# BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INAM SETTLEMENTS IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY 1801-1871

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This is to certify that I, Mohammed Mustafa, have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis for the full period prescribed under Ph.D ordinances of the University of Hyderabad.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of any research degree to any other university.

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# A B B R E V I A T I O N S

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|---|---|
| A.P.H.C.P. | Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings. |
| A.P.S.A. | Andhra Pradesh State Archives. |
| C.H.J. | The Calcutta Historical Journal. |
| C.I.S. | Contributions to Indian Sociology. |
| C.P.R.I.S. | Collection of papers regarding the Inam Settlements in Madras Presidency. |
| C.S.S.H. | Comparative Studies in Society and History. |
| D.L.I.T.M.P. | Descriptive List of Inam Tenures in Madras Presidency. |
| E.P.W. | Economic and Political Weekly. |
| I.E.S.H.R. | Indian Economic and Social History Review. |
| I.H.R.C.P. | Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings. |
| J.A.S. | Journal of Asian Studies. |
| J.P.S. | Journal of Peasant Studies. |
| M.A.S. | Modern Asian Studies. |
| M.E.L.A.C. | Report of the Madras Estate Land Act Committee. |
| P.I.H.C. | Proceedings of Indian History Congress. |
| P & P | Past and Present. |
| S.S. | Social Scientist. |
| T.N.S.A. | Tamil Nadu State Archives. |

# INTRODUCTION

The importance of the study of modern economic underdevelopment arises from the fact that the process and pattern of economy of the present period depends to a considerable extent upon its inherited structure and pattern of underdevelopment. This also depends on the policies of development pursued by the present Government which in turn are influenced by the inherited model. This necessitates a historical approach to the problem of development of the economy of the present time. It is pointed out to the question of what are those influences that retarded the economic development.There is therefore every necessity to study the economic issues with a historical perspective. The economic policies which dominated the colonial rule cannot be ignored even while analyzing the development patterns of the contemporary period. Several aspects of economic life during the British rule, have been taken up for detailed studies. Questions relating to irrigation, marketing, commercialization, national income, occupational structure, industry, money and credit, foreign trade and balance of payments, price movements and fluctuations in economic activity and the fiscal system etc, under the colonial set up have been adequately studied. But the problems pertaining to the privileged tenure or Inams has not so far attracted the attention of scholars for an in depth analysis.

The continued existence of the problem of underdevelopment indicates that the social institution i.e., land, that sustains the majority of the population is plagued by obstacles. These problems, under such circumstances would affect the majority of the population who are dependent on the land and agricultural production. These problems in the present society would not be tackled unless one is equipped with a detailed knowledge of the recent past in all aspects.

It is from this recent past, i.e., the colonial period, that one has to explore the process of change. In other words, the problems for the development have its origins in the immediate past where the transition to the present state of underdevelopment could be located. The specific problems related to agricultural and economic development deserve greater attention than what is bestowed. The attempts so far made to genuinely assess the impact of colonial rule on land settlements are partial as a major part of land systems, Inam, is not dealt by any one separately. To tackle such problems the questions pertaining land systems have to be adequately probed. A large tract of land that was held rent-free did not exclusively figure in any studies. Hence the present study is taken up to disentangle the problems connected with the rent free lands known as Inam, which were a part of the tenurial systems in the past. The study will locate present societal problems connected to the land in the past, with reference to privileged land tenures in particular and the land systems of South India in general.

**Definition and meaning of Inam:**

*Inam* is an Arabic term first introduced in India by the Muhammadan rulers. It was defined as a grant of land or land revenue made by the kings or by the ministers acting under the king's authority, in favour of individuals as a reward for services done to the State.[1] It was also made for the benefit of

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[1] B.R. Chakravarthy, *A Hand Book of Land Tenures in Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1924, p.146. Wilson defined it as a gift, a benefaction in general, a gift by a superior to an inferior. In India, and particularly, in the south, and amongst the Marathas, the term was especially applied to grants of land held rent-free, and in hereditary and perpetual occupation: the tenure came in time to be qualified by the reservation of a portion of the assembled revenue, or by the exaction of all proceeds exceeding the intended value applied to grants of rent free land, without reference to perpetuity or any specified conditions.

temples, chatrams and other charitable institutions. Though the term Inam is of recent occurrence, the grant of lands for the purposes mentioned above, has prevailed in India from very early times. They were a grant, either free from payment or subject to a light *Quit-rent* or favourable rent known as *Jodi*.

The grant consisted of land as isolated fields or clusters of fields or the entire villages or of a right to the *Melvaram* assessment of the land or to a share in the crop or revenue from such land or over a given extent of land.[2] Isolated fields held as Inam were known as minor Inam, as distinguished from Inam villages, which was either Shrotriems, or Jagirs, *Kandrikas* or *Kattuguttas*.[3]

The existence of beneficial tenures was originally known by the sanskrit name *Manya* and replaced by the term *Inam* after the coming of Muslims. The history of the privileged land tenures can be traced to a very remote antiquity in India. It was the custom of the successive Hindu Governments to grant lands, revenue free for the payment of troops and civil offices, temples, chatrams etc. Whenever the king made a grant of land, he was required to give a deed or a sasana as an evidence to support the grant of Inam. These deeds, very often engraved on copper and other metallic plates, executed by the ancient kings prove the importance attached to such grants. The deeds were issued in conformity with the directions found in sanskrit law books.[4] The

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The grants are also distinguishable by their origin from the ruling authorities, or from the village communities, and are again distinguishable by peculiar reservations, or by their being applicable to different objects. H.H.Wilson, *A Glossary of judicial and Revenue Terms of British India*, Delhi, 1968, Pp.217-218.

2 A.N.Row, *The Revenue Refresher*, Madras, 1877, p.91.

3 *Ibid.*, p.91.

4 As the gifts of land were so highly valued, the *Smritis* contain numerous rules about them. *Yajnavalkya* prescribed the following rules: when a king makes a gift of land or bestows a *nibandha* he should execute a writing( about

deeds contained details of the grantor as well as the grantee. It was customary for the king to have depicted his name in the beginning of the deed with the eulogy of the grantor stating that the king, "who by piety towards god, has secured every kind of prosperity for himself and of happiness for his subjects: who is always ready to perform his vows to offer sacrifices." It shows the importance of the Inam grant and the involvement and association and the commitment of the king in the grant itself. The description shows that the details of the family line of the grantor also were found in the inscription. The inscriptions contained several other details also. For example, the nature of the grant was mentioned thus, "in accordance with the usual custom of gifts made to the Brahmans" and specify the extent and place where the land was provided. In one of the available inscriptions, a Pallava king granted "four pieces of forest land" and such grant was made in the village of Kanchi-vayil, an Inam village. These grants sometimes bear nominal quit-rent or exempted from the tax i.e., *Sarvamanyam*. They were supported by the attestation of witnesses generally made at the end of the sasana. The Inam grants, in the pre-colonial period, was generally recognized by the contemporary chiefs and also the successive rulers and others. They did not try to discontinue the grant. If any ruler or chief violated such grants they were morally implicated. Imprecation on violators of Inam grants was expressed thus: "neither has there ever been a greater sin than the resumption of that gift,

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the gift) for the information of future good kings. He (the king) should issue a permanent edict bearing his signature and the date on a piece of cloth or on a copper plate marked at the top with his seal and write down thereon the names of his ancestors and of himself, the extent(or measurements) of what is gifted and set out the passages (from *Smritis)* that condemn the resumption of gifts. *Brihaspati* apart from mentioning the above points, further says that the royal edict record the kings ancestors and it should be stated that the gift will last till the sun and moon endure. He also said that the gifts were to go to the sons and grandsons from generation to generation (to the donee). P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras,* Poona, 1974, vol.II- part II, Pp.860-861.

nor shall there be hereafter". The punishment for those whoever resume the land, whether given by himself or others, "partakes of the sin of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows".

