	<u>3709-0</u>	<u>10215-12</u>	<u>1144-0</u>	<u>6270-14</u>
Debts	3730-0	3905-0	Nil.	5330-0
Percentage of children	35.85	29.78	10.0	51.6
Excess (+) or deficiency (-)				
of Income	+161-8	+95-4	+1073-0	-1353-6
—do— per family	<u>+16-2</u>	<u>+2-12</u>	<u>+153-5</u>	<u>-56-6</u>

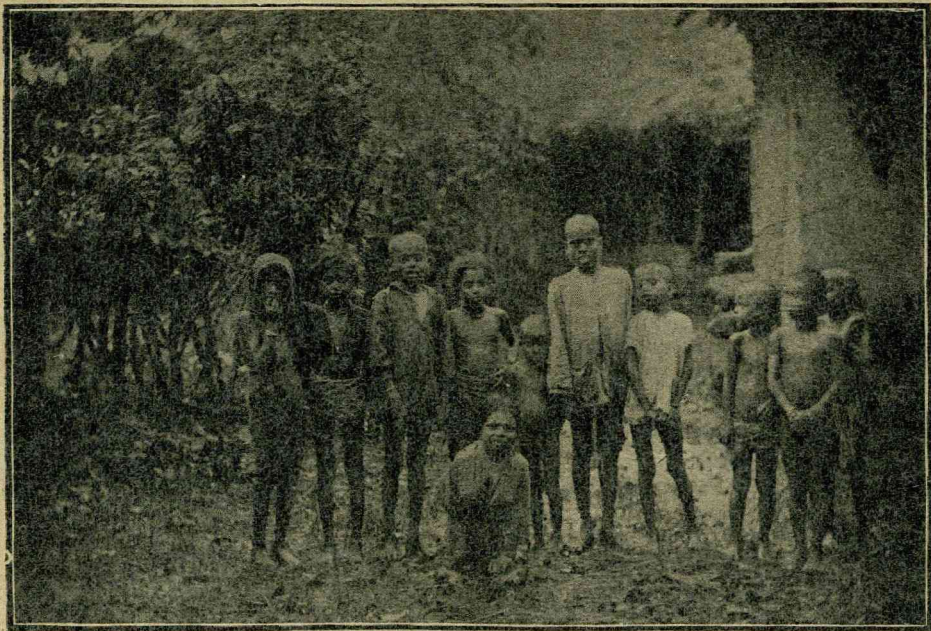
It will be seen that in Groups Nos. I and II there is practically very little saving effected by the families. The meagreness of the balance of income over expenditure is a sufficient proof of the precariousness of even those families which are classified as "solvent". A slight rise in agricultural wages in the case of the families in Group I or an unfavourable season would throw many families from Group I to Group IV. Similarly a slight fall in the rates of wages would much affect many of the families in Group II, which would be obliged to live below the standard of living.



The following points are worth noting :—

- (1) That the number of children per family is the largest in the Group economically unsound.
  - (2) That the amount of debt per family is the largest in Group I, which is solvent mostly from income derived from land. This is either due to the fact that a person cultivating more land has more credit with the Savkars or that agriculture as a business necessitates the incurring of debts.
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A group of village children.



## CHAPTER IX

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (Contd)

#### Capital Wealth, Annual Income and Taxation.

The total capital wealth of a village like Roth Khurd is an important factor in the discussion of the economic condition of the village and its inhabitants. The total capital value of such a village can be roughly estimated by capitalising the following factors :—

- (1) Lands of the village,
- (2) Live Stock,
- (3) Implements,
- (4) Houses, and
- (5) Cow-sheds.

#### Value of Land.

There are two ways of valuing the lands of the village. One is to get the figures of the actual sales of the land from the Sub-Registrar's office and to calculate the value of the village lands on the basis of the average value of the different types of land as recorded. As has been already seen, the greater portion of the village lands consists of rice lands. According to the figures available for a period of five years preceding 1919 we find that 33 acres and 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  Gunthas were sold for Rs. 6,694-3-2. This gives an average of Rs. 201.5 per acre of rice land. This comes to about 33 times the average assessment. It must be remembered, however, that the figure scarcely gives the correct value per acre for the rice land. Firstly, many times, the sales recorded represent but the nominal value of the land. Many other factors such as the relation between the Savkar and the tenants, previous agreements between buyers and sellers, and others must be accounted for if we want to arrive at an approximate valuation. Secondly, the records do not mention the proportion





of the Varkas and the rice land included in the total area bought or sold. Now, there is a gulf of difference between the current prices for the Varkas and the rice lands, and unless we are able to know this exact proportion in the land recorded as bought or sold in the Registrar's office, we are likely to get a very low figure for the rice land. At the most those figures may be taken to represent the minimum value, below which no owner would be willing to part with his lands.

