

**THE
AGRARIAN PROBLEMS
OF
MADRAS PROVINCE**

BY

V. V. SAYANA, M.A., Ph.D.,

Lecturer in Agricultural Economics, University of Bombay

With a Foreword

by

Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA,

President, the Indian National Congress

MADRAS
THE BUSINESS WEEK PRESS,
173, LLOYD ROAD, MADRAS 14.
1949.

Price Rs. 12/8]

[Foreign £ 1

**THE
AGRARIAN PROBLEMS
OF
MADRAS PROVINCE**

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

(The following series are in the Press or under completion)

1. Sharing and Fixed Tenancy Systems.
2. Land Sales, Land Values and Land Transfers.
3. Readings in Economics (vol. I).
4. Abolition of the Estates.

(All Rights Reserved by the Author)

Thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Bombay, 1947

Dedicated

to

*The Rural Poor and to all those
who have lived and died to raise them in
status and welfare*

FOREWORD

It is well known that the character of a nation is largely dependent upon its geographical conditions as well as historical traditions. If England is full of adventure, it is because it is an island with little of agricultural resources and its people are left to mere adventure and a life of piracy on the high-seas. That was so till the 16th century. But later, the piracy extended to the whole world and imperialism is only another name to it. The Greeks cultivated their artistic taste and their arcadian simplicity on account of their climatic conditions, while the Romans developed their rule of law and order by reason of their situation and political environment. If India is a tract of agricultural country in which nearly 80 per cent. of the people labour and live on land, the circumstances are due to the bounteousness of nature on the one hand and the indulgence of the climate on the other. When such a large proportion of population lives on land, the character of the nation necessarily depends upon the conditions that favour the profession of agriculture and the fertility of the land, or briefly on the vigour and foresight with which land and water are wedded together by the high priest of energy and strengthened by manure.

It is the system of tenures and tenancies, the principles of taxation, the measure of productivity, that in reality account for the prosperity of the people and the efficiency of the socio-economic system. Is it not highly regrettable then, that so far no systematic study of land tenures should have been made by either Government or by scholars and savants of Universities with a view to promoting national efficiency and national solidarity? Foreigners did study the land system, but they had their own plans and purposes in doing so. Latterly, a number of administrators and professors have addressed themselves to this subject, and village reconstruction has begun to attract public attention. It is, therefore, a matter for sincere congratulation that a young friend should have taken this subject of land tenures as the thesis for his Ph. D. degree of the University of Bombay.

Dr. V. V. Sayana, who is a native of the Godavari district, has taken immense pains to study the system of land tenures in the

Madras Presidency which vary through a wide range from the ryotwari system introduced by Sir Thomas Munro in 1820 to the Zamindari system which was the legacy of Lord Cornwallis to India, and in between the numerous manifestations and variants of these two in different parts of the Presidency, such as Malabar, South Kanara and Tamilnad. The country itself exhibits different types of soil and surface, being rocky in one place and alluvial in another, growing food in one region and commercial crops in another, presenting wet-cultivation in one district and dry in another.

The author's thesis makes most interesting reading because it brings within the purview of a hypothesis, if not of a theory, the facts that you have picked up in life over a wide range of time and a vast range of territory. In the course of administration, you are suddenly introduced to expressions, the full significance of which you may not understand, such as *Kharif* and *Rabi* crops, wet and dry cultivation, black cotton soil and rich red soil, food crops, garden crops and money crops. But when all these are systematised and brought within the compass of serious study in a proper geographical and climatic setting, you have before you not merely a thesis but a whole science built up from bottom to top and covering a comprehensive study of forests and waste land, cultivated land and cultivable waste, sandy and loamy soils, rainfed and canal-fed areas, rotation of crops and selection of seed.

In the tenures themselves, there are different types as the Ryotwari and the Zamindari, the latter beginning with the Zamindars as the revenue farmer under Government and a number of feudal intermediaries under the Zamindar, such as *Mokhasadar*, *Ilaqadar*, *Munsabdar*, *Mnafidar*, *Pattadar*, and ultimately the actual cultivator.