It is evident that the deed not only illustrates the solemnity with which the ancient grants were made, but also that those grants consisted, generally, both of the land as well as the land revenue, *jodi*, to be paid on such grants. Thus Inam has political, cultural and social importance in the pre-colonial South India. They were given to all classes of people, from the kinsmen of rulers, landlords to artisans, to involve them in the extended political authority of the king.

**Inam-the concept:**

The absence of coherent notion of real nature of the Inam led to the arrival of different analysis of the relationship between the economic or political and the religious or cultural domain. These problems arose because of the difficulty of the absence of intensive study on the institution of Inam. The inadequate understanding of Inam, as a historical phenomenon, resulted in the confusion in asserting its relationship with authority, economy and culture as separate entities. In South India, the role of Inam gives an alternative locus from which to consider the larger issues that plague and intrigue the works of land settlements. In many ways the Inam essentially is a South Indian social as well as economic institution. The extensive prevalence of Inam lands traces its history to very antiquity. The vast number of Inams in South India was indicated by the British in their various documents. They existed in small as well as large extent in terms of acres of land i.e. minor or major- from small holdings of village artisan to *Jagirs* and *Mukhasas*, to large grants to

the temples etc.

In the pre-colonial period, the distribution of honours had religious sanction. Hence the grant of Inam has public recognition and made a part of the public authority. The Inamdar through the possession of gift-land, was acknowledged in the society. The subject of Inam operated on three fundamental principles that emotionally attached the grantor and the grantee. These principles acted as the themes of the Inam in the pre-colonial period. They were: the obligation to give, to receive and to reciprocate. They constituted the guiding principles for the grantor and the grantee to enter the gift activity.[5] Inam, in the pre-colonial South India had acquired privileged status in such a way that the grantor was obliged to make the grant to the grantees.[6] The grantor could be the king, the chief, the local leader, the village headman or the landlord. The inscriptions stated explicitly that such grants increased the righteousness of the grantor, thus bounded the grantor through the principles of morality.[7] The fact that he only possesses the

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5 The involvement of grantor and grantee in the total obligation could happen only when these three themes were observed by them. "The complete theory of these three obligations or these three themes relating to the same complex would yield a satisfactory explanation for this form of contract." When these obligations were practiced completely, then only the institution of Inam could be understood as one which rendered total services. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The form and reason for archaic Societies,* London, 1990, Pp.13-14 and 39.

6 In the archaic societies of China and North America, the chiefs gave gifts to preserve their authority over the family, village and tribe which was the way of maintaining his rank. *Ibid.*, p.39.

7 The Gift of land has been eulogized as the most meritorious of all gifts from ancient times (vas. Oh. s.29.16 quotes on verse which is also found in Brihaspati 7, *Visnudharmottara* and *Matsyapurana*, quoted by Apararka Pp. 369-370). The Mahabharatha , Anusasana 62,19, says "whatever sin a man commit when in strained circumstances, he is purified therefrom by making a gift of only as much land as is equal to 'gocarna". Apararka (Pp.368,370) quotes many verses from the *Vishnudharmottara*, the *Adityapurana*, the *Matsyapurana* on the high rewards reaped by the gift of land. The *vanaparva* (93.78-79), declares whatever sins a king is guilty of in bringing the earth under his control all those he gets rid by performing sacrifices with munificent gifts; by bestowing on Brahmans lands and cows in thousands, the king becomes free from all sins as

capacity to grant Inam, actually increases the grantor's authority over the men, area etc., which he controlled. The extended authority of the grantor realizes only when he shares it with the grantee by making Inam grants. The Inams were granted, according to the inscription, "for the prolongation of our (grantors) life-time and the increase of our power, glory and riches."[8] Through these grants individuals were invited to participate in the preservation of the social and political institutions of the area or state as well as the development of the economy of the area or state concerned. The process of redistribution in the form of contributions to the social, political and economic aspects was possible through the obligation and benefits of the Inam which the grantee received.

When the grant of Inam was made, it was prestigious for the person to accept it. The entrance of the individual in gift activity, after the acceptance, enhances his honour. In other words it was to proclaim that the recipient was the privileged person in the society. In fact every Inam was always accepted and by doing so the Inamdar committed himself for the condition of service to be rendered. An Inam was received with the condition of service.[9] The acceptance of Inam was also meant the acceptance of challenge which further means that the grantee was provided with the ability to reciprocate, to prove that he was the privileged one.[10] Each Inam was part of a system that set the condition of service to the grantee. Reciprocity was the

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the moon is freed from darkness. Anusasana voices the popular sentiment that gift of gold, cows and land save even the wicked. For more details refer P.V. Kane, *Op.Cit.*, Vol.II, partII, Pp.858-859.

8 H. Le Fanu, *A Manual of the Salem District in the Presidency of Madras*, Madras, 1883, p.349.

9 Marcel Mauss, *Op.Cit.*, p.41.

10 *Ibid.*, p.41.

condition in which the honour of giver and recipient were engaged. It was, in pre-colonial period, a total system in that every item of status or material possession was implicated for everyone who received the grants. The idea of reciprocity sets up a perpetual cycle of exchanges within and between generations. Hence, all the grantors and grantees, in this way, can be described as part of the system of transactions or obligations between its members. For example, a neerkatti was given Inam for the supply of water to the lands and for the upkeep of Irrigation works. The *Kattubadidar* was provided Inam to render service to the ruler whenever required. The obligation to reciprocate constitutes the essence of the gift. "To refrain from giving just as to refrain from accepting, is to loose rank- as is refraining from reciprocating."[11] Thus Inam accommodates the people in the political and economic domain of the ruler. It invites them to participate in the growth and development of the kingdom, politically and economically by according the cultural importance and social prestige to the grantee. The theory of Inam was a theory of participation of the recipients in the overall development of state. In other words, it was the theory of human solidarity which invite the various classes to assume the individual authority, not to surrender for the preservation and development of the state. The incentive given to the grantee was more than wage (in modern sense), since land provide a continuous income. Inam provides a social as well as economic security to the recipient. Wage, in modern times, does not cover society's obligation to the workers. Though, no obligation is ever completely covered, Inam as a traditional institution, was obligatory and conditional which strongly opposed to English liberalism.[12]

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11 Marcel Mauss, *Op.Cit.*, p.41.