Fortunately, another method of arriving at a more correct value of the rice and the Varkas land at the current market rates could be availed of owing to the fact that some of the lands in the village are being acquired by Government on behalf of the Tata Company, for their Roha-Bhira Railway line. Inquiries with the special land-acquisition officer, appointed for the purpose, show that the owners are paid at the rate of 80 to 100 times the assessment for the land acquired. Now the average assessment for the rice land comes to Rs.  $5\frac{1}{2}$ . The price of the rice land per acre, therefore, according to this calculation is Rs. 522. This also agrees with the rental basis. The landlord gets on an average ten maunds of paddy per acre as his rent. According to current rates for paddy, this is equivalent to Rs. 27-8, which after deducting the land assessment leaves a net profit to the landlord of Rs. 22. According to the current rate of interest, and making allowance for the comparative stability of the income from rents, the capitalized value for one acre of rice land comes somewhere to Rs. 450 or so. Thus we get that one acre of paddy ( rice ) land is worth :—

- (1) Rs. 250 according to the sales registered in the Registrar's Office.
- (2) Rs. 450 according to rental basis.
- (3) Rs. 522 according to assessment basis.

This gives an average value of Rs. 400 per acre of rice land.

Land, which is classified as "Rabi," is generally used for coarser kinds of rice. According to the current rates it would fetch a price somewhat less than land classified as "Rice land." It is accordingly valued at Rs. 350 per acre.



It is very difficult to value the Varkas land correctly, as the grass it grows has no selling value. The special Land Acquisition Officer has awarded Rs. 30 per acre of Varkas land to the owners on behalf of the Government. Local inquiries justify the figure. All Varkas land is therefore valued at Rs. 30 per acre. The same rate is applied to land classified as 'Common Pasture' and as 'Gavathana,' although the value of the latter is sometimes very high. Sales of the Gavathana land, however, are very rare.

There are 5 acres and 18 Gunthas of land classified as Salt Land. This has practically no selling value. It is valued at Rs. 2 per acre.

The value of the total land in the village, therefore, comes to Rs. 54,113-15-0 as follows :—

Kind	Area Acres-Gun	Rate Rs.	Total Value	
			Rs.	As.
1 Kharip Khalsa	128-21	400	51,410-0	
2 Rabi Khalsa	11-6	350	47-8	
3 Pot Varkas Khalsa	44-12½	30	1,329-6	
4 Whole Varkas	23-26	30	709-8	
5 Common Pasture	14-15	30	431-4	
6 Salt Lands	5-18	2	10-13	
7 Gavthana	5-34	30	175-8	
Total Rs.			54,113-15	

Lands classified as "River Beds" and occupied by roads etc. have, of course, no selling value.

## 2. Value of the Live Stock.

It has been already stated in Chapter V that the number of cattle in May 1923 stood at 231. This is the largest figure recorded since 1894-95. The value of the live stock in the village, according to the current rates, as has been already pointed out, comes to Rs. 7,615 (see Chapter V).

Similarly it has been pointed out that the villagers keep a fair number of fowls. Taking the average value of each fowl at annas fourteen, the present number, viz. 241, would fetch about Rs. 211.





Thus the total value of the Live Stock and the fowls kept by the villagers would come to Rs. 7,826.

### 3. Value of Implements.

As has been recorded in Chapter IV, the number of agricultural implements is comparatively small. The implements are generally of a crude make, and not of much value except perhaps the larger ones. The number of carts, contrary to what Dr. Mann finds in Pimpla Soudagar, is almost negligible. The total value of the implements and the three carts possessed by the villagers is stated at Rs. 92), according the current rates. (See Chapter IV).

4. It is very difficult to estimate the total value of the houses in the village because sales are very rare. The fact that only about half the houses are well thatched and have mud-walls, while the remaining are of a very poor type, some of them having only Bamboo partitions while a few are tiled and fairly decent, makes it still more difficult to calculate their value with a reasonable degree of accuracy.

