CHAPTER V

'NASCENT-CAPITALISM' AND LAND-OWNERSHIP

(A.D. 1850 to 1870)

"Colonial Economy" favoured the interests of the British-manufacturers and this crippled the economy of India and paved the way to "Depression". The Company designed ways and means to enrich itself. Marx wrote "The historic-pages of their role in India, report hardly anything beyond their destruction."¹ The policies of the Company adversely affected agrarian-economy of Tanjore. The traditional "Communal-ownership" was yielding place to "Individual ownership" of land. 'Money economy' had replaced earlier means of transactions. The ryots reeled under the severity of assessments. The petty-land-owners were practically crushed. The principal land-owners seized their lands and "Economic inequality" was on the increase.

The Economic scene changed with efflux of time. Capitalistic features like 'Industrialisation' gathered momentum. Infra-structure to cope up with the

new mode of production came into currency. At Home, (England) a section of the British manufacturers were not in favour of "Revolutionary changes". They wanted to preserve India as a "Monopoly Market" for their products. They wanted to exploit India's vast natural resources, by exporting raw-material in exchange for manufactured goods. As this section of British-manufacturers still wielded considerable influence at Home, the Indian Government was forced to adopt a policy of non-encouragement or even discouragement of Indian Industries, Agriculture, remained as the mainstay of the Indian-economy.

Though 'Industrialisation' was deferred, other capitalistic features of the 'neo-economic experiment' found their way into the Indian soil. The initiation of the new experiment was undertaken by a section of British capitalists. Scarcity of indigenous capital, shyness or reluctance to venture into new fields, and similar other considerations thwarted Native enterprise. On the other hand, the British capital had not been completely absorbed in its Homeland. It was seeking fresh outlets

for investment. The Manchester-Cotton Supply Association was the first to suggest to the Indian ruling class, to reorganise Irrigation and Communication so as to invite British capitalists to invest in India. India had almost become a British possession and afforded security and attraction to the flow of capital. Administrators like Dalhousie improved transport and communications. The Proclamation of A.D.1858, spoke of the necessity of "providing industrial development in India."

The British capitalists are the chief promoters and pioneers of modern industries in India. But, the total investment of British capital was small. Mercantile-banking that arose in the first half of the Nineteenth century was mostly financed by the British Indian officials out of their savings. It was only after A.D.1857, that the British capital began to pour into India in significant amounts. Such investments facilitated penetration of

3. Ibid., p.90.
British-made goods in the Indian market. The coming of Railways heralded the entry of modern machines into India and during 1850's, Cotton, Jute, Textiles and Coal-industries were started. It was this changing economic climate that had its impact on the agrarian economy. Plantation-industries like Tea, Coffee and Indigo were introduced. They were exclusively European in ownership. Such industries were established in other British-Colonies too, and the workers there had to be supplied food and other requirements. This situation had its effect on the land-ownership of wet-districts, like Tanjore. K. Gough's observation that "there developed a new feature of merchant-capitalism among the principal land-owners of the District" is legitimate. The land-owners had now the chance of exporting rice to other areas in India and also overseas. This gave them the opportunity to enrich themselves and enhance their social status.

The British-administrators had to adopt a policy that would fetch them the maximum revenue under the new economic climate. Marx commented "Till now, they had only exceptional interest in the progress of the country. The aristocracy wanted to conquer the country, the monopo-

The remaining sixteen teaching items viz. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33 and 35 have been answered correctly by 50% to 66% of subjects.

It is also seen that Teaching Item No. 7 is the most difficult one and Teaching Item No. 1 is the easiest one.

The results of the remedial programme are presented in Chapter VII.

**Standard VII Test - (Form A)**

Standard VII - test (Form A) was administered to 462 pupils as indicated in the previous chapter.

**Distribution of Test Scores of 462 pupils**

The total scores obtained by 462 pupils are presented in a frequency distribution in class intervals of five. The frequency distribution is presented as Appendix XX. The frequency distribution is represented graphically vide Graph III. The results are also shown in Appendix XX. The mean and the Standard Deviation are 35.58 and 14.95 respectively.

**Skewness**

The skewness is 0.545 i.e. the distribution is positively skewed. This shows relatively poor performance by the group with reference to the test.
2. Principal landowners became more affluent.
3. Changes were brought about in the administration of Temple lands.

The East-India Company delayed the introduction and improvement of irrigational facilities. The Chola-Kings have made substantial contributions. The major dam known as Grand-Anicut (Kallanai) was constructed as early as the first-century A.D. In the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, the traditional irrigation works were very much damaged by frequent wars. As early as A.D. 1800, Buchanan said "Madras is rich in reservoirs, of tanks built by old Rajas; and a systematic restoration and preservation of these ancient-works and the new-works of the same kind were most needed". In the early parts of the Nineteenth Century the British Government was concentrating on Wars and consolidation of the Empire. It had no time to think of the material progress of the people. The Industrial-Revolution in England created the demand for Indian raw-materials. The British plantations created demand for food-stuffs. The Indian Government under such circumstances thought of improvement of Irrigation and Communication.