12 Liberalism was a belief in the autonomy of individual will. In other words

The British introduced the concept of liberalism without having as understanding of the principles which guided the social institutions in India. The liberal idealist advocated the person as an independent individual instead of as a social being. The British introduced various regulations that changed not only the character of Inam but also brought changes in the relations of Inam with the grantor. They disregarded the cultural importance and the religious sanctity accorded to Inam prior to them. The British viewed Inam only from the economic aspect. Further, the concept of liberalism neglected social relations maintained in pre-colonial India, simultaneously providing individuality to the persons. For example, a *Kattubadidar* was provided with an Inam grant and was made a part of the sovereignty of the ruler. He not only fulfilled his service condition of providing the military assistance whenever it was necessary but in other times he concentrated on the development of irrigation, agriculture etc. The other example was that the *Panchalar* or *Kammalan*, apart from providing the services to the village community regularly, cultivated the lands granted to them.[13] Thus there was individual liberty to pursue different professions, for the development of not only their economic position but also contributed to the growth of state economy in general. Liberalism had a too negative concept of liberty and so failed to appreciate the moral role of political participation.[14] Further, the English empiricist philosophy did not explain the role of social norms in shaping individual

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it was defined as a belief that the individual is and should be free in all spheres of life such as political, economic, social, intellectual and religious. For details see D. Deol, *Liberalism and Marxism, An introduction to the study of contemporary politics*, New Delhi, 1976, p.193.

13 *Panchalar* and *Kammalan* consisted of five castes viz., Goldsmith, Blacksmith, Braziers, Stone and Woodsculptors.

14 The next chapter discusses the role of various Inamdars participated in the state formation as well as the development of the economy.

intentions and in making social action possible. The social theories developed by orientalists stressed the concept of collectivism and stated that individualism hardly arose in oriental societies. The orientalists based caste as an institution to substantiate their arguments. Max Muller, Dumont and others described the caste as a collective unit which hinders the development of capitalism in India. Their theories were based on colonial sociology that represent the biased view of Indian social institutions.[15] Dirks, in his arguments on caste, established that power and ritual were indisputably connected with political system where caste had no independent existence but related to kingship.[16] The emerging theories on caste advocate the individualism inherent in the social system of India. "It vilifies collective determinism and accentuates the creative potential of Indian individualism."[17] Thus caste in pre-colonial South India was a "dependent variable in the complex interplay of politics, ritual and culture in Indian society."[18] The ideology of caste reinforces the dynamism of individual who received a privileged land grant. But Inam, as the concept, stood opposite to individualism as expressed in the philosophy of utilitarianism.[19] Individualism, as derived from the

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15 Nicholas Dirks argued that "colonialism seems to have created much of what is now accepted as Indian 'tradition,' including an autonomous caste structure with the Brahman clearly and unambiguously at the head, village based systems of exchange, isolated ceremonial residues of the old regime state, and fetishistic competition for ritual goods that no longer played a vital role in the political system." Quoted in Lee, *Crisis of Representation,* in **Contemporary Sociology**, 1994, p.19.

16 Nicholas Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Bombay, 1989, Pp. 247-284.

17 Lee, *Op.Cit.*, p. 20.

18 *Ibid.*, p.20.

19 The utilitarian philosophy in the initial period opposed the Government interference on assumption that the economy would regulate itself for the greatest welfare if left alone. In the later period, the utilitarian philosophy differed slightly and invited the Government to correct the abuses

utilitarian philosophy of nineteenth century was criticized by many thinkers. For Tocqueville, it meant the apathetic withdrawal of individuals from public life into a private sphere and their isolation from one another, with a consequent and dangerous weakening of social bonds.[20] The French socialist vehemently criticizes the concept of liberalism (laissez faire) stating that it brings anarchy, social atomization and exploitation of the poor under a regime of industrial capitalism.[21]

Inam, in the pre-colonial South India, does not believe in the total surrender of individual rights. It is clear that if a grantee accommodated through an Inam grant, he was also allowed to exercise his individual liberties in his locality or profession, depending on the nature of the grant. The success of the political system would depend on the extent to which it allowed individual self-right to flourish. Inam in the pre-colonial period acted as accommodative, while asserting the rights of the individual. After the assumption of the charges of the administration, the British misconceived the role of Inam and later deliberately undermined the importance of it during

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of the private enterprise. However, on the whole, it does not cease to advocate individualism as central to its philosophy. It even did not abandon the idea of giving importance to the private enterprises.

20 Tocqueville rejected the idea of modern society's individualism by stating that "the attitude of the individual in democratic countries to withdraw from public affairs into a private circle of friends and acquaintances." He also criticized that it brought individual isolation, as a kind of self-chosen isolation in the modern democratic society. At the same time he acknowledged the right of the individual. "The individual should be entitled to an area of activity from the intrusion of others whether these are private individuals or public authorities, an area in which the individual can make decisions, follow wishes, exercises choices without being impeded by any alien will. This he believed was necessary both as a recognition and as an assertion of the individual's status as a moral being." For details refer, E.K. Bramsted and K.J. Melhuish ed., *Western Liberalism: A History in documents from Locke to Croce,* London, 1978, Pp.62-63.

21 *Ibid.*, Pp.52-70.

their rule. Such attitude alienated the individuals from the British which subsequently resulted in the failure of the policies pursued by the Government. What has survived under the British was the nomenclature of Inam but what has changed, however, was the nature, character and the importance given earlier. Inam as a land grant continued but in the social structure its significance was reduced to a mere symbol. This study is concerned largely with the discussion and analysis of this irony.

**Significance and relevance of the study:**

The present study aims at analyzing the policy of the British government towards Inam settlement in Madras Presidency during the period c.1801-1871. Central to this undertaking is an assessment of the phenomenon of the British colonialism and of the changes British rule brought to the structure and functioning of the Inam. In the past, most writers, British and Nationalists alike, commonly argued that colonial rule, with its alien property laws and forced sales of land, wrought a devastating upheaval in the rural areas. Others, in contrast, have insisted that the British presence affected rural society but little. Traditional power relationships at the local level, they claimed, continued basically unaltered throughout the nineteenth century. Changes that took place, according to them, was the product of the economic or demographic, not institutional, variables. To have a comprehensive understanding of the impact of colonialism, the nature and the extent of social change in rural areas, an attempt is made through the study of the role of Inams during the British rule.

So far the attention of the scholars has been on different tenurial systems in Madras Presidency. There were many works which concentrated on the

question of land holding and land tenurial structures in the Zamindari as well as the Ryotwari areas. Central to these studies was the questions of the possession and cultivation of lands, the terms of land holdings and other policy matters relevant to the tenurial structures. They examined the developments and intra-changes in land holdings in Zamindari or Ryotwari settlements. However, these studies on the tenurial holdings could not present a total understanding of society under the colonial regime. In order to gain comprehensive understanding of the society as a whole, it is necessary to study the institution of Inam and the role it played during the British rule. The interaction between the Inamdars, who occupied the different segments of the tenurial structures and the governments in nineteenth century will highlight the policy within the broader social structure. This explains to a large extent the importance of the study of Inam tenures which hitherto has been overlooked by scholars.

