

be completed in the next three or four days. A planter could scarcely move about his own establishment, however liberal, of servants and ploughs with sufficient rapidity from place to place, so as to attain this object over 10,000 or 12,000 beegahs. But, if the ryots will turn out, each with his own plough, on his own land, those sowings are easily got through within the specified time. Indeed, a larger extent of *ryotti* cultivation can be finished in this way in a very few days. The Mulnath Concern might be able to sow, in this way, more than 25,000 beegahs by two or three showers. It is curious to contrast Bengal Proper in this respect with other parts of India. In Tirhoot, the moisture is retained in the soil throughout the cold-weather until the arrival of spring, and it is usual to sow in March, though no rain has fallen. Indeed a shower of rain at sowing time, may be destruction to a Tirhoot planter. The ground cakes, and the young plant is killed. In the North-West Provinces, irrigation renders the planter independent of rain; and the spring sowings can be spread over even a longer period of time.

28. A cultivation of 10,000 or 12,000 beegahs would represent, we are credibly informed, a capital of upwards of two lacs of rupees, and an expenditure annually of more than 50,000 to 60,000 rupees.

29. Again, unless the planter should have a turn for agriculture, and should choose to sow other crops on his high lands, after the indigo had been cut, such as oats, barley, mustard, and linseed, the expense of *nij* cultivation, including rent, would fall on the indigo alone. If a ryot can cultivate the same crops, the expense is naturally shared by such crops, with the indigo.

30. In this view we are afraid that, however desirable, a new scale of *nij* cultivation to the extent of that enjoyed by Mr. A. Sawers at Culna in Burdwan, or Mr. W. G. Rose at Ramnuggur in Moorshedabad, is not now to be looked for. A *nij* farm might, no doubt, be set up on a large scale, in some of the Eastern districts, where much jungle or waste land is available, but in this case, though lands were to be had, labor would be scarce, and an equal difficulty, though of a different kind, would probably be experienced.

31. Arriving at these conclusions, we turn to consider the nature and peculiar features of *ryotti* cultivation; this being the system prevalent in most Concerns, or that under which the greater portion of indigo is grown for manufacture, and which system, we may say, is now called to the bar of public opinion, to stand its trial. In Bengal Proper the ryots, as before observed, are of two classes, those resident on estates held by the concern, and those who are not. The contracts, which all the ryots enter into, are either for one year, or vary from three to five or ten years. The advances, made in October and November, are invariably at the rate of two rupees a beegah, and for this sum, the ryot usually agrees to give lands suited for indigo, which lands would be marked off by the servants of the factory, to prepare them, to sow the indigo, weed it, and deliver the plant at the factory. The plant, when grown and delivered, is measured, and credit is given to the ryot at a rate which now ranges from 4 to 6 or 8 bundles for the rupee. The bundles are measured by a six-foot chain passed round the centre of the plant. An acknowledgment is given to the ryot at the time of measurement, or some few days afterwards, and at the close of the manufacturing season, in August or September, the accounts are drawn out, and in October the ryot attends at the factory for the adjustment of the same. To his debit are set down, the advances made to him at 2 rupees a beegah, the value of the stamp on which the contract is engrossed, usually two annas, the seed from 4 to 5 seers, which is usually charged for at four annas a beegah though it costs more than this sum to the planter; the expense of carting the plant, and, after the first year's engagement, the amount of any previous debt remaining uncleared. To his credit is placed the value of the bundles delivered by him; and a balance is thus struck. If he has *fazil* or excess to receive, he has it paid down; if otherwise, the debt remains against him, and he receives advances for the next season's operations, not at the full amount of the lands for which he has engaged, but with a deduction proportionate to his debt; for instance,