There was only one mortgage in the last five years for Rs. 70.

Similarly, within the last five years, according to the information supplied by the Sub-Registrar at Roha, where all the mortgages and sales are recorded, there were only five sales as follows:—

One house, ordinary, sold for Rs. 70.

“ “ , of fair size, half-tiled sold for Rs. 200.

“ “ , very poor, sold for Rs. 10.

“ “ , inferior, sold for Rs. 40.

“ “ , tiled, sold for Rs. 100.

This gives an average of Rs. 84 as sale value. It must be remembered that one house of a very poor type is included in the above sales. If we exclude this, we get an average of Rs. 102 for an ordinary house. This agrees with the figure obtained by calculating the mortgaged value to represent 75 per cent. of the actual value. Calculating on this basis, and making allowance for the actual size and condition of the



different house, as revealed in the house-to-house inquiry undertaken, we get a figure of Rs. 9,200 as the selling value of the 72 houses in good order, existing in the village. This is somewhat high, but when we remember that the value of the few houses, which are well-tilled and of a goodly size, is comparatively very high, the figure may be taken to represent a fairly accurate estimate.

#### 5. Cow-Sheds.

The number of cow-sheds in the village is 25. They vary in size and shape to a considerable extent. Many of them have Bamboo partitions, while others are simply open sheds. The average area of an ordinary shed comes to about 300 sq. ft. An ordinary shed with Bamboo or Karvi partitions would cost, according to the current rates of wages and materials, Rs. 35. The total value of the cowsheds, therefore, after making due allowance for the difference in size and quality comes to Rs. 923. (See Chapter IV).

The total Capital Value of the village would, therefore, come to Rs. 72,992 as follows:—

	Capital Value. Rs.	Per Cent. of Total.
1 Land	54,114	74.1
2 Live-Stock	7,826	10.7
3 Implements	929	1.3
4 Houses	9,200	12.6
5 Cow-sheds	923	1.3
Total	<u>Rs. 72,992</u>	<u>100.0</u>

#### The Total Annual Income of the Village.

The total annual income of the village would consist of the following items:—

- (1) Total produce of the land.
- (2) Income from Labour.
- (3) Income from Live-Stock.

#### (1) Produce of the Land.

It has already been stated in Chapter III that the total cultivable area in the village is about 192 acres. Out of





these about 60 acres are cultivated by owners. The remaining 132 acres are rented from the absentee landlords at an average rent of ten maunds per acre. Thus the people of the village get only about 126 Khandies of paddy from the village lands as follows :—

60 Khandies from the 60 acres of rice-land cultivated by the owners at an average yield of one Khandi per acre.

66 Khandies from the remaining 132 acres of land, rented from the absentee landlords, after deducting ten maunds per acre for the rent.

**Total 126 Khandies.**

Now 126 Khandies of paddy, at an average rate of Rs. 55 per Khandi, are worth Rs. 6,930.

The income from other crops such as Nachani and Vari, as well as Varana or Val, is not appreciable and varies from year to year as will be seen from Chapter IV. The average income from these items may be put at Rs. 350 per year.

As has been already stated, the number of fruit trees capable of yielding any income is very small. Except perhaps the tamarind or Chinch trees, which may be said to yield about 2 rupees each per year, there is very little income from other trees such as mango, Karanj or Phanas. An industrious, thrifty farmer may at the most be able to realise about Rupee one per tree by selling the fruit in the market at Roha. The total income from fruit trees, therefore, is Rs. 126 at the most. (See Chap. IV).

It has been already remarked in Chapter III that the villagers cultivate, in addition to the village lands, about 60 acres of rice-land from the neighbouring villages. This would leave after deducting the rent to the absentee landlords about 30 Khandies for the tenants in the village, and give about Rs. 1,650 per year.

The total gross income from the village lands, therefore, is as follows :—



1. Rs. 3,300 from lands owned and cultivated by the villagers.
2. Rs. 3,630 from lands rented from the absentee landlords.
3. Rs. 350 from crops other than paddy.
4. Rs. 126 from fruit trees.
5. Rs. 1,650 from lands rented in other villages.

**Total Rs. 9,056**

#### 2. Income from Labour.

In calculating the income from labour, it was held that an ordinary farmer can and does obtain work at least for five months in a year, after cultivating his fields. Of course due allowance was made in each case for the number of persons in the family, the area of the land cultivated, and the number of adults able to work, as well as the proportion of females to males in the family. The total annual income from labour for the whole village was stated to be Rs. 13,108 in Chapter VIII while calculating the budgets for each family in the village.