**Area and period of study:**

To study the impact of British policy on Inam tenures, the erstwhile Madras Presidency is taken as the frame of reference. The presidency offers an excellent arena in which the study on the British colonialism can be taken up. Indeed the study of its colonial past may help us understand the present day agrarian situation.

Since there is no systematic or exclusive study that has projected the precise role of Inams during the colonial period in the Madras Presidency, the present study is aimed at highlighting an important component of land tenurial structure in the backdrop of colonial history of this region. The selection of the region does not indicate in any way that it exists in complete isolation

from every thing outside it. It is evident, as brought out in numerous studies, that Madras Presidency was part of a larger country, of a greater civilization, of composite culture and of an international empire. The influences drawn from the wider contacts is not excluded from the study. But the attention is not given to these larger areas for the reason that the area of study will loose its significance, and important developments which took place in this region may go unnoticed . It is true that the other regions like Bombay and Bengal Presidencies also experienced, to a large extent, the similar type of tenurial systems. However, these regions had distinct political, social and economic conditions that shaped the history of those regions. Such level of differences help us to investigate the depths of it. The regional study will facilitate our understanding of the social institutions and the process of change it has undergone during British rule. The area covered in this study is limited to Madras Presidency.

The years 1801 to 1871 as far as land revenue administration in Madras presidency was concerned is very significant. It was by 1801 that East India Company brought all parts of Madras Presidency under its control. From this time onwards the British Government passed the various acts that affected different forms of land tenures including Inams. Much of the policy decisions with regard to Inam settlements took origin during this period. Though there were decisions of the government like the grant of money pensions instead of land grants that changed the character of Inam thoroughly, it is generally believed by the scholars that Permanent Settlement and other allied policy decisions actually set the process of change in the land tenurial systems as well as the agrarian production. However, the various problems faced by the government with regard to Inams has made it to accord recognition to the titles held by them. This was not possible unless a separate commission to

investigate the validity of Inam was established. This was done in 1859 and for one decade the Inam commission enquired the titles of Inamdars and settled Inams. The final report of the commission was submitted in 1869, but, some more work was left by it. The remaining work was carried out by the member of Revenue Board, Mr. Robinson, whose report was accepted by the government in 1871 by passing an act. These two reports were the basis for the future settlements of Inams in Madras Presidency. Hence the present study extends up to 1871.

**Review of the Literature:**

The first Comprehensive work on land tenures in British India was presented by Baden-Powell in *The Land Systems of British India* in 1892. It consisted of various land systems introduced by the British in India. It explains the essential feature of the Acts and orders and confined itself to what is most important and practical to the general reader. The subjects treated in the book were too positive and even dogmatic in manner. The way the book is organized indicates that it was primarily aimed to educate the British revenue officials and general readers and this fact was admitted even by the author.

The subject of agrarian policies and distress has formed part of discussion in *The Economic History of India* in two volumes (published in 1902 and 1904) by R.C Dutt. His presentation of the history of a colonial regime written from the point of view of the subject of a colonial empire is one of the earliest works of its kind. It contains, in simple, the economics of colonialism. A critic of the agrarian and other economic policies of the British in India, Dutt has contributed much to the understanding the economic

history of India. His main emphasis was on the various land settlements i.e., Zamindari, Ryotwari, Mahalwari, Malguzari and other settlements, which existed during the British rule and how they affected the different tenurial structures. Extending the boundaries of his study, he included in it the other aspects of economic activity viz., industry, trade, famine, irrigation, canals and railroads etc.

*A Note on the Permanent Settlement* (1940) by P.K. Gnanasundara Mudaliyar contributed to the knowledge of the system of settlement. In the earlier chapter, the work concentrated on the system of revenue management at the time of the introduction of the settlement in Madras Presidency. Most of the other chapters are devoted to the study of the settlement as extended to the different parts in the Presidency. In the end, Mudaliyar has discussed about the various Regulations that were introduced in later times, related to the permanent settlement. The history of Tenancy legislation after 1865 has formed part of the work in the last few pages.

The one important work that contributed to the study of the economy of Madras Presidency is the *Economic Conditions in Madras Presidency 1800-1850* (1941) by Sarada Raju. An in depth analysis of the colonial rule is formed in the work on various economic aspects such as, the land tenures, agriculture, industries, trade, transport and prices. Since it covers a larger question like economy as a whole, it gave little attention to the land tenures as a subject of study. Inam as an exclusive form of land tenure does not figure in this study.

The interaction between the local elements and the central forces within one district of the Madras Presidency is also made the subject of study by R.E. Frykenberg. *Guntur district, 1788-1848; A history of local influence and central Authority in South India* (1965). It is an exhaustive examination of an

area where the British Government came into direct contact with the local elite among the leading communities of the district. For the subject of study, he took up the Zamindari and Ryotwari settlements that existed in Guntur district. However, this study concentrates more on the local organization of authority, its relations with the central authority and the collision between them.

K.S.S. Seshan in his work *British Role in Rural Economy* (1989) has traced the history of the Punganur Zamindari, in North Arcot district. The work's main contribution is the study of the settlements of land in the Zamindari by the British in the nineteenth century. While discussing the different types of settlements it also highlights changes brought by the British in the Revenue settlements. The imposition of rents on these tenures has been focused along with the occupancy rights. Inams existed in large number in this Zamindari. The other economic conditions that prevailed during the period of study is brought out in detail. The relations of the Zamindar with the British Government on the one hand and the people on the other are made central to this study. The study has been taken up with the view of explaining exclusively one type of land settlement in Madras Presidency and that is Zamindari tenure. Though the debate as to what the exact role the Inams have played is initiated, the work is not meant for any exclusive study on Inams.

In her article, *Raja-dharma in nineteenth century South India: land, litigation and largesse in Ramnad Zamindari*, Pamela Price discusses the principle of authoritative rule in the political system of Ramnad Zamindari which lent itself to the diffusion of power and scattering of resources. She argued that this was the characteristic of the traditional Zamindari in South India. Price compared the Zamindari rule to that of the South Indian kingship and stated that it was these ideas of kingship, political and resources control, that influenced that aspirants to political power. The article

focuses on the competition and fight among the different claimants to the title, through the legal means. Such competition ultimately resulted in the corrupt practices and these would act as means to win the support of the people in the scramble for the political authority. One of the means through which the contestants received the people's support was by lending the village lands on low-rent. This also means the allocation of resources and authority. Price has discussed the attempts of managers of Sivaganga and Ramnad Zamindaris to gain the honour and authority in nineteenth century. These contests for the political power degenerated into the developments of factions in Ramnad Zamindari, one led by the ruler and the other by the manager of the Zamindari. The author discussed about the patronage system extended to the Art by the Zamindaris. Thus the article present the Tamil culture of Raja-dharma in one of the Zamindaris of South India during the nineteenth century. Inams were not made as the part of the study by the author.

