

(h)—Comparative statement of the rates of value of labour per diem in the several districts of the Madras Presidency, &c.—cont.

Description of labour.	Per	Ganjam.	Vizagapatam	Godavari.	Kistna	Nellore.	Cuddapah.	Bellary.	Kurnool.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Unskilled labour</i>		RS A. P.	RS A. P.	RS A. P.	RS A. P.	RS A. P.	RS A. P.	RS A. P.	RS A. P.
Adult coolies	Each	0 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 2 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 2 0	0 1 10 $\frac{1}{8}$	0 2 0	0 1 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1859-60..	0 3 1	0 2 6	..	..	..
1869	0 3 1	0 2 6	..	..	..
1874	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 3 0	0 3 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 4 0	0 2 8
1878	0 1 4	0 2 0	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 3
Recent years since 1883	0 1 8	0 2 6	0 5 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 4 0	0 3 0
Boys	..	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 2 0	0 4 0	0 3 0	0 3 0
1859-60..	..	0 0 9	0 0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 3	0 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1874	0 1 0	..	..	..	..	..	0 1 6	..
1878	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 3
Recent years since 1883	0 0 9	0 0 10	0 1 3	0 2 6	0 1 3	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 4
Women	..	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 6	0 1 9	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6
1859-60..	..	0 0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 1 6	0 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1874	0 1 3	0 3 0	..	..	..	..	0 2 0	..
1878	0 0 10	0 0 10	0 1 6	0 2 6	0 1 4	0 1 3	0 1 4	0 1 8
Recent years since 1883	0 1 3	0 1 4	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 9
..	..	0 1 6	0 1 0	0 1 6	0 2 0	0 1 3	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0

(h)—Comparative statement of the rates of value of labour per diem in the several districts of the Madras Presidency, &c.—cont.

Description of labour	Per	Chingleput.	North Arcot	South Arcot	Tanjore	Trichinopoly	Madura	Tinnevely.	Coimbatore.
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
<i>Unskilled labour.</i>		RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS. A. P
Adult coolies ..	Each	0 2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 0	0 2 6	0 1 10	0 2 0	0 1 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1859-60	0 4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1869
1874	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 4 0	{ 0 3 6 0 4 0 }	{ 0 2 0 0 2 6 0 3 0 }	0 4 0	{ 0 2 0 0 4 0 }	0 4 0
1878	{ 0 2 2 0 2 6 }	{ 0 2 2 0 2 4 0 2 6 }	0 2 6 to 0 4 0	0 2 0 to 0 4 6	0 3 6 0 4 0	0 2 6 0 5 4	0 3 0 0 3 4	0 4 0 0 8 0
Recent years since 1883	0 3 0	{ 0 3 0 0 2 6 }	0 3 0 0 2 6	0 4 0 0 3 6 0 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 6 0 3 0 0 1 0 $\frac{2}{3}$	0 3 0	0 4 0	0 4 0
Boys	{ 0 1 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ 0 1 3 0 1 6 }	0 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 6	0 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 0 $\frac{2}{3}$	0 1 0	0 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1859-60	0 1 6
1874	{ 0 1 3 0 1 6 }	..	..	0 2 0	0 1 6	0 2 0	{ 0 1 0 0 2 0 }	0 1 6
1878	0 1 0	{ 0 1 1 0 1 2 0 1 3 }	..	{ 0 0 9 to 0 2 0 }	..	{ 0 1 0 to 0 2 8 }	0 1 0 0 1 6	0 0 10 to 0 2 0
Recent years since 1883	{ 0 1 6 0 1 3 }	0 1 3 0 1 6	0 1 6	0 2 0	{ 0 1 0 0 1 6 }	0 1 3	0 2 0	0 1 6
Women	{ 0 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0 1 6 0 2 0 }	0 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 3	{ 0 1 0 0 1 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ 0 2 6 0 3 0 0 1 6 0 2 6 }	0 1 1 0 2 0 0 2 0 0 2 0	0 1 0	0 1 0 $\frac{2}{3}$	0 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1859-60	0 2 0
1874	{ 0 1 8 0 2 0 }	0 1 8 0 2 0	..	{ 0 1 3 0 2 6 }	0 2 0	0 1 3 to 0 2 8	0 1 6 0 2 3	0 1 6 0 2 6
1878
Recent years since 1883	0 2 0	{ 0 2 0 0 1 9 }	0 2 0 0 1 6	0 2 0	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 2 6	0 2 0

(h)—Comparative statement of the rates of value of labour per diem in the several districts of the Madras Presidency, &c.—cont.

Description of labour.	Per	Salem	North Canara.	South Canara	Malabar.	Civil Architect (Madras)	Garrison Engineer.	Wellington (Nilgiris)	Bangalore.
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
<i>Unskilled labour.</i>		RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P	RS A P
Adult coolies	Each	0 2 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 2 8 $\frac{1}{16}$	0 3 6	0 3 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 3 6	0 2 0
	"	.	..	0 3 4	0 4 6	..	..	..	..
	1874	0 2 6	..	0 3 3	0 5 0	0 3 6	.	0 6 0	0 3 0
	1878	{ 0 2 0 0 3 6 }	..	{ 0 2 9 to 0 4 0 }	{ 0 4 0 to 0 8 0 }	{ 0 2 6 to 0 4 0 }	..	{ 0 5 0 0 5 0 }	{ 0 3 0 0 4 0 }
Rent years since 1883	"	0 3 0		0 4 0	{ 0 4 0 0 3 0 }	0 3 0	.	{ 0 4 0 0 5 0 }	0 4 0
Boys	1859-90	0 1 0 $\frac{2}{3}$	0 1 7 $\frac{2}{3}$	0 1 6	0 1 5 $\frac{3}{16}$	0 2 0	0 2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 3	0 1 2
	1874	0 1 0	..	.	..	0 1 9	.	0 4 6	..
	1878	{ 0 1 0 0 1 6 }	..	{ 0 2 0 0 3 0 }	{ 0 1 6 to 0 4 0 }	{ 0 1 9 0 2 6 }	..	{ 0 2 0 0 3 0 }	..
Recent years since 1883	"	0 1 3	.	{ 0 2 4 0 2 6 }	{ 0 1 6 0 2 0 }	0 2 0	..	{ 0 2 6 0 3 0 }	0 2 0
Women	1859-60	0 1 0 $\frac{4}{5}$	0 1 7 $\frac{2}{5}$	0 1 4 $\frac{3}{5}$	0 1 5 $\frac{3}{16}$	0 2 6	0 2 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 2 6	0 1 2
	1874	0 1 4	..		..	0 2 0	.	0 3 0	..
	1874	{ 0 1 2 0 2 0 }	..	{ 0 2 0 0 3 0 }	{ 0 1 6 0 3 0 }	{ 0 1 6 0 2 0 }	..	{ 0 3 0 0 4 0 }	0 1 8
Recent years since 1883	..	0 1 6	..	{ 0 2 6 0 2 8 }	{ 0 2 0 0 2 6 }	0 2 6	..	{ 0 3 0 0 3 6 }	0 2 0

(i)—Statement showing the pressure of population on the land in the several districts of the Madras Presidency.

Districts.	Number of persons to a square mile according to the Census of 1891.	Average size of a ryotwar holding.	Average assessment of a ryotwar holding.	Proportion of dry and wet acreage to total ryotwar holdings.		Proportion of unoccupied waste to total ryotwar holdings.	Average rate of assessment per acre of occupied land.		Average rate of assessment per acre of unoccupied land.		Ratio of working population to total population.	Ratio of agricultural to working population.	Ratio of females to total agricultural and working population.
				Dry.	Wet.		Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.			
		ACRES.	RS.				RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.			
Ganjam ..	226	7.8	11.8	54	46	17	1 4 5	2 14 6	1 0 3	2 5 7	54	60	40
Vizagapatam ..	164	12.6	29.0	68	32	7	0 15 11	5 5 3	1 10 10	4 14 10	70	65	42
Godavari ..	235	10.2	19.6	39	61	15	1 13 8	2 12 10	0 6 7	1 12 3	49	59	26
Kistna ..	220	11.8	17.4	85	15	17	1 7 6	3 12 3	0 15 4	4 14 3	50	62	29
Nellore ..	166	9.2	18.5	76	24	29	1 3 8	4 7 10	0 9 9	4 4 9	53	63	33
Cuddapah ..	145	7.4	9.6	90	10	30	0 12 3	7 1 3	0 6 4	4 14 7	61	71	40
Anantapur ..	134	14.6	11.2	93	7	45	0 10 2	5 0 3	0 11 6	4 2 1	60	74	40
Bellary ..	151	15.1	13.1	97	3	39	0 10 2	5 0 3	0 7 0	3 9 5	59	69	40
Kurnool ..	109	11.6	12.6	97	3	30	0 15 4	6 7 1	0 8 10	4 15 8	54	59	33
Madras ..	15,515	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34	7	21
Chingleput ..	400	7.0	18.0	38	62	19	1 8 7	3 13 0	0 14 5	2 11 2	50	61	25
North Arcot ..	286	3.6	9.6	66	34	29	1 6 4	5 12 5	1 0 9	4 14 4	52	69	33
South Arcot ..	414	3.8	9.4	77	23	41	1 11 5	5 5 10	1 9 1	4 5 3	49	78	31
Tanjore ..	600	6.6	25.1	25	75	8	1 4 0	4 15 2	1 0 1	2 8 4	48	64	32
Trichinopoly ..	379	6.2	8.3	84	16	20	0 15 6	4 6 9	1 0 10	3 4 6	53	73	36
Madura ..	271	5.5	9.6	83	17	23	1 5 1	4 4 2	0 15 8	3 6 0	59	71	45
Tinnevely ..	356	7.1	12.9	83	17	6	0 13 3	10 4 10	0 8 8	5 3 9	52	63	37
Coimbatore ..	254	10.3	12.0	96	4	16	0 14 7	7 7 1	0 9 7	4 11 10	58	64	44
Nilgiris ..	104	26.6	19.0	97	3	40	0 8 7	2 4 0	0 10 9	2 14 10	61	63	37
Salem ..	260	6.6	9.6	92	8	31	1 2 3	5 14 6	0 13 9	3 13 11	60	67	46
South Canara ..	270	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	55	74	43
Malabar ..	475	4.1	9.4	49	51	41	..	..	..	..	47	53	39
Average ..	251	7.2	12.9	79	21	26.36	1 1 3	4 11 8	0 11 2	4 2 2	61	70	42

REMARKS.—(1) The number of persons to a square mile entered for Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari is inclusive of the Agency Tracts in these districts; excluding the Agency Tracts, the number is 326, 482 and 407 respectively.

(2) The figures in the last 3 columns refer to the population of 1881, similar information as per Census of 1891 not being available yet.

(3) A comparison of the average rates of assessment of occupied and unoccupied cultivable lands will show whether the land available is of very inferior quality or not.

(4) *Number of live-stock, &c.*

					Number in millions.
(a)	Cows and bullocks	...	...	...	11·02
(b)	Buffaloes	...	...	...	3·46
(c)	Horses and ponies	...	...	...	0·05
(d)	Mules and donkeys	...	...	...	0·12
(e)	Sheep and goats	...	...	...	12·06
(f)	Carts	...	...	...	0·44
(g)	Ploughs	...	...	...	2·50
(h)	Boats	...	...	...	0·02

(k)—*Extracts from Dr. Maclean's Manual of Administration on the economic condition of the labouring classes.*

Arcot, North.—The population is mainly rural. The ordinary agriculturist is strongly attached to his native village and rarely leaves it except to attend some religious festival. The railway has worked very considerable changes, and by raising the value of agricultural produce has materially improved the condition of the cultivating classes along the line. In the towns stone houses are not uncommon, but all the villagers and the vast majority of the urban population live in mud buildings. The household furniture of the ordinary cultivator, herdsman and small trader consists merely of a bed of wooden planks (*visoopalagay*), a bench and one or two boxes. The land under cultivation is reported at 578,731 acres (dry 377,715 and wet 201,016) or only 13 per cent. of the district area. Most of the individual holdings are very small, paying less than Rs. 25 per annum. A cultivator paying more than that may be called a moderately large holder, while those paying more than Rs. 100 per annum are few in number and wealthy. The profits derivable from a holding of 5 acres average from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per mensem. From ragi the people make porridge (*sankaty*) which constitutes the ordinary food of the masses. Rice, though sometimes mixed as a luxury with the cheaper grains, is eaten as a regular meal only by the wealthy. Male labourers earn from Annas 2 to Annas 2·8 per diem and females about half as much. The wages of a working goldsmith or blacksmith are 6 annas a day; of carpenter or bricklayer 6 annas to 8 annas. The rate of interest for money lent on personal security varies from 12 to 36 per cent. per annum. On the security of personal goods it averages 12 per cent. and with a lien on crops 18 per cent. From 6 to 8 per cent. is considered a fair return for money invested on land.

Arcot, South.—With a holding of 5 acres, the peasant is not so well off as a retail shopkeeper, making a net income of Rs. 8 a month. The mass of cultivators, however, hold less, and although the expenses of an ordinary cultivator with a wife and 3 children may be calculated at only Rs. 3·0·0 to Rs. 4·8·0 per mensem, they are as a rule in debt. Twenty acres would be considered a large holding; less than 2 acres reduces the cultivator to a hand-to-mouth subsistence. Under the regulations in force, cultivable waste is being annually taken up for casuarina and cashewnut. Agricultural and day-labouring males earn Annas 2·8 to Annas 3·4 per day and females about half as much. Smiths, bricklayers, carpenters obtain 6 annas a day on the average,

Since 1850 wages have risen 50 per cent., in some cases 75 per cent. A comparison of prices of food-grains in the years 1850-51, 1860-61 and 1870-71, all average years, shows a general rise in the second decade with a fall in the third decade. The district contains a large number of field labourers called padials of the Pariah caste, who receive payments in kind and are, as a rule, farm hands engaged by the season, but sometimes permanently attached to the estate. The mass of cultivators are tenants with rights of occupancy terminable at their own option. On private estates the cultivators, where not padials, are tenants-at-will, paying rent to the intermediate landlord, sometimes in cash but often in kind and liable to ejectment at the end of the season. The rates of interest vary from 12 to 24 per cent. on the security of personal goods; from 6 to 9 per cent. on large transactions and from 12 to 18 per cent. on personal security with a lien on a crop. 5 to 6 per cent. would be considered fair return for money invested on land.

Bellary and Anantapur.—Prices have for many years been steadily rising, and, where money payments obtain, agricultural labourers and ordinary artisans now receive double and even treble the wages given before 1850. The field labourers, however, are as a rule paid in kind and the rise of prices has not affected them. In other cases the cultivator class has benefited, the cotton-growers notably, many of whom during the American war made considerable fortunes. Rice during 1840-50 averaged 24 lb. for Annas 8, between 1850-60 rose to 20 lb., and since 1860 has averaged 10 lb. for Annas 8; cholum during the same period rose from 58 to 38 and 23 lb. for Annas 8; and ragi from 62 to 46 and 25

Canara, South—The ruling retail prices of food-grains, &c., in 1883-84 per garce of 9,600 lb., were for best rice Rs. 400; paddy Rs. 148; gram Rs. 237. The wages of day labourers have increased since 1850, an ordinary male labourer being now paid Annas 3 and a female Annas 2 a day instead of Annas 2 and Annas 1½, respectively, in 1850. Smiths and bricklayers who in that year obtained Annas 4 now get Annas 8 and carpenters now get Annas 8 who then got Annas 6. The Holeyas, answering to the Pariahs of Madras and the Ruhans of Bombay, are a class who live by hire as unskilled labourers. They are paid in paddy or rice, and their wages are subject to deductions on account of debts contracted to meet the expenses of marriage. In gathering the harvest and storing it up they are not paid so much per day but receive ⅓ of the crop; so also for preparing rice from paddy, they receive 6 lb. of rice for preparing 84 lb. At the time of transplanting and reaping, females are largely employed and are generally paid 4 lb. of rice per day. Before the British rule the Holeyas were the slaves of the Wurgdars and even to this day they remain in a state of modified serfdom; but the coffee estates are drawing large numbers from their original homes and labour market is being largely ruled by the ordinary laws of supply and demand.

Godavari.—In 30 years the population has doubled, and, thanks to the splendid system of navigable irrigation works, the agriculture and commerce of the district are in a most prosperous condition. Great improvement has taken place of late years in the quality of the food-grains raised in the district owing to the extension of irrigation by

canals. A farm, 100 acres in extent, would be considered a large holding for an agriculturist, one of 30 acres a middlesized one, and one of 5 acres a very small one. Government tenants have a permanent right of occupancy so long as they pay the Government assessment. In zemindari estates, on the other hand, the cultivators are mostly yearly tenants. A number of landless labourers are employed in cultivation, paid sometimes in money and sometimes at a fixed rate in grain, but never by a regular share of the crop. Wages have more than doubled since 1850. A carpenter, smith or bricklayer now earns Annas 8-1 in towns and Annas 7-5 in villages and an agricultural labourer 3 annas. Women employed in weeding and transplanting are paid at from one-half to two-thirds of the rates for men, while the children receive a lower rate. Paddy or unhusked rice, which in 1850 was returned at Rs. 24 per garce (9,860 lb.), is now (1884) worth Rs. 68 per garce.

Kistna.—The people of the district are generally poor, but an exception must be made in the case of the ryots of the delta, who are, as a rule, very well off. Throughout the delta the houses are, as a rule, built with brick-walls and tiled or terraced roofs; in other parts they are of mud walls with terraced roofs. Rice is the food of all classes in the delta, but only the well-to-do people use it in other parts of the district. The total monthly expenditure of a prosperous shop-keeper's family, consisting of 5 persons, would be about Rs. 14 and that of an ordinary peasant about Rs. 8. The district contains numerous wells. The daily wages of coolies and agricultural labourers in 1850 were from Anna 1 to Annas 2; in 1876 from Annas 1-3 to Annas 4 and Annas 1-4 to Annas 3, respectively. Bricklayers and carpenters from Annas 4 to Annas 6 and Annas 5 to Annas 8 a day, respectively, while 16 years ago they earned Annas 2-6 to Annas 4 and Annas 2 to Annas 4, respectively. In 1883-84 skilled labourers—average, Annas 7, others, Annas 4.

Malabar.—The peasantry of Malabar are no exception to the general rule, dividing this class into those who borrow and into those who lend. The borrowers among the actual cultivators are much more numerous than the lenders, and borrowing, owing to certain characteristics in the prevailing tenure, is rapidly on the increase. The wages of artisans and labourers have been steadily increasing. Coolies, who in 1800 earned 1 anna and in 1850, 2 annas, earned in 1876-77, 5 annas a day, and skilled workmen, whose wages in 1850 varied from 5 to 6 annas earned in 1876-77 from 8 to 10 annas. Agricultural labourers are always paid in kind at the daily rate of 5 lb. of rice for a man and 4 lb. for a woman.