Agriculture presents numerous problems relating not merely to soil and surface, not merely to problems of crops and irrigation but to the question of reclaiming forest land and land on mountain heights and, therefore, incidentally, the student and the administrator are introduced to allied problems of malaria and the combating of the mosquito. There are whole belts in India in the sub-Himalayan terrain, in the infra Tibetan areas, in the deltaic tracts of Orissa and Andhra and elsewhere which would become cultivable if only mosquito is conquered and the malarial parasite

killed. There was a time when that beautiful place, Coonoor, standing at a height of 4,900 ft. above sea-level on the Nilgiris, was malarial, but the disease has been conquered, and if the agency of Jeypore in Andhra in the Vizagapatam district is likewise reclaimed, there is a whole treasure of cultivable land awaiting exploration by the Andhras.

Then again, the study of soils—alluvial, loamy, clayey, red feruginous, white gray and gravelly—really forms the more interesting aspect of agricultural study, and the study of soils is to be followed by a study of manures naturally obtainable in the neighbourhood of the particular agricultural land or of artificial manures or green leaf or compost prepared on scientific lines. The rainfall itself varies in the Province from 120" to 130" in Malabar to 45" in the Kistna and Godavari districts, and 20" in the Ceded Districts (Rayalaseema). But fertility is not directly related to rainfall, though it is indirectly dependent upon it. In the Ceded Districts, you have rich soil; only the tanks must be full and the minor irrigation works kept in good repair. The soil is rich, porous and fertile, but water is wanting.

Then again, soil requires drainage as much as irrigation. It is said that 80,000 acres of land are going out of cultivation every year in Punjab owing to water-logging or soil alkalinity (thur). The sub-soil water is rising in the Ravi-Jhelum Tract dangerously high, being but 7 inches below the surface of the earth. In U. P. the total area of *Usar* and *Reh* land is at the lowest estimate 2,037,119 acres. The damage done to grazing lands is not less serious. While two acres per head of cattle are considered the minimum for grazing in the U. P., there are nearly five and half animals for every acre of land *i.e.*, eleven times more than the minimum required. Agriculture is a composite subject covering not merely mechanical, but agronomical and chemical questions which must be studied before it can yield the food required for a country.

The problem of food in recent years has come to occupy the foremost place in the economic studies of the country during the time of the war and after. Wars have the knack of exposing the weak points of countries and when suddenly the natural processes of production and distribution are rudely disturbed by the unnatural conditions set up by war, the very people whose country enjoys a

reputation of being the granary of the nation becomes deprived of its sources of food owing to its rapid mobilisation of the latter, and sometimes even a man-made famine is experienced as in Bengal in 1943. But more than the problem of peace and war, the nature of the crops claims attention at the hands of scholars and administrators. In recent years, the growth of Virginia tobacco on a wide scale covering miles of acres in South India has led to a conversion of food crops into money-crops and, while people have plenty of money jingling in their hands, their stomachs are pinched for want of suitable food. Between ground-nut and sugar-cane, between tobacco and jute, the food-crops have been squeezed out and those who find their pockets full, notice also that their stomachs are empty. Where tobacco is being grown today, maize and millet used to be grown in abundance once.

The distribution of population is another point to be noticed, and the large migrations that have been unexpectedly taking place in recent months have added considerable difficulties incidentally to the supply of food in this province. The density of population varies from district to district, and a proper study of the subject may help in mobilising the people from the denser areas to the less dense ones, so that it is possible to make an equitable supply of food to all. Conditions in Malabar may be studied in this connection, because the type of soils and surface met with there is rarely found elsewhere in the province. When we speak of Malabar, we speak of Travancore and Cochin as well, where cultivation is of three types on the three tiers into which land is arranged, the topmost one, say four acres, growing a coconut garden, the next level of 3 acres in extent being a dry-crop area, and the lowest one (another three acres) being wet-crop land.