There was ample scope for large-scale cultivation in Gōḍāvari, Kāvēri and Krishna tracts. The possibility of utilising these great rivers and irrigating their deltas, were understood by British engineers like Arthur-Cotton. River Kāvēri in the Madras Presidency did not fail to claim their attention. Referring to the Grand-Anaicult, the Bengal engineer Colonel-Saird Smith remarked that "this was not a proper Anaicut". In 1830's the main bed of Kāvēri was so badly silted that it threatened to overflow and flood its major tributary, the Colerōn. This demanded immediate attention of the authorities. The unequal distribution of water into the two main streams had to be checked. This called for the construction of a major work in A.D.1836 and the "Upper Anaicut" on the head of Colerōn was built. In the year A.D.1843, sluices were enlarged on the recommendation of Colonel Sim, a Company servant. In A.D.1845, Kāveri-Regulatory Dam was constructed by the Superintending Engineer Captain Lawford. By the second-half of the

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p.329
Nineteenth Century a net-work of irrigation had been completed in Tanjore District; the following were the important works: 17

1. The Grand Anaicut,
2. The Upper Coleron Anaicut,
3. The Lower Coleron Anaicut,
4. The Kāvēri Regulatory Dam,
5. The Vennār Regulatory Dam,
6. The VelKKēr Regulatory Dam,
7. The Kudamurutti Regulatory Dam,
8. The Arisilāru Regulatory Dam,
9. The VeeraChōlan Regulatory Dam,
10. The Kōraiyaṟu Regulatory Dam,
11. The Veliyaṟu Regulatory Dam,
12. The Pāndavayāṟu Regulatory Dam,
13. The KachChamkulam Anaicut.

There were 4635 canals irrigating the wet-lands. In addition, there were about 904 tanks irrigating the dry-lands of Pattukkōttai, Tiruvādi, and Mannārkudi. There were also 9959 wells where there was no possibility of canal or tank irrigation. 18

17. Ibid., p.322.
With the improvement and improvisation of irrigational facilities, the area of land under cultivation improved. The Company administration was happy over the increase in their revenue. The effects were felt even in the very next year after the construction of Upper Anaicut. 19

TABLE

| VÉLIS |
|---|---|
| The extent of cultivations of Nanjaland in Fas'li 1244 - i.e. the year before the construction of the Anaicut | 92937 |
| In the Fas'li 1247, the year after the construction of the Anaicut | 94102 |
| Net increase in the year 1837 | 1265 |

The Sub-collector at Māyavaram reported that a considerable area of waste-lands including Nanja and Runja areas have been brought into cultivation as a result of the construction of upper Anaicut. 20 The Table given hereunder gives an idea of the increase of land under cultivation six years after the construction of the Anaicut. 21

19. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue dated 25-6-1840
   Jumma for fūsly 1248 Tanjore district Vol.(1703)
   p.7530(T.N.A.)


21. Proceedings of Board of Revenue dated 4.1.1844
| Lands Cultivated previously to construction of Anaikat and the Bériz as per standard | Lands cultivated since the construction of Anaikat and then Bériz as per Standard | Increase | Percentage of Standard Bériz. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fusli | Extent véli | Beriz Rs. | Fusli | Extent véli | Beriz Rs. | Extent véli | Beriz |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| 1240 | 82,023 | 88,13,987 | 1247 | 86,692 | 29,74,167 |
| 1241 | 82,318 | 20,24,106 | 1248 | 87,183 | 29,91,012 |
| 1242 | 84,508 | 28,99,240 | 1249 | 86,253 | 30,27,720 |
| 1243 | 82,548 | 28,31,997 | 1250 | 88,471 | 30,35,200 |
| 1244 | 85,407 | 29,30,082 | 1251 | 99,810 | 30,81,138 |
| 1245 | 84,682 | 29,05,210 | 1252 | 89,567 | 30,72,630 |
| Total | 501,486 | 1,72,04,622 | 529,971 | 181,81,868 |
| Average | 83,581 | 28,67,437 | 88,323 | 30,30,311 | 4747 | 162874 | 5 21/32 % |

Increase of Fusli 1252 above the average of six years to the construction of Anaikat: 5981 205193 7 5/32 %

Fusli 1246 was the year in which the upper Anaikat was constructed. The extent of cultivation in the year was 80537 vélis and the collection of Bériz was Rs. 28,63,302.
The TABLE reveals that in the six years after the construction of the Anaicut, the average increase of land was 4747 vélis and in the year under Report (1837), the increase was 5981 vélis.

As a consequence of the construction of other dams, the total extent of irrigated land in Fasli 1260 (1850-51) had increased to 1,35,124 vélis that is 670,000 acres yielding an average revenue of thirty-nine lakhs of rupees to Government. 22 In the year A.D. 1853, about 76% of Tanjore's cultivated-land was irrigated for wet-rice cultivation, the total cultivated acreage having expanded to 44% and wet-acreage by 57% since A.D. 1807. 23 By A.D. 1882-83, the aggregate area irrigated in Tanjore-District (excluding zamindāri, for which we have no figures) perusing available statistics can be estimated to be 965,878 acres of which about 869,658 acres are irrigated from River-channels and about 96,222 acres from tanks.

The total land-revenue of the District excluding miscellaneous items Jōdi (Quit-rent) was Rs. 4378690 of which

23. See Appendix No. III
Rs. 3870578 was obtained directly from irrigation. 24

Extention of area under the plough was followed by large-scale transfer of lands by means of sales. 25 An increase in the number of new occupants (land-ownership) is recorded and amounts to 1502 in one single year: 26

Total number of land-owners in Pašli 1260 (1850-51) 97281

Total number of land-owners in Pašli 1259 (1849 - 50) 95779

1502

In the year A.D.1853, the total number of land-owners increased to 101025. Five-thousand two-hundred and forty-six owners have been added since 1849 - 50. 27 Annually, there had been considerable increase in land-ownership, over a certain period as indicated by the statistics available.