Tanjore.—Wages of agricultural labour are almost invariably paid in grain. The ordinary rates are three-fourths of a merkal or 3·87 lb. of paddy (giving about 2½ lb. of clean rice) per diem for a trained labourer, male or female, and one-half merkal for inferior adult labourers; boys and girls receive half the rates. In towns, wages are paid in money, the ordinary daily rate for an adult male being Annas 4-4¹/₆ in 1841-42 to Rs. 1-13-0* in 1876-77, for children 1 anna each. Skilled labourers, such as bricklayers, stone-masons, carpenters and smiths are paid according to the nature of the work from 5 to 8 annas a day. The money

* See.

wages in all these cases are generally twice as high as it was twenty-five years ago and in some cases the increase is still greater. Prices of all articles of food have risen in about the same ratio. The village sales of paddy, the staple produce of the district, on which the original commutation rate for the assessment of irrigated land was calculated, show that the average price of the Tanjore kalam equal to 12 merkals or 62 lb. has varied from Annas 7 in 1850-51 to Rs. 1-7-0 in 1875-76. Landless labourers constitute about one-half the adult male population of the district and of these nearly two-thirds are engaged in agriculture. They are chiefly Pullers and Pariahs who are permanently attached to the farms. The remainder are low-caste Sudras, who have immigrated from time to time from the Marava country lying between the Cauvery delta and Cape Comorin.

Coimbatore.—Agricultural day-labourers or coolies earn 3 annas per diem, women 2 annas and children 1 anna. Blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters receive from Annas 6 to Annas 14 per diem. Since 1850 the rate of wages for skilled labour has risen from 25 to 80 per cent. and prices of food have doubled. Rice which in 1850 was selling at Rs. 1-8-0 per maund (80 lb.) now sells at Rs. 3; cholam formerly Annas 10-8 per maund now costs Rs. 1-6-0; wheat once Rs. 1-8-0 per maund now sells at Rs. 3-4-0; salt has risen from Rs. 2-1-8 per maund to Rs. 2-15-3; and country liquor (arrack) now sells from Rs. 3-4-0 to Rs. 4-4-0 per gallon.

Kurnool.—The ryots, as a rule, cultivate their own lands. Owners of very large holdings sublet some of their lands and employ labourers on others. The wages of day labourers and artisans are usually paid in kind. When paid in cash, coolies receive from Annas 2-6 to Annas 3 a day; blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters Annas 4 to Annas 12. The average price of best rice in 1883-84 was Rs. 3-3-8 and of cholam Rs. 1-4-1 per maund of 80 lb.

Nellore.—The average prices of produce per maund (80 lb.) were rice Rs. 3, inferior food-grains Re. 1, indigo Rs. 149, cotton Rs. 15. The daily rates of wages are, skilled labour 12 annas at Ongole and Kanigiri, 6 annas in most places, and 4 annas in some; for unskilled, Annas 6 at Atmakūr, Annas 2-6 in most places and Annas 1-6 in some.

Salem.—On a holding of 2 acres *wet* and 3 acres of *dry* land the net profit would not probably exceed Rs. 60 per annum or Rs. 5 a month. The mass of the peasantry are in debt. The habit of indebtedness is so ingrained in their nature that if they all started fair tomorrow, 50 per cent. would be in debt again in a year. One man is held to be sufficient for the ordinary daily labour on a farm of 3 acres of wet or 6 acres of dry land, if assisted in the heavy work of planting, weeding, reaping and threshing. His wages would be 480 measures of grain per annum = Rs. 12-8-0 *plus* an annual money payment of Rs. 3, the wages in the northern being lower than in the southern taluks. Twenty-seven measures of seed are required for an acre of wet and 6 measures for an acre of dry land. The highest Government wet rate in the district is Rs. 14 per acre and the lowest is Rs. 11-9-0, exclusive of local cesses; the highest for *dry* lands being Rs. 5 and the lowest Annas 4. The customary rates of wages for unskilled labour are, for men Annas 2; for women Annas 1-6; for

children, male or female, Pies 10. The Wodder or Navvy caste get twice as much, but they do generally task work, by which they gain more than by daily wages. The wages of a working goldsmith vary with the value of the materials, but may be taken on an average to be Annas 8 per diem. A blacksmith gets Annas 8; a carpenter from Annas 8 to Annas 10; bricklayers from Annas 6 to Annas 10. During the 10 years ending 1874, the prices at Salem town per garce or 9,360 lb. in February and March, when the ryots sell, averaged Rs. 103 for rice and Rs. 115 for cholum or great millet.

Tinnevelly.—In 1883-84 the average rates of wages were for unskilled labour in towns Annas 2-10 and in villages Annas 2-4 a day. The price of rice in the same year was Rs. 3-12-11 per maund (80 lb.) and of cumbu, the staple food of the district, Rs. 1-9-2.

Trichinopoly.—Agricultural labourers are generally paid in grain. From 1881-82 to 1883-84 their money wages averaged Rs. 5-5-0 a month. The wages of common masons, carpenters and smiths averaged Rs. 15-2-1 a month. The average price of second-sort rice during the 5 years ending 1883-84 was 15-23 imperial seers for 1 rupee; in 1879-80, 12-05; in 1880-81, 14-34; in 1881-82, 16-31; in 1882-83, 16-10; in 1883-84, 17-36 seers for 1 rupee. Similarly the price of cumbu (the staple food) in the 5 years ending 1873 varied from 15 to 43; in 1879 from 15 to 23; in 1880 from 23 to 30; in 1881 from 24 to 34; in 1882 from 28 to 39; in 1883 from 30 to 43 seers for 1 rupee. An imperial seer equals 2-2046 lb.

Vizagaptam.—Prices of grain have risen very considerably during the last few years. The rate of wages has also risen, but not in the same proportion.

(1)—*Opinions of certain gentlemen on the present economic condition of the people as compared with their past condition.*

(1) *Note by C. Nagojee Row, Esq., B.A., Inspector of Schools, Northern Circle.*

People who talk of the poverty of India do so in a very vague way. The country is poorer than it was 30 years ago; it is poorer than England, France or Germany; it is not so rich as it might be under more favorable conditions—these are three distinct propositions having no necessary connection with each other; but newspaper writers and others who write about the poverty of our country mean now one of these things and now another, and do not, I fear, carefully distinguish between the different propositions.

One may admit the two latter statements without admitting the first, but even with regard to the statement that India is poorer than most European countries, I wish to state that drawing inferences as regards the happiness of people from the production or value of production per head of population alone is not quite safe. The necessities of the people of different countries, the climatic conditions under which they live, the sort of house accommodation, and the kind and quantity of food, which they require for comfortable living, should also be taken into account along with production in judging of the relative well-being of different communities, and, if these things and the distribution

of wealth among the various classes are considered, I doubt, very much whether the bulk of the Indian population is so very badly off when compared with the bulk of the English people. Dr. Dhanakoti Raju, who has just returned from Europe, is of opinion that the condition of the lower classes in India is really much better than that of the corresponding classes in England.

I readily admit the proposition that India might be richer than it is. If the cost of administration were less, home manufactures encouraged, our interests not sacrificed, as they sometimes are, to English interests, and the people more energetic, more intelligent and more enterprising, the country would no doubt be very much wealthier than it is at present.

With reference to the opinion commonly expressed that this country has been growing poorer, I can only give my general impressions and what appear to me to be reasonable deductions from well-known facts. I shall at first refer to the condition of the land-owning classes. It is admitted that Government had formerly the greatest difficulty in collecting revenue and in inducing people to keep lands under cultivation. The reason was that prices were so low that the ryots found great difficulty in realizing, by the sale of the surplus produce of their lands, money sufficient to meet the Government or Zemindar's demand. The land had consequently little or no value. Now, no such difficulty is experienced; every inch of good land is under cultivation and the price of produce and land, I am informed, has quadrupled during the last 30 years. The opening out of the country by means of roads, railways and canals and the establishment of steamer communication have brought the markets of the world within the reach of the Indian ryot, and he has no difficulty in disposing of the produce of the land which remain over and above his requirements. Assuming that the ryots of the present day are not more extravagant than their fathers, and admitting that every year they grow more than they require for their consumption, it follows that they should be richer now than they were 40 years ago. Security of property is one of the inducements to lay by money. When an individual or a community gets richer, there is generally perceptible a rise in the standard of living, and this is noticeable everywhere among the agricultural classes, but notably so in the Godavari and Kistna districts, which are exceptionally favored. An intelligent friend, who remembers the state of things 40 years ago, states that, while ryots then lived in poor mud huts, had nothing better than earthen pots, no jewels and no furniture, they now live in tiled houses, wear better and more clothing, have a number of silver and gold ornaments, and even some furniture. This, he says, is a certain proof of some wealth. The staple food of the people is now rice, whereas it was formerly ragi or cholam. Another sign of prosperity is that the better class of ryots, instead of selling produce immediately after harvest to pay Government and other demands, generally store it up, and sell it when prices go up. They have credit, too, now and find no difficulty in raising loans when they wish to do so. With the landowners agricultural laborers have prospered. They get plenty of work in the cultivating season; and in the dry weather, repairs to, and clearance of, the numerous irrigation and navigation channels in these districts give them occupation. The prosperity of the agricultural community implies also the prosperity of the trading community.

Against the prosperity of the agricultural and trading classes, however, is to be set the pressure which the landless and old manufacturing classes are feeling. The condition of the weavers is everywhere lamentable. Their occupation is gone; and they have not had time enough to reconcile themselves to their new lot and to adapt themselves to changed circumstances. The extinction of native manufactures means, I suppose, the loss of so much wealth to the community and suffering to the manufacturing classes; but the net result of British administration up to now has been an increase, and not a decrease of national wealth. This is the impression of most people whom I have consulted. I have no figures at hand to establish this.

It is true the cost of administration has considerably increased of late, the public debt has swelled, and the fall in the value of the rupee is telling heavily on our finances; making allowances for these and the increase in taxation they imply, the country, owing to the security it enjoys and the facilities afforded for transport of produce and goods, is very much better off now than it was in 1850.

The increase in the area of land under tillage, the starting and successful working of spinning and weaving mills, and the discovery of coal in several parts of the country, are all factors in the question.

(2) *Note by S. Seshayyar, Esq, B.A., Professor, Government College, Kumbakonam.*

I examined some bundles of old accounts in the possession of some of the merchants of this town. The information to be gathered from them is not as satisfactory as one could wish it were. Still there does not appear to be any doubt about certain broad facts.

1st.—Brass and copper vessels are much cheaper now than they were between 30 and 40 years ago. The average price of brass wrought into vessels, such as தம்பாளம் and கங்காளம், &c., was 8 annas a seer, or, in other words, 7 seers for a pagoda, whereas now it is 11 or 12 seers, and, 4 years ago before the Paris Syndicate raised by compact the price of copper, it sold at 14 seers the pagoda. Copper was likewise dearer in the same ratio. Roughly it may be said that the price of brass and copper vessels has cheapened by between 30 and 40 per cent. This is due, of course, to the enormous importation of metallic sheets from Europe. Formerly they had to make brass here. It is a mixture of copper and tin. And there is the notion that brass pots and other vessels of those days were purer in quality and more durable. Everywhere, even in villages, and among the lower classes of the population, the journeymen laborers included, brass pots, plates and bronze cups have taken and are taking the place of the earthen vessels. Even for cooking purposes they use the metallic vessels.

2nd.—As regards clothing, there is no doubt that Manchester goods are steadily driving out of the market the home-woven cloths, and this is because of the great cheapness of the former. It is difficult to compare the prices of these days with those that obtained thirty years ago. Still, roughly, it may be estimated that cloths of nearly the same quality are cheaper by 40 per cent. Then a ten, six, as it is called a தேரவத்தி and அங்கலங்கிரம், of rough kind could not be had for less than Rs. 1-12-0; 8 yards of jaconet will now do for it, and you can get

it at annas 2 and pies 3 a yard, *i.e.*, Rs. 1-2-0 the whole. Country-spun cloths are dearer than Manchester manufactures or those of Bombay mills; but even for them the yarn is all English. In towns, at all events, 80 per cent. of the male population buy Manchester cloths. The higher classes of females in this part of the country wear country manufactures of the silk and colored kind. Comparison of prices here seems almost hopeless; fashion has changed so enormously during these 30 or 40 years. Looking into a large bundle of sales of cloths, I find that female cloths, 99 per cent. of them, varied in price between Rs. 3 and 7. These cloths have been substituted by others whose average price may be put down at least at Rs. 10. These, of course, are much prettier in appearance, and contain far more of silk. I am not prepared to say that cloths of the same quality would be cheaper now than in those days. What of cheapness in the material used may be made up by the increased rates of wages, but one thing is certain that the better classes wear clothing now nearly three times as costly as those worn by their grandmothers. This fact may in itself be worth noting. The lower classes, including the working classes—by *lower* I don't mean lower by caste, but chiefly by wealth—are much more decently clothed than they ever were. For Rs. 1-12-0 or Rs. 2 they get a female cloth, of cotton entirely—the work of Bombay mills or English; they get a cloth of the same pattern as the *Qapadap* cloth. Within my own knowledge in this town, *i.e.*, during the last 20 years, the dress of the lower classes has vastly improved; and this improvement is more than half of it due to cheapness of clothing.

And just a few words on the economic question you are busy with. I have no idea of the results you have arrived at, or even of the exact lines on which you have been working. Still I shall venture to say a few words, although I know that the question has to be looked at from various points of view.

I have a pretty vivid recollection of how things were in South Arcot and in this district 35 years ago when a boy. I had opportunities of travelling through South Arcot and Tanjore. I have travelled, too, over the same parts of the country recently. In the villages, substantial brick-built houses have now taken the place of thatched houses of old; brass and copper vessels, as also of bronze and tin, are used where earthen and wooden vessels were used; clothing is decidedly better, far more elegant and costly; and five times at least more of gold and silver jewellery than in former days. I am not prepared to say that everywhere in the country it is so. But it is so in most places I have visited. Whether people are more wealthy or not, there is far more display of wealth now than there was in days when I was a boy of ten. And almost every intelligent elderly man I have conversed with has told me the same as his observation. Another significant fact is the rise in the price of land in this district as elsewhere. Forty years ago a relation of mine who owned lands near Karikal, sold 15 velies or 100 acres of land for Rs. 2,000, and the same would sell now at Rs. 20,000, *i.e.*, ten-fold. Confining ourselves to the last 50 years only, I am not inclined to believe in the cry of increasing poverty of the country. Beyond a shadow of doubt, people are now better fed, better clothed and better housed. Whether the country might not be far richer, were it not for this or that, is another

question which it is needless to enter into. But at the same time I may mention there are certain vices which are rapidly developing and which need arresting—1st, falsehood, 2nd drunkenness, 3rd, want of thrift. These vices are not confined to towns, but are on the increase in villages also. On the bearing of these on the future economy of the country it is useless for me to dwell.

(3) *Changes in Godávári District since the construction of Anicut.—*
Noted by S. Nathamunni Mudaliar, Esq., Pensioned Tahsildar,
Godávári District

The construction of the anicut across the Godávári is a great boon to this part of the country. This mighty work was commenced in 1846 and completed in about 1850. Previous to its construction, the district depended on rain and rain-fed tanks and the fitful supply of water from the river. Paddy was not so plentiful as now. The cultivation of paddy varied with the diversity of the seasons. In years of drought, famine was the inevitable lot of the people and both men and cattle suffered. Since its construction, the district is intersected with canals, useful not only for purposes of agriculture, but also for navigation. There are two main canals in the Western delta—the Ellore and Narsápur canals. In the Central delta, there is one—the Amalapore canal. In the Eastern, there are five—the Samalcottah, Cocanada, Coringa, Mandapeta and Bank canals. There is also a Bank canal in each of the other deltas. All these are navigable, and from these proceed a number of irrigation channels and paddy transplantation has immensely increased. Sugar plantation, which was rare in this district, is now to be seen almost everywhere. The extent of cultivation is acres 794,829 as given in the jamabandi report for fasli 1297 (1887-88).

2. For the transport of produce thus plentifully raised, there is considerable facility afforded by the introduction of canals, and this has resulted in the increase of price of every article. In 1854, when the Western canals were only in progress, and I first went to Narsápur, the price of paddy on that side was only Rs. 6 or 8 for a putty of 200 kunchams (533 Madras measures or 66 merkals). Now it is Rs. 20 and it sometimes rises to Rs. 24. In the famine of 1876 and 1877, the price rose to Rs. 50, there having arisen a great demand for it from different parts of the country. The introduction of coasting steamers in addition to navigable canals afforded easy passage for transshipment of goods. The wealthier classes were much benefited and the condition of ryots was so much improved by the general high prices that instead of being in the hands of sowcars, they were sowcars themselves. Even now, the majority of them are not in their hands. They have enough to pay for Government dues. The rich ryots lend money largely on inam lands, taking them on long leases. The inamdars in general, being poor Brahmins, are not capable of cultivating the lands themselves, while the ryots have means enough for carrying on extensive cultivation. They have enough of cattle, ploughs and laborers. The famine of 1876 and 1877 brought in a considerable number of poor people from the neighbouring districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam, who found employment here in various ways.

They engaged themselves as field laborers, coolies, palanquin bearers and domestic servants. This rendered labor cheap. Most of them have remained here permanently, and some are so far improved in their condition as to become farmers themselves.

3. Besides the staple article of paddy, there are other crops, such as gingelly and ragi, which take canal water when timely rains fail. Chillies, turmeric, onions and garlic also take canal water and are charged as wet crop. Tobacco is another article which is largely raised in these parts. The finest tobacco is from the Lankas (islands) in the river. This is exported to Moulmein and other places. The Lankas are sold by auction for 3 or 5 years for considerable sums. They are so sold periodically because of the baneful or beneficial effects of inundation almost every year. Some are swept away, while others are enlarged and enriched by accretions and rich deposit of alluvial soil.

4. The vast increase in agriculture by irrigation has very materially improved the condition of ryots. They have learnt to build substantial and fashionable houses and upstairs buildings unlike their former thatched and slovenly ones. There has been considerable improvement in the manufacture of jaggery. Iron mills for extracting juice from sugar-cane are in general use now in the place of wooden ones, which are not so effective in getting out all the juice. There has not been any improvement in the implements of tilling. The ploughs of old are still in use, which do not furrow the land deep. Some years back, the Swedish plough was brought into this district and several experiments were made, but this was found too heavy for the ordinary bullocks here and the attempt to introduce it failed. Even the richer ryots found no use with it, for the land here requires no great tilling; it is flooded with canal water for some time before tilling and the land easily turned up and transplanted. A second crop is also raised, but it is of inferior quality. It is only of 3 months' growth from February to April and is chiefly used by the laboring classes. The land has become very valuable. An acre of land sells from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300, and the inams from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500.

5. Prior to anicut, the joint-rent system was in use. Each village was rented out jointly to the ryots of the village, and the leading men and men of substance were held responsible for the payment of Government dues. On account of paucity of produce owing to failure of rain, the Amarakam, as the leasing out was called, was a matter of very great difficulty. Nobody used to come forward to take up the village or a portion of it, and the Tahsildars used to force it on some men of substance. It was really a painful sight. Now, the land has acquired so much value by irrigation that almost every inch of land is taken up and the Government dues easily paid. There is great competition among ryots to secure a right to the land. They come forward with darkhasts even at the end of the fasli, offering to pay the assessment for the whole year, though they could derive no benefit in that year. The renting system has entirely disappeared except in the hill tracts, and the ryotwari has taken its place. By this system, each ryot deals directly with the Government and reaps all the benefit of his labor. He commands more respect now, enjoys more comforts, wears better clothes and lives in a more comfortable way.