if he has agreed to cultivate five beegahs, for which the advances would be ten rupees, but he is in debt to the amount of four rupees to the factory, he receives not ten rupees, but 10 rupees minus 4 rupees = 6 rupees. In some instances, if the debt is very large, he receives no fresh advances, though he may receive a separate loan to aid him in his difficulties, or the debt may be reduced, or cleared off, by the voluntary act of the planter. The same process is repeated year after year in the case both of ryots resident on the estates of others, and of ryots of estates attached to the factory. With some local distinctions, and with certain other defects or exaggerations, forming sources of complaint, which we shall notice fully hereafter, and with, of course, a great deal depending on the temper, experience, and management of the planter himself, the above are the main features of *ryotti* cultivation in Lower Bengal, and, as a general statement, we believe it to be accurate and unquestionable. We may state here that the average return of a beegah is about 10 to 12 bundles, and that a thousand bundles of plant give, on an average, about five maunds of dye.

32. There is another system called that of *shouk dadun* or "free advances," adverted to by some witnesses, under which the ryot is not charged for either seed or cutting and carting. He only has to cultivate and sow, and he is paid at A. 145 from 4 to 6 bundles per rupee. Under the above system he receives advances, but there is also a third system under which he takes no advances, but gets seed for which he pays, not at a fixed rate of 4 annas a beegah, but at the market rate. Both these systems prevail to a very limited extent.

33. Some witnesses have also testified to the purchase of plant from ryots who were not under contract to the factory, and who sold the plant, which they had grown as their own speculation, at the market rate, usually of four bundles the rupee, like any other article. The only district in Bengal where this plan is carried on to any extent, is Rungpore; and there the amount of bundles so purchased has been counted in lacs. The obvious danger in this is, that ryots who may have received advances under contract from one factory, may be tempted to sell the plant, as in open market, to another.

34. The system in Tirhoot, and we believe in the districts of Behar adjoining Tirhoot, is, in some respects, very different from that pursued in Bengal. The ryot takes advances, at the rate of three rupees a beegah, of which two rupees are given in the autumn, and one more at sowing time. The beegah in Tirhoot is nearly equal to an acre, or three Bengal standard beegahs. The selection of lands, as well as the supervision of the cultivation by the servants of the factory, proceed much as they do in districts nearer Calcutta. But the advances do not form the nucleus of a debt, if the ryot only cultivates, and they are not carried on, if unliquidated, from year to year, against the ryot. A price is set on the crop. If there is a total failure after sowing, the ryot gets one rupee over and above his first advances, for his time and labor and the occupation of his land; and three rupees six annas, besides the above advances, if there is a crop. The land is, however, occupied with indigo for the whole twelvemonth. In some factories the crops are still further classified, but this does not alter the main feature; viz., that in no instance, even though not a single stalk of indigo should sprout after cultivation, can the ryot become heavily indebted. On the other hand there is the danger lest the ryot, having received his advances, should be tempted not to cultivate his lands at all. But this, we believe, is prevented with ordinary care on the part of the planter. Under no circumstances, as we understand it, can the ryot in Tirhoot ever receive more than six rupees six annas per beegah for his single crop of the year, however fine it may be. But we are informed that the rates of remuneration have been raised this very season in Tirhoot.

35. The system in Allahabad and in the North-Western Provinces is fully described by Mr. Saunders. In Allyghur, Muttra and Furruckabad, as doubtless in other districts, indigo manufactured, but in a very crude state, used to be brought to the factory, and there sold by natives, who carried on a large indigenous cultivation, which had an existence previous to our possession of the country. Advances were also made to contractors, zemindars and

cultivators, who grew the plant with less supervision on the part of the planter than is usual in Bengal. In fact, in the case of contractors, men of substance, the planter never enquired where or how the plant was grown. No oppression was committed by zemindars, and the system worked well. We are not sure, however, that the poorer class of cultivators derived much profit from these transactions, and in Allahabad the occupancy of the land for two years was a very decided objection (A 1890-1930.) In Allahabad there was the same system of contract, but there were occasionally some few disputes, and a little more difficulty.