Reclamation of waste-lands and their conversion into arable also contributed to the increase in the number of land-owners. This swelled the number of Pycâries, who became land-owners. The Company's Government adopted the policy of favouring Pycâries and assigned lands to them. This policy met with great opposition. In pre-British days such a proposition had not arisen. In medieval times too 'Surplus-land' was available, but such lands did not command as much value as in the days of the Company's rule. The native Indian-rulers have not been so keen as the British, to enhance income from land-revenue. In the Eighteenth-century, native rulers were engaged in wars that they hardly found time to think of irrigational facilities. Lands were left to the care of village-communities, who were held responsible for the payment of revenue assessed on them. The rulers did not claim authority on waste. "Acting on this precedent, the British Government for some time, at its various revenue-settlements had seldom interfered to reduce the excessive waste and reapportion these uncultivated lands among the various communities in this District as elsewhere." Later experience, however was bitter to the

Note on the discussions in the Madras presidency as regards preferential rights of Mirâsdars and Resident Ryots to cultivable Waste-lands in their villages as against strangers and final settlement on the question.

British. They found it difficult to collect Revenue-dues and land began to lose its value that it originally commanded: This is proved by the Chart of land-prices in different years. The British brought waste-lands under the pressure of the plough with the object of increasing the revenue. A vast area of land remained uncultivated in every village under the control of Mirāsīs. As early as A.D.1830, Kindersley, the collector of Tanjore took a survey. The Survey furnished statistics about the extent of waste-lands under different categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>As per old Measurement</th>
<th>As per Puimush</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acres</td>
<td>Acres</td>
<td>Acres</td>
<td>Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer Cultivation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nsei</td>
<td>717,027</td>
<td>807,615</td>
<td>+ 90,588</td>
<td>12.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nsei</td>
<td>312,696</td>
<td>306,434</td>
<td>- 6,262</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agayat</td>
<td>24,555</td>
<td>36,835</td>
<td>+ 12,280</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>36,670</td>
<td>32,848</td>
<td>- 3,822</td>
<td>10.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,090,948</td>
<td>1,183,732</td>
<td>+ 92,784</td>
<td>8.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekal (reclaimed but cultivated at the time of survey)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadi (immemorial)</td>
<td>80,201</td>
<td>126,587</td>
<td>+ 46,386</td>
<td>57.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>221,217</td>
<td>479,954</td>
<td>+258,737</td>
<td>116.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gramboke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base sites</td>
<td>9,887</td>
<td>6,898</td>
<td>- 2,989</td>
<td>30.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backyards</td>
<td>42,524</td>
<td>30,473</td>
<td>12,051</td>
<td>28.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sani (Field Banks)</td>
<td>451,741</td>
<td>22,942</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reserves</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,037,547</td>
<td>+ 74,748</td>
<td>16.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>504,152</td>
<td>563,860</td>
<td>+ 59,708</td>
<td>11.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Square Miles</td>
<td>1,816,317</td>
<td>227,540</td>
<td>+411,229</td>
<td>22.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0. Appendix No. IV
This Chart reveals that fifty-percent of the total extent of lands belonged to waste, out of which 479,954 acres were 'Seikal', Anadi Corambu-Categories of 'Cultivable Waste.'

Rights over the 'Wastes' have been retained by the Mirāsdārs from time immemorial. The Claim of such rights was more pronounced in Tanjore and Chingleput where Mirāsi-tenure prevailed. H.S. Maine writes that in those days "property in land was vested in Village-Communities whose rights extended not only to cultivable-lands but also waste-lands of the village and the customs and forms of property derived from the tenure survived even to this day on the greater part of India." Ellis said "Mirāsi right wherever it extends, extends certainly to waste-lands also". The problem faced by the Company's Government was to bring the cultivable waste-lands from the control of the Mirāsdārs in every village. As said earlier, in their attempt to assign them to Pycāris, they met with

32. **Seikal**: Cultivation of this variety was easier: **Anadi Corambu**: Required just surface-cleaning.

33. **Mirāsi Papers**: Replies of Ellis submitted to the Board dated 30.5.1816, p.184.


opposition. To achieve these ends, they had to ignore the privileges enjoyed by the Mirāsdars. This was a delicate problem, and the Government had to deal with it, with extra caution. The Government desired to avoid direct confrontation with the traditional Mirāsdars. The view expressed by the Court of Directors in A.D.1841 lends support to the claim. They said "In all cases where Pycāries proposed to cultivate the waste-lands of a Mirāsi-village, their proposal should first be communicated or conveyed to the Mirāsdars. In the event of their willingness and security being given to them(to the strangers) the Government had to derive revenue from the strangers for the conversion by waste into arable lands." There had been frequent exchanges of views between the Collector of Tanjore and the secretary, Board of Revenue on this question. The latter wrote to the collector "the rights of the Government over waste-land had been acknowledged everywhere and in Tanjore this should not be questioned, except the Mirāsdars in consenting the Sircar making over the lands to the 'purāgūdies for cultivation'.

37. Mirāsi Papers: LXXVII Extract from a despatch from the Court of Directors dated 3.7.1844, p.478
38. Mirāsi Papers: LXXIV. From Secretary, Board of Revenue 9th September 1841 to the Collector of Tanjore dated 9th September 1841, p.472.
It was also directed that if a Mīrāśdār had left his cultivated land waste, it should be the duty of the Revenue-officers to get the same cultivated by means of any other ryots who would be retained to allow the lands and enjoy the same as long as they continued to pay sircār dues. 39 But the Collector by experience found some other difficulties on specific questions like
(a) Whether the consent or refusal of Mīrāśdārs was necessary while granting lands to strangers,
(b) Whether the offer of a stranger is to be accepted by government if more favourable than that of Mīrāśdārs.