6. In the hill tracts, the joint-rent system is in use, but the villages are given away for a fixed sum and not rented out for a term of years as was the case before the disturbance of 1879. The condition of the people in these parts is also much improved. The rioting of 1879 compelled the Government to clear the jungles and lay roads. The communication to the hill tracts being more easy now, the hillmen have come more in contact with the people in the plains and learnt the real value of things which they used to dispose of at a very cheap rate in their own places or in the periodical markets on the outskirts near the plains. Tamarind, myrobalams, soapnuts, hill-oranges, timber, honey and wax are the chief products of those parts. The price of these articles has risen considerably, and the hillmen are in a much better condition than before. Paddy is also in use in these parts, the clearance of jungles and communication by roads having rendered cart traffic easy. The food in general use here is chiefly paste from tamarind seeds, mango seeds and toddy from juluga trees, which yield toddy abundantly. Jonna is also in use in some parts. Transplantation of paddy is carried on under tanks in some places, the people having learnt it from those in the plains. Survey and settlement are also begun to be made. This will gradually find its way into the more interior and the people will become more settled. Their education is also attended to now. Local Fund schools are established in certain localities and there is also a Superintendent of Hill schools.

7. The Local Fund Act has greatly added to the convenience of the people everywhere. Roads have multiplied; the indigenous schools considerably improved and their number increased; sanitation attended to; tanks and wells dug even in remote places. The number of village schools has so considerably increased that there are now four Deputy Inspectors (Sub-Assistants) and one Assistant Inspector for the whole district in the place of one Deputy Inspector some 7 or 8 years ago. There is besides an Inspecting Schoolmaster for each taluk. The Sub-Assistant Inspectors are stationed, one at Narsápur, another at Ellore, a third at Rajahmundry and a fourth at Cocanada. The district is considerably in advance in this respect also.

8. The improvement in all directions which has been the source of happiness to the people has also been the source of great litigation. Much of people's money goes to swell the revenue of civil courts and to fill the pleaders' purse. People are more reckless in their proceedings and squander away their money, caring only to win their cause, good or bad. The country is in every way in a prosperous condition and it is quite unlike what it was prior to the construction of the anicut. Sir Arthur Cotton, to whose genius this gigantic work owes its existence, seems to have estimated the land revenue of the district at 22 lakhs and expected to realize 50 or 60 lakhs when the whole project was complete, as will be seen from the Manual of the district. Now, from the jamabandi report for fasli 1297, the land revenue appears to be 38 lakhs and odd. Other cesses, peishoush from zemindari estates, quit-rent on inam and inam villages, come up to 14 lakhs and odd. Salt, abkari, opium, ferry fund and income-tax amount to upwards of 6 lakhs. The grand total of the revenue of the district from all sources reaches nearly that amount which the great benefactor, Sir Arthur Cotton, roughly estimated some 40 years ago. The present

project of Lord Connemara of connecting this part of the country with Madras by means of railroads will still more develop the resources of the country and secure that felicity to the ill-favored aborigines of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts which their southern fellow-beings invariably enjoy.

9. The only class that seems to have suffered is the weaver class. Cloths of different descriptions are being imported from foreign countries, and as they are cheaper being machine made, the demand for country cloths is much lessened. Only coarser cloths are now woven here. The finer sorts of Uppada are also not in so much use. Calcutta cloths find a more ready sale.

(4) *Note by K. Subbarayudu, Esq., Deputy Collector, Bellary District.*

I have finished the jamabandi of the division by the end of June last and my examination of section I of the famine analysis village registers has also been nearly completed. The result of the enquiries made by me is that, as compared with their state 30 or 40 years back, both the agricultural and trading classes seem to have made an advance, and not retrogression, on the whole. Many an old ryot has informed me that 40 or 50 years back there was much more jungle and waste about this part of the country than is the case now, and they attribute the gradual spread of cultivation to gradual increase in population. Of course, this part of the country cannot be said to be a densely-populated one even now, but there seems no doubt whatever that the population has been steadily increasing year after year; and but for the sudden and terrible check it received during the famine of 1876-78, when a good proportion of the then existing population died, there is no doubt that the present population of this part of the country would have been much more than what it now is.

Many of the old people I have talked to on the subject have expressed an opinion that, although the extent under occupation is growing with the population, the lands have not been yielding as much now as they used to do some 40 or 50 years back; and, when questioned as to what could be the reason for the reduction in the yielding power of land, they explain that when they were young they observed that the agricultural classes were constantly changing their holdings at intervals of 2 or 3 years, giving up old lands and taking up new ones, as there were then immense extents of jungle and waste available all round, whereas they cannot and would not do it now; so that there is more permanency about holdings now than 40 or 50 years ago. The above explanation given by the ryots for reduction in the yielding power of land seems quite reasonable, as the same piece of land if cultivated year after year without intermission cannot naturally be expected to yield as much as if left waste for an interval or as a piece of virgin soil.

People say that another main feature of change now apparent is that, whereas about 40 or 50 years ago there used to be only a few important ryots and sowcars scattered here and there in villages and taluks, each having at times a number of families depending upon him as so many parasites, the present aspect is that wealth and importance are more generally distributed over the part of the country, thus

showing that all classes are now enjoying more independence than before, and that the sweets of liberty have been tasted even by the lowest orders. Even in other respects, the people on the whole seem to be enjoying more material comforts than in days past. The introduction of the machine-made goods into the market, although it has more or less interfered with some of the native industries such as weaving, &c., has no doubt done the masses and the public at large a world of good by placing cheap and ready-made goods almost at their doors. The fact, moreover, that, unlike in former days, people now dare to enjoy any wealth they possess more freely and openly, also bears testimony to the fact that there is now more peace prevailing about the country than in the old days when, some people say, people would not dare to wear even the jewels they possessed or build big and comfortable houses to live in, for fear of robbers and dacoits. It seems also quite a fact that the bulk of the peoples' wealth—both cash and jewels—used to be under ground in former days and not in current use as now, and the fact that we are still coming across instances of hidden treasure and valuables here and there all over the province goes to show that in times past people thought their safes could only be under ground and never above it.

The opening of the railways and telegraph lines and postal communications have also been a source of great relief and alleviation to the people in several ways.

As regards the condition of an *average* ryot in this part of the country, my own experience and impression is that, provided the country is not visited with anything like a severe drought or famine necessitating the grant of dry remissions, he gets on tolerably well without any kind of distress, living easily from hand to mouth. And had it not been for the heavy expenses they have to incur now and then in connection with marriage ceremonies occurring in their families, there is no doubt the condition of the average ryots in this part of the country would have been much better. Many an old ryot has told me that occasional marriages occurring in a ryot's family from time to time have been draining away from his pocket more than anything else, and that, however miserly and economical an average ryot may be at other times, he will be obliged to spend some hundreds of rupees, never less than two, as I am given to understand, for a daughter's or a son's marriage. They say the figure generally ranges from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 in the case of an ordinary ryot. It appears that these costly marriages generally necessitate borrowing, and the ryot, though with much reluctance, is obliged to go and open an account with the ever-safe sowcar on account of these marriages. Debts incurred by ryots from sowcars are oftener conditioned to be liquidated *in kind* by annual instalments, and the rates of prices fixed on the produce supplied by him being at times even lower and cheaper than what are colloquially termed *ᱥᱚᱱᱚᱛ* or the harvest season rates, the ryot necessarily loses a good deal in this direction also in the long run. As he is dunned by the sowcar for the payment of the instalment due at the harvest season, the ryot cannot think of laying by any excess quantities of grain, &c., produced on his lands until he finds high prices ruling in the market, so that the fruit of the ryot's labor is in several instances really enjoyed more by the sitting sowcar than by the plodding

ryot. It is thus that ryots generally find themselves entangled in the sowcar's hands; and once a ryot is so entangled, it seems really a very difficult matter for him to get out again. The account once opened generally continues to run on, and occasional unfavorable seasons and slight droughts, which seem to be more common in the Ceded Districts than elsewhere, tend to contribute to the permanency of the connection formed by the ryot with the sowcar so that the sowcar seems to have become a necessary evil with the average ryot.

As I have already stated before, the ryot class people have no doubt made an advance on the whole and not retrogression, and enjoy more material comforts now than before, but there seems to be a change in only one point which they do not seem to relish at all. I mean the severity of the forest law, which they seem to complain has curtailed many a concession they were enjoying before in that direction. In fact, they had no restraint whatever in that direction in times past either under grazing or under fuel or timber. The ryot class people, however, do not seem to understand the ultimate good that the forest law is intended or expected to do to the country.

Now, as regards the trading classes, there does not, to my mind, seem the least doubt that, as compared with times past, they have grown both in quantity and quality. The method of business that a sowcar or merchant adopts in these rural parts seems to me to be such that, once starting in business, he hardly experiences a failure. They generally undertake to deal in different things, and what little they rarely lose in one is generally more than counterbalanced by their gain in others. They are, moreover, a proverbially economical and simple class of people in these parts, and are generally unknown to luxuries of any kind. Traders, unlike the agricultural classes, are, furthermore, people who gain throughout all seasons. They have not that distinction between a good and a bad season which a ryot has, and, in fact, a bad season or a regular famine does a trader more good than a favorable one. The enclosed memorandum, containing statistics as far as available, as regards income to the Adóni Municipality from professional tax and tolls as also the number of cotton bales pressed in the three cotton presses here, would also show that, excepting bad seasons, trade here has been on the increase on the whole.

As regards recovery of this part of the country from the effects of the famine of 1876—78, my humble opinion is that it has very nearly recovered. Compared with the extent of Government assessed land under occupation before the last famine of 1876—78, similar extent now under occupation in this division consisting of the Adóni and Alár taluks is about 28,500 acres less. But of this difference as much as nearly 19,000 acres is already under "Sivaijama" or unauthorized cultivation, and there seems no doubt whatever that that, as well as even the still outstanding difference, will come under permanent holding before long. In this connection it is also to be remembered that some extents of assessed land under occupation previous to the famine of 1876—78 have since been included in the forest reserves formed, and that some of the lands so included are such as would have already been under occupation had they not been so included in reserves.

Statement showing income to the Adóni Municipality from professional tax and tolls.

Years						Income from tax on arts.	Income from tolls.
						RS.	RS.
1880-81	...	...	...	..	...	2,861	3,112
1881-82	.	...	...	.	...	3,146	2,650
1882-83	...	...	...	..	...	3,354	3,991
1883-84	..	...	..	...	...	3,872	3,700
1884-85	.	...	...	.	...	3,577	4,350
1885-86	..	.	.	...	...	3,710	3,200
1886-87	...	.	...	.	..	4,729	3,950
1887-88	..	...	..	..	.	4,200	4,249
1888-89	.	.	.	.	*	3,748	5,870
1889-90	.	.	...	..	..	4,856	5,615

Statement showing number of bales pressed at the Cotton Presses in Adóni.

Year	Number pressed at the two presses of Messrs Dymcs and Co and Sabapathy Mu- dahar and Co	Number pressed at all the three presses including the press of Messrs Framjee and Co	Remarks
1881	10,263	3rd Company's not available	
1882	17,506	Do	
1883	15,838	Do	
1884	14,663	20,964	
1885	4,268	5,946	Particularly bad season
1886	17,202	20,667	
1887	18,982	22,090	
1888	15,485	18,899	
1889	26,832	38,095	
1890	13,309	17,735	Up to 30th July 1890

N B—The price of a pressed bale of cotton ranges between Rs 80 and Rs 90

(5) Note by A. Sabapathy Mudahar, Esq., Bellary.

The condition of the agricultural population two or three years before the famine was the best that was ever known owing to the high prices of cotton which ruled during the American war. But after the famine, with a few exceptions, they (people) were reduced almost to

* Reduction due to some amount having been left uncollected at the close of the year which, however, is included in the figure for 1889-90.

beggary. During the past 4 or 5 years they have been gradually recovering their lost position.

Dry land was then sold at Rs. 50 to 100 per acre ; now the price of wet land is Rs. 30 to 40 for lands irrigated by the Hagari, and Rs. 100 to 150 for lands irrigated by the Tungabhadra.

This year (1890) the cotton and cholum crops having been exceptionally favorable and the cotton crops having ripened simultaneously in almost every place, the laboring classes have benefited thereby to an enormous extent. The wages which were paid were three times as high as those ordinarily paid. This was the only year in which it was known that the laborers were not found to be enough in number to cope with the work. The extension of cultivation and the railways running through the district have enhanced wages cent. per cent. as compared with ordinary times before the current year. Wages are low as compared with what they were before the *famine*.

The condition of the agricultural classes as a whole has not generally improved in the same way as that of laboring classes owing to deficient rainfall in the Bellary district, which is due to the denudation of forests ; with the exception of the agricultural classes, the commercial and artisan classes are better off than they were before. The agricultural classes have to pay higher wages to coolies.

The increase in the number of cotton presses and mills in the surrounding districts has been the cause of giving technical knowledge to lots of males and females, who are able to earn exceptionally high wages, *i.e.*, 10 to 15 rupees per man per month and 6 to 10 rupees per woman, who do work on the piece-work system. The position of the artisan class is also very much improved, such as masons, stone-dressers, carpenters and blacksmiths, who are required in large numbers to meet the demand from the factories and the railways. In their case also the wages have gone up quite 50 per cent., if not more. The ordinary wages for masons, carpenters and blacksmiths used to be 8 annas, but it is now over 12 annas according to capacity and qualifications.

The prosperity of the people in general is shown by the large demand there is for both imported and locally-manufactured goods. The starting of the mills in India has been the cause of cheapening the prices of piece-goods and yarn by at least 30 per cent. as compared with what it was about 10 years ago.

Imported cloth goods now chiefly consist of the finer varieties, not the coarser kind generally used by the people.

The weaving industry is going down. The higher classes use the finer varieties of imported cloth, and the lower classes prefer locally-manufactured mill cloth.

In the Bellary Spinning and Weaving Mill, there are 100 looms, but only 50 are being now worked. In course of time the whole number will be utilized. The whole number will produce on an average 1,000 lb. of manufactured cloth every day. The production of yarn will be about 4,000 lb. daily, of which 1,000 lb. will be made into cloth if all the looms are worked.

Prices.*

—	Before the recent rise in exchange	Ten years ago	Twenty years ago.
	RS A P	RS. A P	RS A P.
Cloth for males, better sorts ..	4 1 0	3 12 0	3 8 0
Cloth for males, coarse ..	0 9 0	0 7 0	0 6 0
Dungary cloth ..	1 13 0	1 4 0	1 2 0
Cloth for females, coarse, colored.	2 2 0	1 12 0	1 10 0
Brass and copper vessels per seer of 21 tolas	4 to 4½ annas	5½ annas	7 annas
Iron, per 20 maunds or 500 lb	17 to 17½ rupees up to the year before last For 11 months last year, 23 to 30 rupees.	..	About 20 years ago, 35 rupees
Glasware ..	From ½ to ¼ of what it was before	..	..

(6) Note by R. Subbramania Aiyar, Esq., B A., District Registrar,
Tinnevely.

Changes in the value of land.—There is no ready and easy means of tracing out the various sales to which particular lands have been subjected in the course of the past 25 years. The only course open was to see by going through a good number of instruments of sale in the registers whether they contained any references to previous sales affecting the same properties. Even this was not attended with complete success. The lands mentioned in the previous and subsequent sales are not wholly identical. Prior to 1874, the lands were not described by their Survey numbers, and there is no means of knowing as to what Adangal numbers correspond to the present Survey numbers. Besides, the price of the same land is not distinctly ascertainable in all the years, as such lands are found intermingled with others in subsequent transactions, or only a portion detached and alienated. In ascertaining the price of one acre of average nunjah and punjah, recourse was had to the method of ascertaining the price of any piece of land in one year, and finding out the value of the same land in subsequent years, or of lands in proximity to it, bearing the next previous or succeeding number. The fluctuation in prices is noticed to be not based on any principle, and the only explanation which can be rendered for this is that the price varies according to the grain produced by it, i.e., in famine years and those of ordinary scarcity the value of grain being rather high, the productive lands go for a very high price, and others fetch only an inconsiderable amount. Further, it appears that there is a general tendency for the increase in the number of landholders, which means diminution in the extent held by individuals, and consequently each man is able to devote better attention to lands under his care, which, therefore, in their improved condition, rise in value. As civilization advances, the artisans, such as carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, &c., find enough of work for them, and an increasing demand

for them has tended to increase the rate of their wages nearly three-fold during the last 25 years. Persons who were allowed 3 annas a day before now earn 8 to 10 annas. Most of these people who can earn money by hard labor are in a position to save enough to purchase lands and live comfortably.

On account of increase in population, there is undoubtedly an increase both in the number of agriculturists and in the extent of land cultivated, as most of the waste lands are now rendered cultivable for ordinary nunjah crops. And the bigger vakils and other well-to-do people, instead of hoarding up their money or lending it out on interest, prefer investing it in lands which they consider safe. Moreover, the chief agricultural classes of Southern India have been impoverished by their constantly running into debts on account of their lavish expenditure on the occasions of marriages and deaths, when their agricultural resources are stinted, and when they are too lazy or too uncondescending to take to other industrial professions. The result is the higher classes, who were sole landholders before, have now to give up their land little by little, whereas the poor laboring classes have acquired land by dint of their economical savings. As agricultural profession is found to be more safe and secure by the lower classes, they lay out their earnings on landed property. It is this tendency that partly causes the rise in the value of land in spite of deficiency of its yield.

The gradual increase in population, a population depending entirely upon agriculture for their livelihood, contributes as much to this rapid increase in the value of lands as the artificial improvements brought to bear from time to time upon the productiveness of the lands themselves. More than 30 years ago changes in the ownership of holdings will compare by an extreme minimum if viewed in connection with the rapidly-increasing divisions of property at the present day, and the nature of the tenures under which they are held. The causes seem to be more or less due to the increased resources of the country, to the enterprise of the enlightened section of the community, and to the hard competition of the times. There has been more accumulation of capital, and more of the nature of sinking funds than what the history of a past age will teach us. In certain directions, the increased value of land is due to the improved productive nature of the soil, and to the facilities afforded by irrigational works. The idea of acquisition helps the idea for permanent property, and owing to competition in the same market, the values are generally very high. The value of the land in general has thus increased, and the increase is due to the desire for permanent property in some shape at any cost. In short, accumulation of wealth, increased investment, competition, and over-population contribute to the rise in the value of land.

In what directions the agricultural class has progressed.—The agricultural class embraces three sets of people—

(1) Landholders who do nothing more than let their lands and collect the rents.

(2) Those who have some lands of their own which they cultivate themselves, and who also take up lands from others on lease, if circumstances would permit it.

(3) Those who have no lands of their own, but only cultivate the lands of others on different terms of leases.

Those coming under the second and third class have improved their status by yearly fresh acquisition of land, and by converting waste lands into cultivable ones. With the exception of a small percentage who are engaged in trade, the major portion of those falling under the first class are by degrees growing poorer and poorer by selling or mortgaging their property. And it is the cry of this section of the population that is likely to be the cause of the general impression that the condition of the agricultural classes is going down.

The general feeling of the agricultural classes is one of satisfaction with their lot ; this satisfaction can be said to be unalloyed if the rigour of the forest laws were mitigated, and nature were less fickle in the matter of water-supply—rain. The general want of rain in season has driven these classes to the necessity of sinking wells. Lands that were 30 years ago wastes overgrown with shrubs, &c., are now under cultivation. The extension of railway and other communications has not failed to bring in their train to the cultivator advantages which were wanting 30 years ago. He now carries the products to the market, where he secures the highest price possible. He is no more under the painful necessity of parting with the fruits of his labor for a nominal price. The mode of cultivation, the mechanism employed in the act of raising water and of turning up the soil, &c., have, however, remained practically the same as they were 30 years ago. The conservative instinct of the Indian cultivator abhors all innovation in these directions, and he rightly or wrongly prefers his mode and mechanism to all others.