36. The above are the simple and undeniable characteristics of indigo cultivation, extracted from the exposition and narrative of unimpeachable witnesses.

37. At this stage of our Report we deem it desirable to request His Honor's attention to sundry papers of our Appendix, which, though not all tendered on oath, are to be relied on, and are elucidatory of the great points at issue. They have been provided both by officials and non-officials; some of them are copies of judicial or official records; and all seem to us of great value, in aid of the mass of our oral evidence.

1. An abstract of the replies from the planters of many districts in Bengal and Behar, to a circular addressed to them, asking for statistics and other information regarding their cultivation of indigo. These show the amount and the kind of cultivation in each concern. The replies were very readily given by a large number of planters.

2. A statement, showing the total number of Europeans holding estates which pay revenue to Government; the total number of such estates, and the aggregate of the Government Revenue derivable therefrom. The same statement with regard to *putnis*, where that particular tenure is known. We believe the statement, however, to be under the mark, as all *putnis* may not be registered at the collectorate. And leases, of course, are only incidentally known to the authorities.

3. A statement showing the number and kind of landed tenures or interests put up for sale, in execution of the decrees of all Civil Courts, of six districts in which indigo is cultivated, for the last three years.

5. A statement, showing the great rise in the prices of produce and in the wages of labor that has taken place since between 1855 and 1860, in certain districts; also a statement of the comparative returns of rice, the cereals and other productive crops, as sugar-cane, tobacco, vegetables, &c. For the above, reference has been made to selected persons both in and out of the services, and the returns have been prepared by them with every view to secure accuracy.

*6. Papers from the Behar and Benares Opium Agencies regarding the cultivation of the poppy, full of interesting details.

7. Three forms of agreement to cultivate indigo, (translated.)

8. Statement forwarded by Mr. Larmour, Manager of the Bengal Indigo Company, showing the small proportion of ryots that had cleared their advances in five large Concerns under his superintendance.

9. Extracts from the same gentleman's *khata* or account-book, showing the debit and credit account of three ryots. These extracts were taken at random by the Commission from the books themselves, in Mr. Larmour's presence.

10. A statement of ryots who had cut a large average of plant forwarded by the same gentleman.

11. A report from Mr. Herschel, Magistrate of Nuddea, regarding the case of abduction of Haromoni.

12. Papers of the year 1835 relative to the cultivation of indigo and the settlement of Europeans, containing:—

First.—Petition from certain Merchants, planters, and others.

Second.—Minute of the late Lord Macaulay.

Third.—Part of a Minute by Mr. Macleod.

Fourth.—Letter from the Court of Directors.

38. There are many other valuable papers in the Appendix, but the above, we believe, will be found to be the most interesting. From this point, we shall enter on the many and important questions raised by our enquiry, and for the sake of perspicuity we here divide our subject into three great heads, as follows:

1. The truth or falsehood of the charges made against the system and the planters.

2. Changes required to be made in the system, as between manufacturer and cultivator, such as can be made by the heads of Concerns themselves.

3. Changes in the laws or administration, such as can only originate and be carried out by the Legislative and Executive authorities.

39. The first head, as affecting the character of a large body of individuals, and as one which has been so widely discussed, we shall first consider. Naturally, we cannot but regret the exceeding acerbity which has been infused into the late contest, and the extent to which the minds of Europeans and natives have been exasperated on the subject. We can only indulge an humble hope that our labors may result in setting at rest some of the questions on which most excitement has prevailed, and we should be glad to think that, hereafter, both parties would evince a more moderate tone of feeling, and refrain from those mutual and fierce denunciations, which can only result in creating and perpetuating one of the greatest evils with which this country could be visited, *viz.*, an antagonism of race.

The first head of our enquiry we have again divided into the following five subordinate heads.