In his work *The Ryotwari System in Madras, 1792-1827*, (1962), Nilamani Mukherjee, analyzed the effects of the general introduction of the ryotwari system in the Madras Presidency. The study traces the origins of the system of settlement in Baramahal and the extension of it to other parts is also discussed in detail. The last part of the work concentrates on the effects it produced on the economic conditions of the Presidency, on its social structure and on the administrative frame work. The work concludes with the death of Thomas Munro in 1827. A similar study has been undertaken by T.R. Beaglehole in his work, *Thomas Munro and the Development of Administrative policy in Madras, 1792-1818* (1966). The work also gave emphasis to the origin and extension of the Ryotwari Settlement in Madras Presidency. However, Beaglehole's work concentrates on the personal contribution of Thomas Munro to the introduction of it in several parts of the Presidency. The study ends at

1818, because, by then, the system of settlement has spread to all parts of the Madras Presidency. *Thomas Munro: The origins of the colonial state and His Vision of Empire* (1989) by Burton Stein also presents the origins and extension of the Ryotwari settlement. The contribution of Munro to the development of this system of settlement is part of the biographical study undertaken by Burton Stein.

B.S. Baliga's work on the *Studies In Madras Administration* (1960), in two volumes contains various subject essays written by him at different times. Among them two articles are related to Inam tenures in estates. These two essays are the mere discussion of the Government policy towards Inams in estates. It did not give any analysis of the Government policy. One of the essays explains the rights of the holders of Inams, that were granted after permanent settlement in estates and suggest how these rights could be liquidated. The second essay suggests the rights of Inamdars in estates that existed prior to the permanent settlement and how these rights could be liquidated.

*The land control and Social Structure In Indian History* (1969), by R.E. Frykenberg is a collection of articles that analyses the relationship between social structure and the control of land. They are not meant to provide a comprehensive or exhaustive coverage but to highlight some of the significant aspects and approaches to questions of social structure and land control in India. There are four essays that throw light on South India. Burton Stein in his essay, "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India" concentrates upon the social and economic movement of local forces in broad pattern of social integration. He divided it into three phases of transition, each of which was accompanied by major upheavals. A parallel and supplementary view can be obtained in Frykenberg's essay, "Traditional Processes of Power in South

India: An Historical Analysis of local Influences". The other two essays are more detailed considerations of the functioning of the agrarian system in South India. The essay by Nilamani Mukherjee and Frykenberg on "The Ryotwari System and Social Organization in the Madras Presidency," describes the workings of the ryotwari system between 1792 and 1827. The other article, "Village Strength in South India" by R.E. Frykenberg, examines the village influence within one particular district. It is a series of small case-studies exhibiting exactly how certain groups of village leaders corrupted the administrative structure of the East India Company and how they combined with district officers to gain common advantages from their operations.

The history of agricultural labour in the Madras Presidency is made the theme of the work of *Land and Caste in South India*, (1965), by Dharma Kumar. The work explains the impact of agricultural polices on the labour during the nineteenth century. It discusses the form of agrestic servitude, the wages, and the emigration. The Government policy towards land tenures of different kinds is present in the work. The whole work concentrates on the question of the class of landless agricultural labourers and mentioned that they were not wholly created during the British rule by the impoverishment of the peasant proprietor and the village craftsman.

Christopher John Baker's *An Indian rural Economy, 1880-1955, The Tamilnad Countryside*, (1984), traces the history of that region, by examining how agrarian trade was organized. He discusses the connections between internal and external trade. the functions of the market for the capital, etc. The emphasis of this book is on the links between the countryside and town and the role played by the state in rural society and economy.

Burton Stein's *The Making of Agrarian Policy in British India, 1770-1900*, (1992), is a collection of articles published in different journals and books.

It has two articles that discusses about the land revenue in India by A.D Campbell and the nature of British rule during nineteenth century by David Ludden. Campbell's review of land-revenue policies of the British was done at the request of the Select Committee in 1833. Since he carried out his work at the behest of the Government, he distanced himself in mentioning the exploitation and injustices of the two systems of settlements i.e., Zamindari and Ryotwari. In his analysis of the Government's polices, Campbell reflected the strong inclinations towards the Ryotwari settlement. David Ludden's article looks at the colonial dominations from the perspective of peasants and their localized socio-cultural world, where negotiation involving agrarian elite were conducted by officials of the British as well as the intermediary strata of the Tirunelvelly district. Such interactions between the state and the local magnates were not new, as the other chapters of his book *Peasant History In South India* (1989) show. This particular book concentrates on the variable ecological contexts that shaped the agrarian policies. It traces the history of peasant for the millennium, 900 A.D. to 1900 A.D. The author discussed the implementation of these policies in the colonial context and offered an understanding of the world of the peasant in the micro-region of Tirunelvelly district. Ludden emphasized that Ryotwari policy was imposed by the Government on the different production systems i.e, the wet land (Nunjah) which contributed most of the revenues of the district and the large area of dry lands (Punjah). While discussing the subsistence production and the community maintaining strategies, he also explained the tensions between them and the commercial opportunities. Such conflicts had an impact on the rural people who resisted the colonial regime the adjustments between the conquering Europeans and the inhabitants as they happened between the mirassidars and other landed gentry and the British revenue officials is discussed in detail.

*The Cambridge Economic History of India, 1757-1970*, volume 2,(1982), ed. by Dharma Kumar, explains the various economic policies of the British Government. Large parts in this work are devoted to statistical analysis of income and agricultural prices based upon assumptions no more convincing and therefore not able to illuminate agrarian policies, their determination and their effect.

There are few works which describe the various kinds of Inams. The first of such a kind of works was published in 1877 by A.N. Row. This book titled, *The Revenue Refresher* describes the various tenurial systems of Madras Presidency and the Inam tenures also find place in it. This is the first work to classify the Inams into four categories in response to the classification made by W.T. Blair. The work deals with the Regulations that concerned with various kinds of Inams, but the role of Inams under the British rule is absent in his book. The work was primarily aimed at to educate the students of revenue administration, including Government officials. There is another work that comes under this category and it was undertaken by B.R. Chakravarthy, entitled, *A Handbook of land tenures in the Presidency of Madras*, (1924). The work, apart from mentioning the other tenurial systems, describes the various kinds of Inams existed in Madras Presidency. Similarly the *Land Tenures in Madras Presidency* (1933) by Sundararaja Iyengar describes the various kinds of Inams. Both the works give attention to the different regulations that deal with the Inams during the British rule. However, what is missing in their works is the analysis of the policy pursued by the British Government. Such analysis is an important aspect which measures the impact of the Government.

There are three articles contained in *Land tenure and Peasant in South Asia* (1977), edited by R.E Frykenberg. Among these articles, Frykenberg's "The

Silent Settlement in South India, 1793-1853. An analysis of the Role of Inams in the Rise of the Indian Imperial system," argues that Inam was an important social institution that formed as one of the foundation stones of the company rule in South India. Through the Inam settlement, the British secured the allegiance and loyalties of so many local elite groups. Frykenberg analyzed the importance of the Inams. The study also gave importance to one aspect i.e., how the Government utilized the existing Inams for the establishment and the expansion of their power. Also, it did not mention about the various hierarchical segments of Inams and the conditions of them as a consequence of the British policy towards Inams. This question has answer in the article "Privileged land tenure in village India in the early nineteenth century" by Eric Stokes. The article deals in detail the Inam lands enjoyed by the village officials. The central concern in the essay is the question of the extensive existence of Inams in South India. According to the author, the prevalence of Inams increased the rates on revenue bearing land to extraordinary level. The author ignored the fact that the revenue demand was increased due to the needs of the colonial Government. The study obviously was not made in the colonial context. The third paper by Burton Stein entitled, "Privileged Land Holding: The concept stretched to cover the case," looks at the Inam tenures from two angles. First it determines the proportion of Inam land holding in the context of the overall tenurial systems of Madras Presidency. The second is that the entire system of land holding was based on privilege.