The people are happy in the safety they enjoy under the good Government of the country. A good Government has brought safety along with it, and hence property has been rendered more secure, and there is nothing of that dread of life or of the prospect of losing property, which places the ryot in eternal anxiety, in the absence of an organized form of Government.

In what directions the agricultural class has deteriorated.—The causes of deterioration are—

- (1) Heavy marriage expenses.
- (2) Factious spirit and consequent expensive litigation.
- (3) The neglect of the ryots to give any sort of rest to the cultivable lands.
- (4) The lands are not as of old well manured, the consequence being a low yield with increased population.

Notwithstanding the safe and peaceful situation of the country, there has been some diminution among the agricultural classes. To be a ryot is considered among the so-called enlightened section something akin to being a serf in an enslaved country. Various other professions have been called in aid, and agriculture has been partially abandoned among the gentry who have taken to the renting system. Many of the population have gone to other places in pursuit of varieties of trade or professions. Reservation of callings to one particular set is gradually dying out. And with the spread of education, less regard is paid to

aristocratical authority, and the village panchayat system has almost ceased to be an institution of the country.

Given the same laws, the same situation, and the same form of Government as that of a highly advanced country, what will be the situation of the ryot now if he does not go in for the foreign importations of the market for the desire of keeping up appearances, for the interchange of callings, or for the affectation of the many foibles which now attend on him? One other great feature which adds to his misery is the laxity of the abkâri rules, the spread of stills and shops, and the encouragement given to wholesale and retail systems, which place the juice at the door of the ryot at cheap rates. Again there are the forest and salt laws, the one depriving him of the use of the forest, and the other stinting the supply of the necessary of life to himself and to his cattle. In this aspect of the question, the condition of the ryot may fairly be said to have deteriorated.

Other industries.—As regards other industries, some show improvement, some are stationary, and others show decline. The mason, the carpenter, the blacksmith, and the brass-smith are now prosperous more than before. The potter has remained in the same position as 30 or 25 years ago. It is in the case of the weaver that one finds almost complete collapse. The weaver stands helpless before the gigantic array of machines and machine-made cloths of the mighty Manchester, and realizes in the application to India of the principles of free-trade the plain fact that his ruin is not far off, and cries for protection.

Native industrial arts have generally declined. They were in times gone by held in deservedly high esteem and every encouragement was given to the proprietors by the former rulers of the country. With the beginning of English rule, and the importation of machinery, from the cooking stove to the locomotive engine, native industrial arts received a death-blow, and there are now glasses for lotas, and the shining chintz for the thick elegant cotton fabric of the native dealer. Government seems to have felt the necessity of reviving them wherever possible. In this district, trade in senna leaves, jaggery, and cotton seems to be the most flourishing at present, as the labor bestowed on them is attended with more profit.

General Remarks.—That the agricultural classes are on the whole improving there is no doubt. There are larger areas now under cultivation. Greater number of people find a living in agriculture. Larger varieties of things are grown. Large landed properties found accumulated in a few hands are now split up and spread over a larger number of hands. The condition of the actual cultivators is much better than what it was some twenty years ago; some big mirasidars may perhaps be seen ruined here and there; but it is no proof of the agricultural classes as a whole going down.

Before the beginning of the present generation, the agricultural population of the country was divisible into only two sections—the landlords and the tillers of the soil. The relation between these two classes was anything but satisfactory. The landlord had the "lion's share" of the produce of the soil; and he allowed only a pittance just to keep the body and the soul together of the toiling cultivator. The landlord maintained the cattle, supplied the expenses of cultivation,

seed, manure, &c., while all the manual labor was done by the cultivator, and he was paid at the harvest season about a twelfth of the produce (குறுணி ஆறுபடி for a kottah), as it is called in this portion of the country. This, together with a pittance of other சுவதந்திரம், would not give a family of three or four souls more than 8 kottahs a year of paddy at the highest, which quantity is barely sufficient to maintain the family. For this payment, the landlord exacted other work too from him. He must do all the menial services for the landlord's well-being utterly unconnected with cultivation. The landlord would usurp anything found with his tenant which would be of any use to him. In fact, the landlord would get everything for his living without paying anything for the same—labor and materials for his well-being.

Thus the condition of the cultivator was far worse than what it is at present, while that of the landlord was undoubtedly far better. In addition to this comparatively larger share in the income, the landlord's domestic economy was much greater. Luxuries were unknown. Expenses of litigation far less. Differences of civil rights settled in the village panchayat without much cost. The less complicated laws of the Revenue Department placed redress at a much less cost to the landlord. Thus the landlord was a great saving party, while the cultivator was only a toiling machine, without any saving of his own.

The work of the present generation is the complete change of this state of the relation between the landlord and the cultivator, and the creation, or more appropriately the increase and strengthening, of a middle class of people who are landlords and cultivators in one. The original landlord has grown now lazier by his frequent visits to towns and the importations to his very door of the luxuries of the town, &c.; his life has become more expensive. His uncalled for luxuries, unnecessary litigation, the complicated and expensive laws, all these expenses combined with the reduced income noted below have brought down the condition of the landlord on the one hand, and on the other hand, the daily increasing independence of the cultivator, his boldness to refuse to give the landlord anything more than his actual due, using his time and labor to more profitable things, his savings, &c., have enabled him to buy cattle of his own to meet the expenses of cultivation from his own pocket without depending on the mercy of his usurious landlord, who, saved of these services, is paid a much less share of the produce.

The said cultivators have gone on further. They began to advance sundry sums to their landlords, and have bought, in most cases, small bits of land of their own, which they cultivate themselves, and obtain all the produce without a sharer. Many working people of other professions and castes have invested their savings in purchasing lands, and they have taken to cultivation in addition to their original profession.

The second class of people, besides cultivating their own lands, take a lease of the lands of the first class of ryots, and cultivate them and obtain a share of the cattle they maintain, and of the cultivator if they can. In many cases, these men sub-rent such lands to the third class of people, and obtain a profit on both sides by this bargain. The second class of people, being men of some substance, have greater credit with the first class of people on the one hand, and being fellow workers on

the field, are found to be less oppressive and more convenient for the third class to deal with ; and hence they are used as middlemen by the first and the third classes. It is this second and third classes of people that reap the full benefits of the advantages of the British rule, and it is those falling under the first class, if they do not pursue other ways of getting money, and if they waste their time, energy and money in useless luxury, &c., that are going down.

All the advance made during this generation is in no way proportionate to the intentions of the Government and their trouble and expenses in establishing colleges and training institutions at the Presidency towns to introduce into the country the scientific modes of cultivation of the Western nations. The country has adopted only such portions of the advantages which the force of the surrounding circumstances in their natural course have driven the people to adopt, and nothing more. It is still left to the future politico-economic statesmen to find suitable ways to introduce into the country the more profitable modes of scientific cultivation, and to the sympathising scientist to devise means suitable to the low state of the poor country to induce and lead its children step by step to reap the advantages of a scientific agriculture.

That trade, manufacture, and handicrafts have increased a great deal during the present generation no one would dare to oppose. The introduction of the railways, the improved roads, and easy communications, the establishment of the village post offices, the increased demand and supply, have tended to increase every class of trade from the petty retail sales in the streets and villages to wholesale commerce. The variety of things bought and sold in these days, and their quality, and quantity compared with those found in the markets some twenty years ago, show a great deal of advance. A larger number of people are employed now in these trades. Persons of every caste take up the trades suitable to their means and ability. The first class of agricultural population noted above are seen here and there using their time and money to their advantage in trading. Those of the second and third classes, too, carry on petty inland trades during the time they are free from their work on their lands. Persons of other ancestral professions have cast off their prejudices, and freely take up trading if they find it more convenient and paying than those of their forefathers.

Manufacture and handicraft.—Here again the quality and the quantity of the work turned out, and the variety of such work done in these days, are far higher than what they were during the last generation. The caste which, in the majority of cases among the natives, distinguishes the professions is now fast fading away. It is needless here to enumerate the several branches of industry that are improved, and that are newly started and starting up. Suffice it to say that our artisans and manufacturers successfully imitate the works of the western nations, and produce the necessary articles nearly equal in quality and durability to those of their teachers and sell them much cheaper. The hands that used to be idle or to be content with the making of rude articles and low prices now find ample work and good samples, and a ready sale to pay their labors.

In conclusion, it may safely be stated that the state of the country is much better than what it was some twenty or twenty-five years ago.

in every respect—agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. The tillers of the soil, the artisans, the manufacturers, and the traders—petty and wholesale—are, as shown above, getting strengthened day after day in their natural course. Whatever may be said of the proportion of increase under these heads to the attempts, inducements, and training afforded by Government, and whatever may be thought about the causes of the shortcomings in this proportion, the fact lies bare to every observer that the lower and middle classes, *i.e.*, the working classes, are now much better off than what they were during the last generation, though not as much as they ought or would be expected to be under the particular attention paid by our Western rulers to improve their condition by the establishment of several colleges and training institutions all over the country. The fault is not of the poor classes, but it is due to the indifference of their richer brethren, who, instead of teaching and leading them, look to their own selfish ends, or spend their energies and wealth in questionable directions.

(7) CONDITION OF THE WEAVING INDUSTRY IN MADURA.

*Note by V. Rajagopala Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.,
District Registrar, Madura.*

Number of silk weavers' houses.—The town of Madura is divided into ten Municipal wards. Of these ten wards the silk weavers occupy the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 9th wards, and the number of silk weavers' houses may be roughly estimated at 5,000 or so. Houses are multiplying in these wards and the fresh additions are generally thatched huts occupied by the laboring classes. It would appear that weavers from other parts of the district, finding no occupation in their respective places, have migrated to the town of Madura and settled themselves down here. The records of the Municipal office show that about 281 new houses have been erected in these wards.

2 *Number of silk weavers in the town.*—The silk weavers as a class are a very prolific people. They are said to multiply more rapidly than the other classes. Fixing, therefore, the inmates of each house to be from 4 to 5, the silk weavers' population of the town of Madura may be roughly estimated to be between 20,000 to 25,000 including females and children. Of these, about 10,000, including females, may be said to belong to the actual cooly class who earn their living by daily wages. Next to these come the petty traders who number from 400 to 500 families. Some of these sell threads, having purchased them in retail from the bigger merchants; some again sell lace in retail; some advance small sums of money to the holders of looms and order a small supply of cloths and sell them to the richer merchants. Some are brokers who collect cloths manufactured in the town and sell them either to the merchants in the town or to those abroad and very few are capitalists who have any very large trading concerns. The last class may almost be counted on one's fingers and it is said they are likely to be only between 10 and 20 on the whole. It is the brokers who form a comparatively large number. Some of the silk weavers have become agriculturists, finding that the profession of weaving does not pay. Their holdings are small and they only eke out their maintenance from the results of the agricultural labor. Some are said to keep carts and

bulls and to be employed in collecting sand from the river for building purposes.

3. *Their average income.*—Of the class of merchants, those who get profit of about Rs. 100 and more per month are only 5 or 6; about 20 or 30 get from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 and those who get from Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 are about 400 or 500. The profession of brokers is not very remunerative. A broker makes a profit of one anna on every rupee, but to earn a profit of 30 or 40 rupees in a month he has to employ two agents—one to go about the town and watch the progress of the cloths entrusted to the laborers and another to keep accounts. Very often he has to borrow money and pay the weavers in advance.

The average income of a cooly family is Rs. 5 a month and it never goes higher than Rs. 10 a month. Females also work; some are employed in preparing the threads for weaving, some in the dyeing of cloths and others in the marking of spots or what is called sundadis. Boys of 12 years and more also earn wages and generally get from one rupee upwards.

4. *The quantity of cloths manufactured in the town, their different kinds and the average values thereof.*—The number of looms in the town is about 3,500. About four cloths can be woven from a loom in a month. This gives a total of 14,000 cloths per month for the whole town.

The different kinds of cloth manufactured are the following :—

Pulukka selais—Of the value of Rs. 2 to Rs. 3½.

Urumals—Of the value of Re. 1 to Rs. 6 per taw or tari, consisting of 8 each.

Plain male cloths with silk borders—Of the value of Re. 1 to Rs. 4.

White luced head kerchiefs dyed—Of the value of Rs. 7 to Rs. 12, the charge for dyeing being Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 in excess.

Chittadais—Of the value of Rs. 3 to Rs. 8.

Female cloths of sorts.—The ordinary ranging from Rs. 6 to Rs. 20 and special cloths from Rs. 40 to Rs. 80.

Upper cloths—Of the value of Rs. 10 to Rs. 15.

Rs. 500 is the highest value of a cloth which has ever been made in Madura. Merchants of their own accord do not order for cloths of value of more than Rs. 80 to Rs. 100. The cloths made ordinarily range from Rs. 6 to Rs. 10 only in value.

The introduction of cotton twist from England, of lace from France, as well as of even the dyeing stuff from Bombay has considerably affected the value of the cloths made in the town and necessarily the wages to the coolies and the profits to merchants. Of the 14,000 cloths above mentioned as being made in a month in the town, for 7,000 to 10,000 cloths the inferior brass lace is used and the value of these do not go over Rs. 6 at the utmost. Their average price may be fixed at Rs. 2½ per cloth and this gives the sum total of Rs. 17,500 to 25,000. The average value of an ordinary cloth with good lace may be fixed at Rs. 7 and supposing that good lace is used for the remaining 4,000 cloths, their approximate value amounts to Rs. 28,000. Thus the total value of cloths made in the town in a month may be fixed at Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 60,000.

To get an impression of how much of this sum of Rs. 60,000 actually benefits the townsmen and how much goes to other countries and places, what the component parts of a Madura cloth are must be examined. Let me take for illustration an ordinary white cloth which is sold in the town for Rs 10. The different items which go to make this sum of Rs. 10 may be described as follows :—

	RS.	A.	P.
Value of the thread	1	0	0
Cost of preparing the same for weaving	0	2	0
Profit earned by the merchant who sells the thread	0	1	0
Cost of fastening the thread to the loom	0	1	0
Wages for weaving thread into a cloth	1	4	0
Value of the lace	6	0	0
	<hr/>		
Merchants' profits including brokerage	1	8	0
	<hr/>		
Total	10	0	0

When this cloth is dyed the excess charge is as follows :—

	RS.	A.	P.
For the first and rough coloring	0	12	0
For the making of spots	0	12	0
For dyeing them over again	0	12	0
Miscellaneous	0	4	0
	<hr/>		
Total	2	8	0

Thus the great portion of the value of a cloth goes for the lace which is manufactured in France. Then by the cotton twists used, it is the English merchants who are benefited. The dye is also prepared abroad and the greater portion of Rs 1-12-0 spent for dyeing goes also to other hands. The portion of Rs 12-8-0 which actually circulates among the townsmen may be taken at the highest to be from Rs. 4 to Rs 5 or one-third of the value of the cloth. This calculated with reference to the Rs 60,000 worth of cloth yields a total amount of Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 30,000 and this amount may roughly be fixed to be the sum earned from the industry by cooly upwards to the richest merchant. Deducting again Rs 5,000 or so as being the profits earned by merchants, there remains Rs 25,000 to be distributed amongst 5,000 families, giving an average of Rs 5 per family, the amount mentioned above, as being the average income of a family. Generally speaking the industry is becoming day by day less profitable to the actual working classes. The causes thereof are not far to seek. Prior to the importation of cotton twist, some fifty years ago, it would appear there were in the town of Madura 2,000 to 3,000 families employed in spinning out threads. This vocation has entirely ceased now. Again, prior to the importation of lace there were 500 Mussulman families engaged in making lace, and in their place there are, it would appear, only 10 families employed in making country lace. The preparation of coloring materials was at least done locally till a year or two ago, but

this too has been superseded by the Bombay article. As a necessary result of the cessation of all these vocations, the labor is now directed entirely in one direction towards weaving, and it is in consequence very cheap. What used to be paid for at Rs. 2 in former years is now remunerated by 1 rupee only.

Even as regards the merchant class, the general complaint is that the trade does not pay. It may be that a larger number of cloths are now made than before, but what merchants make as profit by reason of the cheapness of the commodity and keenness of competition seems to be considerably less than what it was in former years. A cloth which was sold for Rs. 60 is now sold for only Rs. 30.

As a curious illustration of how the importation of the English-made goods has affected the local weaving industry, it may be mentioned that the weavers themselves of the town of Madura do hardly use the cloths woven by them. Mulls and piece-goods have taken the place of the home-made articles and if the richer class should seek for some country cloths, it is the Conjeeveram cloths that are made use of. The females likewise use the *Thombu*, and if they seek for some better country-made cloths, they purchase the Koranadu cloths. Thus it happens that one or two per cent. of the town-made articles are sold in the town itself and the rest are sent abroad.

The habits and manners of the silk weavers as a class.—Silk weavers as a class lead a simple life. Their food is simple and consists of cholam, cumbu and other dry grains. Rice is used by comparatively few persons only. Their clothing is simple. The females wear a cloth of Rs. 2 worth only, except on festive occasions, when they wear the Koranadu cloths. House accommodation is necessary for their profession, and each endeavours, therefore, first, to secure a house for himself. They are not also without the desire for ornaments. Even the poorest household are mentioned to have some gold jewels. A silk weaver's property consists generally of his house and ornaments. Marriage is costly with them. About Rs. 63 must be paid to the bride even by the poorest man. To meet this item of expenditure, almost every cooly before he enters on his profession begins to subscribe to some CHIT transaction or other and to save out of his hard earned wages 1 rupee or so to be paid monthly for a series of years extending from five to seven. Before he earns his prize in his turn, necessity, however, often compels him to borrow, mortgaging his chit amount and the house owned by him. It is such documents that are registered in large numbers in the town offices of Madura. There is another peculiarity about these silk weavers. They seldom borrow from other than their castemen. In case of loans of large sums, probably they may resort to the Nattukkottai chetti. but all ordinary loans are contracted from one of their own community.

In addition to the town of Madura, the weaving industry is carried on in the following places in the district—Dindigul, Paramakudi, Palni, Tirumangalam and Aruppukóta. In Dindigul only laced cloths are made to the value of Rs. 10 or so. In other places rough country cloths only are made. In all the stations, the industry is said to be declining so much so that weavers from these places come up to Madura for employment and overcrowd the market.

(8) THE CONDITION OF THE LABORING CLASSES.

*Note by H. Subbaraya Aiyar, Esq., Deputy Collector,
Coimbatore District.*

I have had ample opportunities of observing and judging of the condition of the labouring classes during the last three decades, and can confidently say that it has materially improved in every way. Agricultural labourers consist of two classes (1) the permanent farm servants, and (2) those employed temporarily on daily wages when agricultural operations are carried on extensively.

The farm labourer is paid monthly and in kind, and is also given, to cultivate on his own account, small plots of land belonging to his master. He also receives small presents and loans on occasions of festivals and marriages, besides a certain percentage of the produce harvested. He is also permitted to work elsewhere during certain months in the year when there is no work in the fields or on the threshing ground, and thereby earn what little he can additionally. The temporary labourer is paid either in kind or in money or both. There was a time, within my own memory, when the labouring classes chiefly depended for work on agricultural operations in the year, and when these were over, they found it very difficult to maintain themselves. Now the demand for work, in the fields owing to increased cultivation, in the Imperial and Local Fund departments, in the Railway department, in the coffee, tea and cinchona estates, in the cotton presses, weaving and spinning mills and in other various departments of trade and agriculture, has become so great within the last thirty or forty years, that the labouring classes do not find it difficult to obtain employment freely on increased wages during the prosperous years. The labourers, especially in the maritime districts, have also begun to emigrate freely in large numbers to foreign countries, where they find work on higher wages, and thereby secure competence.