1. The attitude of the planter towards the zemindar, and the attainment of proprietary rights in lands by planters.

2. The attitude of the planter towards the ryot, as a manufacturer to producer, and as zemindar to payer of rents.

3. The prevalence of crimes or oppressions of all kinds committed by the planters and their servants.

4. The conduct of the Police and the executive authorities towards the planters.

5. The conduct of the Missionaries, and the causes of the late crisis.

40. As regards the attitude of the planter towards native zemindars, and *vice versa*, it is undeniable that the planters have gradually acquired more of the higher proprietary rights in land, such as zemindari, talookdari, or *putni*; or that they have been granted leases of estates or portions of estates, by the native zemindars, for terms varying from three to five, seven, and ten years, renewable at the said terms, and often so renewed. Most factories certainly commenced with *be-ilaka* cultivation, that is, by giving advances to, and taking agreements from, ryots resident on the estates of native zemindars. In this, on principle, there can be, obviously, nothing objectionable. A planter has a full right to make a bargain with any willing ryot or cultivator anywhere, to grow for him a specified product of the soil. There is nothing in statute or common law, which requires that the zemindar should be made a third party to the contract. And there is nothing which warrants the zemindar in expecting direct profits from the transaction, or in interfering in such a bargain fairly and honestly made. Ordinarily he does not exercise, and ought not to exercise, any interference with the cultivation of the ryot, and provided he receives his due rents, it can matter little to him what kind of produce is grown on the land. We are well aware, however, that from land sown with some of the higher products of the country, larger rents are demanded by the zemindars and yielded by the ryots.

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41. But those acquainted with the interior of the country will easily discern, in the arrangement between planter and ryot, a fertile source of dispute. The zemindar, proud of his position and influence, may be displeased that

his permission or aid has not been asked by the planter ; or some quarrel may arise between his servants and those of the factory ; or the ryots may conceive themselves to be oppressed, and may resort, naturally, to their zemindar for protection : or, if no interruption be offered at the time advances are made, the ryots may, in some instances, repudiate their engagements, trusting to the zemindar to support them, and may refuse to sow when the critical period arrives : or the zemindar may really wish to force the planter to ask for a lease, and the planter may feel that he is not secure from interference dictated by caprice, so long as he has not attained to zemindary rights, and it is tolerably certain that his cash advances made to such recusant ryot, are lost for the time and are only recoverable by a civil suit. In any case there is usually but one termination to these disputes.

42. The zemindar and the planter enter into negociations, and the only real practical difficulty is, whether the latter can afford to give the price demanded for a *putni*, or can pay down the *bonus* demanded for a lease, as well as collect rents from the ryot sufficient to cover the rent which the zemindar assesses on him as the leaseholder.

43. A great deal has certainly been said regarding the opposition and obstruction offered to European capitalists by native zemindars ; bnt, from the evidence on this head, we are led to the conclusion that the only difficulty experienced by the planter has been that of settling the pecuniary terms. It is true that one zemindar of great experience, Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjee, has declared himself averse to granting lands to Europeans, on principle ; but this gentleman takes a remarkable interest in his own zemindaries, and very little indigo is or could be grown in his district. Baboo Prosonno Kumar Tagore, a well known native gentleman, makes the same statement on his own account, but thinks that from "indolence, inexperience and indebtedness" native zemindars prefer the system of giving lands in *putni*. This saves them the trouble of zemindary management, and enables them to live at the capital or in large cities on assured incomes. But another zemindar admits that he opposed the planter in order to "compel him to ask for a lease ;" Baboos Sri Gopaul Pal Chowdari, Haronath Rai, Pran Krishno Pal, and others, declare that they have been averse to granting lands in lease or permanency, though owing to disputes, fear of consequences, and desire to avoid getting into trouble with the authorities, they have generally been obliged, against their will, to adopt this course. Munshi Latafat Hosain proves that he had constant disputes with the proprietor of a factory, and that, at last, the Magistrate sent him a *hookumnamah* or order, of January 1851, which we cannot but regard as a distinct piece of advice accompanied by a threat, that he should come to some arrangement of this kind with the owner of the factory.