There is one particular study that analyses the policy of the colonial Government in relation to Inams. The work by Nicholas Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom* (1987), primarily deals with the relationship between the Indian state and society. The work also discusses the transformation of relationship under British colonialism. For such a kind of

analysis, Dirks concentrated on royal power and authority, the Inam, the temple, the caste and such other aspects are made central to his arguments. Taking these social institutions as points of his arguments, he made the study of transformation brought by the colonial Government during its rule. The work used Inam as one of the social institutions for the study. Though an excellent analysis is available in his study, Inam did not represent all aspects of agrarian structure. It was made only one of the institutions to be referred which was intimately connected with the royal authority. Hence the work did not make Inam as central to his arguments.

There are also few M.Phil dissertations on the theme of Inam tenures in Madras Presidency. They have taken up individual districts as the area of study. *The Inam Settlement In Madurai district* by R. Damayanti mentions the various kinds of Inams in Madurai and the settlement of them by the British. The scholar also mentioned the regulations that dealt with the Inams during the British rule. The other work, *Inam settlement in Tirunelvelly district* by Pandian analyses the kinds of Inams in the district. The changes brought by the British is also discussed by him. The third work by R. Sadasivam entitled *Inam settlement in Thanjavur district 1855-1870: A Historical study*, mentions the origin and development of Inams in the pre-British period. This work also describes the various kinds of Inams. There is a description of various Acts of the Government. The Inam Commission, its works and the final settlement in the district is also mentioned in the work. All these dissertations did not assess the institution of Inam in the broader social, political and economic and cultural frame work. The most important aspect that is not found in these studies is the discussion on Inam tenurial structures. The works also lack the analysis of the British Policy in the colonial context. For that, comparison with the role of Inam in the pre-colonial period becomes essential.

The works thus concentrate to throw light on issues connected with land holdings, land ownership and land utilization; but the Inam tenures has been either overlooked or they eluded for a detailed analysis by the scholars.

**Hypotheses**:

The present study is undertaken to deal with following challenges.

The major questions include the role Inams played in the pre-colonial period under the successive dynasties. What were the opinions of the different British officials on the role of Inams prior to their rule. What were the different kinds of Inam tenures. What was the role that Inams played in the social, religious, political and economic structures. How were the relations maintained between the grantor and the grantee?

What were the changes in the role of Inam brought by the Government ? What were the legislations with regard to Inam from 1801 to 1871? and why were so many legislations passed by the Government. What were the policy compulsions that necessitated the British to control Inams during the nineteenth century. Why did the colonial Government resume Inams indiscriminately ?

What were the circumstances under which the Government wanted to establish the Inam Commission. What were the procedures and methods adopted by the Commission to settle the Inams. Were they different from the earlier Acts of the Government ? Why did the Government take so long a time in order to establish the Inam Commission. If the Government wanted to settle the Inams in the later half of the nineteenth century, what type of settlement was there prior to the establishment of Inam Commission ?

Like other tenurial structures, Inams also had different intermediaries

who held the land. What was the role of these Inamdars. Were they affected by the various regulations of the Government. What sort of right did the Inamdar has in land? Was there any tenant and cultivator who worked on Inam land. What were the conditions governing them ? Why was Inam tenure considered as a favourable tenure?

The policy formulations of the Government had great impact on the question of succession to the Inam property. What was the nature of the disputes ? Who were involved in the disputes over the Inam property? What was the role of Government in such disputes?

Apart from the general policy formulations with regard to the settlements of Inam, there were differences in the settlements of various kinds of Inams in different parts of the Madras Presidency. How did the British government differentiate the kinds of Inams and in what way it settled them? On what considerations the Government classified Inams into different categories.

**Method of Investigation**:

The methodology adopted in this study is to analyze the British land settlement policies in colonial context. To assess the role of Inam during the British rule, it is necessary to compare it with the role it played prior to their assumption of administration of Madras Presidency. Hence a systematic analysis of the documents collected is followed in this study. The study begins with the premise that the colonial Government has brought changes in their dealings with the Inams because of the policy compulsions. The changes were shaped in such a way so as to suit the political and economic needs of the Government. It also takes into account that the British Policy in India was one of self aggrandizement, to maximize the revenue with minimum expenditure.

Their attitude to Inam settlements was highly influenced by this general trend.

**Organization of the study:**

The ambiguous and dialectical way in which the pre-colonial and colonial period appeared in various documents and scholarly works have been coherently analyzed, taking Inams as an institutional whole; and the work is presented in the sequence of chapters. Apart from the Introduction which includes the definition and meaning of Inam, significance and relevance, area and period of study, review of literature, working hypotheses, sources and the method of investigation, the study consists of seven chapters as described below.

The first chapter discusses the role of Inam in the pre-colonial period. It presents the views of the British officials and their opinions on Inam prior to their rule. There is a discussion of various Inam tenurial structures, how they were dealt and the functions they performed in the social structure. The general argument is developed concerning the dynamic social, cultural and economic context within which Inams thrived in pre-colonial period. The concentration of Inams in South India as a larger part of land tenures is to suggest that the cultural understandings underlying the Inam in pre-colonial period were themselves part of a dynamic and evolving socio-historical context. It also suggests to develop a sort of historical knowledge of this period, which was important even during the period of British rule. The presentation of the role of Inam in the pre-colonial phase is to provide an overall idea of the actual context in which issues pertaining to Inams were related during colonial period. It also represents the broad tenurial issues to which the British, from the assumption of administrative charges, had to address themselves as the new rulers.

The role of Inams during the British period is discussed in the second chapter. This chapter uses largely the British administrative data in order to assess the ways in which the British came to deal with the Inams. Its argument was that British efforts to control the alienations of Inams had forced it to act in accordance with the political, social and economic needs of the colonial Government and also of providing the natives with a new role within the framework of colonial interests.

Chapter three discusses about the role of Inam Commission in the settlement of the Inams in Madras Presidency. The Procedures and the methods adopted by the Inam Commission for inquiring into the title-deeds of Inams occupied the core of the presentation made in this chapter. While discussing the Inam Commission's works, it highlights the necessity for the formation of rules and settlement of Inams in the Presidency.

The tenurial structures of Inams are presented in chapter four. It discusses the various intermediaries occupied in the structure of Inam holdings. The role of Inamdar, the tenants, the cultivators and their interrelations have formed the subject of discussion here. All the different segments of the Inam tenures have to ultimately interact with colonial rulers. The subjugation of these various structural elements by the formulation of various policies in different times is discussed. The changes brought by the colonial Government in positional set-up of the Inamdar along with the gradual changing social and economic structure is brought out in this chapter.