The Government thereupon clarified that it was the custom to give options to the ancient Mīrāśdārs. At the same time if these Mīrāśdārs could by themselves or through others undertake to cultivate the waste-lands, there was no difficulty. The Government directed the Collector to apply the rule only if the Mīrāśdārs could not do the cultivation of waste-lands or neglect to do so. "Then these lands should be given to any stranger who would choose to undertake it." 40

At the other end, the Mīrāśdārs were making attempts to nullify the Government's policy on waste-land.

There were also cases of Mirāsdārs preventing the strangers occupying the waste-lands in their villages. When this was reported, the Government ordered that the Mirāsdārs had no claim over the lands reclaimed by others.  

To encourage strangers in occupying waste-lands, regular Pattās were also issued to them without forcing them to become subtenants.  

The Board also ordered the collectors to take the necessary steps on those Mirāsdārs who persisted in retaining waste-lands.  

As a result, in the third quarter of the Nineteenth Century, the Cultivable waste-lands were distributed to a number of Pycāries. The Settlement Reports bear testimony to this fact. The Chart given hereunder gives statistical details of Pycāries becoming land-owners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Traditional Ryots</th>
<th>Pycāries</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1856-57</td>
<td>62056</td>
<td>38969</td>
<td>101025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857-58</td>
<td>67053</td>
<td>40709</td>
<td>107762</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


43. Ibid.,


The increase is in the number of petty landowners. This is sustained by the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1853-54</th>
<th>1875-76</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Total Land-owners</td>
<td>1875-76 percentage of Total Land-owners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ryots who pay below Rs.10/- as rent</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ryots who pay rent between Rs.10/- and 30/-</td>
<td>19.47</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the creation of petty landowners, the position and status of the big landowners had seldom been reduced. 'Merchant Capitalism' favoured the growth of rich landowners at the cost of the existing petty landowners who were groaning under the weight of British Revenue-Policy. The influence of the Philosophy of 'Merchant-Capitalism' was felt in the Tanjore district only in the second-half of the Nineteenth Century. Europeans came forward to invest in plantations in the Colonies even during the first half of the nineteenth-century. In the second-half, such investments became 'preferential'.

that is, they began to choose the variety of plantations, after A.D. 1830. At the beginning the British entrepreneur found it difficult to reclaim forest land. They were slow to pick up the techniques of developing the industry and by the second-half of the nineteenth-century they seem to be well on the road to progress. In this competition, the British were most successful among the Europeans. The British had an extensive empire and it was possible for the British-entrepreneurs to invest their capital in a number of colonies. In India, Coffee and Tea plantations which were opened up very early received encouragement after 1850's. 46 This had its impact on the agrarian society of South India, particularly in wet-areas like Tanjore.

Export of rice from Tanjore had increased. This helped the affluent land-lords a great deal. 'Indentured labour' was sent overseas and to plantations in South-India. Tanjore is one of the major districts which supplied labour to overseas' plantations. The export of rice from Tanjore dates back to A.D. 1840. It increased steadily in subsequent years, and was brisk during the second half of the Nineteenth-century. 47 The Tanjore Mirāsārs, virtually turned to be

"Merchant capitalists". In A.D.1841, the Mirasdars of the District were exporting 23918 tonnes of paddy and 44,533 of husked rice by sea to the plantations of Mauritius, Ceylon and internally to Travancore. This quantity amounts to one-fourth of the total crop of the District. During this period, the climate had been favourable and Tanjore was not affected by floods or drought. The exception was the year A.D.1857, when Tanjore experienced unfavourable monsoon. During that year, in some areas of Tanjore the Mirasdars seem to have refused to pay 'Kists' to revenue-officials. Inspite of it, Tanjore had exported 1,28,735 tonnes of paddy to overseas. This is estimated at 32% of the total yield in the District. Tanjore's export of rice and paddy was worth about Rs.5987790 at current prices while the total revenue of the Government was Rs.5164076. This sea-borne export of rice had been steadily increasing in 1860's and 1870's.

48. Ibid., p.546.
49. Ibid., p.244
50. Ibid.,
The TABLE shows that between A.D. 1867 and A.D. 1877 Seasborne-trade of rice averaged to 78.3% of the total value of the exported commodities, and in certain years, it had even touched 83% (Ref. 1868-69). By sea averaged to 108179 tonnes annually, that is between 18 to 32 percent of the gross produce. Obviously, the situation had favoured the affluent land-owners who seized the opportunity to enrich themselves.

"Inflation", the corollary of "Merchant-Capitalism" aided the affluent land-owners. Till A.D. 1853, the country had been under the spell of deflation. Since

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867 - 66</td>
<td>46,76,032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868 - 69</td>
<td>48,26,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869 - 70</td>
<td>40,88,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870 - 71</td>
<td>50,60,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871 - 72</td>
<td>57,00,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872 - 73</td>
<td>50,21,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873 - 74</td>
<td>76,18,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874 - 75</td>
<td>61,93,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875 - 76</td>
<td>64,03,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876 - 77</td>
<td>49,52,922</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A.D. 1853, the economy had been finding its level and circumstances so conspired and set 'Inflation' in motion. International-economic-relations accelerated import of bullion into the country. In A.D. 1848, Gold-mines were discovered in California and Australia. This led to large-scale influx of gold into Europe resulting in increase of commodity-prices and creating a demand for Indian goods. The principal European countries substituted gold for silver in minting currencies. "Silver, the cheaper metal was made available to be exported to India." The "Cotton Famine" in England forced England to demand Indian Cotton. Cotton export to England from the United-States had been choked by the break of the Civil-war.

The "Indian Mutiny" of 1857, called for import of large amount of silver into India. During the same period loans were also raised in England on a large scale for financing construction of Public-works in India. "The net imports into India, of gold and silver which in the

53. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar: "Memorandum on the progress."

