AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN PANDHARPUR AND SANGOLA TALUKAS.

THE REPORT OF A SURVEY OF AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN PANDHARPUR AND SANGOLA TALUKAS OF THE SHOLAPUR DISTRICT IN THE BOMBAY DECCAN.

BY

V. M. JAKHADE.

(Part I. & II)

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(The Report of a Survey of Agricult[illegible] and Sangola Talukas of the Sholapur [illegible])

V. M. JAKHADE.

(Part I)

I. Introduction:

The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, considering the huge magnitude of agricultural indebtedness, *vis-a-vis* the poor repaying capacity of the majority of agriculturists, recommended that provincial governments should pursue a vigorous policy of debt conciliation on a voluntary basis. Indeed, in view of the [illegible] the subject [illegible] would even have the [illegible] government [illegible] to explore the possibility and desirability of passing suitable legislation to secure the settlement of debts on a compulsory basis. With a view to giving effect to this recommendation and reducing the aggregate indebtedness of genuine agriculturists so as to bring it

reasonably within the compass of their repaying capacity, the Government of Bombay enacted the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act in the year 1939.*

The Act provided for the compulsory scaling down of agricultural debts through specially constituted Debt Adjustment Boards† and also for the repayment of the adjusted debts in convenient instalments. It applied to all debts, not exceeding Rs.15,000, in each case of agricultural landholders cultivating land personally from a date prior to April 1, 1937[a], and required that either the debtors or the creditors or both should apply to the Boards concerned for the settlement of debts. In the event of no such applications being received within the period prescribed under the Act, the debts would be deemed to have been discharged.

For purposes of adjustment, principal and interest were to be reckoned separately. In respect of transactions prior to 1st January 1931, interest would be calculated at 12 per cent or the agreed rate, whichever was less, a 40 per cent reduction being then made in both principal and interest. If, however, the transaction originated after January 1, 1930, but before December 31, 1930, the total liabilities were to be calculated on the basis of a rate of interest of 12 per cent or the agreed rate if lower, the reduction to be effected in this case being 30 per cent on both principal and interest.

The aggregate of the principal and interest thus determined would be treated as the principal liability as at January 1, 1931, and the interest thereafter on this amount, until the date of application for adjustment, would be reckoned at 9 per cent or an agreed lower rate. The Board would then determine the paying capacity of the debtor in a prescribed manner and further reduce the debt already scaled down to the total value of the debtor's paying capacity if all the loans are unsecured. When all the loans are secured, they would be scaled down pro rata to eighty per cent of the value of such property. If, however, loans are both secured as well as unsecured the secured loans would be reduced to eighty per cent of the value of the property on which such debts are secured and the unsecured debts to eighty per cent of the value of the remaining property.‡

The debt thus adjusted should be paid in equal annual instalments not exceeding 25** in number. If, however, the creditors agreed to a reduction of their claims to 50 per cent of the debtors' immovable assets, the debt could be redeemed in bonds which the Provincial Land Mortgage Bank or such other Bank specified by the Provincial Government may be asked to issue. The rate of interest payable by the debtor to the Bank would be notified by the provincial government from time to time subject to a maximum of six per cent per annum.

Establishment of the Debt Adjustment Board

The Act was first put into force on January 1, 1942, in two selected talukas each of eight districts and eight Debt Adjustment Boards were established as an experimental measure. The area under the Act was extended in May 1945 when another 43 Boards were set up. In May 1946 three of the Boards at Nandurbar, Indi-Sindgi and Khed, respectively, were each split up into two thus bringing the total number of Boards to 54. These Boards disposed of about 12,600 applications upto December 31, 1945, involving a consolidated original debt of Rs.68 lakhs. Upto June 30, 1946, the total of applications received from both debtors and creditors was about 1,66,000[b]. In February 1947 the application of the Act was extended to the rest of the Province by entrusting 65 Civil Courts with its administration.

Scope and object

The object of this enquiry is to study the various aspects of the problem of agricultural indebtedness including the burden of debt and its incidence among the various groups of agriculturists, the rates of interest charged,

* The Act was amended by the Bombay Act No. 6 of 1941 and the Bombay Act No. 8 of 1945. Later on, the B.A.D.R. Act of 1947 repealed the Act of 1939. The B.A.D.R. Act of 1947 was amended by the (Amendment) Act of 1948.

† This work was entrusted to the Civil Courts by the Act of 1947.

a By the Bombay Amendment Act, VIII of 1945 the words "from a date prior to April 1, 1937" were deleted and the following clause was substituted. "For two cultivating seasons immediately preceding the date of establishment of the Board concerned".

‡ The word "Sixty" was substituted for the word "Eighty" by Bom. 8 of 1945, Sec. 23(2).

** The word "Twelve" was substituted for the figure '25' by Bom. 8 of 1945, Sec. 24(i).

b Received under Sections 17 (1), 17 (2), 23 and 37.

the securities offered, the duration of loans and so on. We may also, simultaneously, examine the working of the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act. Since information based on oral enquiry among debtors would hardly be reliable in absence of factual data from accounts maintained regularly, it was thought advisable to use the data submitted to the Debt Adjustment Boards which have necessarily to be substantiated with relevant documents and records and thus can be taken as fairly reliable. The scope of this enquiry is, therefore, limited to the data supplied to the Debt Adjustment Boards.

A detailed study of the total number of applications received at 119 Boards would naturally involve considerable time and labour. However, an investigation of such a magnitude is not really necessary for our purpose since reliable conclusions can be obtained by having resort to the technique of sampling. Accordingly, the Bombay Province was divided into eleven homogeneous zones, taking into consideration such factors as climate, rainfall, irrigation, crops and so on. It is proposed to study one or two Boards from each zone.

As a major portion of the Bombay Province is liable to severe droughts from time to time, it was decided to begin our work with a Board from a zone of this description as indebtedness here is likely to be high and also chronic. Hence our choice of the Pandharpur—Sangola Board. This Board was established in January 1942.

II. General Features of the Talukas:

General description

As a preliminary to the detailed analysis of indebtedness in the two talukas, it may be useful to give a brief account of the general characteristics of these areas. Pandharpur and Sangola are talukas of the Sholapur District in the Bombay Deccan, with an area of 478 and 680 square miles respectively. The population of the talukas in 1941, was 1,04,225 and 95,114 with a density per square mile of 218 in Pandharpur and 140 in Sangola. Each taluka had a town each with a population exceeding 5,000 and there were 84 villages in Pandharpur and 77 in Sangola.

Location and boundaries

The Pandharpur Taluka is bounded on the west by the Malsiras Taluka, on the north by the Madha Taluka and on the east by the Sholapur Taluka of the Sholapur District. The Sangola Taluka is surrounded on the western, southern, and eastern boundaries by the Deccan States of Miraj, Sangli, Jath and Aundh, and its northern boundary is identical with the southern boundary of the Pandharpur Taluka.

Physical features

These talukas form a part of the Deccan plateau and, therefore, the land surface is for the most part flat and undulating. The land is formed of the Deccan trap and the soil is nearly all light and shallow. In the Sangola Taluka particularly much of the soil is so poor that cultivation is practically wasted on it. The better class of soil is found only in the river valleys.

Rainfall

The annual rainfall in this tract varies between 21 to 25 inches, which if regularly distributed and seasonable is enough for many of the Deccan dry-crops. But actually the rainfall is very irregular, unseasonable and unequally distributed leading to the frequent emergence of scarcity and famine conditions, so much so that the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee had included these two talukas in the 'non-cotton famine tract' which is 'very liable to famine'.

Rivers

The chief rivers are the Bhima and its tributary the Man, the former flowing across the Pandharpur Taluka towards the south-east and the latter through the Sangola Taluka to the north-east, both together draining the whole tract under survey. The water-supply in the Bhima is perennial but such is not the case with the Man river which ceases to flow soon after the rains are over, though its deep sandy bed retains water for sometime.

Irrigation

The chief source of irrigation for this area is wells of which, in 1945-46, there were 2,387 in Pandharpur and 5,931 in Sangola. In addition there are government canals from the Mhasvad Tank in the Satara District and from the Nira Right Bank Water Works. The latter started providing water for irrigation only recently.

TABLE No. 1

AREA IRRIGATED FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES IN THE TWO TALUKAS.

(In the year 1945-46)

Taluka	Government canals	Wells	Total irrigated area	% of the irrigated area to gross cultivated area
	acres	acres	acres	
Pandharpur	7,185	16,666	23,851	9·6
Sangola	714	16,327	17,041	5·6
Total ..	7,899	32,993	40,892	7·4

The total irrigated area, the area irrigated by Government canals and wells stood at 40,892, 7,899 and 32,993 acres respectively.

TABLE No. 2

ACREAGE UNDER DIFFERENT CROPS IN THE IRRIGATED AREA.