#### Income from Cattle.

Following the method of Dr. Mann in his study of Jategaon Budruk, and making allowance for the fact that the working season for the bullocks in the Konkan lasts only for a month and a half at the most, as well as the fact that the milking animals in the village, both cows and the she-buffaloes, are a great deal inferior to the milch animals in the Deccan, we get that on an average each head of cattle is worth annually to the village about Rs. 6. This gives for the 231 animals in the village an annual income of Rs. 1,386.

The total annual income for the whole village, therefore, is as follows:—

1. Income from Land.....Rs. 9,056
2. Income from Labour.....Rs. 13,108
3. Income from Cattle.....Rs. 1,386

**Total Rs. 23,550**





It must be remembered that such estimates can be only approximate, but they 'enable us to ascertain the proportion which certain village charges bear to its capital value, and so the relationship which they bear to the conditions prevailing in other countries.'

1. The average nett return for crops, calculating on the basis of figures given in Chapter IV, amounts to 13.2 per cent of the land value, and 9.58 per cent. of the total village value. It is decidedly less than what Dr. Mann finds at Jategaon and Pimla Soudagar as the following table will show :—

	Roth Khurd	Jategaon	Pimla Soud.
Per cent. of the nett return of crops on the land value.	13.02	18.0	14.7
Per cent. of the nett return for crops on the total village value	9.58	10.6	10.4

2. The debts of the village amount to Re. 12,965. In most cases, the security on which the debts are advanced is the property possessed by the debtor, landed or other. The debts amount to 17.7 per cent. of the total value of the village, and they involve a charge of 3.11 per cent per year on this value. In Jategaon Budruk, Dr. Mann finds that the debts amount to 22.1 per cent. of the total village value, and involve an annual charge of five per cent. on this value. In Pimla Soudagar, on the contrary, he finds that the debts involve a comparatively lower charge, *viz.*, 2.28 per cent. of the total village value.

3. The Government Assessment, amounting to Rs. 719, (see Chapter III) is 1.36 per cent. of the value of land and .99 per cent. of the total capital value of the village. It will be interesting to compare these figures with those obtained by Dr. Mann in his two villages:—

	Roth Khurd	Jategaon	Pimla Soudagar
Per cent. of the land revenue on the value of land.	1.35	2.06	2.18



Per cent. of the land revenue  
on the total capital value of  
the village.

0.99

1.46

1.27

It will thus be seen that the burden of taxation is comparatively lighter in this village than in the villages studied by Dr. Mann.





## CHAPTER X

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Such, in short, is the picture presented by the village of Roth Khurd, situated in what may be called Mid-Konkan. It will be agreed that it is by no means very encouraging. It must be remembered, however, that the village represents but one type, and it would be hazardous to venture on making any sweeping remarks on the general economic condition of the whole of the Konkan, unless at least four other types are studied. (See page 1, Chapter I). With this qualification and subject to the new points that may emerge from such future inquiry, the following conclusions derived from the present study may be taken to be generally true of the Konkan.

Even a hasty perusal of the preceding chapters will bring home to the reader the fact that from an economical point of view both the Production and Distribution of the whole village are defective and need readjustment. Let us see how far each of the component factors of Production and the existing way of Distribution can and need be bettered and improved upon, so as to launch the village on a sound economical basis.

#### Production.

"Poverty in England, America or Germany is a question of the Distribution of Wealth. In India it is the question of its production." "Man's progress lies in his effective utilization of the means furnished by and wrung out of Nature by his foresight, ingenuity, skill and industry. Land, Labour and Capital are the three essentials of production, and to increase their supply and to make them more efficient is to provide for a larger production of Wealth."<sup>1</sup>

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1. *Loveday*, The History and Economics of Indian Famines.

2. *V. G. Kale*, Indian Economics, page 54.



Out of these Land is the first and most important factor of Production. Our detailed study has revealed that (1) the existing land in the village available for cultivation is insufficient to support the present number of inhabitants; and (2) that it is quite inadequate for economic cultivation on account of the excessive sub-division and fragmentation of the Holdings ( see Chapter III ).