Chapter five discusses the interaction between the Inam property rights and the colonial policy on the basis of the data provided by various British documents, which involved the different Inamdars and Government in the disputes during the British rule. The argument of this chapter is that the

product of interaction between the Inamdar and Government and Inamdar and Zamindar, was a result of the colonial policy and its effects on the succession to the Inam property. On the one hand the Government acquired a superior right over the land and defined the nature of control over the Inam; but at the same time the interaction between the Inam and colonial policy encouraged the arbitrary formation of rules of the diverse rights of various Inamdars over Inam property in such a way as to seriously endanger the function of once privileged institution during the British rule.

Chapter six presents the various kinds of Inams that existed in Madras Presidency during the British rule. The settlement of these Inams by the British after adopting different rules for each kind of Inam is discussed here. The considerations in fixing the rate of jodi or quit-rent, imposed on different kinds of Inams by the Government is also analyzed here.

At the end, the analysis of the study is brought out in order to formulate a general argument about the continuity and change in the role of Inam as a social, cultural, and economic institution and evaluated, in retrospect, the theoretical and methodological premises with which this introduction has begun.

**Sources**:

The sources utilized for the study are numerous and varied. They include from private papers of some erstwhile Inam holders to the Governmental reports and records. Greater caution has been taken particularly while referring to the British Governmental records. The colonial sociology attempted to justify the policies of the British Government. This justification demanded to undermine the role of different social institutions in the pre-colonial period. Hence, before the data is used, one is reminded of such problems associated with the

British Governmental records.

The data for the study undertaken is found in different source materials. There is a report on the Inams in Madras Presidency by W.T. Blair, the Inam Commissioner. It speaks about the existence of various kinds of Inams in different districts of Madras Presidency. The report also provides the statistics of the extent of different kinds of Inams and the quit-rent imposed on them. *The Board's Consultations* and the *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue* have a wealth of information regarding individual Inams in different districts. They present the information about the holder of Inam, where it existed, rate of quit-rent, the extent of Inam and other such historical knowledge. Such information is also available in the G.O.s of the *Revenue Department*. For the first half of the nineteenth century, there is lot of information available in the *Districts records*. They provide deeper insights to the functioning of Inams. The *Retained Disposals*, preserved in the Chittoor District Collectorate, have information about the Inams. For a general understanding, the *District Manuals* of all the districts of Madras Presidency are a must. Official reports of the different districts, such as, "Report on Western Pollems" by George Stratton, Greams, Lushington etc., mention the Inam settlements carried in their respective areas. *The Estate Land Act Committee Report* (1938) also throw light on the Inam tenures. Apart from these primary sources, numerous secondary sources like books and articles in journals etc., are consulted to strengthen the arguments presented in the study and also for a theoretical framework.

# CHAPTER - I

# ROLE OF INAMS DURING PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

The practice of granting Inams was an age old custom in South India. But this practiced assumed greater significance from the ninth century as is evident from the increase in the number of Inam grants.[1] Various kinds of Inams were granted during the pre-colonial period as it was not only because of the custom of the rulers and other chiefs but also because of the political and social necessities that compelled them to admit and rely on the landed elites.[2] Whoever succeeded to the throne in different kingdoms during the pre-colonial period, whether a strong ruler or a weak, a native or an intruder, he was bound to grant Inams to the various individuals or groups of importance in the political, social and economic structure, to incorporate them in the system of administration. As different rulers succeeded one after the other, the number of Inams also increased gradually and such lands occupied one-third part of the whole tenurial system in Madras Presidency by the middle of the nineteenth century.[3] However, the increase in the number of Inams was seen as a result of the "anarchy" which followed the overthrow of the native dynasties and which was continued until the British assumed power in Southern India.[4] The

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1 For the numerous grants made during the period of Pallavas refer C Minakshi, *Administration and Social life under the Pallavas*, Madras, 1938, Pp.94-111, 170-185 and 186-212. Also refer *Epigraphical Indica* and *South Indian Inscriptions* for the numerous grant of Inams from ninth century onwards.

2 Nicholas, B. Dirks, "Political Authority and Structural Change in Early South Indian History", in *IESHR*, 1976, Pp.125-158.

3 Burton Stein, "Privileged Land Holding : The Concept stretched to cover the Case", in R.E. Frykenberg ed., *Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia*, New Delhi, 1977, p.68.

4 *A Collection of Papers relating to Inam Settlement in Madras Presidency* (*CPRIS*): Selections from the records of the Madras Government, New (Revenue)

assumption was that when the central rule collapsed, the *Nattars, Kattubadidars, Palegars* and others alienated the revenues to a considerable extent. The political system during the late pre-colonial period was conceived wrongly by the British. It was not because of the weakness of the central authority that the number of Inams increased, but the changing political structure that necessitated the incorporation of various groups which integrated the state. The eighteenth century should not be viewed as though regional elites usurped the power at the cost of the central authority. But instead it should be seen as a period when the decentralization of the political world was part of a vital expansion of new, often previously peripheral, political centers and initiatives.[5] The various groups though relatively independent during the late medieval period when compared to the earlier period, they were functioning in their roles according to the responsibilities bestowed on them. This was made possible because of the patronage they received from their chiefs. The patronage system i.e. the grant of Inams played the role of integration of various groups in the state during the pre-colonial period rather than the role of degeneration of political power at the center. These various groups, from the village to the center which played a constructive role in the formation and sustenance of the state were provided with the Inams which were revenue-free or with nominal rent i.e. jodi. These various groups have formed the political structure of the pre-colonial period and thus formed a pyramidical structure of the state.

The importance of Inams would be evident from the relations that the

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Series, No.1, Madras 1948, p.311.

5 Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Bombay, 1989, p.410.

grantees maintained with their grantors. These grantees, in different hierarchical positions, established their relations with their grantors not only in terms of political or tribute extracting or rent paying groups, but it went even beyond that. When the lesser chiefs offered their service to their higher chiefs, their services were recognized in the form of Inams. These Inams were not just lands to sustain the establishments of different grantees but inherently carried a value more than what generally was understood. Inams always included titles, emblems and honours along with the rights to enjoy usufruct from the land, and in some cases the privilege to rule on behalf of the grantor over a particular land or village or locality.[6] Inams granted to the Palegars and the Kattubadidars and other lesser chiefs formed the last category mentioned above. Thus the Palegars and other chiefs received power to rule over the area assigned to them. In this way the sovereignty was shared between the king and other chiefs. However, this shared sovereignty was always limited, partial and sometimes specifically expressed. The titles and emblems gifted to the clients sometimes bore names similar to that of the titles and emblems of the overlords, symbolizing as though the persons who carry them were the rulers to be reigned over the area assigned to them but simultaneously as the subordinate of the king. This would be evident through the Inams granted for the various chiefs, the kin of royal family etc. in the pre-colonial South India.

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6 Nicholas B. Dirks, "From Little King to Landlord : Property, Law and the Gift under the Madras Permanent Settlement," in *CSSH*, 1986, p.311.

