INDIA: ACCESS TO LABOUR AND NINETEENTH CENTURY MADRAS PRESIDENCY
From the beginning of the 19th century India has been a source of labour, and has supplied labour almost to every part of the world one time or another. On the emancipation of the African slaves, the sugar and the other industries of British, French and other colonies were threatened with ruin, due to the shortage of labour supply. Thus a supply of steady labour had been a need. It was at this movement Indians readily agreed to go there to serve in terms of years. This steady supply would not have been obtained sufficiently from any other part of the world.\footnote{1} In the short run the Indian immigration had an educative effect on those among whom they had come to live. The example of Indian labourers and their competition, had in fact, introduced new habits of industry and improved methods of agriculture.\footnote{2} Majority of the Indians, who remained in different colonies after the expiration of their contract, proved useful in supplying various needs and rendering services to which the other elements of the population were more or less averse.\footnote{3} Indians, though resentful of anything which they considered "injustice", were if properly treated, perfectly docile and easily manageable. After the expiration of their contracts the free immigrants and their descendants were orderly and law-abiding members of the community requiring no special legislation or administrative provision for their governance. They were content to pursue their avocations
without troubling themselves to take part in political movements or agitations.⁴

Maurice S. Evans, an M.L.C. of Durban, who had travelled all over the world, observed "that the Indian is a better cultivator than the Kaffir, that he is a steady, thrifty and law-abiding". He also comments that "the Indian wants full value from his plot and he has no eye to scenic beauty, he wants quick returns".⁵ So it was by these considerations, some sporadic attempts had been made to engage labourers in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras to serve for a term of years elsewhere. The next excitable cause of Indian emigration to other parts of the world was the abolition of slavery.⁶ At first the slave trade was interdicted in 1807 throughout the British empire. However, the imperial government could not make sincere endeavours to improve the condition of those labouring community till 1823. The official plan for the abolition of slavery came into effect only at the end of 1832, that too after heated debates and arguments.⁷ When slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire, the sugar planters in the various colonies urgently needed replacement. These were obtained by the recruitment of indentured labourers, from India, under contracts which bound them to estates for five years without option.
The gender labour exploitation also turned to be a cause for emigration during this period. The decree of Warren Hastings (1772) in converting the Brahmin written law as "the sole legal authority of all Hindus" had a damaging effect on India. The direct impact of this decree was "to subject the lower caste women to the strictures previously suffered only by women of higher caste. Brahmin law laid down the severest restrictions on women in order to preserve the purity of caste. Divorce was not permitted, nor was remarriage even to infant (sic) widows, and female ownership of family land was forbidden". By looking into these traditions and laws, women of this period were subjected to sati, child marriage, female infanticide. They were also forbidden the rights of widow remarriage, inheritance rights, etc. Yet another exploitation of women was, the introduction of provisions for the restitution of conjugal rights. Conjugal rights forced Indian women to stay in marital home or risk custodial penalties and tied women's sexuality even more firmly to the control of men.

During the British rule the army in India consisted of both Indian and British soldiers. The military authorities provided Indian prostitutes for soldiers, in effect running a system of licenced prostitution. The prostitutes were not considered in society as equal as that of a woman in society, but were used as a commodity. When the government
authorities used them in turn they were not given anything. So for a woman of this sort, even her income was very meager. When a male member of a family was earning a nominal wage, a woman was denied the same. Thus the exploitation of women existed during the first half of the 19th century. These causes stimulated the Indian women to migrate elsewhere, so that they could have a secure and independent life with little damage to themselves.

At the beginning emigrants were recruited mainly from the tribal areas of Bengal Presidency and they were called "hill coolies and also known as "dhangars". Along with hill coolies a considerable number of low-caste hindus were also sent to the British colonies. They were mostly ignorant people who were induced to an unknown destination by persuasion and false promises. The character of the emigrants, their class and their castes, changed considerably with the passage of time.