(In the year 1945-46)

Taluka	Cereals and pulses	Sugar-cane	Other food crops	Non-food crops	Gross cropped area	Twice cropped area	Net cropped area
	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres
Pandharpur	21,036	715	1,555	545	28,522	4,671	23,851
Sangola	20,958	187	3,594	684	25,424	8,383	17,041
Total ..	41,994	902	5,149	1,229	53,946	13,054	40,892

The table indicates that the greater part of the total irrigated area is, contrary to what may generally be imagined, not under garden crops like fruits, vegetables or sugarcane but under food-crops, such as, bajra, jowar, wheat and other cereals and pulses.

Cultivation & crops

Of the total area of 3,30,140 acres in the Pandharpur Taluka the cultivated area was 2,48,539 and the net cropped area 2,47,338 acres, the fallows accounting for the remaining 1,201. In the Sangola Taluka of the total area of 3,47,996 acres, the total cultivated area of 3,04,466 acres was made up of 2,43,276 acres of net cropped area and 61,190 acres of fallows. The total uncultivated area was 81,601 and 43,530 acres respectively in the two talukas.

TABLE No. 3

CULTIVATED AND UNCULTIVATED AREA.

(In the year 1945-46)

Taluka	Area Cultivated					Total Cultivated Area	Uncultivated Area			Total Uncultivated Area	Total Area
	Gross Cropped	Double Cropped	Net Cropped	Of which irrigated	Fallow		Available for cultivation	Not available for cultivation			
								Forest	Other		
	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres
Pandharpur ..	2,52,009	4,671	2,47,338	23,851	1,201	2,48,539	42,291	9,903	29,407	81,601	3,30,140
Sangola ..	2,53,839	10,563	2,43,276	17,041	61,190	3,04,466	881	15,030	27,619	43,530	3,47,996
TOTAL ..	5,05,848	15,234	4,90,614	40,892	62,391	5,53,005	43,172	24,933	57,026	1,25,131	6,78,136

Seasons

The rainfall of the Pandharpur and Sangola Talukas is derived chiefly from the South-West monsoon between June to October. This is generally supplemented by the North-East monsoon which follows the close of it. In the Sangola Taluka, however, the rainfall from the South-West monsoon is heavier than from the North-East monsoon; and naturally, therefore, the main season here is the kharif. In the Pandharpur Taluka, the North-East rains predominate and, therefore, the busy season is the late or rabi season. Both monsoons, however, are irregular and unseasonable and often it so happens that when rains fail in June and July and appear late in August and September, the Sangola cultivators have to switch over from the kharif to the rabi

crops. Accordingly in this taluka there are variations in the area under kharif bajri and rabi jowar, from year to year, depending on the changes in the rainfall in the various months. In the Pandharpur Taluka, however, the rabi jowar is always the staple crop. The following table gives the area occupied by different crops in the two talukas :—

TABLE No. 4

AREA OCCUPIED BY THE DIFFERENT CROPS.

(In the year 1945-46)

Taluka	Jowar	Bajri	Wheat	Total cereals	Pulses	Oilseeds	Fibres	Sugar-cane	Orchards and gardens	Drugs and Narcotics	Condiments and spices	Miscellaneous	Gross cropped area	Twice cropped area	Net cropped area
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres
Pandharpur ..	2,05,629 (83·14)	15,081 (6·10)	3,269 (1·32)	2,26,058 (91·40)	10,220 (4·13)	9,498 (3·84)	49 (·020)	715 (·29)	..	..	..	798 (·32)	2,52,009	4,671	2,47,338
Sangola ..	1,47,132 (60·48)	64,390 (26·47)	3,746 (1·54)	2,17,964 (89·59)	16,498 (6·78)	11,452 (4·71)	34 (·014)	187 (·077)	..	37 (·015)	747 (·31)	7,043 (2·90)	2,53,839	10,563	2,43,276
Total ..	3,52,761	79,471	7,015	4,44,022	26,718	20,950	83	902	..	37	747	7,841	5,05,848	15,234	4,90,614

(Figures in brackets are percentages to the net cropped area).

In the Pandharpur Taluka, the percentages of the area occupied by different crops to the net cropped area are as follows:—Jowar 83·14 per cent, bajri 6·10 per cent, wheat 1·32 per cent, pulses 4·13 per cent, oilseeds 3·84 per cent. Similarly the percentages in the Sangola Taluka are:—Jowar 60·48 per cent, bajri 26·47 per cent, wheat 1·54 per cent, pulses 6·78 per cent, oilseeds 4·71 per cent. It is thus obvious that commercial crops like cotton and oilseeds occupy a very small percentage of the gross cultivated area, *viz.*, 3·86 per cent in the Pandharpur Taluka and 4·72 per cent in the Sangola Taluka, the reason being the unsatisfactory character of the monsoons and the inadequacy of irrigation facilities.

System of Land Tenure

Land in both the talukas is mostly held on the ryotwari tenure system under which revenue assessments are fixed, generally for a period of thirty years, after careful measurement and classification of land. The main features of this tenure are the permanent right of the ryot to hold his land in perpetuity so long as he pays the land revenue and to sell, mortgage or otherwise transfer it, and the absence of any intermediaries between the ryot and Government. However, there are a few alienated or Dumala villages, eight in Pandharpur and six in Sangola, where land is transferred to inam holders and from which the Government have no right to land revenue.

TABLE No. 5

Holdings.

CLASSIFICATION OF HOLDINGS ACCORDING TO THE AREA.

(In the year 1945-46)

	Number of holdings						Total area	Average	
	Upto 5 acres	Over 5 and upto 25 acres	Over 25 and upto 100 acres	Over 100 and upto 500 acres	Over 500 acres	Total Number of holdings		Area of holdings	Assessment per acre
							acres	acres	Rs. a. p.
Pandharpur	4,240 (29·0)	7,664 (52·4)	2,561 (17·5)	146 (1·0)	17 (·1)	14,628 (100·0)	3,30,140	22·5	0 8 11
Sangola	5,874 (32·1)	9,211 (50·3)	3,041 (16·6)	198 (1·1)	4 (·02)	18,328 (100·0)	3,47,996	18·9	0 4 10
Total ..	10,114 (30·7)	16,875 (51·2)	5,602 (17·0)	344 (1·04)	21 (0·6) (·06)	32,956 (100·0)	6,78,136	20·5	0 6 11

(Figures in brackets are percentages to the total number of holdings).

From the table above we see that the total number of holdings in the Pandharpur and the Sangola Talukas was 14,628 and 18,328 with an average area of 22·5 and 18·9 acres per holding respectively in 1945-46. Numerically the largest group was of holdings with an area of 'over 5 acres and upto 25 acres' in both the talukas, the percentage of this category to the total number of holdings being 52·4 and 50·3 in the Pandharpur and Sangola talukas respectively. Holdings from 1 to 5 acres stood second numerically forming 29·0 and 32·1 per cent respectively in the two talukas. In a dry-crop tract like the Bombay Deccan, holdings upto 25 acres in area are generally treated as small holdings, those between 25 to 100 acres as medium-size holdings and those above 100 acres in area as large size holdings. From this standard small holdings were predominant in both Pandharpur and Sangola being as much as 81·4 and 82·4 per cent of the total number of holdings. Of the rest, medium-size holdings accounted for 17·5 and 16·6 per cent and the large-size holdings 1·1 and 1·12 per cent in the Pandharpur and the Sangola talukas respectively.

Land Values

As the data of land values are collected only at the time of each revenue settlement, which occurs once in every thirty years, the available statistics on the subject is rather old. It relates to

the three years ending 1921-22 and is summarised in the table below :—

TABLE No. 6

Taluka	Average sale price per acre	Average assessment per acre	Number of times the assessment represented by price
	Dry-crop	land	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Pandharpur ..	51 4 11	0 8 11	92·06
Sangola	29 3 10	0 4 9	98·49
	Garden	land	
Pandharpur ..	115 2 5	0 9 9	188·96
Sangola	131 2 8	0 7 5	282·96

Since about the middle of the war, there has been a steep rise in land values. Though authentic data on the subject are unavailable, the estimates of the Mamlatdars for the two talukas, however, are as follows :—

TABLE No. 7

Taluka	Description	Current average land value per acre	Remarks
Pandharpur ..	Dry crop	Rs. 200	
	Garden	Rs. 500	
Sangola	Dry crop	Rs. 200	Land of medium type.
	Garden	Rs. 1,000	

From the table it would appear that in the Sangola Taluka land values have risen from Rs.29 to Rs.200 per acre of dry crop land and from Rs.131 to Rs.1,000 per acre of garden land. In Pandharpur the average of current land values per acre is Rs.200 for dry crop land and Rs.500 for garden land as against Rs.51 and Rs.115 respectively in 1921-22.