The economic set-up of a country is largely shaped by the growth and result of adjustment of natural conditions of soil and surface, of climate and weather. In our country, we had witnessed the worst famines in the 19th Century after the British had come into this land, and the study of famine became a science by itself. Before the impact of Western civilisation and the import of large-scale consumer goods, we had a mixed economy in the villages so that the farmer was a weaver and the weaver was a farmer, and what was true of a weaver is true of every other craftsman. People worked with their hands in their homes and produced articles of consumption,

and every potter and cobbler, every smith and carpenter, every weaver and spinner, every barber and dhobi, every priest and physician, while working with his hands during the off-season, went out to the fields and cultivated lands himself, and thus agriculture and industry or professions received consecutive attention and really made a happy combination. Since the advent of British civilisation and contact with the West, the crafts had suffered as people had begun to import their cups and saucers, their shoes and boots, their chisels and hammers, their fabrics and fashions, and all their needs from morn to night, leaving little to be done by the craftsman of the village who was thrown back exclusively upon the soil and proved an unbearable burden to land and agriculture. It was thus that the cultivator cultivating his own land became a lessee cultivating other's lands after losing his own to his creditors. When this class of people increased in numbers, he became the agricultural-cooly. When, again, this class became too numerous, he migrated to the town and became the industrial labourer living in slums, sleeping on pavements, separated from his family, contracting diseases and falling a victim to ill-health, squalor and misery. It was thus that the towns became congested and the villages became depleted and the whole economic system of the country became upset.

Even those that remained in the village had to remain at the beck and call of the landlords, being mostly tenants in the Zamindaris which occupied a third of Madras, considerable parts of Bihar and U.P., and the whole of Bengal according to the Permanent Settlement. But their lot had been improved since 1908 with the conferring of occupancy rights to the cultivating tenants for the first time. The Zamindari system was a deliberate attempt by Lord Cornwallis to create a feudal system so as to facilitate the rule of the country by a foreigner and to create a hierarchy of social and economic units easy to control. It is worthwhile quoting here what Cornwallis wrote in a despatch to the Board of Directors of the East India Company in regard to "Permanent Settlement." He said :

"Independent of all considerations, I can assure you that it will be of the utmost importance for promoting the interests of the company that a regular gradation of rank may be supported which is nowhere necessary than in this country for preserving order in civil society."

This he wrote in 1822. Mal-distribution of farm income, thus established, led to rural poverty, indebtedness and agrarian discontent in the provinces, as is rightly pointed out by the author. The advent of the Congress Government has necessitated a close study of the systems of tenure and the abolition of the Zamindari and the inam-systems. Under the Zamindari system, the zamindar was permitted only to take amounts ranging about 1/3 of the gross produce which was assumed to be the share paid to the Government by the cultivators based on the average of the previous 130 years. In a century and a half, the proportions became reversed. While the Zamindar is keeping 2/3, the Government is only getting 1/3 now. This inequitable system is in the process of revision at present in the form of Zamindari Bills both in Bihar and in Madras. In the Ceded Districts, the Zamindars are called Poligars who gave a lot of trouble at one time, and Sir Thomas Munro wrote that "the country is overrun with Poligars and I am trying with the help of Dugald Cambell, the General of the Division here, to get rid of them".

Besides actual *zamindaris*, there were *Srotriams*, *Agraharams*, full village *Inams*, *Jagirs* and *Manyams*. The number of personal inams is only about 3,00,000 of which 1,00,000 are below three acres. The inams gradually became reduced, until an Inams Settlement Commission was appointed in the year 1858 to make a detailed investigation into the nature of the inams and their title-deeds. They fall under various headings, such as those belonging to religious institutions, those manned for public utility services, those held for the support of irrigation, those granted to Brahmins for personal benefit, those which were owned by hereditary office-bearers by way of bonus and salaries, those which belong to the kinsmen and dependents and followers of former Poligars and Zamindars, those who did police work, those who belong to village officials, and those held by artisans and craftsmen. In Malabar, the tenures are slightly different. The original tenures are the same, but only the names and gradations are different. The Zamindar is called *Janmi* under whom exists the *Konamdar* and under him you have the *Verum Pattamdar*.

In the Madras Presidency, you are suddenly confronted also with an altogether different type of land and of cultivation such as you meet with in the Agency areas, notably in the East Godavary and the Vizagapatam districts. The so-called Agency itself occupies 18½ per cent. of the area in the province, and the Koyas or the hill-tribes

hold the land with its peculiar features of joint village ownership and of inalienability of land without previous sanction of the Government. The *Ryotwari* tenure is well known and needs no description beyond the fact that between the Pattadar and the Government there is no intermediary, while the Pattadar himself becomes an intermediary between the cultivating tenant and Government.