Outside India the sugar-planters of Mauritius were the first to perceive India as their best recruiting ground. As such a shipment of 40 coolies had reached the island of Mauritius in August 1834.\textsuperscript{11} Ceylon had attracted Indian labour from the time of European colonisation. In the process of emigration "between August 1834 and May 1837 (Act V of 1837 to regulate emigration was passed by then) atleast
7,000 emigrants left for Mauritius, of which 200 were women. About hundred men and eight women had left Bombay for Mauritius during the same period. From Calcutta, in-between August 1837 and August 1838, nearly 7,411 (men, women, and children) labourers had left to Mauritius, and 424 to British Guiana, 60 to Bourbon or Reunion, 89 to Australia (the first and last direct from India), 4 to Batavia (silk-winders). From Bombay about 139 labourers went to Mauritius during the year 1838. While Geoghegan reported that the information about Madras was not clear, he seemed to arrive at a conclusion, that around 10,000 labourers should have gone from Madras during the period above mentioned.

Legally, emigration was permitted since 1837 to Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, Natal, Fiji, Reunion (illegally), Australia, Batavia, French West Indies, Burma, Ceylon: etc. successfully. The approximate number of emigrants who left India to other colonies of the British and the French from 1842 to 1870 were around 533,595. Out of which a maximum of 351,401 had left for Mauritius and the rest left to British Guiana 79,691; Trinidad, 42,519; Jamaica, 15,169; Natal, 6,448; to other minor British West Indian colonies such as St. Croix (7,021), Reunion (15,005), French West Indies (16,341). Burma as well as Ceylon
received a large Indian influx in the 19th century. From 1834 to 1859 nearly 903,557 Indians had entered Ceylon and there were more than a million Indians that had left for Burma. The latter group were mostly from the poor and crowded districts of Madras Presidency. For these emigrants the cheap passage was an encouraging factor to leave India. Whatever the numerical strength of emigration, it "had no great effect on the steady increase in the overall population of India." A significant development, not easy to quantify, was the shift in the balance among different religions. In Burma the Indian influx led to an enormous increase in the Hindu element. Similarly in Ceylon Indian immigration added to the existing Tamil community.

Among the Indians the emigrants of the Madras Presidency had some special features. Since they were drawn from a comparatively small area, and the recruiting districts were also nearer to Madras, the control over the recruiters were easy, in comparison with that of the Calcutta recruiters. The people from Madras were also considered as better educated than those of the up-country. They were not liable to be deceived by the recruiters. "The natives of Madras Presidency generally had little prejudice against crossing the sea and the feeling against emigration was not so keen as that of the up-country districts". Yet complaints have frequently been made by various colonies
about the quality of the Madras emigrants. However, the tide of migration from the Madras Presidency became stronger.

While attempting to focus on emigration from Madras Presidency, it is very pertinent to know how despite the poor condition of life at home, emigration waves virtually became a flood? Especially how did political, social and economic conditions at home draw them out of India? In testing this hypothesis it is necessary to trace the varied climate that prepared the people of Madras Presidency to leave India at the dawn of 19th century. The Madras Presidency was formed at the close of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The bulk of the territories under the Government of Madras, with the exception of the Northern circars, the Chingleput Jagir, and a few trading settlements, were acquired by the English East India Company between the years 1792 and 1803. At the end of the war with Tippu in 1792, the company government at Madras obtained a large portion of Kingdom, including Malabar, Salem, and parts of Dindugul. At his death in 1799 there was another considerable accession of territory comprising Coimbatore, Canara, and the Wynad, while administration of Tanjore was taken over from the Raja. In 1800, the Nizam of Hyderabad relinquished the districts of Cuddapah, Bellary
and Kurnool — generally known as the Ceded districts. In 1801 the Nawab of the Carnatic was relieved of his Subah and the districts of Nellore, North Arcot, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly were added to the Company's possessions. The British power thus had been fully established in this presidency.\textsuperscript{23}

No adequate material, for anything beyond a rough estimation of the area, the population and the wealth of villages are available for this period.\textsuperscript{24} "It was indeed an era of land experiments and of high assessments. The era of modern system of survey of classification of soils, the moderate assessment was yet to come, with no industries worth the name. With a languishing cotton manufacture, with low prices and high taxes, the country had in fact become impoverished".\textsuperscript{25} The population of Madras Presidency was as follows.\textsuperscript{26}