54. Ibid., p.36.
decade ending A.D. 1849, was twenty-one million sterling, rose subsequently to seventy-millions in the decade A.D. 1859 and one-hundred fifty-millions ending A.D. 1869". 55 All these developments account for the flow of money into the country after A.D. 1853.

Transport and communication facilities have a direct bearing on the fluctuation of prices. Before 1850's their role was very weak. In the Eighteenth-century local trade was hampered by frequent wars. Travel across the country was not safe. The chief means of internal transport were "the pack-bullocks and ass". 56 They were not only slow but expensive too. In the early Nineteenth-century, the cost of carrying grain "just eight miles added one-third to the price". 57 Wide fluctuations in prices had been inevitable. To begin with, the Company repaired certain roads, primarily for military traffic. But major improvements of roads came only after A.D. 1850, Railways were introduced after A.D. 1870. Volume of traffic increased

55. Ibid., p. 59
56. Ibid., p. 59
and trade centres where weekly markets sprang up, became popular. 58 By A.D.1850, Ninety-thousand carts are estimated to have been in use in the Province and by the year 1877-78, the figure had risen to 2,84,000. 59 But carts seem to have been in use only to cover short distances. Such unprecedented improvements resulted in "Inflation". Prices of goods record a three-fold increase by A.D.1860, in the Madras Presidency. 60 The prices of food-grains record a steady increase since A.D.1853. The Chart pictures the conditions in the Madras Presidency. 61

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average for Five Years ending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food grains</td>
<td>1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cholam</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ragi</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumbu</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


61. Ibid., p.58.
The Chart gives the average of prices of principal food-grains for quinquennial periods. Representing the average prices of food-grains in the five years ending A.D.1853 by 100, the average prices at quinquennial periods referred to are indicated by the numbers shown in the Chart. The Chart shows that there had been a decline in prices between A.D.1823 and A.D.1832. The prices record a rapid increase only after A.D.1853, and in a period of five years ending with A.D.1865, they record a two and half time increase in level, since A.D.1853; and a two fold increase in the last years of the Century.\(^62\) In the district of Tanjore, the prices of food grains record an increase between A.D.1853 and A.D.1874. The Settlement Reports of A.D.1857-58, point out that paddy-price in Tanjore was higher because of the demand from the neighbouring districts of Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai.\(^63\) The Settlement Report of A.D.1864-65 states: "The rise in prices in Tanjore was caused by the exportation of grain to Ceylon and other Countries."\(^64\)


\(^64\) Report on the settlement of Land Revenue of Tanjore for Fusly 1274 (1864-65) (Madras Land Revenue Records, Madras, 1866 Ref.No.25405) p.4.(T.N.A.)
The affluent land-owners should have found it to be the most opportune time to further their selfish ambitions. They had always proved themselves to be experts in monopolising the paddy-markets. The Settlement Report of 1827 very aptly describes the Tanjore Mirasdar as a "Land-owner, a money lender and a merchant". 65

R.S. Vaidhyanathan had explained in detail the impact of 'Inflation' on the rich landowners of Tanjore. He wrote "Suppose a land-owner owning thousand vélis of wet-lands in Tanjore-delta and that under normal conditions and proper management he should get two-hundred Kalams of paddy per véli from one or two crops. With a price of rupees two per kalam, the out-turn should yield a gross income of four-lakhs per year". 66 Vaidhyanathan had also indicated the fluctuations in prices, out-turn and worked out prices by permutation and combination in respect of single landholdings. The Chart given by him is reproduced here. 67

65. Supra : Chapter IV


67. Ibid., p.11.
### CHART

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area cultivated (Veli's)</th>
<th>Qutturn Per veli (Kalams)</th>
<th>Total out turn (Kalams)</th>
<th>Prices (Kalam)</th>
<th>Income from Land (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1,60,000</td>
<td>2 - 0 - 0</td>
<td>3,20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1,50,000</td>
<td>2 - 0 - 0</td>
<td>3,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1,50,000</td>
<td>1 - 8 - 0</td>
<td>2,25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1,60,000</td>
<td>1 - 4 - 0</td>
<td>2,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,00,000</td>
<td>1 - 8 - 0</td>
<td>1,50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2,00,000</td>
<td>1 - 0 - 0</td>
<td>2,00,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chart clearly indicates that any rise in price always benefitted the land-lord. But the total income of the owner depended on turn-over rather than on prices.

The same formula could also be applied by taking the price of paddy in one of the "Depression Years", (that is A.D.1843) and the price of paddy in one of the "Inflation - years". (that is A.D.1865). In A.D.1843, the price of paddy per kalam was Rs.0-8-0 and in the year A.D.1865, it was Rs.1-8-0. If we take it as axiomatic.

---

68. Appendix No: I (Chart).
that under normal conditions and proper management, a land-
owner of thousand velis would get two hundred kalamas of
paddy per veli, in the 'Depression year' the value of the
total yield was Rs. 1,00,000 and in the 'Inflation year'
(A.D. 1865) the same land-lord, out of the same quantity of
paddy had realised Rs. 3,00,000. This instance, clearly
brings into relief the effects of the 'Inflation'. It had
been undoubtedly advantageous to the affluent landowners.
The Mirasdars utilised the surplus amount they realised,
only on purchase of lands. In this manner, more capital
was pumped into the agricultural sector. The indirect
impact was on the sale-price of land. The value of land
increased and the less affluent landowners were tempted
to sell their 'uneconomic units'. The period is marked
by large-scale transfers of landed property. 69