It will thus be seen that when the Zamindari system was introduced, the main object was to simplify and regulate the demands of the landlords upon the tenants as a first step to which it was deemed desirable to fix the demand of the Government itself. That was how the *Peshkash* was decided, but very soon, it has been found that the continuance of the zamindari system was a fruitful source of loss of revenue to the Government—a real complication owing to the *zulum* exercised by the Zamindar himself upon the tenants. The total rent received by the Zamindars in the Southern Province is about Rs. 232.6 lakhs while the *Peshkash* paid is only Rs. 41.2 lakhs. It is this disparity that necessitated a re-arrangement under the Congress Government. Thus, land alone has not been the source of dispute, but the mineral resources, fisheries and the navigable rivers, forests, water-sources, canal bunds, tank beds have all complicated the economic system.

It is not, however, the purpose of a Preface-writer to summarise the contents of the book which he introduces to the public, but one cannot really introduce the author without giving a foretaste of the subject with which he deals. Peculiar interest indeed is attached to the subject which may well be regarded as virgin soil which is being cultivated for the first time by the author and an abounding yield of crop is naturally expected. The subjects dealt with in the book cover a wide range, such as problems of tenancy, agricultural labour, land transfers, and so on. The Universities must always address themselves to the turning up of the soil of knowledge to promote the sciences of Agriculture and Agricultural Economics both of which have been subjected to gross neglect despite the fact that 4/5 of the population is deeply interested in them directly, while the remaining 1/5 is equally interested though indirectly. This thesis is, therefore, to be welcomed as it is marked not merely by deep study and laborious research but also by a living interest in the problems

dealt with, not merely of a scholar who is anxious to encash his labours through the attainment of a degree but of a citizen who is desirous of sharing the profits with his countrymen in the domain of economics.

Madras. }
April 25, 1949. }

INTRODUCTION

It is generally recognised that the prosperity of agriculture is not only essential to the success and prosperity of all economic activities in other sectors of life as industry, trade and commerce, but to an agricultural country like India, it is also to a large extent the economic basis of social progress and political stability. Agrarian problems and policies have attracted special attention of the Governments and the people in different parts of the world in recent decades, particularly since the great depression of the nineteen thirties. Perhaps, of all post-war economic problems, 'Food' has become more than ever one of the great preoccupations of Governments in some states and, there is no doubt that it has occupied the first place in India from the point of urgency during the last three or four years; and a relief of the food situation will involve generally the reorganisation of Indian agriculture which in turn will shape the future outlines of her agricultural policy. But for a proper development and a balanced utilisation of the national resources of agriculture, a continuous and well-planned research activity to carry on systematic and scientific studies of the factual situation in various provinces, and again, in different regions of each of the provinces, is essential in order to work out rational plans for reconstruction and to arrive at right and bold decisions in matters of social and public policy. The need is even more urgent in a phase of transition or during a period of developing economy of a country. When compared to the valuable literature available on the subject in other countries like the U. S. A. and the U. K., the number of publications in India based on original and first-hand enquiries is very few, apart from Government reports and blue books which constitute the major source of information on the agricultural situation in India, for the use of the administrator or the research worker. No further explanation is, necessary therefore, for presenting this book.

In agriculture, land occupies a dominant position as compared to other factors of production and, hence, the problem of agriculture is largely the problem of land. Land system or the nature of relations among the cultivators, the landlords and the State; or the way in which agricultural land is held, leased out and taxed has a

powerful bearing on land utilisation and distribution of farm income. Agricultural production is greatly influenced by the system of land tenures. Dr. Voelcker, the consulting chief chemist to the Government of India, pointed out in his report long ago in 1889, that defective land system was one of the causes of the low yields of agricultural produce in India.¹ A proper land system should aim at giving a reasonable return to the cultivator and undisturbed right of utilisation of farm land he cultivates in order to ensure him that some one else would not reap where he has sown. Thus the land problem is the most vital of the Indian agricultural problems, for it is the system of land tenures, tenancies and taxation that determines in a large measure the productivity of land, the prosperity of the masses and the working of the social system. 'The problem of tenure is of basic importance and is often a pre-requisite to other agrarian reforms.'² So long as the problem of land is not effectively solved, the various programmes for improvement of agriculture and for raising the standard of living of the peasantry will make little headway.