The rise in the price of food grains and other necessities of life, the steady increasing demand for work, the development of trade, the large scope now offered for emigration, the high mode of living suitable to the period of advancement and civilization, and the fashion of the day to naturalize whatever is foreign—all these have undoubtedly enhanced the rate of wages, not only for the skilled, but also for the unskilled labourer, to a considerable extent. In localities where low caste labourers, owing to caste prejudices, are unable to compete with caste labourers, the latter, as a rule, demand exorbitant rates of wages and are getting themselves enriched more than the former. I have generally found a harmonious, and on the whole, sympathetic relations existing between the landholders and the labouring classes both in the districts in which I have served and in those which I have seen.

As far as I have seen and known of the condition of the labouring classes, I may safely say it is not what it was thirty or forty years ago, but has materially improved in several respects, and is improving, and will, I believe, improve steadily. Those who once formed the landless class, the petty traders, the artisans and the weavers who have chosen to work in the fields and elsewhere, have now acquired landed property

to some extent; the exact extent I am unable to say, as I have no records with me to ascertain it. But reference to the records of the registry offices, as well as to the records of the villages, will, I am sure, furnish ample evidence regarding the same.

If at all there is any class of people who are getting deteriorated, it is the peasant proprietary class, who do not work in the fields themselves owing to religious scruples and caste prejudices, but depend for work on the labouring classes; and next to these come those who depend upon the munificence of the well-to-do classes and earn their livelihood by rendering religious and other services. I am really at a loss to find any remedial measures to improve their condition; and, unless they resort to labour, they must die out

(m)—*Tables showing the Income, Expenditure, Scale of Diet, &c, in different Countries*

(1) *Statement showing the amount of Imports and Exports of all Nations measured by value (extracted from "Mulhall's History of Prices")*

	Millions Sterling					Per inhabitant in 1884
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1884	
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Great Britain	193	376	547	698	686	19 0
France	75	167	227	339	315	8 4
Germany	105	160	212	315	331	7 0
Russia	32	46	100	121	114	1 3
Austria	29	51	83	128	137	3 5
Italy	26	46	74	96	99	3 4
Spain and Portugal	20	30	41	64	74	3 5
Holland	44	56	71	121	144	34 2
Belgium	35	48	64	116	116	20 3
Scandinavia	17	30	42	55	66	7 4
Europe	576	1,010	1,461	2,063	2,082	7 0
United States	64	137	172	309	276	4 9
South America	38	62	85	101	104	3 9
India	18	69	104	138	157	8

(8) THE CONDITION OF THE LABORING CLASSES.

*Note by H. Subbaraya Aiyar, Esq., Deputy Collector,
Coimbatore District.*

I have had ample opportunities of observing and judging of the condition of the labouring classes during the last three decades, and can confidently say that it has materially improved in every way. Agricultural labourers consist of two classes (1) the permanent farm servants, and (2) those employed temporarily on daily wages when agricultural operations are carried on extensively.

The farm labourer is paid monthly and in kind, and is also given, to cultivate on his own account, small plots of land belonging to his master. He also receives small presents and loans on occasions of festivals and marriages, besides a certain percentage of the produce harvested. He is also permitted to work elsewhere during certain months in the year when there is no work in the fields or on the threshing ground, and thereby earn what little he can additionally. The temporary labourer is paid either in kind or in money or both. There was a time, within my own memory, when the labouring classes chiefly depended for work on agricultural operations in the year, and when these were over, they found it very difficult to maintain themselves. Now the demand for work, in the fields owing to increased cultivation, in the Imperial and Local Fund departments, in the Railway department, in the coffee, tea and cinchona estates, in the cotton presses, weaving and spinning mills and in other various departments of trade and agriculture, has become so great within the last thirty or forty years, that the labouring classes do not find it difficult to obtain employment freely on increased wages during the prosperous years. The labourers, especially in the maritime districts, have also begun to emigrate freely in large numbers to foreign countries, where they find work on higher wages, and thereby secure competence.

The rise in the price of food grains and other necessities of life, the steady increasing demand for work, the development of trade, the large scope now offered for emigration, the high mode of living suitable to the period of advancement and civilization, and the fashion of the day to naturalize whatever is foreign—all these have undoubtedly enhanced the rate of wages, not only for the skilled, but also for the unskilled labourer, to a considerable extent. In localities where low caste labourers, owing to caste prejudices, are unable to compete with caste labourers, the latter, as a rule, demand exorbitant rates of wages and are getting themselves enriched more than the former. I have generally found a harmonious, and on the whole, sympathetic relations existing between the landholders and the labouring classes both in the districts in which I have served and in those which I have seen.

As far as I have seen and known of the condition of the labouring classes, I may safely say it is not what it was thirty or forty years ago, but has materially improved in several respects, and is improving, and will, I believe, improve steadily. Those who once formed the landless class, the petty traders, the artisans and the weavers who have chosen to work in the fields and elsewhere, have now acquired landed property

to some extent; the exact extent I am unable to say, as I have no records with me to ascertain it. But reference to the records of the registry offices, as well as to the records of the villages, will, I am sure, furnish ample evidence regarding the same.

If at all there is any class of people who are getting deteriorated, it is the peasant proprietary class, who do not work in the fields themselves owing to religious scruples and caste prejudices, but depend for work on the labouring classes; and next to these come those who depend upon the munificence of the well-to-do classes and earn their livelihood by rendering religious and other services. I am really at a loss to find any remedial measures to improve their condition; and, unless they resort to labour, they must die out

(m)—*Tables showing the Income, Expenditure, Scale of Diet, &c, in different Countries*

(1) *Statement showing the amount of Imports and Exports of all Nations measured by value (extracted from "Mulhall's History of Prices")*

	Millions Sterling					Per inhabitant in 1884
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1884	
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Great Britain	193	376	547	698	686	19 0
France	75	167	227	339	315	8 4
Germany	105	160	212	315	331	7 0
Russia	32	46	100	121	114	1 3
Austria	29	51	83	128	137	3 5
Italy	26	46	74	96	99	3 4
Spain and Portugal	20	30	41	64	74	3 5
Holland	44	56	71	121	144	34 2
Belgium	35	48	64	116	116	20 3
Scandinavia	17	30	42	55	66	7 4
Europe	576	1,010	1,461	2,063	2,082	7 0
United States	64	137	172	309	276	4 9
South America	38	62	85	101	104	3 9
India	18	69	104	138	157	8

(2) Table showing the Income, the Amount of Taxes paid and the proportion of Taxes to Income in some of the European Countries ("Mulhall's History of Prices").

	Income, Millions Sterling.			Percent- age of Agricul- tural to Total Income.	Taxes, Millions Sterling.	Ratio of Taxes to Income.
	Agricul- tural.	Non- agricul- tural.	Total			
United Kingdom	£ 263	£ 984	£ 1,247	21	£ 88	7.1
France	435	530	965	44	142	14.7
Russia	482	366	848	57	92	10.8
Italy	174	171	345	52	62	18.0
Spain	133	85	218	60	35	16.0
Europe	2,476	3,102	5,578	44	632	11.3
India	360	180	540	67	48	8.9

(3) Table showing the Wages of the Working Classes and the National Income in France (extracted from the article on "the wages of the working classes and the national income in France," published in the "Journal of the Royal Statistical Society for March 1891").

Average wages per diem				Men.		Women.	
				s.	d.	s.	d.
Country districts	...	..	...	2	1	1	4
Provincial towns		.		2	10	1	5
Paris	...	.	.	4	6	2	2
Millions				Production. Million £.			
17.7	Agricultural population			400			
19.3	Non-agricultural population			435			
37.0				835			

Distribution of Incomes.

Millions	Working classes.	Million £.
3·4	Agricultural labourers	80
3·8	Industrial and commercial workmen	144
1·1	Employés and other persons receiving wages ...	40
2·0	Domestics	56
10·3	Total wages and salaries	320
3·7	Small landowners, artizans, transport agents, soldiers, sailors, minor functionaries, school- masters, &c., whose resources do not exceed the maximum wages of the <i>ouvrier</i> ...	160
	Capitalists properly so called.	
1·7	Landowners	420
1·0	Manufacturers, merchants, &c	
1·0	Rentiers and members of the liberal professions	
17·7	Total	900

The capitalist classes get £112 per family after payment of the services of domestics and of taxation.

(4) Table showing the Distribution of Incomes of Great Britain and Ireland. (Mr. Giffen.)

	Persons.	Incomes.		
	Millions.	Agricultural. Million £.	Non-agricultural. Million £.	Total. Million £.
I.—Great Britain.				
Income-tax incomes ...	1.4	90	486	576
Upper and middle classes below income-tax ...	1.5	23	84	107
Manual labourers ...	11.6	70	445	515
Total ...	14.5	183	1,015	1,198
II.—Ireland.				
Income-tax incomes ...	0.1	10	16	26
Upper and middle classes below income-tax ...	0.3	7	4	11
Manual labourers ...	1.6	20	15	35
Total ...	2.0	37	35	72
Grand Total ...	16.5	220	1,050	1,270

(5) Statement showing the Cost of living per inhabitant (extracted from "Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics").

Daily Expenditure.

	Pence per inhabitant.					
	Food.	Clothing.	Rent.	Taxes.	Sundries.	Total.
United Kingdom ...	9.0	2.6	2.2	2.4	4.6	20.8
France ...	7.0	2.2	1.8	2.7	1.7	15.4
Germany ...	6.5	1.8	1.2	1.9	1.4	12.8
Russia ...	4.1	1.0	0.4	0.8	0.3	6.6
Austria ...	5.8	1.6	0.8	1.2	0.7	10.1
Italy ...	4.2	1.0	0.6	1.4	0.4	7.6
Spain ...	4.6	1.2	0.7	1.5	0.4	8.4
Belgium and Holland ...	6.7	2.1	1.1	1.7	2.2	13.8
Scandinavia ...	6.0	1.6	0.9	1.2	1.4	11.1
Europe ...	6.0	1.6	1.1	1.6	0.9	11.2
United States ...	7.0	3.1	1.8	2.0	1.7	15.6

(6) Table showing the Cost of living of the English Labourer and Mechanic per annum ("Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics").

Items.	Labourer.			Mechanic.		
	1792.	1823.	1883.	1792.	1823.	1883.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Bread, meat, &c. ...	16	17	20	18	20	22
Groceries ...	2	3	5	4	6	8
Rent ...	2	3	4	3	4	6
Clothing, &c. ...	7	8	8	17	22	24
Total ...	27	31	37	42	52	60

(7) *Statement showing the relation between wages and food*
(extracted from "Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics")

	Shillings per week.		
	Wages.	Food.	Ratio of food expenses to wages earned.
			PER CENT.
Great Britain	31	14	45
France	21	12	57
Germany	16	10	62
Belgium	20	12	60
Italy	15	9	60
Spain	16	10	62
United States	48	16	33
Australia	40	11	27

(8) *Statement showing the scale of diet prescribed in Jails in the Madras Presidency (Jail Code).*

(a)—The daily diet scale for European and East Indian long-term prisoners is as follows:—

Articles.		Labouring prisoners.	Females and non-labouring male prisoners.
Bread	Oz.	18	16
Meat, uncooked	"	4½	3
Potatoes	"	8	6
Vegetables	"	6	6
Flour	"	5	...
Suet	"	¼	...
Salt	"	1	½
Rolong or syce meal	"	2	...
Dholl meal	"	1	1
Coffee	Pint	1	1
Tea	"	1	1
Sugar	Oz.	2½	1½
Onions	"	1	1
Pepper	"	1½	1½
Mint and parsley	"	½	½
Rice	Oz.	5	5

On Mondays, Wednesdays and Sundays, vegetables and dholl meal are not given and rice is reduced to 4 oz. in the case of labouring prisoners and increased to 6 oz. in the case of non-labouring prisoners. On these days meat is increased to 7 oz. in the case of the first and to 4 oz. in the case of the second. On Saturdays instead of potatoes three additional ounces of rice are given, and ½ oz. of curry powder is substituted for mint, parsley and pepper. The allowance of firewood is 2 lb. per diem.

(b)—The daily diet scale for Native Convicts is as follows :—

Labouring prisoners.				
Grain—				oz.
Ragi	} sifted flour or without husk			
Cholum				
Cumbu		...	...	24
Dholl	...	...	...	2
Butter-milk, tyre	...	...	...	10
Three days a week, not mutton days.				
Ghee or oil	...	...	..	$\frac{1}{2}$
Tamarind	...	...	..	$\frac{1}{2}$
Salt	...	...	..	$\frac{1}{2}$
Curry-powder	..	..	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
Vegetables	...	...	..	4
Onions	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
Garlic	...	...	...	30 grains on mutton days.
Mutton or fish	...	...	...	5 oz. without bone or $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of salt fish three days in the week.
Firewood	..	...	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.

Remarks.—Females and non-labouring male prisoners get 20 oz. of grain instead of 24 oz. and 4 oz. of mutton instead of 5 oz. Any of the three grains may be used. 25 oz. of cumbu is to be considered as equivalent to 24 oz. of ragi or cholum. Labouring prisoners are to have two substantial meals, before going to work, and on returning from it, with a third light meal at midday. No rice less than six months' old is to be issued to prisoners. Dholl must be carefully husked. The allowance of fresh vegetables may be increased on the recommendation of the medical officer to any reasonable extent that can be supplied by the Jail garden. The weight of vegetables must be calculated after the stalks, skins and refuse have been separated, and only good succulent vegetables are to be used. The allowance of salt may, in times of epidemic cholera, be increased by order of the medical officer. The allowance of meat must be estimated without bone. Good ordinary grass-fed mutton or goats' flesh should be supplied. When dried or salt-fish is used, $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. will be considered=5 oz. of fresh fish. Brahmins and other non meat-eating *castes* may be allowed 1 oz. of ghee or oil or 2 oz. of dholl with 10 oz. of butter-milk on meat days in lieu of mutton. In districts where cocoanuts are plentiful, 2 oz. of copra may be given in lieu of $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of oil or ghee. -Mango pickles may be substituted for tamarind when procurable. All kinds of grain used must be good, of thin kind and nutritious, not too new nor too old, and the quantity should be a fair average of the produce of the local markets. All unripe, mildewed or weevil eaten grain must be rejected and the grain should be free from all external impurities.

(9) The particulars noted below have reference to the scale of diet in use among the ryot-population in a village near Coimbatore.

The cost of food of Brahmin and other high castes per male adult in villages may be taken to be Rs. 3-12-0 per mensem or 2 annas per diem. Among labourers of the lower castes, the ordinary cost is about Rs. 1-12-6, or 1 anna per head per diem. The particulars are shown below :—

Higher castes.				Lower castes.			
RS. A. P.				RS. A. P.			
Rice	...	...	2 0 0	Cholum	...	...	1 0 0
Salt	...	...	0 1 6	Horse gram	...	...	0 1 0
Dholl	...	...	0 1 6	Salt	...	...	0 1 6
Chillies	...	...	0 0 6	Chillies	...	...	0 0 6
Tamarind	...	...	0 1 0	Onions	...	...	0 0 6
Black gram (powdered)	...	...	0 2 0	Sundries	...	...	0 1 0
Butter-milk	...	...	0 2 6	Kerosine-oil	...	...	0 1 6
Ghee	...	...	0 5 0	Gingelly-oil	...	...	0 2 0
Kerosine-oil, for light...	...	...	0 2 6	Tamarind	...	...	0 0 6
Gingelly-oil	...	...	0 2 0	Betel leaves, areca nut	...	...	...
Firewood	...	...	0 8 0	and tobacco	...	...	0 4 0
Vegetables	...	...	0 1 0				
Total	...	...	3 11 6	Total	...	...	1 12 6

Vegetables, firewood, &c., are seldom purchased.

(10) Scale of weekly diet to Soldiers and Convicts (Mulhall).

—				Ration.	Nitrogenous.	Carbon.
				LB.	LB.	LB.
British soldiers in England	...	...	...	25·7	2·46	4·84
British soldiers in India	...	...	...	20·0	2·33	4·52
English convicts	} in England	...	...	22·2	1·38	4·99
Farm labourers				22·1	1·82	5·11

The 25·7 lb., the allowance of British soldier in England, is made up as follows :—

							LB.
Bread	...	...	...	...	...	...	7·0
Cooked meat	...	...	...	...	...	...	3·5
Vegetables	...	...	...	...	...	...	7·0
Sugar	...	...	...	...	...	...	0·2
Sundries	...	...	...	...	...	...	7·5
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	25·7

(11) *Frankland's table of food required to lift a male adult (weighing 10 stones) 10,000 feet.*

		Quantity.		Cost.				Quantity.		Cost.	
		LB.	D.					LB.	D.		
Milk	...	8.02	15	Bread	...	2.35	5				
Apples	...	7.82	12	Rice	...	1.34	5				
Fish	...	6.37	25	Flour	...	1.31	4				
Potatoes	...	5.07	4	Arrowroot	...	1.29	15				
Beef	...	3.58	36	Oatmeal	...	1.28	3				
Ham	...	3.00	38	Cheese	...	1.15	12				

(12) (*Lyons' food tables*).—*The following is the quantity of cereals and pulses required by an adult weighing 110 lb. (the average weight of labourers in this country) for his nourishment. To cereals $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of fat or oil or ghee and not less than $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of salt should be added.*

					Hard labour diet.	Light labour diet.	Subsistence scale.
					oz.	oz.	oz.
(1)	Rice	..	..	..	16.61	14.77	14.91
	Pulses	.	..	..	7.11	5.97	3.78
					23.72	20.74	18.69
(2)	Cholum	...	..	..	17.85	15.86	16.08
	Pulses	...	..	..	5.87	4.88	2.66
					23.72	20.74	18.69
(3)	Cumbu	..	..	..	19.56	17.46	15.55
	Pulses	..	..	..	4.16	3.28	3.14
					23.72	20.74	18.69
(4)	Ragi	...	..	..	18.54	16.45	14.63
	Pulses	...	..	..	5.18	4.29	4.06
					23.72	20.74	18.69
(5)	Wheat	...	..	..	23.72	20.74	18.69
(6)	Wheat	...	..	..	12.30	10.40	10.93
	Rice	...	..	..	8.30	7.39	7.46
	Pulses	...	..	..	3.12	2.95	0.80
					23.72	20.74	18.69

The above tables are based on the nourishment required by a labourer in England whose average weight is 150 lb. It is assumed that the work done and the nourishment required vary directly as the weight and no allowance is apparently made for the smaller quantity of food required in hot climates.

In calculating the cost of food, the value of rice may be taken to be 30 lb., of the dry grains 50 lb., of wheat 15 lb., and of dholi 25 lb., per rupee.

SECTION VI.—CERTAIN ALLEGED EVILS IN THE PRESENT ECONOMIC POSITION AND REMEDIAL MEASURES CONSIDERED.

(A).—LAND SETTLEMENTS.