44. On the other hand, a zemindar of Pubna, Bijoy Gobindo Chowdari, has declared that of three leases, one was certainly given of his free will. Mr. J. P. Wise, states that he has not suffered much oppression from zemindars, that he tries to keep on good terms with them, and that he has on many occasions received assistance at their hands. Messrs. Forlong and Larmour, Mr. Tissendie and others, make statements to the effect that the real question is one of money, and that if the factory can pay the sum demanded, there is no other obstacle to the acquisition of lands in *putni* tenure, which is, practically, a purchase outright.

45. Still, it is not to be denied that opposition is offered, and that rents are demanded on *leases* which are sometimes beyond what the planter can fairly collect ; and difficulties of other kinds may arise. Mr. J. Cockburn mentions one case in which, when the factory had obtained three shares of a village from three brothers, shareholders, the fourth, who refused to grant his share and who was at feud with his family, was enabled for years to prevent any cultivation of indigo. There is a well known case in which the Katgarra Concern found it necessary to take a lease of some

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- A. villages at a dead loss of 5,000 Rs. a year. Mr. Forlong states that he
2903 has lost 1,500 Rs. on a lease of 12,000, for which he had to pay seven
A. or eight thousand Rs. besides as *bonus*, and Mr. Larmour gives three
1997 distinct instances of loss incurred in this way in taking leases. Mr. Tissendie
A. also gives an instance of a loss of 1,500 Rs. on the rent of a *putni* which
2972 was only 7,500 Rs. At the same time it is always urged by planters that their
object in taking leases of land is not to make money by the collection of rents,
but to secure freedom from interruption and from annoyance, for the cultivation
of indigo, and to this latter alone do they look for profit. They have de-
clared, too, that rents are not enhanced, nor are the usual leaseholders' fees
taken by planters, and that the ryots are thus saved from a general increas-
ed assessment, and from demands for extra cesses known as *bazy abwabs*.
But though we have no doubt this has often been the case; yet the state-
ment must be taken with some qualifications. Mr. Larmour allows that it is
his custom in taking a *putni*, to measure and assess the village at fair rates;
and he has admitted an increase of 18,000 Rs. a year to have been effected
by him over a considerable tract of country partly by management, but
also by measurement; further in answer 2,001 it is admitted by him that
A. leaseholder's profit, *i. e.*, half-an-anna and one anna in the rupee, has been
2003 taken.

46. On the whole, looking to the statements furnished by planters, to
the extent of lands now held by them from the native zemindars, as well as
to the general tenor of the evidence, we can draw but one inference, which
is that the acquirement of proprietary rights, of late so much coveted by
planters, depends mainly on their skill and tact in negotiation, and on com-
mand of capital.

47. In some cases, too, the zemindar may be indolent or indebted and
in want of money, as we have said, or he may desire to have an Englishman
to back him in some family quarrel. In others, where the zemindar is un-
willing, it has rarely been from actual dislike to Indigo cultivation; the
A. 1590 dislike may proceed from finding leased estates deteriorated by the mis-
management of a party who has no permanent interest in the ryots. But
the general result is, that from some one cause or other, the zemindar
eventually comes to terms.