But the seriousness of this question in all its aspects was not realised by our Governments till recently. The agrarian unrest, following the great depression and the Second World War, combined with the rapid political awakening of the agrarian classes, has expressed itself in the tremendous growth and agitation of the Kisan organisations. Rural questions and legislation naturally attracted the attention of the popular Ministries in recent years under Provincial Autonomy. Almost in every province having popular Governments, important tenancy legislation was carried out during the years 1938 and 1939 and notably in the Provinces of Bengal, the U. P., the C.P. and Berar. Fresh amendments to the existing Tenancy Acts were made to regulate landlord-tenant relations in the proprietary estates. But the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 in its latest form (*viz.*, the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948) is unique inasmuch as it is the first attempt in India in legislative control of

1. Cf. 'The land tenure system sometimes affects production..... This, as a matter of Government Policy must be tackled by the appropriate authorities at an early date, at least in so far as the present system hampers agricultural production.' Vide Memorandum on the development of agriculture and animal husbandry in India by the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, 1944, Ch. II, p. 36.

2. Cf. Foundations of Rural Welfare by H. Belshaw, *vide* International Labour Review, March, 1945, P. 296.

tenancy conditions and land transfers in the purely *ryotwari* areas. Valuable information has been also placed at our disposal by a number of recent reports. The Election Manifesto of the Congress Party, 1946, pledges for the urgent 'Removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State' by payment of equitable compensation and accordingly Bills are passed in Provinces like Madras—in some they are on their way and in others perhaps in their making.

Further, the question of land systems was largely viewed till recently in a narrow perspective : from the point of view of demand and collection of land revenue, or from a purely academic or legal view-point, e.g., whether land revenue is a tax or rent, or about the proprietary right in the soil. The Department of Agriculture too has mainly considered the problem of agriculture from a merely technical aspect rather than from its social and economic side as well. As a result, the other important aspects of utilisation of land, distribution of incomes between the landlord and the tiller of the soil, economic condition of the agrarian classes and the degenerating effects of the system on the economic and social structure as a whole were not stressed adequately. The problem of tenancy, agrarian labour and transfers of land due to sales and debt (mortgage or otherwise), were neglected or at least the seriousness of the situation was under-estimated, particularly in the Madras Province in the past.

In the light of the above discussion, a systematic and comprehensive study of the Agrarian Problems of the Madras Province, especially the problems connected with the land system of the Province is evidently invaluable. It is submitted that the material presented in the book is a humble attempt in that direction.

This work is the result of a study of published material and accessible records, official and non-official, available on the subject, combined with the results of personal investigation. Direct field investigation more or less was confined to a regional survey of the Telugu-speaking districts of the Province, while information on conditions in other parts was collected by all possible alternate ways, viz., from Government records and available material generally, published and unpublished, and also through correspondence, through Government officials¹ and public bodies and by personal discussion

1. Vide, L. Dis. G. 5491/46 dated 12-12-1946 from the Commissioner of L. R. & C. T., Board of Revenue, Madras, communicated to Collectors of all the districts in the Province.

with various persons belonging to Malabar, South Kanara and Tamilnad. During the extensive tours made by the author during the periods February to May 1946 and November 1946 to January 1947 in the presidency for collection of primary data according to the scheme and questionnaire issued (in five separate forms), all the eleven districts of Andhradesa were covered including some estates like Bobbili, Tirupati etc. In fact, in the first tour alone, about 200 forms of the questionnaire were personally filled by the author after discussing with the persons concerned. Amongst these were 29 families of non-cultivating landowners, 42 cultivating owners, 56 tenants, 37 agricultural labourers, 19 farm servants and 12 artisans and others who include large cross-sections of the peasantry and labourers. Besides, about 2,378 transactions concerning sales of land during the period 1930-45 were noted from the records maintained in the offices of the Sub-Registrars and their trends examined in connection with land transfers. Discussions were held with important persons and representatives or Heads of Governments or public bodies interested and qualified to speak on the subject which naturally covered a variety of heterogenous elements.