Leases

An attempt at the collection of the data of cash rents paid by tenant-cultivators was made at the Settlement of 1921-22 and the following results were obtained:

TABLE No. 8

Taluka	Average rents per acre	Average assessment per acre	No. of times the assessment represented by rent
	Dry-crop	land	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Pandharpur ..	3 3 4	0 10 0	5·13
Sangola	1 8 1	0 5 3	4·59
	Garden	land	
Pandharpur ..	7 4 5	0 11 7	10·05
Sangola	7 7 7	0 8 6	14·07

It would thus seem that the talukas under survey belong to the famine tract, where partial or total crop failures occur quite frequently and where meagre irrigation facilities exist. Cultivation is generally limited to food crops, commercial and garden crops being rare. The majority of holdings are small and the methods of cultivation being backward, the average incomes of ryots are low and their debt repaying capacity meagre*

(*To be continued*)

* Sources of Information :—(1) Statistical Atlas of the Bombay Province, (2) Reports on the Second Revision of Survey Settlement of the Pandharpur and the Sangola Talukas, and (3) Information supplied by the Mamlatdars of the two talukas.

DEPRECIATION IN CAPITAL VALUES IN INDIA†

K. C. CHERIYAN

The impetus given to stock prices in India during the recent World War was sustained for nearly an year after the cessation of hostilities in September 1945. The fall in prices which started sometime in August 1946 has continued more or less uninterruptedly till now. The purpose of this note is to give an idea of the depreciation that has occurred in the market value of the paid-up capital of all companies which are quoted at principal stock exchanges in India. A list of all companies quoted at the Bombay, Calcutta and Madras Stock Exchanges as given in their published official lists was compiled together with the quotations of the scrips as at the end of July 1946 when prices were maximum and as at the end of October

† This study has been confined only to the depreciation in share values from the peak period in 1946 to October 1948. A similar study is being made of the increase in share values from the pre-war level in 1939 to July 1946 and the results are expected to be published in a subsequent article.

AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN PANDHARPUR AND SANGOLA TALUKAS

(The Report of a Survey of Agricultural Indebtedness in Pandharpur and Sangola Talukas of the Sholapur District in the Bombay Deccan.)

V. M. JAKHADE

(Part II)[1]

III. Preliminary Work:

Establishment of the Pandharpur — Sangola Board

Under the Government Notifications Nos. 3791/33 and 3791/33(a), both dated December 23, 1941, the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act, 1939, was made applicable to the Pandharpur and Sangola Talukas and a Debt Adjustment Board was instituted at Pandharpur from January 1, 1942. A period of eighteen months was also prescribed for presenting applications for adjustment of agricultural debts. During this period, the Board received 4,865 applications involving a total debt of Rs. 27,74,205.

Poor response and its causes

Though the application of the Act was restricted to debts of cultivating landholders cultivating land personally from a date prior to April 1, 1937[2] and to debts not exceeding Rs.15,000 in any individual case, the total number of applications received seems rather small, considering the total number of holdings in the two talukas and particularly the fact that there were as many as 26,989 small holdings of 25 acres and under in the two talukas. It has been alleged by some local people that the reason for this was that proper publicity was not given to the provisions of the Act and to the establishment of the Board. But the distribution of the ten per cent sample we have selected does not support this view, as debtors from 76 and 87 per cent of the villages in the Pandharpur and Sangola Talukas respectively had submitted applications to the Board. The paucity of the applications must, therefore, be attributed to factors other than the absence of publicity. One possibility is that both creditors and debtors thought it more expedient to settle their debts independently of the machinery provided by the Act though, more or less, on the lines prescribed by it. It is also likely that many agriculturist-debtors did not wish to antagonise their creditors by resorting to the Board as satisfactory and adequate alternative arrangements for providing them with current finance were not available. Whatever may be the cause the fact remains that the indebtedness reported to the Board, represents only a part of the total agricultural indebtedness of the group of agriculturists eligible to apply for relief.

[1] Part I of the report appeared in January 1949 issue of the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin.

[2] By the Bombay Amendment Act, VIII of 1945, the words "from a date prior to April 1, 1937" were deleted and the following clause was substituted: "two seasons immediately preceding the date of establishment of the Board concerned."

Reliability of data

As filing before the Board a true and correct statement of all debts owed by every debtor was made compulsory under Section 19 of the Act, a breach of which was made penal under Section 82, it can be assumed that the information regarding the volume of debt, interest charged, security given, etc. submitted to the Board was complete and fairly reliable.

Preparation of Schedule

The object of our enquiry was to study the various aspects of the problem of agricultural indebtedness including the burden of debt, its incidence on the agriculturists, rates of interest charged, securities offered, the duration of loans and the purpose for which they were raised and so on. To cover these points a schedule, divided into two parts, was specially designed. The first part provided for general information about the debtor, his owned holding, resources, property, etc. and the second part was prepared for noting down all details about each loan transaction. Information on the various aspects of the problem of indebtedness was entered under fifteen sub-heads amongst which were the nature of the security offered, the type and conditions of mortgage, the purpose of loan, the repayment and consolidation of interest with principal, the rate of interest and certain points about the moneylender and his transactions.

Sampling Technique

The simple random sampling technique was used in conducting the survey, the size of the sample being ten per cent of the population. A preliminary test regarding indebtedness per applicant showed that a sample of this size yielded satisfactorily accurate results. Of the 4,865 applications received by the Board, 489 were thus selected for study. Of this number, it has not been possible to examine 66 applications either because they had been sent to the appellate court for reference or because no decision had been taken on them by the Board or because the Board declined to consider them for good technical reasons.

Notwithstanding the supply of printed forms of application and detailed instructions for filling them, the applications submitted left much to be desired. The debtors being generally illiterate, the forms were completed by the writers in the Court, who probably adopted a pattern of their own in filling in the forms. In such applications, while information was given regarding certain topics, *e.g.*, the amount of the debt, the security and the interest rate, they were silent in respect of the purpose and duration of the loan and such other data which were not recorded on the debt documents but had to be derived. A study of the recorded information, however, has been instructive and we give below some of the results of this study.

IV. Composition of Debtors:

The community of debtors we are surveying comprise wholly of agriculturists who cultivate land personally[1]. None of them derive their income from any other occupation, though many may be engaged in non-agricultural pursuits also as a subsidiary occupation, in excess of 20 per cent. It follows that land forms the principal security they can offer to raise a loan[2].

We have, therefore, analysed the debtors according to the size of their owned holdings (Appendix I) and the correlation between the owned holding and the total volume of indebtedness can be studied from the double frequency table prepared for this purpose (Appendix II).

In a dry tract like the Bombay Deccan holdings under 25 acres of dry land are generally treated as small holdings, those between 26 to 100 acres as medium-size and those above 100 acres as large. From the standpoint of this classification, of the total debtors 215 or 69·6 per cent

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[1] Section 2, sub-section 6, runs as follows:

'Debtor' means—

(*a*) an individual—

(*i*) who is indebted; (*ii*) who holds land used for agricultural purposes; (*iii*) who has been cultivating such land personally from a date prior to 1st April 1937; and (*iv*) whose annual income from sources other than agriculture and manual labour does not ordinarily exceed 20 per cent of his total annual income or does not exceed Rs.300, whichever is greater. The Act of 1947 enlarged the scope of this definition so as to cover agricultural labourers also.

[2] Although it was essential to submit details about owned holdings in the statements submitted under Sections 17 and 19 of the Act, such information was not provided by 114 debtors. Some of these debtors might probably be tenants. It is interesting to note, however, that practically all of their loans were unsecured and for small amounts. The analysis, therefore, relates to the 309 debtors only.

debtors have small holdings, 85 or 27·5 per cent have medium-size holdings and 9 or 2·9 per cent have large holdings.

The facts disclosed by Appendix I show that of the 215 small holders, 56 or 26·05 per cent own very tiny holdings of 5 acres or under and another 63 or 29·30 per cent have holdings between 6 and 10 acres. Of the remaining small-holders, holders of 11 to 15 acres of land are 43 or 20·00 per cent, of 16 to 20 acres of land 28 or 13·02 per cent and of 21 to 25 acres 25 or 11·63 per cent. A tendency of the number of debtors to increase as the size of holdings decreases can, at once, be noticed. This is but natural because famine tracts exhibit, over a period of years, a deficit economy and the size of the family being given, the smaller the unit cultivated the greater becomes the proportionate deficit. The medium-size holders' group exhibits the same trend, as of the 85 holders, 15 or 17·65 per cent own holdings between 26 to 30 acres, 28 or 32·94 per cent between 31 to 40 acres and 20 or 23·53 per cent between 41 to 50 acres. The total number of debtors holding between 51 to 100 acres of land is 22 or 25·88 per cent. There are only 9 debtors with holdings above 100 acres in size.

V. Total Indebtedness and its Incidence :

The total amount of indebtedness of the 423 selected debtors works out at Rs.3,04,627 of which the principal is Rs.2,37,633 and the interest Rs.66,994. The average debt per debtor, therefore, comes to Rs.720·15 including both principal and interest. The incidence of indebtedness per acre works out at Rs.38 (Appendix I).

The total amount of indebtedness per debtor ranges between Rs.8 to Rs.11,546. Of the 423 debtors, 85 have loans between Rs.8 to Rs.100, 64 between Rs.101 to Rs.200 and 107 between Rs.201 to Rs.500. The number of debtors with debts ranging between Rs.501 and Rs.1,000, and between Rs.1,001 and Rs.2,000 is 83 and 52 respectively. There are 32 debtors whose total debt exceeds Rs.2,000.