\begin{align*}
1801 - 02 & \quad - \quad 9,574,458 \\
1823 - 24 & \quad - \quad 13,476,923 \\
1827 - 28 & \quad - \quad 14,726,690 \\
1830 - 31 & \quad - \quad 15,552,135 \\
1836 - 37 & \quad - \quad 13,967,395 \\
1851 - 52 & \quad - \quad 22,031,697 \\
1856 - 57 & \quad - \quad 22,857,855 \textsuperscript{27}
\end{align*}
The people lived in villages. The villages were very small containing perhaps a hundred acres of land, with just one house and a few huts. Some villages had one to ten houses. However, these villages were fortified with mud walls. Some villages were fortified with fort and rampart. Villages formed distinctive self-sufficing societies by themselves. Every village had a corporate unit and had a machinery of local administration composed of hereditary servants. It was due to this that the greater part of the difficulties of the company's administration arose from the unfamiliarity of the rulers with the people's customs and character.28 There again "the ill-paid English writers and factors (sic) who carried on extensive trade of their own, found themselves suddenly transformed into governors of provinces and they behaved as worst oppressors of people than most of the local rulers".29

The social customs of the people of this period evolved through centuries. At the time, when the impact of the foreign rule was in promoting the application of reason, people lived in the same traditional way observing the same old customs.30 Women were totally without education. Parents felt that the smallest expense attending the education of girl would be a foolish waste of money, productive of good to no one.31 The practice of selling young girls to dancing 'homes', to be brought up as
prostitutes was also very much in practice. Marriages were conducted at a very early age. The bride and bridegroom were usually not more than ten years of age, and were seldom more than twelve. Sati was practiced previously for a long period. Such tyranny of social customs caused many a suicide among women. The proposal to abolish this evil was first made by C.M. Lushington in Tanjore and Trichinopoly as magistrate in 1813 and 1818 respectively. But government on both these occasions authorised him to discourage this practice only on persuasion. 32 This evil was in practice to a considerable extent even in the districts of Ganjam, Masulipatam, Chitoor and Canara. After a thorough study and long discussions, an act was passed (Act I of 1830) for the abolition of sati in the Madras Presidency. 33 The re-marriage of widows were prohibited by custom among most Hindu castes.

Slave trade was widely prevalent in this Presidency. The British had noticed slave trade in 1790 at Ganjam and other Telugu districts. They even issued a proclamation to forbid such traffic. 34 Baber, the Magistrate of Malabar, during this time reported instances of "kidnaping of children from Travancore to Malabar, and selling them as slaves." 35 The Magistrate of Tanjore had also reported the transport of these children by sea. 36 The collector of
Trichinopoly had reported about the kidnapping and absconding of the 'pallar' community people. This trade was banned only around 1820's.

"Untouchability and unapproachability was another evil which ravaged the land. Not only men, but inert objects belonging to the higher castes also were subjects of ritual and distance pollution". Temples, houses, roads, wells, schools, markets, courts, post offices, and other public and private offices managed by caste Hindus all came under the category of prohibited objects for the approach or touch by outcastes all over the Presidency. Even today this pitiable evil exists in many parts of India, and a regular ordinary reader of India's news papers could easily confirm this.

Traditionally speaking, all castes and communities observed certain marriage taboos. It has been the general practice for the members of a caste or community to marry from within the same caste or community. This has been maintained by some people, traditionally. However, in recent times this tradition has been diluted due to economic reasons. Intermarriage with a daughter of maternal uncle or parental aunt was not only very much prevalent, but was even claimed as a matter of right on either side in some classes. In order to avoid the break-up of family relations, even at
a very early age (at the age of 2 or 3) marriages were conducted. Marriage with a sister's daughter was also common.

The common dress of a male consisted of a dhoti and a shirt (only few higher caste men) or 'jubba'. The common attire of a female consisted of a saree and a blouse (rarely). The length of the saree was about eight yards. Most of the low caste men wore turban. Cotton was the only available material for the dress. The staple food of the people was rice, ragi, cholam, cumbu and horsegram were also a part of staple items for the villagers.

Among the major religious groups, hindus consisted the bulk followed by the muslims. The christians came third in their numerical strength. Brahmins in the society among the hindus, were considered as superior in caste. There were many sub-sects and sub-sects among them. The major non-brahmin communities were Vellalas, Vanniar, Nadars, Agamudaiyars, Udaiyars, Kapus, Kammas or Kammalas, Tottiars, Vakkaligars, Komatiars, Mudaliars, Chettiyars, Deganga weavers, Saurashtra weavers, Idayars, Yadhavas, Kurumbas, Sembadavars, Vettuvans, Pallars, Kallars, Kusavars, Oddars, Nairs, Menon etc. Next to them were the depressed classes i.e. Cherumas, Pulayas, Kanakkans, Paraiahs, Malayar, Kadar, Nayadis, etc. They were considered
and believed to be the slaves of the higher communities, who frequently subjected them to inhuman punishment in case of disobedience or negligence. The slavish nature of these people did not emancipate them till 1854.