- (1) *Remarks on the method adopted by the Settlement Department for calculating the outturn of lands and its money value for fixing the Government assessment on the lands.*

In his "Memorandum on the Revision of Land Settlements in the N.-W. Provinces" by Mr (now Sir) Auckland Colvin, written in 1872 when he was Secretary to the Board of Revenue in those Provinces, he has forcibly pointed out the impracticability of valuing lands for the purpose of assessing the land tax by endeavouring to ascertain the net produce of different qualities of soil. He remarks:—

"It is impossible to form an accurate conception of the process of assessment in these Provinces until one very general, but very important, error is explained. Because, in theory, the Government which we succeeded asserted a right to a share in the gross produce of the land, it is very frequently assumed that a settlement should still rest on a calculation of the gross produce, the cost of cultivation and the net yield of every field. The land is represented to be a kind of *tabula rasa* on which the settlement officer may frame any estimates he likes of capabilities and outturn. Hence, we hear of the necessity of settlement officers being experts in agricultural matters; of the rise in revenue bearing no ratio to the alleged rise in prices; of the ruinous waste of revenue involved in our settlements, and so on. It must be stated here once for all, that with the gross produce of the land, as the basis of assessment, the settlement officer in the North-West, except in tracts where rents are paid in kind, has little or nothing to do."

The plan of finding out the net produce of each field was tried in the N.-W. Provinces and was given up as impracticable. The following extracts from the report of the Saharanpore Settlement officer quoted in Sir Auckland Colvin's memorandum very clearly illustrate the difficulty in ascertaining the gross and net produce of soils.

Saharanpore Settlement officer.—"I have not made any use of the facts brought out by the actual cutting and weighing of the crop in 1864-65, because, as will be seen by the average rates, the jumma which would thus be gained would be the enormous sum of Rs. 16,96,824, the present jumma being Rs. 8,29,155 and my proposed jumma (the utmost assessable in my opinion) Rs. 8,88,699. This fact appears to me sufficient to show the fallaciousness of such data; and I proceed to show the reasons for their being so fallacious and do so at some length, as my action in the matter has been questioned:—

"(a) Too small an area could be appraised by a European officer. When so small a plot as one-tenth of an acre is taken as the measure of the whole, an enormous number of fields must be appraised in order that, by the rule of averages, the little errors in excess in one part may

be checked by the reverse kind of errors in another part. But it takes about three hours to cut and weigh the crop of a field on the spot. On an average this operation can only go on simultaneously in two fields at a time. For the 'Khureef' there are less than two and for the 'Rubbee' less than one month available for the purpose, that is, some seventy-six working days; i.e., no more than 152 different fields can be appraised by the European Officer, even if he gives up two-thirds of the time available for inspecting his villages; and you must recollect what pressure was put on me to finish this work speedily. Bearing in mind that it is necessary to find out the average produce of some dozen and-a-half different kinds of crop on eight different classes of soil irrigated and unirrigated, it is easy to see what a small basis of calculation can be obtained for each soil; add to this, the fact that the appraisement had to be made in 41 groups of villages by two officers within the limit of one year, and that till the inspection was over it could not be ascertained how these groups would be divided, and the impossibility of procuring broad enough data for the calculation is apparent.

"(b) The native officials to whom part of the task was entrusted, with the wish of avoiding the imputation of lowering the apparent assets of a village, fell into the opposite extreme, and in spite of orders to choose in each village, at least one good, one average and one inferior field, rejected all the really bad fields.

"(d) The native officials taking the soils as given in the settlement papers, in many cases put down as *meesum* that which had not been manured for many years.

"(e) No allowance can be made for the numerous *tukm sokht* fields where seed is annually sown on the mere chances of a favorable fall of rain.

"(f) No allowances can with any certainty be made for the little unproductive places at the corners and edges of fields; nor do I see how to make accurate allowances for the charges of weighing and carriage which fall on the Zemindars and the latter of which varies with the distance from the bazaar. Nor can it be ascertained what amount the Zemindar is forced by his necessities to sell at the low harvest price and what portion he can reserve till the price rises.

"(g) The appraisement of the inferior crops—bajra, mote, oorud, lobia, mundwa, &c., in the Khureef; gram, mussoor, &c., in the Rubbee—is particularly difficult. The produce has to be exposed for days to the wind and sun before the grain can be separated. Who is to watch during this time? It was the Zemindar's (peasant proprietor's) interest of course, to lower the apparent outturn, and I could feel no confidence in the result of an operation which I had not witnessed throughout with my own eyes; yet this was in most cases incompatible with the task of inspecting fresh villages every morning. The consequence was the appraisement was far too much limited to the better classes of crops,—cotton and mukkee for the Khureef, wheat and barley for the Rubbee. This was the case in Mr. Daniell's pergunahs as well; but of course to make such an operation a true measure of the actual outturn, the several crops must be cut in the same proportion in which they are grown.

"(h) I found that there was a decided difference in the weight of a crop according as it was cut at the commencement or end of the harvest. The grain was drier and lighter at the end than at the beginning; consequently the outturn of crops cut at the commencement of the season was unduly overstated. What allowance to make on this account I know not; yet a difference of a couple of seers in the produce of one-tenth of an acre comes to a serious amount on the whole. . . ."

In the Madras settlements the grain experiments were really very few, considering the number of soils and of crops the outturn of which had to be ascertained. To take the two districts in which the number of experiments was the largest, viz., Nellore and Coimbatore. In Nellore, the experiments were made during seven years. The number was for jonna 2,771, for aruga 425 and for paddy 2,230. This amounts to hardly one experiment for each sort of soil (and there are 66 of them) in a year for each taluk which is oftentimes bigger than an English county. In Coimbatore, 1,542 experiments were made as regards the outturn of the three dry grains—cumbu, cholam and ragi—in five taluks in two years. The number hardly amounts to one for each grain for each sort of soil.

The cultivation expenses are even more difficult to ascertain. The cost of cultivation varies with agricultural skill and efficiency of labour in different localities and with the characteristics of different castes of laborers in the same locality. In some of the Madras settlements the cultivation expenses were not ascertained for each variety of soil; it was ascertained with more or less accuracy for one sort of soil and increased or decreased in proportion to the assumed outturn in the case of other soils. This was particularly the case in Kurnool and the same method has been proposed to be adopted in the case of Tanjore. In his "Analysis" of the agricultural statistics of the Kurnool district, Mr. Benson points out the fallaciousness of this method. He remarks that "the system of calculating the working expenses of the ryot by which these decrease in proportion to the assessed value of the land is radically wrong," and that "in fact, within certain limits the expenses for the production of the standard crop of jonna vary rather inversely to the quality of the land dealt with."

The quotations of prices of food grains for the old years on the average of which the commutation rates are based cannot also be relied upon as accurate. These prices are given in terms of garce (a measure of capacity containing 3,200 Madras measures), and the Board of Revenue found in 1885 that the local officers had committed many mistakes in converting the quotations in terms of local measures into quotations in terms of garce. The following are instances. In Ganjam the local measures were converted to garce at the rate of 1,600 tooms to a garce. The toom, however, is not a measure of uniform capacity throughout the district, its contents in rice varying from 240 to 280 tolas at the several stations. The conversion is correct only as regards those stations in which the toom of 240 tolas rice is in use. In Cuddapah a garce was assumed to be equivalent to 3,200 local measures of 182 tolas each or one-tenth more than its real contents. In Kurnool the three varieties of local measures of 86, 114 and 132

tolas, were converted into garce at the same rate, viz., 3,200 measures. In South Arcot 3,200 local measures of 140½ tolas rice were assumed to be equivalent to a garce which is thus taken to be one-seventh larger than it is. In Tanjore no uniform principle was adopted, the conversion being effected at the rate of 116 kalams or 2,784 local measures in some taluks and in others at the rate of 133½ kalams or 3,200 local measures. The contents in rice of the measures in use in this district being either 133 or 144 tolas, the garce was assumed to contain 10 and 20 per cent. more than it really does. The Board had the prices in terms of garce for years subsequent to 1873 re-calculated with reference to the retail prices recorded since that year, but as regards the prices of the previous years on which the commutation rates adopted for the settlements already concluded are based, it was found impossible to apply any corrections to them.

These considerations are sufficient to show the almost insuperable difficulties met with in effecting land valuations and the imperfect character of the data which have to be made use of for the purpose.

(2) Statement showing the increase or decrease in the occupied area and in the assessment caused by the introduction of the Survey and Settlement.

District	Area				Assessment				Remarks.
	As per Revenue Accounts	As per Survey	Difference	Percentage	As per Revenue Accounts	As per Settlement	Difference	Percentage	
Ganjam	ACS 280,572	ACS 336,167	+ 55,595	20	RS 6,55,732	RS 7,20,449	+ 64,717	10	
Visagapatam	93,652	105,751	+ 12,099	13	2,16,613	2,49,743	+ 33,130	15	
Godavari { Western Delta Eastern and Central Deltas and Uplands	142,558	188,390	+ 45,832	32	5,75,143	8,50,564	+ 2,75,421	48	(a)
	Not available.	390,709			11,35,259	12,43,578	+ 1,08,319	10	(a)
	Total		579,099			17,10,402	20,94,142	+ 3,83,740	22
Kistna { Masulipatam Guntur	391,844	399,402	+ 7,558	2	5,76,474	8,75,051	+ 2,98,577	52	(a)
	1,291,547	1,394,863	+ 103,316	8	24,21,589	25,91,289	+ 1,69,700	7	
	Total	1,683,391	1,794,265	+ 110,874	7	29,98,063	34,66,340	+ 4,68,277	16
Nellore	910,352	910,078	- 274		17,10,412	18,98,568	+ 1,88,156	11	
Cuddapah	1,161,613	1,258,540	+ 96,927	8	15,19,259	16,27,135	+ 1,07,876	7	
Kurnool	1,121,553	1,226,413	+ 104,860	9	12,87,123	13,27,500	+ 40,377	3	
Chingleput	488,646	544,093	+ 55,447	11	13,57,612	14,10,576	+ 52,964	4	
North Arcot	627,027	706,056	+ 79,029	13	17,47,530	17,81,257	+ 33,727	2	
Salem	1,048,239	1,208,588	+ 160,349	15	17,29,016	17,97,381	+ 68,365	4	
Coimbatore	2,192,940	2,336,046	+ 143,106	7	24,51,880	26,56,792	+ 2,04,912	8	
Trichinopoly	647,245	764,496	+ 117,251	18	15,82,074	11,94,018	- 3,88,056	- 25	
Tinnevely	1,299,296	1,396,644	+ 97,348	7	25,25,366	24,73,398	- 51,968	- 2	
Madura	874,082	941,825	+ 67,743	8	15,75,468	15,82,577	+ 7,109	0.5	
Nilgiris	64,150	112,589	+ 48,439	75	33,632	68,559	+ 34,927	103	(b)
Total	12,635,316	{ 13,829,941 390,709	+ 1,194,625	9	2,31,00,182	243,48,435	+ 12,48,253	5	

(a) The increase of revenue by settlement includes water-rate on lands brought under cultivation by means of water taken from ancient works in the Godavari and Kistna Deltas recently constructed. The water-rate was at first tentatively fixed at Rs. 3 per acre and was raised to Rs. 4 per acre at the time when the new settlement was introduced. The increase is also due to some extent to lands under the influence of the Godavari and Kistna alicuts having been assessed at a higher rate, in view of the prospective advantages of irrigation from the ancient works.

(b) The increase of revenue by settlement is due to the imposition of a pepper corn rent on a large area of waste land included under private holdings, which, under the previously existing revenue system, was charged for only when cultivated.

(3) *Extract from Mr. Giffen's article on "Taxes on Land," printed in his "Essays on Finance," 1st Series.*

"Clearly, if the phenomena of the last thirty years are about to be repeated—and there is a reasonable chance that they will be, for there is no sign of check to the growth of population or the increase of machinery and inventions—it is much to be wished that a better system should, if possible, be at work than has hitherto existed, for securing to the nation a portion of the augmenting value of its soil. The problem, however, is excessively difficult, and I doubt very much whether Mr. Mill's own suggestion, which must be first considered, will be found, as a general measure, to answer the purpose. It is in effect a proposal to go straight to the end in view—that the State should inquire at prescribed intervals what is the augmenting rental of land, and make a charge upon the owners of some definite portion of that augmentation. If there is no increase of rental due to general causes, there will be no increase of tax, and owners who object will have the opportunity of surrendering their estate on what Mr. Mill's enemies must admit will be full compensation. One objection to this proposal is that it is almost wholly novel in European countries, at least where the art of taxation has been most carefully studied, and is least of all fitted for a country in the circumstances of England. Mr. Mill has apparently in view the ideal of the *Foncier* taxes on the continent, in which the process is for the State at a certain date to impose a lump charge on the whole land of the country in proportion to its estimated value, and then apportion this charge among the various localities and parts of soil in the country, by a carefully arranged *Cadaastre*. But there is nothing more tedious in fact than the completion of a *Cadaastre*, or unequal when it is completed. Even in France, which has set the example in these *Foncier* taxes, the new *Cadaastre*, which was commenced forty years ago, was only completed the other day, and while it was being put into operation the value of the whole land subject to it was changing. It is hardly possible to imagine that even if in England we could give that attention to the nice adjustment of competing qualities of land or property, which could alone make the basis of French direct taxes endurable, we should be content to await the slow development of a pretentiously perfect, but really imperfect, *Cadaastre* for a period of 40 years. It is a still more fatal objection that such taxes do not appear to draw. It is officially estimated in France that the annual value of real property has increased since 1821 from £64,000,000 to £160,000,000, which is quite comparable with the increase in England. But while the rates have risen in England from about £10,000,000 to £17,000,000, the special land tax of France has only risen from £11,720,000 to £12,280,000, including the additional hundredths imposed for local purposes, as well as the 'principal' of the tax. The special tax of England is thus more elastic and effective than the special tax of France, which is proposed as a model. Besides, if these objections could be got over, if it could be shown that an improved *Cadaastre* is easily possible, and is capable of frequent renewal, there would remain the objection that such a tax, so imposed, might interfere with the enjoyment of private property in an inexpedient manner. It would be very difficult to re-assure individuals against the operations of the tax assessors.

Every few years they would foresee a demand of an indefinite amount, depending on many points of taste and opinion, and they would only have the alternative of paying or surrendering their property to the State. Careful as Mr. Mill is to suggest safe-guards, the essential nature of the transaction would be such as to destroy confidence in the continuity of private right in some particular plot of land. The apprehensions might in the main be unfounded, but their existence would be a public calamity, unless the theory is admitted that the abolition of private property would be beneficial, which in some localities it might be.

“Turning from this suggestion, I think there is much to be said in favor of our present special taxes on land, imperfect as we have shown them to be. They have permitted the growth of an immense mass of value in the hands of individuals only, and at a very recent date there was a sudden reduction of the burden, by which a small class received a considerable gain. But with all their imperfections, they have the merit of elasticity. They are set apart for the discharge of certain branches of expenditure; and, without fluctuating so widely as to disturb property rights, they may be increased materially, and so reserve for the State some portion, however insignificant it may be, of the augmenting value of property. This is no small merit, especially when compared with the model of the continental land taxes, which have no such capacity of expansion. It is an additional convenience, that, as the branches of expenditure which are thrown specially on this property are local, local administration and local taxation can be associated. In this view, the rates are, in fact, a happy English invention, by which different and unconnected advantages are obtained in a rough practical fashion, and as it is a familiar system we have another obvious reason for trying to make the most of it. Could not something more be made of it? It will be of some use perhaps if the discussion of the principles on which the burden is imposed makes it clear that no injustice is now committed—that the support of a certain burden of expenditure is a condition of the enjoyment of the property which the State may properly impose. Every one knows the condition beforehand, and as it is quite a calculable one, notwithstanding the loud talk of the increase of rates and the addition of new rates, there is no inexpediency in it as a too heavy restriction on the enjoyment of private property in land. But the discussion, I think, may do more, and justify the imposition of new charges which are convenient for local administration. As the tendency of the functions of local Government is to increase, and the additional expense has not yet proved commensurate with the increase of the value of property, we have a security in the recognition of this principle, both for the reservation to the State of a part of that value—though, I fear, a most inadequate part—and for the safety of private property against any great disturbance. If I might venture to make a suggestion, there is one new charge which escapes notice, and which might very properly be treated as a branch of local expenditure; the army for home defence ought to be locally maintained. For many reasons it is important that a good deal of local management and self-government should be associated with the organization of our militia and volunteers and the charges might very properly fall on the rates. This

would not only relieve the Imperial army estimates of a heterogeneous charge, but by really associating localities with the work, would contribute much to the strength and vitality of our home system of defence. There is another way in which something more could be made of the present system. Under the hap-hazard methods and want of principle which have hitherto prevailed, the local rates have gradually been relieved of a large portion of the burden which properly falls upon them. On one pretext or another the Imperial exchequer has been drawn on for 'grants' amounting annually in England to a million and a quarter, by which the growth of the local burden has been retarded—or in other words, the individual landowner has been permitted to retain a larger share than otherwise he would retain of the augmenting value of land. Good reasons, I think, have been furnished for putting a stop to this system, if rates continue to be the form of our special tax. The proper course would now be to institute a mode of discontinuing the grants by degrees, according to a defined scale, and so reimpose on property a burden which it has escaped." *

- (4) *Statistics showing the amount of taxes on land in various countries and its ratio to total agricultural production (extracted from "Mulhall's Statistical Dictionary").*

Countries	Taxes	Agricultural production	Tax percentage.
	Millions £	Millions £.	
England ...	16·2	157	10·3
Scotland	1·9	40	4·8
Ireland	2·7	54	5·0
United Kingdom	20·8	251	8·3
France	21·8	460	4·8
Germany	12·7	424	3·0
Austria Proper	8·6	175	4·9
Italy	14·2	204	7·0
Belgium	1·53	55	2·8
Holland	1·08	39	2·8
Egypt	4·89	35	14·0
India	23·4	400	5·8
	109·0	2,043	5·4

In the United Kingdom the taxes on agriculture are distributed as follows:—

Taxes	England	Scotland.	Ireland	Total.
	Millions £.	Millions £.	Millions £	Millions £.
Tithes	4·05		..	4·05
Rates	8·30	1·40	2·10	11·80
Income-tax	1·20	20	25	1·65
Land-tax	1·05	05		1·10
Duties and stamps	1·60	·25	35	2·20
	16·20	1·90	2·70	20·80

* NOTE.—It should be remembered that Mr. Giffen's remarks in the concluding portion of the above extract were made in 1871, before the present agricultural depression and the great fall in the rent-value of lands had set in, in England.

In France the taxes levied in 1874 were distributed as follows :—

	Millions £.
National	4·8
Departmental	4·8
Indirect	8·6
Roads, &c.	3·6
	<hr/> 21·8

The rental of land in France was estimated in 1874 at 158 millions £.

(B).—TENURE OF RYOTS IN ZEMINDARIES.