There had been a heavy competition among
affluent land-owners, virtually a scramble for the purchase
of lands. This was a good augury for the healthy growth of
agrarian-economy. The Settlement Report of 1864-65 sustan-
tiates it when it observes that "the rise in prices and
exportation of food-grains maintained during the twelve-
years (after 1853) must be attributed to the increased
wealth of the agricultural population and the consequent

69. Appendix No. 14
diminution in the value of money." 70

But the question of significance is whether all categories of land-owners were benefitted by the new economic trends. As said earlier, it was advantageous to the land-owners who owned vast estates and evidently the fruits of new economic trends were not enjoyed by all. The Petty-land-owners could not hold their "Uneconomic-units". They had no surplus to spare, store or hoard and they were forced to sell the food-grains on the spot without the stamina to wait for favourable price-hikes. The British Revenue-Policy was also a factor that contributed to the misery. After A.D. 1855, however, the British-policy turned to be considerably moderate. They came to adopt coercive measures instead of 'confiscation of property' though Act 39 of A.D. 1858 authorized the revenue-authorities to seize the properties of defaulters and sell them to others. 71 'Confiscation of property' had been resorted to as an extreme step and the TABLE, appended herewith gives an idea of such confiscations between A.D. 1858 and A.D. 1865. 72


72. Source: Settlement Reports of the Concerned years
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated value of property sold</th>
<th>Value of property actually sold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858-59</td>
<td>8,129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-60</td>
<td>18,621</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-61</td>
<td>84,267</td>
<td>14,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-62</td>
<td>52,204</td>
<td>1,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-64</td>
<td>8,645</td>
<td>3,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>25,399</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The economic inequality that was a characteristic feature of the agrarian sector of earlier years remained dormant. Material progress ushered in by expansion of irrigation and extension of cultivable area did not raise the status of petty land-owners. The only class of additional beneficiaries were the Pycéries on whom fresh lands brought under the plough were conferred. Out of the total number of 107,762 Pattadars in the year 1857-58; 0.001% that is about eleven Mirasdars paid 4.25% the total revenue. They owned lands to the extent of 41,250 acres of the total cultivable lands of about 92,500 acres. (i.e. 4.3% of the total area).\(^73\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Pattādhars</th>
<th>Total extent of lands</th>
<th>Total revenue paid by all Pattādhars</th>
<th>Number of Estate owners</th>
<th>Percentage of Estate owners of the total Pattādhars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107762</td>
<td>952,108</td>
<td>52,92,104</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.001%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revenue paid by eleven estate owners</th>
<th>% of Revenue paid</th>
<th>Owning of Lands by 11 estate owners</th>
<th>% of Total Estate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>231685</td>
<td>4.25%</td>
<td>95000 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Settlement Reports of 1875-76, inform us that 57.8% of the total Pattādhars who paid a revenue of Rs. 10/- and below owned 2.65 acres of land each. About 5.5% of the total Pattādhars paying a revenue of Rs. 100/- and more, probably owned lands each to the extent of twenty-six acres and more. 74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattās</th>
<th>Percentage of total Pattās</th>
<th>Assessment</th>
<th>Percentage of total Revenue</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upto Rs.100 and above</td>
<td>7768</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>1,92,555</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.50 to 100</td>
<td>9113</td>
<td>6.47</td>
<td>5,63,558</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 50</td>
<td>11806</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>4,13,513</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 30</td>
<td>31407</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>4,97,833</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Rs.10</td>
<td>79945/</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2,49,914</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'economic inequality' is made more patent by the presence of zamindars, Ināmdars along with Temples, Mutts and other religious institutions. The British did not tamper with the Zamindary villages and lands. As long as the zamindars paid the revenue, they were not disturbed, by the administration. Personal Ināms were allowed to be enfranchised and converted into personal property on payment of a stipulated 'quit-rent'. Other Ināms like religious and Charitable-services were confirmed on current tenurs as long as the services were continued to be
The local dignitaries, mostly Mirāsdars were allowed to continue as managers of temple-lands and property. They made full use of the privileges to enrich themselves. The Company's Government made but feeble attempts and the Board of Revenue was unable to stem the tide of swindling of temple usufructs. The Board of Revenue passed certain regulations for the management of "Dēvāsthānams". These regulations were not whole-hearted measures and touched only the fringes. In the second-half of the Nineteenth-century, scared by the opposition from Hindu Religious leaders, the Board of Revenue relinquished its power of control over the administration of temples. The Madras Government by its Act XX of 1863 withdrew completely and the administration of Hindu temples was left to private bodies. Where zamindars were interested in temple affairs, they were made chief executives of the temples of their areas.


76. Supra Chapter III


78. Ibid., p.184.
The Heads of Mutts were given sole proprietary rights over the endowments of their individual mutts. To govern some temples, Committees were appointed and Trustees for life were also appointed. Leases on landed properties and markets, employment of temple servants and handling of temple income were all their sole rights. Proper accounts of 'Income' and 'Expenditure' were not maintained and 'Surplus funds' were not properly invested. Temple lands were leased to relatives and friends of trustees and in some cases alienated on inadequate grounds. Referring to Temple-administration, K.Gough observes "Under British rule, the supervision of Ināms and all temples and monastic properties ceased with the Act XX of A.D.1861. Thereafter, the temple estates became the bulwarks of local dignitaries". In many temples, trusteeship became and remained hereditary. The big land-lords were the beneficiaries. The same conditions prevailed in respect of management of monastic estates.