The total volume of indebtedness is made up of 681 loans with 1·61 loans per individual. The maximum number of loans taken by a single individual debtor is 14. The debtors with only one loan are 295, with two 75 and with three 23. Those having between four and six loans are 25 and between seven and nine 3. There are two debtors one with thirteen loans and another with fourteen loans.

Incidence per holder.

It is interesting to study the distribution of the burden of indebtedness among the various classes of landholders. The average indebtedness per holder of 25 acres or under comes to Rs.570·1. It then rises with the increase in the size of holdings to Rs.1,432·6 in the case of medium-size holders and to Rs.3,141·3 for big landholders. This is only to be expected in a community whose principal occupation is agriculture and the principal security in whose possession is land. The need for finance would grow with the size of the unit of cultivation and, therefore, the indebtedness incurred should be in proportion to the land owned and cultivated.

The same tendency is revealed when we examine the indebtedness of the sub-groups of landholders. The average indebtedness per holder of 5 acres or under works out at Rs.340. It then rises to Rs.552 for holders between 6 and 10 acres and to Rs.678 for holders between 11 and 15 acres. It is Rs.679 for holders between 16 and 20 acres and Rs.824 for the holders between 21 and 25 acres.

Likewise coming to the sub-groups of medium-size holders the average indebtedness per holder of 26 to 30 acres of land is Rs.675. It then rises to Rs.1,194 for holders with 31 to 40 acres. It stands at Rs.1,127 for holders of 41 to 50 acres and reaches the peak point of Rs.2,530 within the group for holders of 51 to 100 acres of land.

The average indebtedness per holder for big landholders' group is the highest within all groups standing at Rs.3,141.

Though the volume of indebtedness increases with the size of holdings, it is significant that the debt per acre is higher in the lower groups of holdings than in the larger. Thus the indebtedness per acre for the small holdings is Rs.57·31, for the medium-size holdings Rs.32·81 and for the large holdings Rs.21·93.*

* As mentioned above, information about owned holdings is not available for 114 debtors and, therefore, the incidence of debt per acre was calculated for the remaining 309 debtors. The total debt of these 309 debtors amounts to Rs.2,72,632 of which principal is Rs.2,13,646 and interest Rs.58,986.

Examining the position in fuller detail, the burden of debt per acre for the holdings of 5 acres or under is Rs.183 which is the highest for all groups. It declines steeply to Rs.74 for holdings of 6 to 10 acres, and to Rs.55 and Rs.40 for holdings of 11 to 15 acres and of 16 to 20 acres respectively. For holdings of 21 to 25 acres it is Rs.37.

Within the medium-size group the incidence of indebtedness per acre amounts to Rs.24 for holdings of 26 to 30 acres. It is Rs.38 for holdings between 31 and 40 acres and Rs.25 for holdings between 41 and 50 acres. It works out to Rs.37 for holdings between 51 to 100 acres. For the larger holdings the burden is Rs.22 per acre which is the lowest for all groups.

The implication of this probably is that the smaller the holding, the more uneconomic it is and, therefore, the larger the per acre rate of deficit in its cultivation necessitating a larger debt to finance it, a circumstance to which the contributory factors are doubtless the relative incidence of the more or less rigid overhead costs, the almost primitive methods and implements of cultivation, the recurrence of droughts and lack of irrigation facilities, the absence of alternative channels of employment to the growing population pressure on land, the shortage of capital and so on. The result is that the burden of indebtedness on holdings of 10 acres and under is almost ruinous.

VI. Sources of Finance :

The total debt of Rs.3,04,627 is divided into 681 different loans and was financed by 496 private moneylenders and 12 co-operative banks and societies, the total finance provided by the former being Rs.3,01,908 or 99·10 per cent and by the latter Rs.2,719 or 0·89 per cent.

An analysis of the private moneylenders according to their main occupation will be found in Appendix III. It will be seen from this table that of the 496 private moneylenders, 223 or 43·90 per cent were professional agriculturists, 109 or 21·46 per cent trader-moneylenders, 45 or 8·86 per cent professional village moneylenders, 25 or 4·92 per cent artisans and 75 or 14·76 per cent others. No occupation is mentioned of the creditors in nineteen loans.

It will also be noticed from the same table that of the total indebtedness of Rs.3,01,908 accounted for by private moneylenders, the professional agriculturists have financed to the extent of Rs.1,13,771 or 37·35 per cent, the trader-moneylenders to the extent of Rs. 74,873 or 24·58 per cent and the professional-moneylenders Rs.41,155 or 13·51 per cent. The share of the artisan-moneylenders is limited to Rs.6,524 or 2·14 per cent and that of the miscellaneous group to Rs.57,994 or 19·04 per cent.

The Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee was of the view that among the several agencies of agricultural finance the professional village moneylender played the most important part and that next in order of importance came the trader-moneylender, the agriculturist, the friends and relations of debtors, the government and so on. The Committee also thought that the agriculturist-moneylender* had been gaining in importance and assuming a prominent position in certain districts of the province but not in Sholapur. Our survey, however, would seem to show that he had since been forging ahead with speed at the expense of the professional-moneylender, who has shown a tendency to retire from the field partly owing to the absence of sympathy from the agriculturist borrowers and partly owing to the restrictive legislation on his activities which require him to take out a licence, limit the rate of interest, enjoin maintenance of accounts in prescribed forms and so on. But the agriculturist-moneylender who has stepped in is no less desirous and has probably a more certain grabbing instinct on the land of the borrower. The trader-moneylender who generally finances the better class of agriculturists would seem to have maintained his position. The share of the remaining two groups is small.

The part played by co-operative banks and societies is deplorably meagre. There were 27 agricultural credit societies in 1941-42 in

* The agriculturist-moneylender is—' the agriculturist who has been able to lay by some capital out of which he makes small advances to his neighbours. The agriculturist-moneylender has been rising in importance in recent years and is already assuming a prominent position in village finance in certain districts. Though often grasping, he is easy in his dealings with his brother agriculturist and is under the influence of public opinion in the village '. The Report of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. I, P. 53.

the two talukas with a paid-up share capital of Rs.14,576 and working capital of Rs.2,10,594. The total amount advanced by them during the year was Rs.5,922 and the loans outstanding at the end of the year totalled Rs.1,54,056. Of the 681 loans, only 12 amounting to Rs.2,719 or 0·89 per cent of the total debt were provided by the co-operative banks and societies.

VII. Security:

Many witnesses examined by the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee had expressed the view that the tendency to advance loans on the security of property was growing. The data collected by the Committee, however, did not go to support this, as only 35 per cent of the total debt in the non-cotton growing part of the famine tract of the Bombay Deccan was secured. The reason advanced was that small loans were almost invariably obtained on personal security and that in the case of some of the larger loans, sale instead of mortgage was insisted upon by the creditors*. Our enquiry, however, would seem to show that secured loans are more common. Of the total debt of Rs. 3,04,627, Rs.2,20,735 or 72·5 per cent was secured as against Rs.83,892 or 27·54 per cent unsecured. (See Appendix IV). The security given in almost all cases was land which was generally mortgaged to the lender. Of the unsecured debt, personal security in the form of promissory notes accounted for loans amounting to Rs.56,040 or 18·40 per cent of the total debt. No mention about the nature of the security given was made in the case of loans amounting to Rs.27,852 or 9·10 per cent. The larger part of this was probably civil decrees transferred from the civil courts to the Board or loans arising out of current accounts, running from father to son, without any kind of written document and based wholly on faith in the integrity, character and loyalty of debtors.

Security of property is generally demanded as a cover against loans of large amounts whereas personal security in the form of pro-notes is considered enough for small loans. However, in a region where the average size of holding is small and crop failures due to droughts frequent, the repaying capacity of the average cultivator is but meagre. It is not surprising, therefore, that the creditors demand security of property even for lending small amounts. Apart from charging usurious rates of interest, the agriculturist-moneylender, who has always an eye on the debtors' land, demands security of property for all loans—small or large and his predominance in the field of agricultural finance probably explains the high ratio of secured debts.

Loans upto Rs.200 are generally treated as small loans, and those between Rs.201 to Rs.500 as medium-size and others above Rs.501 as large-size loans. Our data show that of the 324 small loans amounting to Rs.33,307, 51·8 per cent (Rs.17,259) consisting of 182 loans was advanced on personal security as against 72 loans amounting to Rs.10,809 or 32·5 per cent on the security of property. The preference for personal security is more pronounced for loans under Rs.100. Of 188 such loans amounting to Rs.11,658, 114 aggregating a debt of Rs.6,945 or 59·6 per cent were advanced on personal security as against 20 loans totalling Rs.1,748 or 15·0 per cent on the security of property.

Within the group of medium-size loans, of 184 loans for a total sum of Rs.65,447, 114 amounting to Rs.42,713 or 65·3 per cent were secured as against 54 unsecured loans totalling Rs.18,216 or 27·8 per cent.