(1) *Extracts from the remarks of the Madras Board of Revenue on the relative rights of Zemindars and Tenants.*

In Proceedings, dated 2nd December 1864, No. 7843, the Board reviewed the history of the relative rights of Zemindars and ryots and arrived at the following conclusions, viz. :—

“That in the earliest times of which we have record, the right of the State to a share in the produce of the land was *limited*, and that this limit was such as to leave a sufficient margin for the growth of a valuable property in the land appertaining to the occupant, whose right to retain possession on payment of the limited share was inviolable and hereditary ;

“That a fixed limit was equally maintained by the Muhammedan conquerors ;

“That the origin of the Zemindar’s office was comparatively a modern one, and that whatever its origin, the Zemindars derived their rights from the State, which could not confer more than it had possessed and exercised ;

“That the State asserted, and often in later times exercised, the power of resuming the exercise of its rights from the Zemindars without thereby altering the terms and conditions of the ryot’s tenure ;

“That any increase in the rate of the Zemindar’s demand on the ryots was only justified by the Zemindar on the plea that the State had raised its demands on him, although this ground was by no means a sufficient foundation for any increase in the *rate* ; inasmuch as the State share collected by the Zemindar could be legally increased by *extension* of cultivation, and its value enhanced by improvements in the cultivation, and when the superior kind of crops were grown, and as the State demand on the Zemindar was not fixed, though his percentage of the State share of the produce might have been so ;

“That the notorious prevalence of excessive receipts by the Zemindars from the ryots induced the Nazims of the Empire to raise the State demands on the Zemindars, which measure again excited the Zemindars still further to exact from the ryots, till the latter were ground down to penury, or exasperated to resistance. Hence the Zemindars were themselves impoverished, so long as, and where the officers of the Empire were able to maintain their authority

over them; or they fattened on extortion where the influence and authority of the Empire or its lieutenants had grown weak. In neither case was the State benefited;

"That the object steadily kept in view by the framers of the Permanent Settlement was to remedy these crying evils by re-adjusting matters; in order to which they proposed to relinquish to the Zemindars an ample allowance for their personal benefit, out of the average State demand in past years on the Zemindari, and to fix the Zemindar's payment unalterably for ever, leaving to him all the benefits derivable from extension of cultivation and improvements in the culture of the lands, but to restrict his demands on the ryot to the rate or share established for Government by prescription, which rate was to be registered in the village by officers appointed for the purpose; while the actual demand on the individual ryot was to be recorded in a puttah or written engagement in accordance with this established rate or share, which puttahs when granted not 'without limit of time' but 'for one year,' should be renewable at its close, or be in force till renewed;

"That a limited time (six months) was allowed to each Zemindar after the Permanent Settlement of the State demand on his Zemindari, for the necessary arrangements with the ryots, after which time he became liable to fine if he failed to grant puttahs to ryots on demand;

"That when disputes arose regarding the rates to be specified in those puttahs, whether of assessment in specific quantities of grain or sums of money for a specified extent of land, or of shares in the produce, they were to be determined with reference to the rates in force in the particular case in the year preceding the Permanent Settlement of the State demand, or where that was not ascertainable,* then according to the rates in force in the case of neighbouring land of similar quality;

"That no ryot can be ejected from his holding, so long as he pays, or is willing to pay, this established rate;

"That the Collector has summary powers to give decisions in such cases in a quasi judicial capacity, and may refer them for the decision of Panchayet when the parties agree;

"That appeals lie by regular suit to the Courts from the Collector's decisions, but that the Panchayet's decision is final where unimpeachable on the ground of corruption."

(2) *Note on Judicial decisions affecting the rights of Zemindari Ryots.*

It is noteworthy that the decisions of the Madras High Court which really jeopardized the status of Zemindari ryots were not passed with reference to Zemindari ryots, but with reference to Government ryots. The decisions in Chockalinga Pillai *versus* Vythilinga Pandara Sannadi and Mrs. Jessie Foulkes *versus* Rajarathna Mudely (VI Madras High Court Reports, pages 164, &c., and 175, &c.) are supposed to have rendered the tenure of Zemindari ryots precarious. In the first case, the tenant on whose behalf occupancy right was claimed was a porakudi and the landlord was a Government ryot entitled to *kudivaram* and not *melvaram*. In the second case, the so-called puttadar was the lessee of the *melvaram* rights of a mittadar.

In neither case, therefore, was there a presumption in favor of permanent occupancy right according to the common law of the country. This has been laid down in subsequent decisions of the Madras High Court. In the case reported in Indian Law Reports, V Madras, page 345, the High Court observe: "It has never been the law in any part of India, of which we have experience, that a mere farmer of revenue or proprietary right acquires a right of occupancy." Both in this case and in the case reported in Indian Law Reports, VII Madras, page 374, the High Court further hold that *prima facie* porakudis are tenants from year to year, and that a claim on the part of porakudis to hold land permanently should be proved to have originated either in grant or prescription. The case in which the permanent occupancy right of ryots was called in question was Fakir Mahammed *versus* Tirumala Chariar (Indian Law Reports, I Madras, page 205) decided by a Full Bench composed of Sir Walter Morgan, Chief Justice and Messrs. Holloway and Innes, Judges, Mr. Innes dissenting. The decision was that an ordinary puttadar under Government is merely a tenant from year to year, and that the rules of the Board of Revenue asserting the contrary did not constitute rights enforceable at law. Mr. Innes pointed out the true state of the case, viz., that the ryot does not derive his title from the puttah, but from *occupation* of the land and registry of his name in the registers of landed property kept under Regulation 26 of 1802; that puttah is not a lease but merely a memorandum showing the revenue payable for each year on the holding with reference to changes in the extent of land newly taken up or relinquished, and remissions of revenue granted on account of loss of crop, &c.; and that by the common law of the country, a ryot holding land under this tenure is entitled to hold it as long as he pays the regulated assessment, or is evicted *in due course of law* for default. In a subsequent case reported in Indian Law Reports, IV Madras, page 174, decided by Messrs. Muthusami Aiyar and Tarrant, it was ruled that it was incumbent on the Mittadar to show that the *kudivaram* right as well as the *melvaram* right vested in him, so as to entitle him to eject the ryots in the mittah on notice, as tenants from year to year, and that there was nothing to show that the Mittadar was the proprietor in the sense that the *kudivaram* right belonged to him. Again in Subraya Mudeli *versus* Sub-Collector of Chingleput (Indian Law Reports, IV Madras, page 303), Sir Charles Turner observed that a puttah issued by Government will, unless it is otherwise stipulated, be construed to endure so long as the ryot pays the revenue he has engaged to pay. Mr. Innes laid down that the right of Government is only a right to a charge on the land, and a right to forfeit, *by due course of law*, the title of the person who does not pay the charge. In the Secretary of State *versus* Nunja (Indian Law Reports, V Madras, page 163) decided by Sir Charles Turner and Mr. Muthusami Aiyar, they stated "we see strong reason to doubt whether the view of the majority of the Court in that case (Fakir Mahammed *versus* Timmala Chariar) was right and when an occasion arises, we should propose that the ruling be reconsidered by the Full Bench." It is difficult to say whether the principle involved in the dictum of Sir Charles Turner that a puttah issued by Government, unless otherwise stipulated, will be construed to endure so long as the ryot pays the revenue he has engaged to pay

will be applied to Zemindari ryots. In *Venkatagopal versus Rangappa* (Indian Law Reports, VII Madras, page 365) decided by a Full Bench, the Madras High Court review the legislation in regard to landlords and tenants, but do not afford any indication of what their decision would be on the above point. The High Court in their judgment state that the permanent settlement regulations of 1802 had placed the rights of Zemindari ryots on an assured basis, and Regulations IV and V of 1822 jeopardized these rights. The statement seems to reverse the facts. The intention of the Regulations of 1822 undoubtedly was to prevent any doubt being cast upon the rights of the ryots by the provision in the permanent settlement regulations which declared Zemindars to be "proprietors of the soil." Further in this case, the High Court presumed an "implied contract" for the payment of a money-rent for the simple reason that the ryot had paid a money-rent at a certain rate for 14 years, though he objected to the payment of the money-rent as being excessive, and stated that he was prepared to divide the crop with the mittadar at the usual rates of varam. This he was entitled to do under clause 3 of section 11 of Act VIII of 1865. If the money-rent represented the money value of the mittadar's share of the crop at certain assumed rates, the clause gives the option to the ryot of rendering the rent at the rates demanded or of falling back upon a division of the crop when the parties could not agree to its future money valuation. The fact that for 14 years it suited the ryot to pay the money rates demanded, owing to the prices of produce then prevailing, would not show that he impliedly contracted to pay at the same rates when prices had fallen and were expected to fall further. In *Polu versus Ragavammal* (Indian Law Reports, XIV Madras, page 52) the High Court followed the ruling in *Venkatagopal versus Rangappa*, but in this instance it was the landlord and not the tenant that claimed payment of rent in kind.

(3) *Extract from the Report of Mr. Forbes on the condition of the Zemindari Ryots in the Ganjam district.*

Mr. Forbes writing in 1866 as Collector of Ganjam says, "I will now add a few words on the comparative merits of the ryotwari and Zemindari tenures as regards the condition of the tenants. In Ganjam, the assessment on ryotwari lands held under Government is light, and a series of years of very remunerative prices had enabled the ryots to accumulate substance; they had begun, prior to the famine, to achieve an independence before unknown to the class and to hold their own with the sowcar, in bargains for produce; had it not been for this circumstance, we should have had to choose between agricultural depopulation and the alternative of maintaining the whole class, as we have already maintained more than 20,000 souls.

"The Government ryot in Ganjam pays a light rent, and his interests are cared for by the preservation of the existing sources of irrigation.

"The 13 Oorya Zemindars of Ganjam are, with few exceptions, the most grasping landholders and the least enlightened proprietors in the world; they take 50 per cent. of the crops and lay out little or nothing in improving or even in maintaining irrigation works. They

rack-rent their villages to middle-men, and the under-tenants are consequently deprived of all chance of accumulating capital, and are little better than serfs of the soil; the bulk of the ryots in Zemindari estates would hail a change to Government management with joy. I limit these remarks to the Zemindari system as it is worked here. There may be liberal native landlords in other districts, whose policy produces different results; but in the Ganjam Zemindaries, the profits of the soil are divided between the ryot, the Zemindar, the renter and the Government. In the Government taluks, the ryot and the Government divide the produce, the ryot taking by far the larger share. There can be no question which class lives under the more favorable conditions, and in fact, when the famine fell upon Zemindari estates, the misery and mortality were far greater than in Government taluks."

- (4) *Extract from the Report of Mr. Cotton on the condition of the Ryots in the Kalahasti Zemindari, in the North Arcot district, quoted by Mr. W. Digby in his Memorandum on private relief in the Madras Famine 1877, p. 129, Appendix I, to the Report of the Famine Commission.*

"The Maderpauk division is the southern portion of Kalahasti Zemindari of the North Arcot district. The division contains 178 villages, not including hamlets; the population of which in 1871 amounted to 73,085; half to two-thirds of these are ryots, or people who earn their livelihood by agricultural pursuits. The greater number of the ryots, of whom the population chiefly consists, are always exceedingly poor, much more so, than in villages belonging to Government, for the following reasons:—The ryot who ploughs and cultivates the land has no real right of occupancy, and hence has no interest in improving his land by sinking wells and manuring it. The effects of this system can be seen at once by comparing the Inam villages of the Zemindari, with those directly under the Zemindar's control. In the fields of the former there are wells, the land is manured, and the owner consequently gets good crops and is generally well to do, living in a good substantial house. In the fields of the latter, there are no wells; and the fields having no fixed occupants are not manured, and give but a poor return to the labour expended on their cultivation; the villages (*sic in origine*) attached to the lands bear invariably a poverty-stricken look.

"The Zemindar, Venkatappa Naidu, C.S.I., collects his revenue, not in money, as is done in Government villages, but in kind. The Zemindar is supposed to receive one-half of the outturn of the crop and the cultivator is supposed to receive the other; but he rarely gets more than a quarter, the other quarter generally going to the subordinate Zemindari officials. What remains to the cultivator, after paying everything, is hardly sufficient to keep him and his family in food till the next harvest; so that, it is a case of living from hand to mouth. If the crops fail for one year for want of water or other causes, most of the cultivators are left absolutely destitute; and not only the cultivators and their families, but also the coolies, who, though not actually cultivating themselves, earn their livelihood by working for those that do. The cultivator, when his crops fail, has to use the seed, that he had put by for sowing, as food; when this is exhausted, he sells his

bullocks, &c., and having spent the money received from these, he is without any resources. He is unable to raise money on his fields from the sowcar, as he has no rights of occupancy; therefore his last hope is to get an advance from the Zemindar; failing this, he leaves his village and seeks work as a cooly elsewhere. This is what happened last year. In November we had excellent rains, but owing to the exhaustion of the cultivators, the fields remained unploughed. The Zemindar gave no advances, or to such a small extent that they were useless. Many ryots had already left their villages, and others were preparing to do so; roofless houses were seen in all directions and some small villages were entirely deserted."

- (5) *Extract from the Administration Report of the Pudukota State for 1881-82 by the Dewan-Regent Mr. A. Sashiah Shastriar, C.S.I., describing the evils of the system of collecting the Government assessment on land in kind by a division of the crops raised.*

"I have already remarked that the prevailing revenue system was the 'amani.' A very large portion of the lands under cultivation and believed to be of the best kind were held under this system. The property in these lands was vested in the sirkar. The ryots were in most cases tenants-at-will and theoretically could be turned out without their consent. The transfer or sale of such lands was void at law. The crop raised by the ryot (at his own expense generally, and at times assisted with seed-grain from sirkar) was shared half and half* between him and the sirkar. He moved his share to his own house and carried the sirkar share to the granaries provided for the purpose, and if there were none, kept it in his own house either in trust, or under the lock and key of the responsible sirkar village officers. These were the main features of the system, and to one who knows no more, they must appear on their face to be very just indeed. What could be more fair? The ryot and the sirkar, by sharing the crop equally, share equally the vicissitudes of season and market.

2. "During a life-long career of service, I have had opportunities of watching closely the evils of the sharing system in all its varied forms in many districts of the Madras Presidency, as well as in Travancore, and my experiences have been of an interestingly sad kind. To tell the whole tale would occupy more space than would be justifiable in this place. I shall, therefore, content myself with stating briefly what is the case in this State.

3. "The system is saturated with evils and frauds of a grave nature,

(a) "The ryots having no heritable or transferable property never cared to cultivate the amani lands in due season. If you saw a bit of cultivation at the tail-end of the season, the chances are it is 'amani.' Ryots prefer infinitely to cultivate other lands held on different tenures, such as inam, jeevithem and money assessed lands. To prevent this, a penal agreement is forced from them to the effect that they would not fail to cultivate the 'amani' lands first.

* This is the prevailing proportion, but it varied in special cases, sometimes two-fifths and sometimes half and so on.

(b) "As soon as the ears of the grain make their appearance, an army of watchers called kanganies (literally eye-watchers) is let loose. As they get no pay for the duty and are for the most part the old militia of the country, on whom this kind of work is imposed since fighting time had departed, and get a grain fee on the crop they watch, their watch is at best often lax.

(c) "When the crop arrives towards maturity, it is the turn of sirkar village officers and the village headmen (called mirasidars here) to go round the fields and note down estimates of the crop. That there is considerable wooing and feeing at this stage goes for the saying. As in other matters, so in this, the race is to the rich and woe to the poor.

(d) "As soon as the village officers have done and reported the first estimate, down come special estimators from the taluk cutcherries to check the first estimate. Their demands have equally to be satisfied. Then comes the business of obtaining permission to cut and stack the crops. Here again another stage, where much feeing and grudge-paying take place. If permission is delayed just two days, an adverse shower of rain irreparably damages the crop on the field, or over-exposure to the sun renders the grain unmarketable.

(e) "Then comes the threshing and division of the grain on the threshing-floor. What takes place then may be imagined. If the outturn is less than the estimate, the ryot is made responsible for the difference without any further ado. If it is more, woe be to the estimators. The result in the latter case is often that the difference is made away with and shared half and half between the ryot and the officers concerned. During all this time the unpaid army of the watchers continues on duty.

(f) "Now the sirkar grain is removed to the granaries. Is all danger over now? By no means. A fresh series of frauds commences. The granaries have neither impregnable walls, nor are their locks Chubb's patents. The half-famished vettiyan, the hereditary watchman of the village, mounts guard, and he and the village headmen are personally held responsible for any deficiency which may occur on the re-measurement of the grain out of the granary. It often happens the poor vettiyan, stung by hunger, is driven to certain deeds much against his conscience. Scaling over the mud walls or forcing open the too easily yielding village locks, he helps himself from time to time to what his urgent wants may dictate. It is not often he is able to replace, even if he was so minded, what he has appropriated before the day of reckoning comes. This comes sometimes soon and sometimes late, depending on the time when the paddy is required for sirkar purpose, or for sale to purchasers. When it does come, there is crimination and recrimination without end, the vettiyan charging the mirasidars, and the mirasidars the vettiyan. The sirkar officials, to vindicate its robbed rights, come down heavily on both, and often both are ruined. If the misappropriation is made in very small quantities, the way of replacement is very ingenious; a quantity of chaff or a quantity of loose earth or a quantity of big-grained sand is put in to make up the measure.

(g) "Time passes and the months denoting favorable markets come round. There now remains the business of disposing of the

sirkar grain from the granaries. Simple as it may appear, enormous difficulty is experienced, and we have to face another series of frauds now on the part of the taluk or superior officers. Tenders are invited, but only a few come and bid low. Tenders are again invited but to no better purpose. At last come upon the scene a set of unscrupulous fraudulent tradesmen or relatives or friends of those in authority, or mere speculators professing to give security, which is really worthless. These men bid higher prices and take up the grain in lots they require. They remove the grain, but make no payment down, but enter into promises to pay value in eight instalments and profess to give due security for the fulfilment of the promise. It not unfrequently happens that the purchaser decamps and his surety is found to have followed suit or found to be hollow. The money due on the sales to the relatives and friends of the officers outstands the longest. If, to avoid these troubles, the grain is taken direct to the nearest market to be there sold outright for cash, few could be induced to pay the market price, the sirkar grain being notoriously bad crop and unscrupulously adulterated.

“Such is a brief *résumé* of the beauties of the ‘amani’ system. Complaints against the system on the part of the poorer ryots were rife. The State was ringing with the news of the plunder practised every day. Honest-minded higher officers found themselves helpless to apply a remedy. The evils in all their realities came home to me. To knock the system on the head was the only remedy possible, and to this I had to apply myself as soon as I had ascertained the wishes of the people and had the leisure to begin. A beginning was made to substitute money assessments. It met with success and would have been carried through but for the unfortunate character of the season which deterred the ryots from entering into immediate arrangements. The plan adopted will be described in the next report.”

(6) *Suggestions as to amendments to be made in the law of landlord and tenant in the Madras Presidency.*

The following are the matters for which provision should be made in a law regulating the relations between Zemindars and ryots. The two main interests in the land are the melvaram and the kudivaram; and the two classes of land are “ryoti” or aiyar or peasant land, and pannai or kamar or private or domain land. In the former, the Zemindar has the melvaram right alone, and in the latter, he has both the melvaram and the kudivaram right. The distinction is well known throughout the Presidency, and is recognized by the common law of the country. Advantage should be taken of the distinction, and the relative rights of landlords and tenants should be defined on this basis. There would then be 4 classes of persons to be dealt with, viz., 1st, melvaramdar or the superior holder next after Government; 2nd, tenure holders or persons who have interests carved out of the melvaram; 3rd, the ryot proper or the possessor of the kudivaram right; and 4th, sub-ryots or persons holding under ryots interests carved out of the kudivaram. The second and fourth classes do not require any specific protection, and their rights may be left to be defined by contracts and the operation of the general law of prescrip-

tion, there being no presumption in their case according to the common law in regard to acquisition of permanent occupancy rights, except by grant or prescription. What the proposed law has to do is to define the relations of ryots proper to the melvaramdar immediately above them. The provisions to be made in their case are these :—

I. *As regards fixity of tenure.* (i) All lands to be presumed to be ryoti unless the contrary is shown; (ii) continuous possession as tenant of land, for 12 years, originally private, to convert it to ryoti land; (iii) all occupants of ryoti land to be considered to have permanent occupancy right in it; (iv) no occupant of ryoti land to be evicted except by a decree of court; (v) waste lands to be granted by the melvaramdar to the resident ryots in the first instance and failing them to strangers, on ryoti tenure on terms applicable to lands of similar description and quality in the village; (vi) ryots and melvaramdars to be entitled to apply to the Collector for a measurement of the holdings and determination of the classification of lands as ryoti or private; (vii) the melvaramdar to be entitled to apply to the court for permission to enclose waste land and add it to private land for the purpose of forming plantations, or growing jungles, and the application to be granted after giving notice to the ryots and hearing their objections in the manner provided in the Forest Conservancy Act, and making sufficient allowance for *bond fide* increase of cultivation and pasturage requirements of the ryots; (viii) Government to have power to order the survey of any estate whenever this may be deemed necessary in the interests of public peace, to determine once for all what lands are *ryoti* and what *private*; the cost to be charged to the melvaramdar and the ryots in defined proportions determined by the Collector with reference to the relative values of the interests of the melvaramdar and the ryots in the lands, and payable in instalments not exceeding 10 per cent. of the rent payable to the Zemindar; (ix) in private lands, the melvaramdar's rights to be governed by the ordinary laws of property and contract.