79. Ibid., p.184.
80. Ibid., p.185.
82. Ibid., p.43.
83. Ibid., p.42.
The legal provisions of the Act XX of A.D. 1863 were inadequate to guarantee the administration of Public-endowments in the interests of the public. Provisions were provided to take the Heads of Mutts and Trustees to the Court, but there were no penal clauses to force the accused to produce records. The charges could not be proved. The litigation involved enormous expenditure and a defending Trustee could meet it from temple-funds; a public-spirited citizen had to meet the cost himself. At this time in the Madras Presidency, there were about 75,000 religious institutions, great and small, covered by this Act. The temples of Tanjore district possessed enormous wealth. The trustees and their subordinates wielded great influence. In the case of temple lands, control meant control of Melvāram and Kīlvāram rights. The entire 'Surplus' was received by the trustees. Department of 'Kattalies'; (particular services) each owned lands and a hereditary trustee had the power to supervise the functioning of the Department. The Annadānam Department (Charity of cooked rice offering) was

85. Ibid., p.185.
86. Ibid., p.185.
the best endowed) owning invariably two-thirds of the property. The British administration's handling of temple-affairs helped only the affluent land-owners, Trustees of temples and Heads of Mutts and charitable institutions. Monopoly character of land-ownership had further been strengthened. This state of affairs continued up to A.D. 1908. Changes took place in the pattern of land-ownership in the Tanjore district over the years under analysis. Agrarian relations however show an extra-ordinary continuity during British-rule. Landlords, Share-croppers, agrestic serfs, all continued under the same name and conditions. Inequality in land-ownership no doubt swelled the number of landless agriculturists. They were reduced to the position of either share-croppers or agricultural serfs. Statistical figures of cultivating-population available for the year 1857-58 are as follows:

87. The Mutts of Vēḷākurichchi and Dharmagurum are standing examples. In the case of the Tiruvārur temple, the internal management was vested with two powerful mirāsāhrs, Vadapathyamangalam Mudaliar, owner of 6000 acres of land and Bavas of Kulikkarai owning 8000 acres.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultivating</td>
<td>698024</td>
<td>345,715</td>
<td>1043289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Cultivating</td>
<td>424713</td>
<td>188,783</td>
<td>613496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1122737</td>
<td>534,548</td>
<td>1657285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL NO: OF PATTADĀRS:** 1,07,762

Of the total number of cultivating population (10,43,289) there were only 1,07,762 as land-owners ranging from monopoly-type to petty land-owners. The rest had to depend on the land-owners either as share-croppers or as agricultural serfs.

Changes that took place in patterns of land-ownership also brought changes in patterns of life of the landless agricultural workers. The British policy of assigning lands to the Pycāries, had changed their status. A considerable section of Pycāries became land-owners, in possession of moderate sized holdings. Yet, a section of them remained landless and their economic status remained static. Perceptible changes are noticed in the life-patterns of agrastic serfs. They had been denied freedom from the
beginning. They had suffered ill-treatment and were always in bondage. They had been the personal properties of their masters. Vexed as they were, some of them attempted to run away, but the land-owners supported by the administration foiled their attempts. (Most of them belonged to the communities of Pallars and Parayars.) Socially, they were at the lowest rung of the ladder. Their living-quarters in villages known as "Parachéris" were segregated. The land-owners and the administration had no mind to disturb this "Conventional set-up". The Evangelist and humanitarian forces were sympathetic towards the serfs in bondage. The clause in the Charter Act A.D.1833, disfavouring slavery had already been referred to. Yet the British administration did not co-operate in efforts of removing the evil and providing relief to serfs.

A Law-Commission, constituted in accordance with the provisions of the Charter Act of A.D.1833, analysed

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91. Supra: Chapter IV.

the problem. The Commission did not conduct a proper enquiry and was criticised by John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of control who wrote "What labour of love will your Law-Commissioners next undertake, we do not think much of the assiduity here." The Report of the Commission was a badly prepared document, based on inadequate knowledge of the prevailing conditions. At England, the Humanitarian-Movement gathered momentum. On the floor of the Parliament-Houses, they agitated for abolition of slavery in the colonies. As a result the 'Slavery-Abolition Law' (Act V of A.D.1843) was passed. This law too was a half-hearted measure. Hjejle comments "Having worked through all the consultations in the Legislative Council, I can say with extremity that Act V of A.D.1843 was passed without any idea of real extent and nature of Indian slavery".

The worse part of it was that, even this Act could not be promulgated fully. The Native officials, whose co-operation was indispensable, belonged to higher


castes and many of them were slave-owners. The British officials were quick to understand that it will be dangerous to antagonise them. The slave-castes, docile and ignorant, never understood what "real freedom" meant. In the district of Tanjore, as a result of the reliefs envisaged by the Act of A.D.1843, two outlets were opened to the serfs in bondage, namely:

1. Personal-type of Slavery and
2. Immigration of labour.

"Personal-type of Slavery" implies a contract or agreement between the land-owners and slaves by which a man pledged his 'labour' in return for money borrowed or simply in lieu of interest. The 'contract' was in the form of a sale-deed. The Contract-Act of A.D.1859 favoured the land-owners to exercise 'control' over the slaves. Hence the necessity arose for substituting the 'contract' by a new "Service-agreement", by which any breach of agreement under such deed could be punished under the Contract Act. In the district of Tanjore, this was known as "Adimai Õlai". Breaches of contract were severely


96. A. Sivasubramanian: "Tamilahaththil AdimaiMukai" (Tamil) (Mãrxia-Óli October 1982) p. 73
dealt with in the village or Taluk courts. The Courts treated the cases as "Debt slavery". The Contract-deed was written and registered in the Registration offices. As per the Contract, the serfs (Pannaiyālis) had to receive an amount of paddy or grain as wages every month. He was also entitled to receive "Kalavāsal" (fixed amount of the produce) during harvest. On festive occasions like Pongal and Deepāvali they were given presents.