Now there are two ways in which this pressure on land can be relieved. The people will have either to migrate to industrial centres like Bombay in increasing numbers or to increase the total production in the village by resorting to intensive agriculture or by introducing more profitable second crops more vigorously than at present. There is practically no scope for extending the present area under cultivation, as what is classified at present as uncultivated waste consists mostly of stony ground unfit for cultivation. But as has been already remarked, there is no reason why the people should not raise additional crops like brinjals, water-melons, chilies and other vegetables by digging temporary Doharas or wells in the bed of the river, where it is not impossible to have water at a fair depth. It is true that this would require some capital and a great deal of co-operation, which, at least at present, are conspicuous by their absence. But apart from this, it certainly will not require much labour or capital to plant every year in a systematic way more fruit-trees like those of tamarind, Karanj and mangoes. This will not only in the course of time add to the scanty earnings from agriculture of the inhabitants of the village, but will also serve as a source of additional fuel which is growing dearer every year.

There is another way to make up for the insufficiency of the land. It is the introduction of (1) suitable by-industries such as Dairy and Poultry, which have already been suggested in Chapter V, and which even in the present circumstances it would be profitable to conduct in view of the good market at Roha and (2) the introduction of other suitable cottage industries like weaving. The latter is a very suitable indu-





stry, especially during the slack season, which lasts for more than six months in the Konkan, and is bound to play a great part in our attempts to resuscitate the Konkan villages.

But even granting that facilities for carrying on such industries are afforded, it would in the end depend on the enthusiasm and earnestness with which the people take them up. The village at present is greatly handicapped on account of an insufficient number of wells for irrigation purposes, and there is a large demand for boring machines to dig them up. The possibility that the Kundalika will be flooded in a few years on account of the tail-water from the Mulashi scheme of the Tatas from Patnusi is bound to remove the crying need of an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the villagers will make full use of the opportunities thus afforded owing to diffidence and want of enterprise as is found in the case of the villages near the Patalganga river near Khopoli, where, in spite of the facilities afforded by the tail-water of the Tata Company, the villagers are very slow and seem almost unwilling to take up intensive agriculture on a large scale, owing to want of capital and uncertainty of the Government policy regarding the people's right to the free use of the water of the river for irrigation purposes.<sup>1</sup>

The size of the farm is a matter of much importance from the point of view of efficient organization. It has been already pointed out in Chapter III that owing to the deplorable extent to which the subdivision and the fragmentation of holdings is carried out, economic cultivation has become almost an impossibility. That some measure which would prevent the fragmentation of land, which has made 70 per cent of the holdings in the village uneconomic, is necessary is beyond doubt. The instance of Japan, a rice-growing country like the Konkan, where the fragmentation of land had gone apace and more than 70 per cent of the holdings were uneconomic

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<sup>1</sup> See the Report of the Konkan Co-operative Inquiry Committee on the possibilities of the utilization of the tail-water of the Tata Works at Khopoli.



and smaller than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres, not to mention the frequent insufficient drainage and irrigation, is instructive in this connection. With a view to increase the produce of land, and prevent the inconvenience caused by the existence of numerous small plots belonging to the same proprietor scattered over a large area—an evil which exists in Roth Khurda and probably throughout the Konkan,—the Japanese Government passed in 1899, and amended in 1909, a law which provides for

(1) The necessary interchange of land and the restripping of plots.

(2) The construction of roads, irrigation works etc.<sup>1</sup>

“So far as the work has gone, it has resulted in considerable improvements of roads and canals, an increase in rice-growing and a general convenience of all concerned.”

The introduction of such a measure in this part of the Presidency, however, will have to face serious opposition, not only from the majority of the Hindus, who are sure to resent any measure that is opposed to their religious sentiments, but also from substantial landholders of other communities. The best course will be to prepare a favourable public opinion on the point by impressing on the minds of the ordinary land-holders the importance and advantages of such a step by the publication of more literature bearing on the point and by vigorous propaganda.

#### Labour.

It has been already stated that there is not a single family in the whole village able to mend even their simple agricultural implements. Except the two sawers in the village, all the labour is unskilled. This puts the ordinary

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1. “In order to obtain authorisation to form a syndicate for the re-adjustment of farm lands, it is necessary to obtain the consent of at least half the land-owners in the tract in which the syndicate intends to work, and these landowners must represent two-thirds of the land affected. The farms restripped are exempted from land-tax and special credit institutions are provided to finance them.” *Keatinge, Agricultural Progress in Western India*, pages 136-37.





labour-cum-cultivator at a comparative disadvantage in the labour market. The introduction of industrial and agricultural education side by side with the proposed compulsory primary education would go a great way in removing this defect, and it is but meet that the local authorities, now that Education is completely transferred to their control, should adjust their educational programme to meet this long-felt want.