48. Where the planter has zemindary rights, the ryot has probably but
little option, though we can perfectly conceive that, in order to please his
landlord, many a ryot might consent to sow ten cottahs or a beegah of indigo,
without the exercise of any direct violence or oppression. The influence is
perhaps best to be described as moral compulsion, and the apprehension of
physical force. The native zemindars, in general, allow that their ryots do
A. 3533 sow in this manner from ten cottahs to a beegah with indigo, though they
3834 derive no profit from the cultivation. And the evidence of ryots and others
seems to show that formerly there was less unwillingness to take advances
as there was, no doubt, more profit to be looked for. Mr. Larmour has de-
A. 2007 clared that the number of the ryots at Mulnath who sow indigo has, for
2010 the last three years, been increasing at the rate of 500 a year, though the
area devoted to that cultivation was once 43,000 beegahs and is now 23,000.
The area has, however, slightly increased since 1851. Supposing, then, the
ryot has agreed to sow a portion of land with indigo, he enters into a writ-
A. ten contract to this effect, on stamped paper of the value of two annas.
2036 These contracts, as we have shown, are for various terms of years, and at first
3144 sight it would appear that the ryot is only bound for the term of his con-
2763 tract. But our inquiries have placed beyond a doubt the startling fact that,
2991 in almost every Concern, the contract is, really, renewed every year.*
2036 49. At the time of adjustment of the accounts, the ryot is *yearly* debited
2042 with a fresh sum of two annas, and yearly he affixes his name to a blank
stamp paper, which in many Concerns, is not filled up either at that date or

*We understand that this is not the case in Messrs Watson's Concerns. See Answer 2991. The ryots there
are only charged for stamps every 5 years.

at any other subsequent date. In cases then whenever a contract, nominally entered into for three or five years, is renewed in this manner annually, it is obvious that such an engagement never advances beyond its first year; or, in plain language, that it is an engagement continually binding the cultivator year after year for a term of years.

50. Another inequality is this; the planter, on a fair calculation, looks to a return of two seers of dye from ten bundles of plant, which is the fair average of one beegah. Two seers would sell for 10 Rs. when indigo is selling at 200 Rs. a maund. But the return from the same ten bundles to the ryot could not be more than Rs. 2-8, at four bundles the rupee.

51. Thus, the planter would look to derive from the contract about four times the profit which could ever fall to the ryot.

52. We give no credit to a vague charge brought against the planters, on this head, to the effect that blank stamps as above mentioned are afterwards filled up, not as contracts for indigo, but as bonds or notes-of-hand, and are used against any Ryot who may happen to fall under the displeasure of the factory, because such suits are simple in form, and decrees on them can be obtained with celerity. In one instance our inquiries on this head resulted in a complete negation of the charge; the planters themselves, it is well known, are not in the habit of resorting to the Civil Courts against their own ryots; and the legitimate conclusion from the evidence is, that the contracts are renewed in the manner indicated for the sole purpose of binding the ryot to *his cultivation, and to the factory*. We must regret the above practice as irregular, and as likely to raise apprehensions, however unfounded, in the minds of the ryots, who are aware that in the interior, blank stamps are often filled up falsely to the injury of individuals. Sometimes, we further regret to say, the sum required yearly for stamps is not as low as two annas, but it is one which would cover the whole debt due by the ryot to the factory, under the law for stamps in civil suits, apparently for the bare chance of its being necessary, at some time, to take the ryot into court. We have seen a ryot charged eight annas, in one year, for stamps, though it was tolerably certain that neither in his case nor in that of any other ryot had the planter any intention of instituting a civil suit. In other words, the ryots are yearly charged two annas, and in rare instances twice or four times that sum, to provide for contingencies which the planter has made up his mind by all means to avoid. We need hardly add that this discloses a vicious point in the very foundation of any contract made for a term of years. In short, the general object of the planter in all contracts seems to be, not to secure an adjustment of accounts, but to perpetuate the obligation of the cultivator to sow.

53. The contract binds the ryot to give suitable lands, to plough, sow, and weed at the proper times, to see that the plant be not damaged by cattle, to cut it, and in some instances, to deliver it at the factory. Naturally it is, as regards the fulfilment of these contracts, so worded that we have had the greatest complaints and the largest amount of conflicting evidence.