The income being insufficient to meet obligations the serf always indented loans from the lord. The only 'wealth' he possessed was "Labour" which he pledged. The land-lords fully exploited the situation and the 'Contract deed' became a tool at the command of the lords. The serf could exercise the option of migrating as "Coolies" overseas. Plantations at Malaya and Ceylon were avenues where they could migrate. Within India, the plantations at the western Ghats, gave them asylum. Such migrations were classified as "Immigrant labour". Immigration was under contract, and hence this was "indentured labour". In the district of Tanjore, this was known as "Oppantha-cooly". Considerable number of serfs from the wet-districts of Tanjore opted to emigrate and become


"Oppantha Coolies".

The popularity of 'Indentured labour' was the cumulative effect of many factors at work. The most important among them were Social and Economic. Patterns of land-ownership with the dominance of big landlords did not change even after A.D. 1857. Social differences that had deeper roots, had continued uninterrupted. The core of "Indentured labour" was drawn from the socially down-trodden communities of Dāller and Parāiyar. The communities to which they belonged are designated as "Panchama". On boarding the ship, the serf left behind his caste and custom. A British officer remarked, "At Nagapatnam a brahmin chided a paraiah and the latter replied- "I have taken off my caste and left it with the port-officer. I won't put it again till I come back".100

Emigration to overseas of the lower order of the agrarian society started quite early in the Tanjore-district. The second-half of the Nineteenth century witnessed a spurt. It was during this time that legal remedies

99. "probably nothing more than the out-going immigration has helped the Indian Paraiyars to realise that the cultivation of higher-caste neighbour's land for a handful of rice is not all that life had to offer". (Census of India 1911 Vol. XII. Madras 1912) p.26.


were sought to be provided. Some 'Legal Protection' was provided. The serfs had a chance of choosing alternative employment. In the beginning years, there was no systematic recruitment. In the year A.D.1815, when the Chief-Secretary to Government requested the collector of Tanjore to send 'coolies' to Ceylon, he replied that the 'serfs here were leading a frugal and contented life and they were not willing to move to Ceylon. Unless the Ceylon Government sent some agents and be ready to offer some payment of money, it would be impossible to sent coolies'.

The Ceylon Government entrusted this work to "Méstrikal" who were private agents. In A.D.1815, the first batch of 'Indentured Labour' from the Tanjore district was sent to Ceylon. Many of them returned within a year. The plantation owners did not take care of the health of the Immigrants and protect them from epidemics. If the immigrants fell ill, they were invariably rejected. Irregular payments and exploitation by the Superintendents (kahkankal) made them shun service.

101. Tanjore Records. Vol.3276, Collector Hepburn to Chief-Secretary to Government dated 31.1.1815 (T.N.A.)
102. Ibid.,
104. Ibid.
A.D. 1847, a police superintendent at Kandy remarked that this class of population was in a much worse condition in the Central Provinces than the Negro-slaves in West-Indies. This was the condition that prevailed in the first half of the Nineteenth Century.\textsuperscript{105}

Since A.D. 1840, large-scale development of plantations took place. Systematic recruitment followed. The administration regularised plantation industries. To streamline the recruitment procedures, a Depot was established at Nāgapattinam. Regular payment of wages was guaranteed and the welfare of the coolies was assured. Legal safeguards (Act V of 1843, the Penal Act of 1861) encouraged emigration in the second-half of the Nineteenth Century. Between A.D. 1843 and A.D. 1866, a considerable number of emigrants (1446, 407) from Tanjore went to Ceylon.\textsuperscript{106} In the year A.D. 1860-61 about 1699 coolies have been sent abroad of which 708 were sent to Ceylon from the District of Tanjore.\textsuperscript{107} In A.D. 1864-65, immigrants sent from Tanjore to

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.

The sufferings of the Tea-Estate Workers have been immortalised by the Tamil-National poet Subhrmanya Bharathi, in his Popular Tamil song "Thyilaiitthottathile"

\textsuperscript{106} Settlement Report of Tanjore for Fugly 1270 (1860-61) Madras Land-Revenue Records Ref.No.45370

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid.
French-Colonies and Ceylon were as follows:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Year (1863-64)</th>
<th>Year (1864-65)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emigrant to Mauritius</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigrant to French Colonies</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1393</td>
<td>995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passengers to Ceylon</td>
<td>4296</td>
<td>4941</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This statistics is drawn from stray references in 'Select-papers'. The total number, in all probability, could have been higher. An average number of 6,000 at least must have been sent overseas. A few should have returned after some months or years. During the harvest-season at Tanjore the immigrants would return home and return to their destination thereafter. Nevertheless, this emigration resulted in loss of agricultural serfs in Tanjore, and 'labor' tended to become seasonal in character.

The following figures give an idea of the loss as a consequence of emigration in the presidency of Madras from A.D. 1843 to A.D. 1873:


109. Legislative Council of Ceylon 1879. Sessional Paper No. 5, 176
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
<th>Departures</th>
<th>No. of Immigrations (those who stayed overseas)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>4,59,566</td>
<td>198,559</td>
<td>261,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>6,13,629</td>
<td>552,534</td>
<td>261,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>7,30,478</td>
<td>595,392</td>
<td>135,086</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18,03,673 1,346,485 6,57,188

Emigrations were encouraged year after year and labour-force was drained away. The big landowners were distressed as the new trend picked up velocity. From time immemorial, they had depended on serfs for cultivating their lands. The Pallans and Parayans who chose to remain at home demanded increased wages. The mirasdars were unable to force them to accept poor wages. Agrarian relations became strained. The Collectors had to interfere to bring about a rapport and persuade labourers to resume work. 110

After one such occasion, in the year A.D.1847, the Collector