It is a common complaint heard in the village that with the rise in wages agricultural labour instead of growing more efficient is becoming less so. It is strange that a labourer who leaves the village for industrial centres like Bombay works there in factories for more than eight hours, while when he returns home he grumbles to work even for six hours a day continuously. The stimulus for a greater amount of effort seems to be lacking in the village atmosphere. It is due amongst other causes, probably to the difficulty of securing adequate remuneration for his labour in the field.

In the calculation of the family-budgets it is taken that the villagers seek and get work for at least five months in a year. While collecting the necessary materials in the village, however, it was found that many a person complained of the difficulty of getting work daily, while many a people at Roha, where the villagers generally go for work, on the contrary complained of the difficulty of securing labour even at tempting wages. Now Roha is only two miles from the village we are studying and it would not have been very difficult for the villagers to secure employment only if they had exerted themselves a little. The fact is that the ordinary villager is reluctant to exert himself unless faced with starvation, and would generally offer himself for engagement only at intervals in a month! Side by side with the facilities for technical education, there is thus a great need for a social campaign for enthusing the villagers with a higher standard of living and a better understanding of the value of constant labour which would give at least the next generation a better chance in



life. There is also a good field for social workers to extricate the ignorant villagers from the curse of drinking and to make the poor mothers understand the value of sanitary principles to prevent the high infant mortality. We must remember that it is after all the stuff of which the farmer behind the plough is made that in the end counts, and that all our efforts in the direction of improving the prevailing methods of agriculture and putting at the disposal of the cultivator ample capital at the lowest interest would come to nothing, if we neglect the Human Factor in our efforts to increase the general production of the village as a whole, with a view to make it more self-supporting.<sup>1</sup>

#### Capital.

Capital, either in the form of improved instruments or sturdy cattle, as well as in the form of ready money, is the most difficult thing to secure in the village. The only capital the cultivator possess is the unimproved plot of land. This absence of an adequate supply of capital, as has been shown in Chapter VII, has reduced a large number of landholders to the position of mere tenants, by placing them at the mercy of the Savkars. To extricate the cultivators from the clutches of the money-lenders, the only practical remedy at present is the establishment of a grain-bank, and a co-operative society, controlled by competent persons. A great deal of vigilance will have to be exercised in the initial stages to secure that the facility of obtaining capital at low interest is not misused.

#### Distribution.

Apart from the insufficiency and inadequacy of land and capital, as well as the inefficiency of labour which hamper Production to a very great extent, the Distribution of the

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1. The situation may be summed up thus: The majority of the farms are of the wrong size and the wrong shape. They are not permanent units and are not susceptible of orderly and adequate improvement. The majority of the farmers are deficient in skill, industry and energy, and balance a low standard of endeavour by a low standard of living. *Keatinge, Agricultural Progress in Western India, page 186.*





produce of land between the absentee land-lords and the tenants, who form the majority of the cultivators, is far from satisfactory. It has been shown in Chapter III that there is hardly anything left for the tenant in the form of paddy, except perhaps the straw, and that owing to the narrow-mindedness of some of the land-lords, who are unable to gauge correctly the effect of changed conditions, especially the rise in agricultural wages, much bad blood exists between the tenants and the land-lords. It is also true that so long as the tenant has no real interest in land, there is no hope of its being properly cultivated. It has been proposed in some quarters, therefore, that the State should confiscate all the land from the absentee land-lords and hand it over to the present tenants-at-will on certain conditions for preventing the soil being deteriorated. In the present state of things it would not be advisable to take any such measure, and Mr. Keatinge is quite right when he repudiates any such measure at this stage of public opinion, as it is sure to come to nothing so long as this excessive subdivision and fragmentation of holdings is allowed to go on apace.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the insufficient production, and the somewhat unjust distribution through the domination and exploitation of the absentee land-lords and the money-lenders, wasteful ways of living such as excessive drinking and unnecessary expenditure on funerals and marriages, complete the vicious circle of poverty.<sup>2</sup> The village society not only does not discourage such waste in consumption but actually insists

1. "There are parts of the Konkan where rents are very high and where much friction exists between land-lord and tenant.....But there would be little advantage gained by any measures calculated to take the land out of the hands of the non-cultivating land-lords, merely in order to subject it to the disintegrating forces, which now affect peasant-holdings so injuriously. When steps have been taken to check the excessive subdivision and fragmentation of holdings, a good case might easily be made out for measures to regulate the relation between land-lords and tenants and to stimulate production on land, which now languishes under a system of dual control." *Keatinge, Agricultural Progress in Western India*, page 77.