54. We fully admit that if the planter has to pay an exorbitant price for a *putni*, or is called on for a *bonus* on a lease, which *bonus* he is expected to make up by balances of rent thought to be irrecoverable and never fully recovered, the extra sum demanded is so much taken from the outlay of the factory. By so much, it may justly be said, is the power lessened of paying ryots more liberally, and in this way the cultivator of the plant suffers. But we cannot but feel that the zemindars of Bengal have a right to sell, at their own price, that landed influence which they themselves do not always desire to relinquish, and which the planters, by their own showing, declare to be of essential and even vital importance to their main business. The native gentlemen cannot be prevented from

A. making the bargain most advantageous to themselves; and if they see the planter more than usually anxious to gain a special object, it can hardly be

A. wondered that, for the gratification of that object, they should exact a high price. This is the law of buying and selling all over the world.

2570 55. On the whole, then, we cannot subscribe to the opinion that there is anything in the conduct of native zemindars which evinces hostility to the cultivation of indigo, or which places a bar to the investment of European capital. And the tenure of *putni*, so often purchased by Englishmen, has lately been rendered more secure. Formerly they were liable to be cancelled on the sale of the superior or zemindary tenure for arrears of revenue. Now, they can be registered under Act XI of 1859. For all purposes of power and influence over ryots, and security of cultivation, the *putni* tenure can be made equal to that of the zemindar or talookdar, whose connection with the estates ceases whenever a *putni* has been created.

56. As regards the next two heads of this part of our enquiry, *viz.*, the case between the planter and the ryot, and the oppressions which the former is said to practise, it is obvious that in this lies the gist of our inquiry, and our remarks on this part of our subject must occupy some space.

57. We have endeavoured to find out how, exactly, advances were first taken by the ryot, but without much success, because most of the witnesses of that station in life who appeared before us, instead of throwing any light on this point, have generally maintained that the original advances were first given many years ago, in their youth, or that they were taken by their father or grandfather. From the evidence of the planters, however, as well as from that of others, we are led to conclude that advances being offered at a season of the year when the ryot is in want of money for rent and for the annual festival of Doorga, they are in some instances willingly and even greedily accepted; some men are in debt; others want to spend money; and *all* like money without interest. Still, as it is asserted by ryots, and admitted by planters, that many of the ryots are not allowed to clear their account and are as it were hereditary cultivators, working *under* old advances, and that the practical effect of the system is "that the son sows because he believes that he is responsible for his father's debt," we are fairly warranted in concluding that cases of advances, given for the first time to fresh parties, are, of late years, not very numerous in any part of the country. We have reason to think that the son, when he succeeds to the *jumma* of the father, and becomes liable for his father's debts, conceives the impression that he is also liable for his father's engagements, and so is persuaded into continuing the cultivation.

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3001 58. We are far from drawing the sweeping conclusion that all advances are, or have been, necessarily made under strong compulsion. To ryots of estates not held by the planter, of whom in some large Concerns there are a considerable number, it is obvious that strong compulsion could not be applied without producing disturbances; and in such case the ryots were probably willing at first to receive advances in cash; or persuasion or the influence of the zemindar, if friendly, were doubtless the means applied.

A. 493
504 59. The planters all urge that strict supervision over each successive agricultural operation is rendered necessary by the indolence, supineness, procrastination, and faithless character of the Bengali; that the European manager or assistant must occasionally visit the lands, and that the factory servants must be regularly deputed to see that the ryot ploughs, sows, weeds and cuts at the proper dates. With all this, they affirm that this supervision is not carried to an extent calculated seriously to harass the cultivator, and that the same kind of watchfulness and care are exercised, though in a less degree, by the *mahajan* who advances money on the security of the ryot's rice crop, and by the officers of Government in regard to the cultivation of the poppy. The ryots who appeared before us, on the other hand, are loud in denouncing the above supervision as harassing and vexatious. They say that they are required again and again to plough, to crush the clods, to remove stalks, to smooth the ground, to sow at the precise moment which the planter may dictate, until neither their time nor