For convenience of comparison and study we have divided the group of large size loans into three sub-groups, ranging respectively between Rs.501 and Rs.2,000, Rs.2,001 to Rs.5,000, and Rs.5,001 and above. In the first sub-group of 154 loans for a sum of Rs.1,43,812 secured loans were 124 amounting to Rs.1,17,353 or 81·6 per cent as against 20 unsecured loans totalling Rs.18,365 or 12·8 per cent. Of 17 loans in the second sub-group for Rs.47,246 only 1 loan amounting to Rs.2,200 or 4·6 per cent was unsecured as against 13 secured loans amounting to Rs.35,045 or 74·2 per cent. There was no unsecured loan in the third sub-group, which comprised two secured loans for a total sum of Rs.14,815.

VIII. Rates of Interest:

Among the factors which determine the rate of interest are the nature of security offered, the duration and amount of the loan, the general creditworthiness of the borrower including

* The Report of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. I, p. 56.

his integrity, character and occupation.* An attempt has been made to study the rates of interest in relation to these several factors.

A glance at Appendix V will show that as many as twenty-three different rates of interest, from 1 per cent to 37½ per cent per annum**, prevailed in the two talukas. For convenience of comparison, we have classified these rates into three groups, namely, (*i*) 1 to 9 per cent, (*ii*) 9 to 20 per cent, and (*iii*) 21 per cent and above. This classification excluded two categories of loans: the usufructuary mortgages where the mortgagee gets the full benefit of the produce from the land in payment of interest on the debt for a specified number of years and *damduppata* loans where the stipulation is that after a term of years double the amount of the loan should be repaid. There were 27 cases of usufructuary mortgages involving a sum of Rs.16,147 and eight of *damduppata* loans amounting to Rs.4,085.

Rates of interest below 9 per cent may be described as normal, those between 9 to 20 per cent as high and those above 21 per cent as exorbitant and usurious. Of the total debt of Rs.3,04,627, reliable information about interest rates was available for loans amounting to Rs.2,28,650 or 75·06 per cent and it was found that loans amounting to Rs.54,287 or 17·82 per cent were charged 6¼ per cent or under. Loans coming under the second category of interest rates amounted to Rs.1,10,997 or 36·44 per cent and those under the third Rs.43,134 or 14·16 per cent. The data indicate that on the whole, the rates of interest in the two talukas were high.

Under the first category, though as many as seven different rates were included, the most common rate was 6 per cent which accounted for Rs.47,337 or 15·54 per cent of the total debt. The amount of the loans made at other rates are as under :—

Rs.1,469 or 0·48 per cent at 1 per cent; Rs.650 or 0·21 per cent at 2 per cent; Rs.1,426 or 0·47 per cent at 3 per cent; Rs.747 or 0·24 per cent at 4 per cent; Rs.338 or 0·11 per cent at 5 per cent and Rs.2,320 or 0·76 per cent at 6¼ per cent.

Under the second category, the most common rate was 12 per cent which accounted for Rs. 93,965 or 30·85 per cent of the total debt. The amount of the loans made at other rates are as under :—

Rs.3,856 or 1·26 per cent at 9 per cent; Rs. 292 or 0·09 per cent at 12½ per cent; Rs.1,180 or 0·39 per cent at 15 per cent; Rs.9,319 or 3·06 per cent at 18 per cent; Rs.1,348 or 0·44 per cent at 18¾ per cent and Rs.1,037 or 0·34 per cent at 20 per cent.

Under the third category, of the five different rates grouped together, the most common was 24 per cent and loans amounting to Rs.40,347 or 13·24 per cent of the total were advanced at this rate. The amount of the loans made at other rates are as under :—

Rs.1,000 or 0·33 per cent at 21 per cent; Rs.198 or 0·06 per cent at 27 per cent; Rs. 921 or 0·30 per cent at 36 per cent and Rs.668 or 0·22 per cent at 37½ per cent.

From the above review it would appear that cost of credit in the two talukas was high, the more common rates of interest being 6, 12 and 24. They accounted for 15·54 per cent, 30·85 per cent and 13·24 per cent respectively, of the total debt.

Contrary to what might be expected, our statistics show that the proportion of secured loans rises with the rise in the rate of interest (See Appendix V). Of 99 loans amounting to Rs.54,287, in the category of normal interest rates, secured loans were 44 involving a total sum of Rs.29,302 or 53·98 per cent of the total debt within the group. There were 118 secured loans amounting to Rs.78,465 or 70·69 per cent of the total debt within the second group of interest rates (9 to 20 per cent) as against 132 unsecured loans for Rs.30,459 or 27·44 per cent. The percentage of secured loans is still higher in the third group of interest rates (21 per cent and above) secured loans in this category

* "Except in the case of Government whose rates of interest on tagavi loans are fixed for the whole Province and of co-operative societies, whose rates are fixed under their bye-laws, the rates of interest vary considerably according to circumstances. The credit of the borrower, the security that he has to offer, the period for which the loan is required, the degree of pressure under which the borrower is forced to borrow, all these are the factors that enter into the determination of the rate of interest in each particular case." The Report of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. I, p. 67.

** Interest rates are stated in three different ways:

(*i*) per rupee per mensem, (*ii*) per hundred per mensem, and (*iii*) per cent per annum. We have, however, converted all rates of interest to the common basis of per cent per annum.

represent 76·58 per cent of the total debt of Rs.43,134. In the *damduppata* category there were 8 loans amounting to Rs.4,085, of which 5 representing 87·52 per cent were secured as against 3 unsecured loans amounting to Rs. 510 or 12·48 per cent. The high proportion of secured loans in all categories of interest rates may be due to the creditors demanding security without regard for the rates of interest charged because of the frequent emergence of famine conditions and the low repaying capacity of cultivators. It may also be due to the predominance of agriculturist-moneylenders whose motive in advancing loans is often to acquire the lands of the debtors.

The relevant statistics to ascertain the correlationship, if any, between the size of a debtor's holding and the interest rates at which he was able to raise loans have been assembled in Appendix VI. Landowners have been classed into three groups for the purpose, those owning upto 5 acres, from 6 to 20 acres and from 21 to 50 acres. Of the total debt of the first group 13·64 per cent (Rs.2,597) was raised at rates below 6¼ per cent, 26·27 per cent (Rs.5,004) at rates varying between 9 per cent and 20 per cent and 37·11 per cent (Rs.7,068) at rates ranging between 21 per cent and 37½ per cent. Thus 26·27 per cent of the debt within this group was incurred at "heavy" rates and 37·11 per cent at "exorbitant" rates.

Coming to the next group of landowners 18·17 per cent (Rs.15,071) of the debt carried interest of 6¼ per cent or under, 34·57 per cent (Rs.28,680) was borrowed at rates varying between 9 per cent and 20 per cent and 21·55 per cent (Rs. 17,874) at rates between 21 and 37½ per cent. Thus 34·57 per cent of the debt was at "heavy" rates and about 21·55 per cent at "exorbitant" rates.

In the third category of landholders holding between 21 to 50 acres 14·81 per cent of the debt (Rs.12,836) was raised at 6¼ per cent or under, 38·47 per cent (Rs.33,349) at rates between 9 to 20 per cent and 13·78 per cent (Rs.11,949) at rates between 21 to 37½ per cent. Thus 38·47 per cent of the debt was raised at "heavy" rates and 13·78 per cent at "exorbitant" rates.

The above review shows that though the percentage of total debt raised at "exorbitant" rates falls with the increase in the size of holding, there is no compensatory rise in the percentage of loans on which the rates charged are normal. The percentage of the debt incurred at rates between 9 to 20 per cent is the highest in all the groups and rises much more rapidly than the percentage of loans at "normal" rates with a fall in the percentage of loans at "exorbitant" rates. It would appear that tradition has considerable influence in determining the rates of interest though it cannot be said that the creditworthiness based on the size of holding is altogether neglected.

Occupation of Creditors and Rates of Interest

In view of the observation of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee that the agriculturist-moneylender is more grasping than others, we thought it interesting to enquire whether there was any correlationship between the occupation of the creditor and the rate of interest charged by him. The relevant statistics will be found in Appendix VII.

It will be seen from this table that of the total loans advanced by the professional-moneylenders 5·4 per cent were charged rates upto 6¼ per cent, 27·6 per cent between 9 and 20 per cent and 6·6 per cent between 21 and 37½ per cent. In respect of the agriculturist-moneylender 11·1 per cent of the loans were charged upto 6¼ per cent, 31·3 per cent were charged from 9 to 20 per cent and 17·8 per cent were charged from 21 to 37½ per cent. As against this the trader-moneylender advanced 29·2 per cent of his loans at "normal" rates, 29·6 per cent at rates between 9 and 20 per cent, and 12·4 per cent at rates between 21 and 37½ per cent.