2 See Professor Pherwani's thought-provoking book—"Social Efficiency—India's Greatest Need."



on it from the villagers. It is almost beyond the power of a single individual or organisation to prevent such waste, which can only be brought about by a completely changed social outlook.

It will be seen from Chapter IX that the selling value of the estate of an average villager is not more than Rs. 250, at the most, if we exclude his land and its products. Some of the villagers do not possess even this much and are obliged to borrow bullocks and ploughs for the sowing season. With this meagre equipment it is almost impossible to expect the ordinary farmer to get the upper hand in his struggle with nature and be able to provide himself with adequate food, shelter and clothing. How and where to break this vicious circle of poverty and to resuscitate our villages is a problem that demands the serious attention of the ablest brains in the country. Many remedies, such as the starting of co-operative societies, the introduction of improved methods of agriculture, and cottage industries, the introduction of permanent land revenue system and others have been suggested from time to time in order that the villagers may be able to solve the problem of bread more efficiently. But in order that it may be possible to suggest an effective remedy for this gnawing disease of poverty and its inevitable concomitants, the immediate necessity is for more information to be brought to light regarding the different parts of the province before a correct diagnosis can be formed.





## APPENDIX.

### AREA OF LANDS IN ROTH KHURD.

	1892 to 93	93 to 94	98 to 99	95 to 96	99 to 1900	1900 to 01	1901 to 1902	1902 to 1903	1903 to 1904	1905 to 1906	1906 to 1907
	Acres		A. G.			A. G.					
Net area under Crop						140-21 $\frac{1}{2}$	140-46 $\frac{1}{2}$	134-20 $\frac{1}{2}$	134-9 $\frac{3}{4}$	123- $\frac{1}{2}$	131-25
Fallow	61	61	43-6	62-8	62-38	40-30 $\frac{1}{2}$	46-35 $\frac{3}{4}$	56-29	56-19 $\frac{1}{4}$	65-9 $\frac{3}{4}$	35-30
Double-cropped						16-0	16-0	8-0	8-0	16-5	8-11 $\frac{1}{2}$
	1909 to 1910	1910 to 1911	1912 to 1913	1913 to 1914	1917 to 1918	1918 to 1919	1919 to 1920	1920 to 1921	1921 to 1922	1922 to 1923	
Fallow	64-16 $\frac{3}{4}$	64-22 $\frac{1}{2}$	63-25 $\frac{1}{4}$	63-17	63-17	63-17	63-17	63-17	62-18 $\frac{1}{2}$	74-14 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Double-cropped	3-37	3-37	1-12 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-30	1-20	1-20	1-20	1-10	1-30	10-15	
Rice	123-23 $\frac{3}{4}$	126-23 $\frac{3}{4}$	127-21 $\frac{1}{4}$	127-21 $\frac{1}{4}$	17-21 $\frac{1}{4}$	127-21 $\frac{1}{4}$	127-21 $\frac{1}{4}$	127-21 $\frac{1}{4}$	128-12	116-25 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Nagli	9-0	3-0	3-0	11-0	2-0	2-0	11-0	9-0	18-0	12-0	
Wari					9-0	9-0		2-0			
Wall					Bhendi-10	Bhendi-10		Melon-10			
Rice	119-2	119-2	12- $\frac{1}{2}$	117-24	117-24	128-3	128-6 $\frac{1}{2}$	121-10 $\frac{1}{4}$	121-9 $\frac{3}{4}$	125-30 $\frac{1}{2}$	131-11
Nagli	4-20	4-20	1-37	3-0	3-0	6-20	6-20	6-30	6-30	10-0	0-12
Wari	4-0	4-0	8- $\frac{1}{4}$	5-0	5-0	5-30	5-30	6-20	6-20	0-0	
Wall										5-0	
Toor										4-0	
Mug,											

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