The literacy rate of the people of the Presidency during this time was a pitiable one. During the Governorship of Thomas Munro an educational enquiry was conducted and the following reports were made to the government: "The collector of Canara reported that there were no schools or colleges in his district, and education, according to the collector, was at the lowest ebb". If at all there was anything called education it was restricted to a few Brahmins and muslims. In all other districts, indigenous institutions of learning existed, which taught them simply to read and write in mother tongue, with some basic arithmetic. Campbell, the collector of Bellary ascribed that the greater part of the middle and lower classes of the people were unable to defray the expenses incur upon the education of their children, while their necessities required the assistance of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour.

The first educational effort under the British rule was made in 1813, when the British government sanctioned a lakh of rupees for the promotion of education. In the 1820's
collectorate and Tahsildary schools were established apart from the missionary schools. In 1826, there were 12,498 schools to a population of 12,850,941. Thus there was roughly one school for every 1000 of the population. The male-female ratio of receiving education in schools was 67:1. The females were taught only dancing, nothing else.\textsuperscript{45}

The economic condition of the Madras Presidency was declining during the first half of the 19th century. "There was no indigenous Indian governing class ... waiting in the wings with a conception of an Indian national interest, still less with ideas of how one might develop and modernize industry".\textsuperscript{46} While there was a small, but active entrepreneurial Indian community, it neither received support from the British nor infused other communities on the surrounding provinces with the industrial and commercial ambitions.\textsuperscript{47} The growth of the markets did not have a wide impact on India during this time: The opium trade and the market for indenture labour had their primary effect outside India. The overwhelming majority of Indians were isolated in their village communities beyond involvement in British-induced market changes.\textsuperscript{48}

Within 24 years there were no less than four famines - 1799, 1804-7, 1811-12 and 1824. Nine years later in 1833-34 occurred the Guntur famine, which had a more destructive...
effect.⁴⁹ In 1835, 1836 and 1837 the season was described as 'unfavourable', and in 1838, 1839 and 1840 as 'calamitas'.⁵⁰ The population of Bellary district which in 1830 had been 695,016 had decreased in 1842 to 533,836.⁵¹ It may be because of death due to starvation and migration to other parts of the presidency and to other British colonies. The North Arcot collector Bourdillon reported in 1850 that the condition of the ryots are worse than they were at the beginning of this century. The great body of them are certainly poor; their food is deficient in quantity as well as coarse; their clothing is scanty and poor, and their dwellings extremely mean; all this combined with gross ignorance.⁵² In Masulipatam a survey revealed a depressing state of poverty and misery in village after village. In Madura alone 5,000 weavers have had no means to take more than one meal of rice a day. Even in Malabar there was the same melancholy depression and decline.⁵³

The work and the wages of labourers of this period seem to range between extremes. In Canara labourers worked from sunrise to sunset with a short interval of 20 minutes, for their mid-day meal. Payment for labour was largely in kind and occasionally supplemented by cash.⁵⁴ The casual labourer had a most inadequate and precarious livelihood, especially in the slack season, while the yearly labourer was a little better off. The Dindugul collector reported that no
labouring man or woman can procure by the value of his or her labour a full supply of the bare essentials of life.\textsuperscript{55} The agricultural labourer received the smallest possible wage. If he received cash it varied from Rs.12 to 20 per annum. The Guntur collector observed that "those who were paid in kind received food, two cloths, a turban, a pair of sandals and Rs.4 per annum".\textsuperscript{56} Taking the earnings of a labourer at the highest rate viz. Rupees 20 a year, his counterpart in England was earning an average of L 28 a year (i.e. 56 rupees). In south Arcot the price of a family (serf) varied from Rs.35 to 175. In Malabar the price of a serf and his wife varied from 200 to 300 'fanams' i.e. 15-23 rupees.\textsuperscript{57}