The method adopted in the matter of selection of villages is the method of stratified purposive selection¹. Special care was taken to see also that as far as possible the villages chosen were not situated on the roadside directly connected by a bus or train service and also that they did not lie within a radius of four to five miles from any neighbouring town to make sure that the conditions in the villages investigated should not be affected by external urban influences. However, the limitations of a study like this carried out as a student and singly as a research worker with limited resources in the face of the vastness and complexity of the problem hitherto unexplored are obvious. There were special difficulties due to the delicate food

1. Cf. Also what is known as the 'multipurpose random sampling'.

Note—'Stratified purposive selection' represents a combination of the use of stratification to secure homogeneous sub-groups and of deliberate selection through the use of controls. In other words, it combines profitably the methods of stratified random selection and of purposive selection. For a detailed study, See Ch. XIV, pp. 460-462, *Vide* Statistical Methods Applied to Economics and Business by F. C. Mills, London, 1938. See also article on, 'The Application of Sampling to Economics and Sociological Problems' by A. L. Lowley. *Vide* the Journal of the American Statistical Association, September 1936.

situation in the province during the period of my tours. But every care has been taken to avoid conscious bias either way.

While publishing the work, it is planned with a definite purpose in view, so that the book may meet, in varying degree, the needs and standards of the research worker, students of Agricultural Economics and the enlightened public as well as the expert, consistent with the other objective of retaining the research value of the work as far as possible. In such a venture, inevitably some parts are to be cut off, some portions to be diluted and a few things to be added to serve the purpose of each of the four types of readers. In doing so, I confess that I was unable to devote sufficient time and energy, as one could wish, either in rearrangement of the subject matter according to the above objective or in revising and bringing the material up-to-date, due to my pre-occupations and tours in the Provinces of C. P. and Berar, parts of Bombay-Karnatak and elsewhere in the year. For the same reason, much of the proof-correction job had to be entrusted to the printers themselves. However, such limitations are hoped to be set right in the second edition.

The book is divided into eleven chapters and the chief lines of arguments are as follows: In the first two chapters, an attempt is made to analyse the physical basis of the Province generally and to correlate the physical factors with the human factor. These open the right perspective to follow the rest of the chapters. The third chapter contains classification of various land tenures in the Province, viz., the Zamindari, the Inam, the Ryotwari, etc., and the origin, development, distribution and degree of prevalence of each of these tenurial types. The motives underlying the evolution of the various land tenures are also analysed. The fourth chapter discusses the problems of the land revenue system, principles of assessment, method of appraisal, future lines of reform and imposition of Agricultural Income-tax in the province with a comparative study of the working of such a measure introduced in some provinces and States in India. The fifth is devoted to a detailed study of the Zamindari system with reference to the financial aspect, rents, expenditure of incomes and general agricultural conditions as compared with conditions in similar neighbouring ryotwari areas. Chapter six is 'Land Transfers in the Ryotwari Areas', based on comprehensive investigation, probably the first of its kind made in recent years. It examines the causes of land transfers and their economic significance, trends of land sales during

1930 to 1938 and 1939 to 1945 in a few selected villages, mortgage debt and its effects on land transfers. The seventh chapter on 'Indebtedness and Organisation of Rural Credit' is a new chapter which is added specially with a view to meet the requirements of the advanced students of Agricultural Economics, and it is considerably based on the available data. Chapter eight studies the important aspects of farm tenancy, its growth, causes of renting, regions of high tenancy, tenancy types, levels of rents, period and condition of leases, etc. Chapter nine on Agrarian Labour—in fact, the question of agrarian labour is not different from the peasant and the land question—is divided into three sections, viz., the first dealing with the agrarian classes, distribution and concentration of land; the second with the day and the seasonal labour, and the last with the permanent farm servant. Chapter ten discusses tenancy legislation in Malabar and in the estates as well as the salient features of recent tenancy laws made in various Provinces under the new constitution, the Government of India Act of 1935. The final chapter opens with an analysis of the general trends of recent land tenure policies in countries of Europe and the U.S.A. discusses the different objectives of a land policy stressing the need to have an objective, lays down broad principles of reforms and makes a constructive scheme of proposals regarding abolition of the estates, tenancy situation, agricultural labour and generally on organisation of agriculture. Chapters eight to eleven, no doubt, will be of special value to the administrator and the legislator.

It is apparent that the book is not the last word on the subject. Agrarian problems (the Land problems in particular) though primarily economic problems, present in their larger aspects many sides for discussion, appealing to the sociologist, the soil chemist, the technical expert and the statesman as well as to the economist and to all those workers carrying on work within and in allied fields of agriculture. It would be highly presumptuous therefore to claim to have covered the whole field, and that no scope is left for others, especially on problems like these on which no systematic research was made in the past in the province.