It will thus be seen that the percentage of loans advanced at higher than "normal" rates is the highest in the case of the agriculturist-moneylender being at 49·1 per cent. The corresponding percentages are 34·2 and 42·0 respectively in the case of the professional-moneylender and the trader-moneylender. The percentage of loans charged at "exorbitant" rates is also the highest (17·8 per cent) in the case of the agriculturist-moneylender, this percentage being 6·6 and 12·4 respectively for the other two groups. Our evidence then may be said to support the view taken by the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee. If the trader-moneylender seems to advance funds on somewhat more easy terms, this is probably because

of the security of the standing crops pledged to him often accompanied by the understanding that the crops would be sold through him after harvest.

IX. Socio-economic Aspects :

Castewise analysis of debtors

An analysis of indebtedness according to the community or caste of the borrower, the relative statistics on which will be found in Appendix VIII, does not seem to support the view, sometimes held, that certain communities or castes are more highly indebted than certain others owing to either backwardness or extravagant habits of spending. Of 423 debtors, Hindus were 406 or 96 per cent and Muslims 17 or 4 per cent (See Appendix VIII). This distribution is roughly in accordance with the corresponding distribution of the total population of the two talukas (See Appendix IX) as between the two communities. Among Hindu debtors, scheduled caste debtors were 72 or 17·73 per cent, which is only 2 per cent higher than their proportion in the total population, and Marathas 246 or 60·59 per cent, which is not out of line with the numerical importance of this community among the agriculturists of the Bombay Deccan. Among the other groups of debtors, artisans and others were 45 or 11·09 per cent, Lingayats 21 or 5·17 per cent and Brahmins 13 or 3·20 per cent.

Castewise analysis of creditors

An analysis of the creditors according to their caste will be found in Appendix X. While a majority of the agriculturist-moneylender were Maratha-Kunbis, the professional-moneylenders and trader-moneylenders were generally Brahmins, Gujars or Baniyas and Marathas. Of the total number of moneylenders, 154 were Marathas, 110 Brahmins, 82 artisans, village servants and others, 45 Lingayats, 44 Gujars and Baniyas, 44 Scheduled Castes, 14 Muslims, and 3 miscellaneous and backward classes.

Community spirit amongst debtors and creditors

A double frequency table (See Appendix XI) indicates that the creditors or debtors do not have any preference in the matter of advancing or raising loans to persons of their own caste. Each transaction is entered into on its merits or other considerations, the caste of the debtor or creditor not being a deciding factor.

Places of residence of creditors and debtors

An analysis of the residence of the creditors and debtors (Appendix XII) produced the following results. Of a total debt of Rs.3,04,627, 40·16 per cent (Rs.1,22,346) was borrowed from the creditors residing in the same village as the debtors, another 42·45 per cent (Rs.1,29,307) from creditors living in the same taluka though not from the village as the debtors, 13·59 per cent (Rs.41,405) from creditors doing business in the neighbouring talukas of the Sholapur district, 2·08 per cent (Rs.6,325) from the surrounding districts and 1·72 per cent (Rs.5,244) from the neighbouring Deccan States. In other words 82·61 per cent of the total agricultural finance came from within the same talukas, either from within the villages or from the taluka towns at a distance of 15 to 20 miles from the villages. This is understandable in a region where the means of communication are poor, and organised money market absent and the assets of the borrowers have but a limited range of vendibility.

X. Relief secured by the debtors :

Of 681 loan transactions submitted to the Pandharpur-Sangola Debt Adjustment Board, awards were given by the Board in 376 cases involving the total debt of Rs.1,71,286. This debt was scaled down by more than half to Rs.82,815 or 48·35 per cent. Voluntary settlement after the cases were submitted to the Board, which was provided for in the Act, was arrived at in 88 cases involving an aggregate debt of Rs.44,211 (See Appendix XIII). This was agreed to be scaled down to Rs.26,425 or to 59·77 per cent. The Board dismissed about 212 loan transactions involving an amount of Rs.85,430 for various technical reasons. Thus the relief secured through voluntary settlement was about 10 per cent less than that secured through awards. The high proportion of the total debt settled independently of the Board is also significant. The consideration was probably that, alternative sources for providing current agricultural finance being inadequate, the debtors thought it more expedient to enter into negotiations with the creditors for voluntary settlement hoping thereby to retain their goodwill and the continuance of the old financial relations.

XI. Some General Observations :

The data surveyed depict a sorrowful picture of the financial condition of the

agriculturists in the two talukas. The volume of indebtedness is intolerably high and its incidence on cultivators in general, and on smallholders in particular is utterly ruinous. The cost of credit for the large number of borrowers is high or exorbitant and the other terms and conditions on which loans are advanced are often usurious in character. The burden of debt viewed in a background of famine economy, damps initiative, retards agricultural development and impedes the growth of a progressive peasant community. The enactment of the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act, 1939, would, therefore, appear to be a welcome measure, as the scaling down of debts to within the repaying capacity of the agriculturists, is a necessary condition for the success of any programme of rural reconstruction and development.

This purpose of the Act, however, can be served only in proportion to the number of agricultural debtors applying for the adjustment of debts. But for this to happen on any large scale there should be available to the debtors alternative sources of finance such as co-operative societies in sufficient numbers to enable them to ignore the moneylender, who is reluctant to abide by the provisions of the new legislation, with impunity both for current and long-term finance in good as well as in bad years.

The Bombay Moneylenders Bill, which aimed at regulating the transactions of moneylending, was first published in 1938. (It was subsequently passed into an Act with some amendments in 1946.) The consequent withdrawal from business of a large number of professional and other village moneylenders resulted in a contraction of credit facilities and the emergence of stringent money conditions in rural areas[1]. The enactment of the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act in 1939 aggravated this tendency[2] though the impact of it was not felt due to the subsequent rise in agricultural prices. With the recent steep rise in cost of cultivation and of living, however, the financial requirements of agriculturists have increased enormously. The problem of availability of adequate volume of current agricultural finance at reasonable rates has, therefore, assumed importance again and demands immediate attention.

Although the Co-operative Movement has made rapid progress since 1939, and has made special efforts to find current finance for agriculturists, especially those who have applied for adjustment of their debts, it has not been able to fill the void created by the withdrawal of the moneylenders. The system of granting tagavi loans on government account, though helpful, covers but a fraction of the total financial requirements of the agriculturists. It is reported that the agriculturists in general, and smallholders in particular, are finding it hard to secure finance for both current and long term requirements. Under these circumstances the response from the agriculturist debtors to the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act, as revealed in our survey, is not upto expectations. The agriculturists probably do not relish the idea of antagonising their creditors by resorting to the Board as necessity might soon drive them to seek their financial aid again. A vigorous drive for the creation of new financial agencies and also for a rapid expansion of the Co-operative Movement is, therefore, essential for securing full benefits expected of the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act.

The experience of the debtors in the Pandharpur and Sangola Talukas who have applied for adjustment of debts confirms some of the anticipated fears regarding their lot. We learn that the provision of current finance through co-operative credit societies and tagavi loans has proved inadequate. As a result, it is reported that prospective borrowers are forced, in some instances, to enter into contracts, the terms and conditions of which are rather harsh and severe, for securing loans of even small amounts for agricultural and other needs[3]. If distress is to be avoided, immediate remedial steps are called for.

Legislation for the protection and relief of agriculturist debtors like the Bombay

[1] The fact, however, remains that "in areas where such legislation is in force, it is said that the moneylenders have discontinued lending excepting to old and trusted clients and have restricted their loans to a minimum". (Statutory Report of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India, Para 11.)

[2] Their (i.e. legislation relating to scaling down of debts and the grant of instalments) effect in frightening away credit cannot be minimised. Ibid, Para 12.

[3] "The best of legislations to regulate money-lending may be neutralized by the necessities of the debtor and the greed of the creditor". Legislative Protection and Relief of Agriculturist Debtors in India by K. G. Sivaswamy, P. 182-183.

Agricultural Debtors Relief Act, 1939, the Bombay Moneylenders' Act 1946, thus seem inadequate in themselves to tackle the evil of indebtedness. Though they may regulate the moneylender's dealings and scale down debts, indebtedness must reappear whilst farming continues to yield less than substantial income. With the help of these measures the farmer may, no doubt, recover part of his lost ground, but he cannot hold it long, unless efforts are simultaneously made to rehabilitate agriculture and to transform it from a deficit to a surplus economy through comprehensive agricultural reforms [1]-[2].

APPENDIX I

TABLE SHOWING CLASSIFICATION OF DEBTORS ACCORDING TO SIZE OF HOLDINGS

Size of the Holding	No. of Holders	Total Area Involved Acres	Total amount of indebtedness Rs.	Indebtedness per Holder Rs.	Indebtedness per acre Rs.
Below and upto 5 acres	56	104	19,047	340	183
6 to 10 acres	63	473	34,784	552	74
11 to 15 "	43	528	29,165	678	55
16 to 20 "	28	480	19,001	679	40
21 to 25 "	25	554	20,595	824	37
26 to 30 "	15	417	10,121	675	24
31 to 40 "	28	887	33,435	1,194	38
41 to 50 "	20	910	22,545	1,127	25
51 to 100 "	22	1,497	55,667	2,530	37
Above 100 acres	9	1,289	28,272	3,141	22
Total ..	309	7,139	2,72,632	882	38

[1] "What we wish to emphasise is that the question of credit is intimately connected with an increase in the earning capacity and purchasing power of the farmer, and in this connection the various provincial governments should explore the possibility of finding for him, and inducing him to follow, suitable and profitable side pursuits." Preliminary Report on agricultural credit and finance in India by the Reserve Bank of India, Para 1.