II. *As regards enhancement of rents and right to make improvements.* (i) Occupants of ryoti land not to be compelled to pay more than the customary rate of rent whether in money, grain or share of the crop, and not more than a "fair and equitable" rent in any case, i.e., a rent which leaves to the ryot enough to reimburse him for the cost of labour and cultivation together with a fair farming profit; (ii) the rent paid during the last 3 years to be considered "fair and equitable" unless the contrary be shown; (iii) the occupant of ryoti land to be at liberty to adopt any mode of cultivation he thinks fit, provided he pays a rent determined with reference to the *standard* crop of the village; (iv) he is to have the prior right to make permanent improvement to the land, and failing him, the melvaramdar is to have the right; (v) where the value of a ryoti holding becomes enhanced by the ryot's improvement he is to have the whole benefit of it; (vi) where the value becomes enhanced by the melvaramdar's improvement, the melvaramdar is to have the whole benefit, due allowance being made for any increase of cost of cultivation and for fair profit on such cost; (vii) where the increased value of the holding is due to water supplied by Government and the charge for water is directly paid by the ryot, the latter is to have the whole benefit; and if the Zemindar under-

takes to pay for the water, the additional charge leviable from the ryot to be fixed under general rules as regards the collection of water rate fixed by Government; (viii) where there is an increase in the productive powers of land by natural causes, increased agricultural skill and knowledge, discovery of cheap chemical manures, &c., the benefit is to be enjoyed by the ryot; (ix) when there is an increase in the money value of the holding due to enhanced prices of standard produce, the melvaramdar is to be entitled to claim additional rent not exceeding two-thirds of the proportionate increase in the rent, the remaining third being intended to defray the increased cost of cultivation, &c., due to increased price of produce; (x) enhancement by voluntary agreement not to exceed 2 annas in the rupee or 12½ per cent., whether in money or grain, the agreement to be in writing and registered; (xi) rent once enhanced by voluntary agreement or decree of court not to be liable to be enhanced again for 15 years; (xii) the court to be authorized to decree that increased rent to which the melvaramdar is entitled shall be imposed by gradual increments to prevent hardship to the ryot; (xiii) the ryot to be allowed abatement of rent for deficiency in the area of holding and also for loss of produce by natural causes in cases in which he is entitled to remission according to usage; (xiv) melvaramdar or the ryot to be entitled to apply to the court for the conversion of grain rents into money-rents; (xv) Government to frame rules and make arrangements for fixing the standard produce with reference to which rent is to be regulated and for periodical publication of lists of prices of produce, and (xvi) the above provisions not to apply to "private lands" of the melvaramdar.

III. *As regards the right to transfer or sub-let holdings.* (i) Right of transfer to be freely allowed to occupant of ryoti land, but the Zemindar to have a prior lien on the land transferred for unpaid balance of rent next after Government revenue, the balance, however, exceeding 3 years' rent not being enforceable against the land. Tenants of private land not to have any transferable right; (ii) sub-letting not to be allowed for more than 9 years at a time; (iii) melvaramdars to maintain a register of ryots paying rent to them and to register transfers of holdings by decree of Court or private contract, the transferor to continue liable for rent till the transfer is registered.

IV. *As regards the remedies to be provided for the recovery of rents.* (i) Landlord to be authorized to proceed under the special law for the recovery of rent only in cases in which he has tendered a puttah to the tenant such as the latter is bound to accept; (ii) the landlord's right to distrain to be limited to ungathered products or gathered products stored on the farm or the threshing-floor; (iii) an occupancy ryot not to be ejected for non-payment of rent but his interest in the land to be sold, the sale being free of encumbrances on the kudivaram right, not created with the landlord's consent; (iv) a tenant of private land to be liable to ejectment; (v) Government to be empowered to invest any officer of Government with the powers of a court under the special law.

V. *As regards the duties of landlords.* (i) Landlord not to levy any unauthorized cesses or dues in money or labor beyond what may

be specified in the puttah; (ii) landlord to keep irrigation works in order and liability to be enforced on complaints from ryots by carrying out the necessary repairs and levying the cost from him; (iii) village establishments within the landlord's estate to be maintained in a state of efficiency.

(7) *Extract from Sir Henry Maine's speech on the Panjab Tenancy Bill before the Legislative Council of India in October 1868.*

As regards the hardship of requiring strict proof in a court of justice of the existence of customary rights and privileges under conditions which preclude settled authority and regular government, and the necessity for inferring the existence of such rights and customs from the facts ascertained as regards whole tracts of country, and not in individual cases, the following extracts from Sir Henry Maine's speech on the Panjab Tenancy Bill before the Legislative Council of India in October 1868 may be usefully consulted

"Property in land which had little or no value before annexation (of the Panjab) has now a very great and distinct value, and the real struggle obviously is whether, in the case of occupancy tenants, the new profits shall be divided between them and the landlords, or shall wholly go to the landlords. The position, therefore, of the two parties to this contention in the Settlement Courts was this: on the one side, you had very ignorant men, asked very difficult questions as to indistinct ideas of old date. On the other, you had witnesses, a shade better educated, more thoroughly aware of the matter in hand, but under the strongest temptation to adapt their testimony to their interests. . . .

"I observe, for example, that in a great number of cases the persons under examination, whether landlords, tenants or witnesses, were asked whether a particular person had a right to do a particular thing, and the point was frequently put for decision to the committees who acted as referees. I do not mean to say that the word 'right' was invariably used, but the questions constantly implied the notion of a right, or some shade of it. Now, every body who has paid even a superficial attention to the subject is aware that there is no more ambiguous term than 'right,' and no idea less definite. I do not suppose that in the Oriental *patois* in which the questions were asked, the word is less equivocal than in the cultivated European languages, and yet in Europe it is only the strictest and severest jurists who speak of rights with accuracy. *Primâ facie*, when you ask whether a class had rights of a particular kind, you mean *legal* rights; but *legal* rights imply a regular administration of fixed laws, and there was confessedly no such administration under Sikh rule. Yet I find Settlement Officers enquiring about rights of eviction or enhancement, without explaining (and apparently without being conscious of the need of explaining) whether the rights in question were of the nature of *legal* rights, or whether *moral* rights were meant, or whether what was intended was merely the physical power of the stronger to do what he pleased with the weaker. And these difficult and ambiguous questions—questions which in reality sometimes involved highly refined abstractions—questions which I do not hesitate to say that, even if I had been cognizant of the facts, I could not myself have answered

without fuller elucidation of their meaning—were put to ignorant and uneducated men, to men, therefore, who, like all ignorant men, are capable only of thinking in the concrete and in connection with actual facts, and were put, moreover, with reference to a state of facts which ceased to exist twenty years ago. Perhaps, Sir, it may be said that the rights about which enquiry was made were customary rights—rights arising under a custom. But here, so far from having my ideas cleared, I find myself in greater difficulties than ever. For it appears to me, that in the papers relating to the recent Panjab Settlement, the word ‘custom’ is used in a sense certainly unknown to jurisprudence, and I believe also, to popular usage. A custom is constantly spoken of, as if it were independent of that which is generally, if not universally, considered to be the foundation of a custom. According to the understanding of lawyers, and I should have said according to the understanding of all men, barbarous or civilized, the foundation of a custom is habitual practice, a series of facts, a succession of instances, from whose constant recurrence a rule is inferred. But the writers of these papers perpetually talk of customs of eviction, or of enhancement, or of rack-rent, and in the same breath admit the non-existence of any practice of the kind alleged. Some broadly state that there never was an instance of the customary right being exercised; nearly all allow that its exercise was as rare as possible, nor do they attempt to show that the rare instances of its exercise were not simple acts of violence. . . . I do not pretend to have an exhaustive acquaintance with the voluminous literature of Indian revenue settlements; but I know something of it, and I think I can see that the old investigators of Native customs proceeded on a mode of enquiry which is perfectly intelligible. They enquired for the most part into practices and into facts, not into vague opinions. They inferred a rule from the facts they believed themselves to have discovered, and then they stereotyped it. No doubt they may have made mistakes. They may have generalised too rapidly, may have neglected local exceptions, and may have made a usage universal which was only general or even occasional.”

N.B.—The occasion for the above speech was the following: Soon after the Panjab was annexed, there was a revenue settlement of the Province and in the course of it, large numbers of tenants were, after enquiry, declared to possess permanent occupancy rights. Twenty years later, there was a revision of settlement, in which it was alleged that a mistake was committed in declaring the tenants to have occupancy rights, and that further enquiry showed that they were merely tenants-at-will, and it was proposed that those who had been recognized as permanent tenants should be transferred to the latter class. Sir Henry Maine protested against the injustice of the proposal and pointed out that the results of the earlier enquiry were likely to be more correct than those of the later.

(8) *Extract from Sir Frederick Pollock's "English Land Laws."*

As regards the successive steps by which “common land,” held as separate property not by individuals but by communities, became saleable and marketable property, Sir Frederick Pollock remarks in his “English Land Laws” as follows :

"In old times it could not be disposed of by the holder, but a custom gradually arose of alienating it by will, and perhaps by purchase, within the limits of the family. Freedom of alienation became greater as the bonds of the village community or township and of the family were loosened. The order of the steps would be of this kind:—First, no alienation but only inheritance; then, alienation within the family, but with the consent of the possible heirs as well as the community; lastly, the consent of the community would become a mere form. Where a lord of the manor had acquired the powers of the community, he probably acquired among them the veto on alienation which in historic times he certainly possessed. In this later shape also, the restriction became a formality, but not an empty one. The lord's consent to alienation could not be refused if the accustomed dues and fines were paid."

The steps in the transition of common to individual property have been the same in India, except that freedom of bequest is an idea quite foreign to Hindu law and has come into existence within a very recent period.

As regards the English "copy-holder," Sir F. Pollock states that he is a tenant of a manor, who is said to hold his tenement "at the will of the lord according to the custom of the manor." This means that the tenant's rights are nominally dependent upon the will of the lord; but the lord is bound to exercise his will according to the custom, so that the tenant is really as safe as if he were an absolute owner. The tenant's title is evidenced by the records of the lord's court. The tenant cannot cut timber or open mines, and he has to pay a heriot on succession,—give the best beast or the best chattel.

As regards the origin of the copy-hold tenure Sir F. Pollock observes "Blackstone's account is 'copy-holders are in truth no other than villeins, who by a long series of encroachments on the lord have at last established a customary right to those estates which were held absolutely at the lord's will.' It would be nearer the truth to say that by a long series of encroachments and fictions the lords and lawyers acting in the interest of the lords got people to believe that the lord's will was the origin of those ancient customary rights which before were absolute."

The following is the account given of the manner in which the English law of landlord and tenant was developed:—

"The truth is, and it may as well be stated at this point, that the law of landlord and tenant has never, at least under any usual conditions, been a law of free contract. It is a law of contract partly express, partly supplied by judicial interpretation, and partly controlled by legislation, and sometimes by local custom. So far as the terms and conditions are express, they are in the vast majority of cases framed by the landlords or their advisers. The tendency of judicial interpretation has also been, until lately, to incline the scale of presumption in favor of the landlord on doubtful points; and the same may be said of the ruling tendency of legislation down to the middle of the present century. The allowance of local customs, which might have done much to redress the balance if taken up betimes, depends on the tendency of the judges. When special

customs were looked on as a kind of natural enemies of the common law, and strict proof of them was required, they got little help in court. Probably many tenants in past times failed to establish customary rights, or have been discouraged by the failure of others from asserting them, in cases where the decision would now be the other way."

As regards the rights of the lord of the manor to the waste, Sir F. Pollock says, "the waste of the manor is, in modern legal theory, so much of the lord's land as his predecessors have not found it worth while to take into cultivation on their own account or to let out to tenants." The tenants enjoyed various privileges over these lands, and these liberties have ripened into rights. This theory reverses the facts, but not without some qualifications. "A great many of the manors, now or formerly existing, represent ancient communities in which, little by little, the authority of the community was engrossed by the most considerable man in it, until he became the lord and the other landholders became his dependents. But a manor might also be formed without going through the earlier stages at all. Free dependents and emancipated serfs might gather round a lord until they formed a community comparable in size to the old free township. Under such conditions we should expect usages to spring up imitated from those of the old communities, and modelled as far as possible on them; but these usages would, in such a case, really owe their force to the permission and consent of the lord, as they were feigned to do by the theory of the lawyers in the case where the lord was only an overgrown member of the township. Thus we have a possible class of cases in which the theory to some extent answers to the real facts."

- (9) *Note on the discussions in the Madras Presidency as regards the preferential rights of Mirasidars and resident ryots to cultivate waste lands in their villages as against strangers and the final settlement of the question.*

Mirasi claims were cropping up continually in the first half of the century and produced quite a literature of their own which will be found collected in Mr. Huddleston's compilation, entitled "Papers on Mirasi Right." These claims were troublesome to deal with for several reasons. In the first place, the traditional feelings of the early English administrators, derived from the state of landed property in their own country, was opposed to the recognition of such claims, incompatible as they seemed with the right of Government to claim a large share of the produce of land, which was denominated *rent* and which entitled it, according to English notions, to be regarded as the absolute proprietor of land. There was much also in the state of the country to favor such an impression. These Mirasi claims were of a pronounced type only in a few districts and in others, they were vague and undefined, and in some to all appearance, hardly a trace of them had been left. In some of the southern districts, notably in Chingleput and Tanjore, the Mirasi right was in full operation; in several other districts it was in various stages of decay, although a traditional feeling in regard to it still existed; in others again, especially in the Northern Circars, even this traditional feeling had become effaced. Wherever by previous mis-government and heavy assessments, land

had lost all saleable value and the greater portion of arable land was out of cultivation, and the efforts of the officers of Government were directed towards saddling the ryots with more land than they could cultivate, as was the case under the Dittam system in the dry districts, Mirasi rights would rather be a burden than a privilege; and the longer this state of things continued the less would be the chance of the ryots asserting their rights. In the few favorably circumstanced districts in which land had some saleable value, these rights would be clung to with great tenacity. This was exactly what happened. The result was two schools of writers on Indian land tenures, one asserting that land was the property of Government and the ryots merely cultivating tenants, and the other, that the ryots were proprietors of the land they cultivated. The Government of the day was called upon to decide between these two conflicting theories and a discussion was kept up for nearly 40 years. There was one incident of the Mirasi tenure which almost all engaged in the discussion were unwilling to admit (viz., the absolute right of the Mirasidars to waste lands), as being inconsistent with the right of Government to levy its share of the crop as revenue. The Mirasidars claimed the right to keep the waste lands uncultivated themselves and to prevent Government from finding other ryots to cultivate them. Such a right, in the interests of revenue and of the general public, the Government could not acknowledge. The Government was willing, however, to acknowledge the right of the Mirasidars to hold the lands they cultivated so long as they paid the assessment; nay more, it was willing to concede the same right even to new cultivators and it reduced the heavy assessments wherever it was necessary to create a substantial interest for the ryot in the soil. As regards waste lands whenever there was any demand for them it was willing to acknowledge the rights of the Mirasidars so far as to give them the refusal, before granting them to strangers, but in this respect it would treat the old Mirasidars and the new puttadars in the same way. Government recognized mirasi rights only to this extent, but if the Mirasidars had any further rights they were to establish them before the judicial tribunals. In the language of the Board of that day, by this decision the question of Mirasi rights was "set at rest." The following quotations from "Papers on Mirasi Right" establish this position:—

In their Despatch, dated 28th July 1841, the Court of Directors stated that "without entering upon a discussion of the respective rights of Government and the Mirasidars over the waste lands (a point still under the consideration of the superior tribunal to which the case has been appealed), it will be enough for us to state our opinion that it is desirable that in all cases where Payacarris propose to cultivate the waste lands of a Mirasi village, their proposal should be in the first instance communicated to the Mirasidars, to whom, in the event of their being willing to cultivate, or to give security for the revenue assessable on the land, the preference should be given. We consider that the Government has a clear right to the revenue to be derived from the conversion of waste lands into arable, but we, at the same time, think it preferable that this object should be obtained, whenever practicable, without the intrusion of strangers into the village community."

In their Proceedings, 11th November 1841, the Board remarked as follows :—" Under this view of the case, it is not considered *expedient* to raise abstract questions of the extent of the Mirasidars' rights in regard to the village waste. No opinion on these points would be binding upon any court of law in which the questions might be mooted by parties dissatisfied with the *dictum* of the Reventue authorities, and it seems quite unnecessary to raise the question with a view to its solution by the highest legal authorities, unless it could be shown that under the existing practice the interests of Government are compromised or injured.

" Mr. Kindersley's first question is whether in default of means or desire of Mirasidars to exercise their right of cultivating the waste, their consent is necessary before the Government can grant the land for cultivation to a stranger. To this the Board can only reply, that it is the custom generally to give the option of occupation to the Mirasidars and to the *kadeem ryot* where no Mirasi exists, in preference to a stranger. It matters not what the law may be on this point; much of the revenue practice is founded on custom, and the practice is both, the Board believe, favorable to Government and in accordance with the feelings and sentiments of the people.

" The second question is to the effect whether the offer of strangers can be accepted by Government if more favorable than that of the Mirasidars? To this the Board answer, *most unquestionably it cannot*. The admission of such a practice would virtually set aside the prescribed remission of assessment on the redemption of waste existing in every Province.

" The Board cannot conceive a case in which the interests of Government can suffer materially by the continuance of the system that now prevails. If the Mirasidars can, by themselves or through others, undertake the cultivation of all the reclaimable lands of their village and pay the established dues of Government, no loss is sustained by the State. If they cannot do this or if they neglect to do it, then the rule is to give the land as well as the Toondoovarum thereon to any stranger who chooses to undertake it. Thus the right of Government which is *simply the right to claim the authorized assessment* is abundantly protected.

" The only possible profit or advantage that Government could derive in assuming the right to dispose of waste land for cultivation without reference to the Mirasidars or ancient cultivators would consist in the sums they might derive, over and above the legitimate annual land-tax, by selling to the best advantage the right of occupancy, as the ryots now do in some instances. The assertion of such a right, even if it was upheld by judicial decision, would lead, it is believed, to much discontent and dissatisfaction, and be powerless in the main as a means of raising revenue."

In the Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 3rd July 1844, they remarked " from the perusal of the decree of the Provincial Court, it appears to us that that tribunal has declared the law to be in accordance with what, in para. 55 of our Despatch, dated 28th July 1841, we desired might be generally adopted in practice in similar cases, viz., that when proposals were made by Porakudi ryots for waste lands in