Before concluding, I have to express my gratitude to all those, known and unknown, Government Officials, Public and private bodies or individuals who have jointly contributed to the success of my investigations through their willing cooperation and help. In

particular, I have to thank Prof. J. J. Anjaria, M. A., M. Sc. (Lond), formerly Reader and Acting Professor of Economics in the University of Bombay, under whom my work on the thesis, *viz.* 'The Land System of the Madras Province', was originally started in the month of May, 1945 and to Prof. C. N. Vakil, M.A., M.Sc. (Lond), F. S. S., University Professor of Economics and Director of the School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay under whom the thesis was completed and submitted in June, 1947, for all the help and encouragement given throughout the period of the preparation of the thesis. My extra thanks, of course, are due to Prof. Vakil who had always wished me well in more than one way. I am also grateful to Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President, the Indian National Congress, for having kindly written the foreword to the book, to *Desabhakta* Sri Konda Venkatappayya for readily giving a general introductory letter for enlisting the co-operation of the public, and to the Government of Madras for according me necessary facilities.

The author also acknowledges his indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by him from the University towards the cost of publication of this work.

Above all, my thanks are due to Mr. A. S. Narayan, M. A., Asst. Editor, *Business Week*, who has taken a keen interest in seeing through the work all along, and to the Proprietor and the workers of the *Business Week* Press, Madras, for doing the work with such care and promptness.

April, 1949,
 School of Economics and Sociology,
 University of Bombay. }

V. V. SAYANA.

CONTENTS

Foreword	...	...	...	...	v
Introduction	...	...	...	...	xiii

CHAPTER I

Physical Factors ... 1

General—Influence of mountains—Rivers—Forests and wasteland—Soils—Climate and Rainfall—Irrigational water supply—Crop structure—Increase in cultivation under some special crops : groundnut, tobacco and sugarcane—Technical Research and crop Improvements.

CHAPTER II

Demographic Conditions ... 31

Population growth—Distribution of population—Mortality and longevity—Sex ratio—Incidence of demographic pressure—Occupational distribution—Effects of demographic pressure—Migration and emigration.

CHAPTER III

Land System ... 43

Economic significance of land tenures—Objectives of a tenure policy—Motives underlying the evolution of different land tenures—Land tenure types—Zamindari system—Inams—Nature of tenures in Malabar and South Kanara—Land tenures in the Agency tracts—*Koya* village system—Ryotwari tenure.

CHAPTER IV

System of Land Revenue Assessment ... 66

Principles of assessment—Method of Appraisal—Need for reform—Objects of reform—Punjab Sliding scale system—*Olungu* settlement—*Olungu* system vs. Punjab system—Stabilisation of agricultural prices—Imposition of Agricultural Income-tax.

CHAPTER V

Economic Effects of the Zamindari System

84

Modern outlook—Objects of introduction of Zamindari system—Financial loss—Classification of Zamindaris and Zamindars—Divergence between Rent-roll and Peshkash—Rents—Considerations about the Zamindar's share—Basis of rent collection—Rents in kind in different estates—*Varam* System—Fixed rents in kind and the 'crop-appraisement—Cropwari system—Other systems of renting—Conditions imposed while renting—Collection of water rates—Irregularities in rent collection—Cash rents—Enhancement of rents—Factors responsible for screwing up of rents—Other levies and illegal exactions—Other sources of income—Arrears of rents—Expenditure of revenues—The Zamindars—Encumbrances of the estates—State of irrigation—Facilities for rural credit and improvement in agriculture—Economic Progress—The Zamin ryot.

CHAPTER VI

Land Transfers in the Ryotwari Area ... 118

- SECTION I Importance—Chief causes—General trends—Causes of Fluctuations—Nature of transfers.
- SECTION II Sales of land—Features of land sales—Size of lands sold—Causes of sales—Chief trends of sales—Speculative tendencies in land values and tenancy.
- SECTION III Mortgage Foreclosures—Advancing loans and chief types of mortgages—Mortgages and land transfers—Regulation of mortgages.
- SECTION IV Land transfers due to inheritance.
- SECTION V Measures adopted for restriction of land transfers—Measures in other countries—Regulation of property rights in land—Legislation in India—Nature of land transfers in the pre and early British period—The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, 1879—the Punjab Land Alienation Act, 1900—Restriction of Land transfers in other Provinces—the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948.