"In 1837 transport and transit conditions were not in essence very different from those of 1737 which were not so very different from those of 1637".\textsuperscript{58} There were only thirteen agency houses in 1839 listed as doing business in Madras. Madras had just nine or ten dailies or weeklies of one kind or another.\textsuperscript{59} Transport and communication during this period was meagre. Apart from the great rivers and the ocean there were no means whereby people or goods could travel long distances. While the first line of railway, from Bombay to Thana, was opened in 1853, and the first section line from Calcutta to Raniganj opened in 1855,\textsuperscript{60} the first
motor vehicle in India appeared only in 1898. In consequence of the lack of transport and communication, there were great variations in prices and wages; each neighbourhood fixed its own levels. In the case of crop failure, the local population might starve when in another part of India there was no shortage. Postal service was maintained by means of dak (sic) - runners, tappal, and camel harkaras. Sea journey between Calcutta starting 18th August reached Riddel in Madras on 6th September in spite of the south west monsoon". It was on July 12th 1823, the Honorable Company's steamer Diana was launched at Kyd's dock at Kidderpor, the first vessel propelled by steam and paddles to be navigated east of the cape. Other river streamers followed, the Irrawady and Ganges being launched in 1827.

Ludlow J.M. in his 'British India, Its Races and its History' has mentioned that "in one district of extreme fertility - one of the finest cotton-fields in South India - measuring 13,000 square miles there is nothing that deserves the name of a road; and the so called trunk road is so bad". He also stated that "the entire extent of road practicable for bullock-carts scarcely exceeds 3,000 miles for the entire Madras Presidency; mostly without bridges, impracticable in wet weather, tedious and dangerous in the dry season".
The plight of the agricultural community of this period cannot be expressed in words. Though the successful pursuit of any agricultural community required capital in land, capital in stock and in labour and all these functions should be combined in one person so that the labourer's economy could be sound. But often times the three mentioned functions were found separated as the owner of the land being an active or sleeping partner; the supervisory part or all of the stock belonging to a tenet farmer; while a wage-earner supplied the labour.\textsuperscript{65} Thus there existed a class of owners of land as distinct from actual cultivators. The privileged position was usually justified by their performance of some special service to the community, military, civil or ecclesiastic, by the owner of the land.\textsuperscript{66}

In the village communities, the ownership of the land vested in the Kaniyatchis or Mirasdars and the supervision of cultivation with the payakaris or tenants, some of whom were known as Ulkudi Payakaris - who in course of time had the permanent right of occupancy of land. Below these was a class of landless labourers whose wages were paid in kind.\textsuperscript{67}

Much of the best land in some of the districts were lying waste, because those areas were under-populated. This meant there was more land than cultivators; those who owned agricultural land were looking for tenants, while the farmer
or labourer discontented with his land-lord could always move elsewhere. The result was steady decrease of revenue in those divisions. There again for example the collector of Trichinopoly in 1802 reported the British authorities the way in which the Revenue administration of the district under the Nawab functioned. The government tax on wet lands was received in grain and the whole of the grain produced was a strict government monopoly, so strict indeed, that if one ryot lent to another a small quantity of grain for consumption, he was severely fined. "The ryots were compelled to pay in grain even the taxes on 'Swarnadayam' (money-rented) or garden lands which were ordinarily payable in money. The grain was taken from the 'Mirasdars' at a valuation of 7 or 8 'fanam' per kalam and sold back to the government granaries at 9 or 10 fanams per kalam".

Even petty Poligars of this area levied customs duty on goods passing through his estate. Under the designation 'Moturpha' taxes were levied on all artisans and labourers and these were the hardest on the poorest classes. There were no court of Justice to check the mal-administration in the local divisions and the settlement of disputes were being left entirely to the villagers themselves, and to the heads of castes and clans, who in turn were very favourable towards the rich, and to their community people.
The Madras Judicial system besides involving large unnecessary expense, its processes were slow, complicated and imperfect. Periods of six, eight, nine and eleven years elapsed before suits were finally decided in the company's highest court. There was an absence of sound Judicial capacity in the presiding officers, especially those in the lower tribunals. All those who were too incompetent for the Revenue department, were transferred into Judges and dispensers, of criminal and civil law in the provinces.\textsuperscript{72}