[2] "Where, however, there is chronic indebtedness and debts accumulate because the cultivator's income is not sufficient to leave him a reasonable margin of profit, the mere scaling down of debts cannot provide a permanent cure. Even a limitation on the rate of interest which can be charged by the moneylender (if it can be enforced) is not likely to do much good as the rate of interest is not the only cause of the cultivator's inability to repay. Such chronic indebtedness requires a comprehensive policy aimed at improving the whole life and economic status of the agriculturists." Statutory Report, op. cit. Para 12.

APPENDIX II

TABLE SHOWING RELATION BETWEEN SIZE OF HOLDINGS AND AMOUNT OF TOTAL INDEBTEDNESS

(Amount in Rupees)

(Area in Acres)	0–25	25–75	75–125	125–175	175–225	225–275	275–325	325–375	375–425	425–475	475–525	525–625	625–725	725–825	825–925	925–1025	1025–1225	1225–1425	1425–1625	1625–1825	1825–2025	2025–3025	3025–4025	4025–5025	5025–10025	10025–15000	Total.
0 – ½				1		1				1																	3
½ –1½	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	2				1		1													14
1½ –2½		1	1	1					3			2							1								9
2½ –3½			3	2	4	2	1		1	2			1			1			1								18
3½ –4½		1			1	1	1	3		1		2															10
4½ –5½			1	1	2		1																				5
5½ –6½		3		1	1	2		1	1		1	2	3				1				2						18
6½ –7½				1	4	1					1			1	1		2			1							12
7½ –8½		1		2		1	1	1	2	2				1													11
8½ –9½		1	1		1		1		1		1	3		1		1					1						12
9½–10½		2							1			2					1		1	1							8
10½–12½		1	1		3		1	1	2	1	2		6	1	1	1	1			1	1	1					25
12½–14½		2		1	1	1		1		2	2		1	1	1		1		2			1					17
14½–16½							2				1	1	1	3		1	3										12
16½–18½			2				1			1	1	1	3		1		2	1									13
18½–20½			2							1		1		1	2												7
20½–22½		1	1	1							1	1	2			2			1	1			1	1			13
22½–24½		2	2	1		1						1							1								8
24½–26½					1					1				1					1								4
26½–28½			1	1		2								1				1	1		1						8
28½–30½				1		1						1	1						2								6
30½–35½				1	2			2	2	1			1			1		1	1	1	3	1		1			18
35½–40½				1		1	1				1					2	1	1				1		1			10
40½–49½ ..				1		2				1	1	1		2	1		1		1	1	2	2		1			17
49½–100½			1				1	2		1	1	2	1	2			1	2			1	2	3		1	2	23
100½ and above ..															1		1		1			1	1	1	2		8
Total ..	1	18	18	18	21	17	12	13	13	15	13	21	20	16	8	9	15	6	14	6	11	9	6	4	3	2	309

APPENDIX III

TABLE SHOWING OCCUPATIONWISE CLASSIFICATION OF CREDITORS

	Professional moneylenders	Traders	Agriculturists	Artisans	Others	Cases where no occupation is mentioned	Co-operative Societies and Banks	Total
No. of creditors ..	45	109	223	25	75	19	12	508
Percentage to the total ..	(8·86)	(21·46)	(43·90)	(4·92)	(14·76)	(3·74)	(2·36)	(100)
Amount involved (Rs.) ..	41,155	74,873	1,13,771	6,524	57,994	7,591	2,719	3,04,627
Percentage to the total ..	(13·51)	(24·58)	(37·35)	(2·14)	(19·04)	(2·49)	(0·89)	(100)

APPENDIX IV

DISTRIBUTION OF LOANS ACCORDING TO NATURE OF SECURITY

Amount of loans	Loans taken on mortgage			Loans taken on promissory notes			Loans which make no mention of the security given (including decrees)			Total	
	No. of loans	Total Amount Rs.	Percentage to the total of the same category	No. of loans	Total Amount Rs.	Percentage to the total of the same category	No. of loans	Total Amount Rs.	Percentage to the total of the same category	No. of loans	Total Amount Rs.
1 to 100 ..	20	1,748		114	6,945		54	2,965		188	11,658
101 to 200 ..	52	9,061		68	10,314		16	2,274		136	21,649
Total ..	72	10,809	32·5	182	17,259	51·8	70	5,239	15·7	324	33,307 (100·0)
201 to 300 ..	31	7,913		23	5,873		12	2,884		66	16,670
301 to 400 ..	46	17,309		18	6,432		2	684		66	24,425
401 to 500 ..	37	17,491		13	5,911		2	950		52	24,352
Total ..	114	42,713	65·3	54	18,216	27·8	16	4,518	6·9	184	65,447 (100·0)
501 to 1,000 ..	92	68,666		13	9,066		8	5,661		113	83,393
1,001 to 2,000 ..	32	48,687		7	9,299		2	2,433		41	60,419
Total ..	124	1,17,353	81·6	20	18,365	12·8	10	8,094	5·6	154	1,43,812 (100·0)
2,001 to 5,000 ..	13	35,045	74·2	1	2,200	4·6	3	10,001	21·2	17	47,246 (100·0)
5,001 to 10,000 ..	2	14,815	100							2	14,815 (100·0)
Total ..	325	2,20,735 (72·5)		257	56,040 (18·4)		99	27,852 (9·1)		681	3,04,627 (100)

APPENDIX V

DISTRIBUTION OF LOANS ACCORDING TO RATE OF INTEREST

Interest Rates	Secured Loans		Unsecured Loans		Cases in which no Security is mentioned		Grand Total		Percentage to the total
	No. of loans	Amount Rs.	No. of loans	Amount Rs.	No. of loans	Amount Rs.	No. of loans	Amount Rs.	
1%	2	1,469	..	..	..	..	2	1,469	0·48
2%	2	650	..	..	..	..	2	650	0·21
3%	1	455	3	912	1	59	5	1,426	0·47
4%	1	662	1	85	..	..	2	747	0·24
5%	..	..	..	..	2	338	2	338	0·11
6%	36	24,378	22	6,046	25	16,913	83	47,337	15·54
6¼%	2	1,688	..	..	1	632	3	2,320	0·76
Total ..	44	29,302 (53·98)	26	7,043 (12·97)	29	17,942 (33·05)	99	54,287 (100)	(17·82)
9%	7	2,615	1	105	1	1,136	9	3,856	1·26
12%	95	65,585	114	27,584	11	796	220	93,965	30·85
12½%	..	..	1	200	1	92	2	292	0·09
15%	1	700	1	480	..	..	2	1,180	0·39
18%	11	8,028	9	1,250	1	41	21	9,319	3·06
18¾%	2	500	6	840	1	8	9	1,348	0·44
20%	2	1,037	..	..	..	..	2	1,037	0·34
Total ..	118	78,465 (70·69)	132	30,459 (27·44)	15	2,073 (1·88)	265	1,10,997 (100)	(36·44)
21%	1	1,000	..	..	..	..	1	1,000	0·33
24%	54	31,108	47	9,189	1	50	102	40,347	13·24
27%	1	198	..	..	..	..	1	198	0·06
36%	2	727	2	194	..	..	4	921	0·30
37½%	..	..	4	590	2	78	6	668	0·22
Total ..	58	33,033 (76·58)	53	9,973 (23·12)	3	128 (0·30)	114	43,134 (100)	(14·16)
Damduppata	5	3,575 (87·52)	3	510 (12·48)	..	..	8	4,085 (100)	(1·34)
Annual income in lieu of interest	27	16,147 (100·0)	..	..	..	..	27	16,147 (100)	(5·30)
No interest rate mentioned ..	73	60,213	43	8,055	52	7,709	168	75,977	(24·94)
Grand Total	325	2,20,735	257	56,040	99	27,852	681	3,04,627	(100·00)