CHAPTER VII

Indebtedness and Organisation of Rural Credit ... 147

Nature—Indebtedness in pre-British period—Credit requirements—Inevitability of agricultural indebtedness—What often takes place—Growth and extent—Price-changes and indebtedness—Depression and Rural debt—War-time inflation and debt position—Indebted and debt-free—Purposes of borrowing and causes of debt—Increase of debt due to accumulation of interest—Government action—the Debt Conciliation Act of 1936—the Madras Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act of 1938—Co-operative Credit—General observations—Extent of service—Problems of co-operative credit—Reserve Bank and Rural credit—Gadgil Committee report—Should there be an Agricultural Credit Corporation—Organisation of rural credit.

CHAPTER VIII

Farm Tenancy ... 187

Distinction between tenure and tenancy—Emergence of land-leasing and its growth—Economic depression and tenancy—Degree of prevalence—Causes of farm tenancy—Ownership of land—Areas owned and rented—Lessor classes—Occupation of lessors—Availability of tenants *vs.* availability of tenancy-land—Choice of tenants—Tenancy regions—Land values and tenancy—Tenancy types—Nature of rents—Factors entering into determination of rents—Causes of high rents—Rack-renting—Land revenue and rents—Premia or advance payments—Collection of extras and other exactions—Fair rents—Period of leases and mobility of tenants—Some lease contracts—Conditions of leases—Costs and profits of cultivation—Limitations of estimates of production costs—Economic effects of tenant and owner-farming—Characteristics of tenancy in Malabar and S. Kanara—Farming of *Lanka* lands.

CHAPTER IX

Agrarian Labour ... 227

SECTION I Agrarian classes—Their growth—Distribution of land between large and small holdings—Concentration of land.

SECTION II Agricultural labourer—Definition and classification—Rise of agricultural proletariat—Effects of their growth—Labour classes—Features of farming by agricultural labour—Availability of employment in agriculture—Influence of crops grown on demand for labour—Home and hired labour—Working day—Systems of wage-payment—Differentiation in wage rates—Customary rates of wages in different regions—Rise in wages—Effects of introduction of rationing on methods of wage payments—Efficiency of labour—Mobility of labour—Dearth of labour.

SECTION III Farm servant—Extent of employment—Methods of remuneration—Feeding as a part of remuneration—Payment in kind or cash—Other Facilities and perquisites—Night duty—Conditions of leave and holidays—General treatment—Traces of agrestic serfdom.

CHAPTER X

Landlord Tenant Relations

260

SECTION I Tenancy legislation in the estates—Permanent Regulations of 1802—Regulations IV and V of 1822—Rent Recovery Act, 1865—the Estates Land Act I, 1908—the Inams Amendment Act, 1936—the Madras Estates Land Bill, 1938—Recent measures.

SECTION II Tenancy legislation in Malabar—Malabar Tenancy Committee report, 1940.

SECTION III Landlord-Tenant relations.

SECTION IV A: Recent tenancy legislation in India—Rights of tenants and security of tenure—Fixing of rents, enhancement and remission—Recovery of arrears, eviction, compensation, distraint, etc.—Sub-letting—Prohibition of illegal exactions.

SECTION IV B: The Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939—The Bombay
Tenancy Amendment Act, 1946—The Bombay
Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948.

CHAPTER XI

Agrarian Reforms ... 292

Features of recent Land Tenure Policies abroad—The Conserva-
tive land legislation—The Socialist land legislation—Basic prin-
ciples and methods adopted—Goals for a Land Policy—Our
Central Problem—Doctrinaire 'Radicalism' vs. Expediency—
Principles of Reforms—Reform of the estates—Progress of
agrarian reforms in India—Present position—Chief objects—
Question of compensation—Financial implications—Lack of
definite plans—A lesson from Rumania—Reform of tenancy—
Reform of agrarian labour—Organisation of agriculture—
Conclusion.

GLOSSARY	...	...	...	...	...	321
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	...	...	...	...	...	323
INDEX	...	...	...	...	...	330