Instances of torture employed by Revenue Officers for the purpose of collecting government dues were also reported at this time, a committee for the investigation of alleged cases of torture in the Madras Presidency reveals the plight of the tax payers and land holders. Though they "made use of torture generally towards the land holders who made delay or refused to pay kist",\textsuperscript{73} the ordinary poor class people also were being victimised for several reasons. The personal violence was employed arbitrarily for the purpose of exacting revenue. Different instruments were used in different places as instrument of torture, such as canes, ferrules, whips etc. Rev. C.F. Muzzy of Madura mentioned in his report, about the instrument of torture, which he found for the first time on 4th December 1844. "The instrument was composed of four or five thongs of leather, four or three feet long and used as a scourge or whip".\textsuperscript{74} Another
missionary stated that "he had seen daily that the prisoners were beaten, flogged and illtreated" and "for the purpose of extorting confession from women, a disgusting application of red-pepper also being employed"\textsuperscript{75} on their eyes.

Tahsildars and revenue officials also used to trouble the ryots by exercising and abusing the powers vested in them as a police officer. This practice prevailed everywhere. The only district where the Revenue officers, did not misuse their power was Madras as they had a fear of police authorities. A.M. Simpson, who spent 17 years in India complained to the Commission that "a dozen ryots who were in arrears of Kist (sic), in Telugu region, underwent the ordeal - they were all ranged in the court yard under a meridian sun in the hottest period of the years. They all had heavy stones placed either on their heads or on their backs between the shoulders. Their bodies were bent double, standing on one leg for two hours"\textsuperscript{76}. The Torture Commission report concluded that "out of 496 cases of abuses which reached the commission (thousands people would not have reported out of fear), 314 were considered important - in which torture was being used. Hence, the Torture Report proved "that before the native officials, neither life nor property could be safe"\textsuperscript{77}.  

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The ordinary outward marks of good government are, firstly protection of person and property, secondly honest and efficient Justice, thirdly, an inoppressive fiscal system, fourthly encouragement to agriculture, industry and trade and finally a thriving and contented people. But the 19th century Madras Presidency did not have any of these. The police being all under the collector was always more attentive to the exaction of revenue than the preservation of the lives and property of the people ... burglaries, highway and gang robberies were more or less prevalent in every district. The Collectors' 'native' deputies were always able to trump up false accusations, and to involve any number of persons in their charges. They imprisoned all cultivators who resisted their demands and carried them away in custody from place to place, until they could coerce them to obedience; those petitions complaining of such grievances were referred from office to office, without even justice being done.

Thus, the subjects of the English at Madras Presidency during the first half of the 19th century were pressed down by a heavy load of taxes, which rendered them too poor to buy even the Company's salt for their miserable food of boiled rice and wild herbs. Whereas the French subjects at Pondichery lived in an area of 188 square miles, a population consisting of about 203,887, were lightly taxed,
thriving, and 'Frenchified' to an amusing degree. The only blot upon the credit of the French rule in India was the kidnapping or inveiglement upon the natives of British India. The international rivalry between emerging causes of Sugar production evidenced capitalist methods to acquire labour wherever available. Mauritius, as a sugar island in the making proved attractive to labour, giving it a sense of place that marked it out in the world map.


2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Neame L.E., Asiatic Danger in the colonies, George Routledge & Sons Ltd., London, 1907, p.17


8. Joanna Liddle, & Rama Joshi, Gender and Imperialism in British India, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XX, No.43, October 26, 1985, p. Ws-73

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

12. Ibid., p.1

13. Ibid., p.5

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., p.70


18. Ibid., p.104

19. Ibid.


21. Ibid.


23. Ibid.


29. Ibid.


33. Ibid., p.261

34. Dharma Kumar, Op.cit., p.66


36. Ibid., p.260


38. Ibid.


40. Ibid., p.131


42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p.62


47. Ibid., p.171

48. Ibid., p.167


50. Ibid., p.17

51. Ibid.
52. Ibid., p.18
53. Ibid., p.181
55. Ibid., p.267
56. Ibid., p.268
57. Ibid., p.270
59. Ibid., p.78
62. Ibid., p.419
63. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., p.23
74. Ibid., p.18
75. Ibid., p.19
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
79. Ibid., p.284
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., p.315
82. Ibid., p.93
83. Ibid.