APPENDIX VI

TABLE SHOWING INTEREST RATES CHARGED TO SMALL AND MEDIUM LANDHOLDERS ON SECURED AND UNSECURED LOANS

Interest Rates	(0 to 5 Acres)								(6 to 20 Acres)								(21 to 50 Acres)							
	Secured Loans		Unsecured Loans		No Security Mentioned		Grand Total		Secured Loans		Unsecured Loans		No Security Mentioned		Grand Total		Secured Loans		Unsecured Loans		No Security Mentioned		Grand Total	
	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount	No. of Loans	Total Amount
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
1%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1,469	..	..	..	..	2	1,469
2%	1	400	..	..	..	..	1	400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	250	..	..	..	..	1	250
3%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	500	..	..	2	500
4%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	662	..	..	..	..	1	662	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	199	1	199
6%	6	1,739	..	..	..	..	6	1,739	15	10,443	9	2,015	6	1,951	30	14,409	8	5,191	6	2,403	4	1,594	18	9,188
6¼%	1	458	..	..	..	..	1	458	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1,230	..	..	..	..	1	1,230
	8	2,597	..	..	..	..	8	2,597 (13·64)	16	11,105	9	2,015	6	1,951	31	15,071 (18·17)	12	8,140	8	2,903	5	1,793	25	12,836 (14·81)
9%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	275	1	105	1	1,136	3	1,516
12%	10	3,152	6	1,086	1	16	17	4,254	36	19,968	25	5,263	..	..	61	25,231	27	20,273	18	4,663	3	242	48	25,178
12½%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	92	1	92
15%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	700	1	480	..	..	2	1,180
18%	1	150	..	..	..	..	1	150	4	1,724	2	240	..	..	6	1,964	5	4,744	2	395	1	41	8	5,180
18¾%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	500	2	548	..	..	4	1,048	..	..	1	203	..	..	1	203
20%	1	600	..	..	..	..	1	600	1	437	..	..	..	..	1	437	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	12	3,902	6	1,086	1	16	19	5,004 (26·27)	43	22,629	29	6,051	..	..	72	28,680 (34·57)	34	25,992	23	5,846	6	1,511	63	33,349 (38·47)
21%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1,000	..	..	..	..	1	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24%	11	6,113	5	502	..	..	16	6,615	28	13,765	13	2,386	..	..	41	16,151	13	9,433	11	1,855	1	50	25	11,338
27%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	198	..	..	..	..	1	198	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36%	1	246	1	129	..	..	2	375	1	481	..	..	..	..	1	481	..	..	1	65	..	..	1	65
37½%	..	..	..	..	2	78	2	78	..	..	1	44	..	..	1	44	..	..	3	546	..	..	3	546
	12	6,359	6	631	2	78	20	7,068 (37·11)	31	15,444	14	2,430	..	..	45	17,874 (21·55)	13	9,433	15	2,466	1	50	29	11,949 (13·78)
Damduppata ..	1	100	..	..	..	..	1	100	1	950	2	410	..	..	3	1,360	2	900	..	..	..	..	2	900
Annual income in lieu of interest ..	2	499	..	..	..	..	2	499	7	1,698	..	..	..	..	7	1,698	7	6,150	..	..	..	..	7	6,150
No interest rate mentioned ..	7	2,792	2	513	5	474	14	3,779	25	13,706	13	2,907	11	1,659	49	18,272	26	17,258	12	1,966	11	2,291	49	21,515
Total ..	42	16,249	14	2,230	8	568	64	19,047 (100·00)	123	65,532	67	13,813	17	3,610	207	82,955 (100·00)	94	67,873	58	13,181	23	5,645	175	86,699 (100·00)

APPENDIX VII

TABLE SHOWING INTEREST RATES CHARGED BY VARIOUS GROUPS OF CREDITORS ON LOANS WITH OR WITHOUT SECURITY

Interest Rates	AGRICULTURISTS						TRADERS						MONEYLENDERS					
	Secured		Unsecured		No Security mentioned		Secured		Unsecured		No Security mentioned		Secured		Unsecured		No Security mentioned	
	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.
1%	(1)	809	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2%	(1)	400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(1)	250	..	..	..	..
3%	..	..	(2)	500	..	..	(1)	455	(1)	412	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(1)	85	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5%	..	..	..	..	(1)	139	..	..	..	..	(1)	199	..	..	..	..	..	..
6%	(13)	7,219	(8)	1,256	(7)	2,309	(10)	9,729	(8)	4,175	(9)	6,221	(4)	1,023	(1)	64	..	..
6¼%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(1)	632	..	..	..	..	..	..
9%	(3)	750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(1)	1,136	(1)	1,000	..	..	..	..
12%	(49)	29,921	(58)	13,075	(3)	218	(19)	10,691	(21)	5,841	(6)	469	(9)	5,820	(6)	1,413	..	..
12½%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15%	..	..	..	..	..	..	(1)	700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18%	(5)	2,729	(3)	421	..	..	(3)	2,100	(4)	471	..	..	(2)	3,075	..	..	(1)	41
18¾%	(2)	500	(1)	25	..	..	..	..	(4)	771	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20%	(2)	1,037	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24%	(24)	13,590	(26)	5,765	..	..	(10)	6,809	(9)	1,881	(1)	50	(7)	2,696	(1)	40	..	..
27%	(1)	198	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36%	(1)	246	(2)	194	..	..	(1)	481	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37½%	..	..	(1)	196	(1)	50	..	..	..	..	(1)	28	..	..	..	..	..	..
Damduppata ..	(2)	500	(1)	50	..	..	(1)	1,625	(1)	100	..	..	(1)	950	..	..	..	..
Annual income in lieu of interest ..	(13)	5,274	..	..	..	..	(4)	4,000	..	..	..	..	(6)	6,024	..	..	..	..
No interest rate mentioned ..	(28)	22,126	(13)	1,862	(14)	2,418	(13)	11,937	(17)	3,048	(9)	827	(13)	16,749	(4)	394	(5)	716
	145	85,299	115	23,344	26	5,134	63	48,527	66	16,784	29	9,562	44	38,487	12	1,911	6	757

1. Upto 6¼%	12,632	11·1%	1. Upto 6¼% ..	21,008	29·2%	1. Upto 6¼%	2,237	5·4%
2. 9 to 20%	35,601	31·3%	2. 9 to 20% ..	22,179	29·6%	2. 9 to 20%	11,349	27·6%
3. 21% and above ..	20,239	17·8%	3. 21 and above ..	9,249	12·4%	3. 21% to 37½% ..	2,736	6·6%

APPENDIX VIII

CASTEWISE DISTRIBUTION OF DEBTORS

Brahmin	Maratha*	Lingayat	Artisan & Others	Scheduled Caste	Muslim	Miscellaneous	Total
13	246	21	45	72	17	9	423

* Including Malis.

APPENDIX IX

COMMUNITYWISE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1941

	Hindus		Jains	Muslims	Indian Christians	Tribes	Others	Total
	Scheduled Castes	Other Hindus						
Pandharpur	15,145	81,929	1,407	5,369	179	181	15	1,04,225
Sangola	15,619	75,805	169	3,473	7	39	2	95,114
Total :	30,764	1,57,734	1,576	8,842	186	220	17	1,99,339
	1,88,498							

APPENDIX X

CASTEWISE DISTRIBUTION OF CREDITORS

Brahmin	Maratha	Lingayat	Baniya and Gujar	Artisan and Village Servants	Scheduled Caste	Muslim	Miscellaneous	Total
110	154	45	44	82	44	14	3	496

APPENDIX XI

NUMBER AND AMOUNT OF LOANS ACCORDING TO CASTES OF DEBTORS AND CREDITORS

CASTE OF DEBTOR	CASTE OF CREDITOR															
	Brahmin		Maratha		Lingayat		Artisan		Scheduled Caste		Baniya		Miscellaneous		Total	
	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.
Brahmin	10	5,779	10	6,255	1	329	8	3,058	3	737	2	245	..	..	34	16,403
Maratha	93	39,970	151	78,981	27	13,305	60	21,447	22	17,665	40	13,545	9	2,611	402	1,87,524
Lingayat	4	8,338	3	928	15	7,920	6	4,962	1	89	4	4,001	..	..	33	26,238
Artisan	16	10,806	4	745	8	1,450	16	2,797	3	801	6	3,057	1	808	54	20,464
Scheduled Caste ..	23	6,989	10	2,067	15	7,006	19	6,652	21	6,322	10	7,162	4	1,035	102	37,233
Baniya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous	11	2,322	13	3,319	1	167	6	1,814	2	296	3	439	8	5,689	44	14,046
Total ..	157	74,204	191	92,295	67	30,177	115	40,730	52	25,910	65	28,449	22	10,143	669	3,01,908

APPENDIX XII

PLACES OF RESIDENCE OF DEBTORS AND CREDITORS

Debtor and Creditor from the same village		Debtor and Creditor not from the same village but from the same taluka		Debtor and Creditor not from the same taluka but from the Sholapur District		Debtor and Creditor from districts adjoining the Sholapur District		Debtor and Creditor from Indian States adjoining the Sholapur District	
No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.	No. of loans	Total amount Rs.
306	1,22,346	279	1,29,307	76	41,405	8	6,325	12	5,244
	40·16%		42·45%		13·59%		2·08%		1·72%

Total loans 681
Total amount .. .. .. Rs. 3,04,627

APPENDIX XIII

TABLE SHOWING RELIEF SECURED BY DEBTORS

(1)	No. of loans Rs. (2)	Total amount demanded by creditors Rs. (3)	Amount awarded or settled by mutual agreement Rs. (4)	Percentage of (4) to (3) Rs. (5)
Awards	376	1,71,286	82,815	48·35%
Settlements—				
Recorded	88	44,211	26,425	59·77%
Cases dismissed for various reasons	212	85,430	....	....
Others	5	3,700	....	....
Total ..	681	3,04,627	....	....