**Inams in the Political Structure:**

The role of Inams during the ancient Hindu Kingdoms like that of Cholas highlight their significance. The administrative structure was on a hierarchical basis. The kingdom was divided into mandalams (provinces), which were eight or nine in total. Each mandalam was divided into valnadus or districts. These in turn were sub-divided into groups of villages, variously called *Kurram*, *Nadu* or *Kottam*. Occasionally a very large village would be administered as a single unit and this was called as *taniyar*. Chola officials participated in village affairs more as advisors and observers than as administrators. It indicates that there was less interference from the upper level of political structure, which was a noticeable feature of the Madras Presidency when compared to other parts of the sub-continent. The basic assumption in the type of village autonomy emerging at this period was that each village should be administered by the villagers themselves. To this purpose a village assembly, *Sabha* or *Samithi* was formed and authority was vested in this assembly.

The village assembly was responsible for collecting the assessment for the government. In many cases it was collected as a joint assessment on the entire village.

The existence of the assembly did not eliminate the need for an intermediary between the village and the king, other than the king's officer. There were different levels of intermediaries in the hierarchical structure that existed between the king and the village assembly. However, these intermediaries never held supreme control over the village. The degree of autonomy at the village level was such that shifting relations in the upper

levels of the administrative and political structure did not interfere with the routine life of the village. This was possible due to the considerable degree of economic and political self-sufficiency of the village and both social institutions and economic activity were organized within this framework. The intermediary was chiefly interested in collecting the revenue and passing on the king's share. This degree of autonomy was recognized by Nilakanta Sastry but opined that the Nadu always obliged the central authority and thus it was the central power which exercised the overwhelming power on the regions.[7] In contrast to the opinion expressed by Sastry, the division which enjoyed the greater autonomy was termed on the "segmentary" by Burton Stein and the state of Cholas as the "segmentary state".[8] Whatever may be the opinions expressed by various authors, the fact was that the local areas exercised a considerable autonomy in the matters that decided their local affairs.

Such autonomy of the local assemblies has gradually increased after the decline of cholas during the thirteenth century, when Hoyasalas established their rule in the region held by the great Cholas. These rulers aligned themselves with the Tamil warriors from the Southern region (Pandyas) for their authority over the local chiefs. In other areas, *Periya Nattars* began to exercise forms of political power as never before.

The administrative structure had become more stratified and more closely connected with the pattern of the economy, a tendency which had begun to emerge in the Chola period. The state, during the Vijayanagar period, exercised control more through the local leaders. These local leaders or chiefs helped

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7 K.A. Nilakanta Sastry, *The Cholas,* Madras, 1975, Pp.503-515.

8 Burton Stein, "The segmentary state in South Indian History" in Richard, G. Fox ed., *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, New Delhi, 1977, Pp.3-51.

the state to collect the regular taxes from peripheral parts of the state. The organization of the state, at this time, depended on these chiefs. It was inevitable for the state to depend on them because these chiefs regularly met the military needs of the state. Nayakas or Palegars, as they were known, great or small warriors, played a constructive role in the tribute extraction and the expansion of the empire. As the holders of the Amaram, a military tenure, they were called as Amara nayakas. The king during the Vijayanagar period had to depend on these chiefs for the purpose of equipping himself with an efficient army and these chiefs fulfilled their role by providing the king with men and money.[9] This was viewed as a military confederation of many chiefs.[10] These chiefs (or Nayakas) were also the territorial magnates in their own right which was one of their dispersal role during the pre-colonial period.[11]

Thus the kingdom received strong support from the Telugu and Karnataka chieftains of Adoni, Bankapura, Dharwar etc. These chiefs (Palegars) grew powerful under the central power that aligned them, and when its sway began to decline after the Battle of Tallikota, they later found their way into the interior of Madras Presidency and became more independent. Thus the growth of the Nayaka's rule at Ginji, Madura, Tanjavur etc., had strong connections with these Palegars. The importance of the area further increased during the seventeenth century shortly after the shifting of capital from Penugonda to Vellore in 1592 A.D.

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9 N. Venkata Ramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Delhi, 1986, p.170.

10 Nilakanta Sastry, *A History of South India*, Madras, 1987, Pp.307-309.

11 Burton Stein, "Vijayanagara, C. 1350-1564", in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib ed., *Cambridge Economic History of India*, New Delhi, Vol.I, p.105.

The Palegars after entering the new lands aligned themselves with one or the other royal factions with a view to achieving the best positions and simultaneously, maintaining their independent status. The Nayakas assured their position by the fortification of their territories, the maintenance of strong core military formations under their direct control and the attraction of the homage of lesser chiefs.

These intrusions into all parts of the Madras Presidency by the warriors from within and outside it, has made them as the new intermediary leaders. With them came Telugu Brahmans in Tamil region and Maratha Brahmansin circar region. There were others who came along with them i.e., cultivators, labourers and mercantile groups.[12] These people did displace the settled one, but utilized land which the latter had neglected. These people discouraged the continued existence of ethnic territoriality to which they must forever be outsiders. The success of these warriors and their followers in establishing stable relationships with local Tamil and Telugu chiefs is the most persuasive evidence that the earlier forms of ethnic organization had in fact decisively weakened prior to the Vijayanagar period. Thus the descendants of the ancient *Nattars* were compelled during the Vijayanagara times to reduce the scope of their control over agrarian resources to quite atomized villages in the localities of their previous dominance.

While the new centers of power in South India under the Nayakas and other lesser chiefs weakened the central power of Vijayanagara State, it collaterally stimulated the economic activity and development. They followed the economic

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12 Burton Stein, "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India", in R.E. Frykenberg ed. *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, New Delhi, Pp.188-196.

policies of the Vijayanagara rulers. The formation of new market places and artisan quarters, the interest shown by the royal families, the involvement of temple, all encouraged the internal and external trade. At Ginji, care was taken to provide separate residences, market and work-quarters in which the right and left hand castes had jurisdictions.[13] The Nayaka also took interest in the building of irrigation sources for the development of agriculture and also dug the canals for carrying water to the towns. The Nayakas of Madura built more canals and tanks in Tambraparni river valley which eventually led to the expansion of irrigation facilities in the southern part of the Madura region.[14]

Thus it is evident that the numerous intrusions and the dependence of the kings, nayakas or even the lesser chiefs made the former to incorporate the latter groups in the state, having the society more heterogeneous. This process was continued from the time of Pallavas when the king incorporated the various chiefs belonging to different castes e.g., Maravar, Kallar and Paratavar.[15] The South Indian armies during the pre-colonial period did not organize on the same kinship basis as the Rajput clans and lineages in North India.[16]

The heterogeneity of the society is evident from other aspect also. As there were many intrusions into the various parts of Madras Presidency, the

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13 Burton Stein, *Op.Cit.*, p.208.

14 David Ludden, "Patronage and Irrigation in Tamil Nadu : A Long-term View", in *IESHR*, 1980, Pp.353-357.

15 Nicholas B. Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.130.

16 *Ibid.*, p.130. For North Indian (Rajput) kinship system refer Henri Stern, "Power in Tradition India, Territory, caste and kinship in Rajasthan" in Richard G. Fox, ed., *Op.Cit.*, Pp.52-78.

caste structure was not organized on hierarchical basis. The universal existence of caste was also not found in South India as there were many small divisive groups attached to local territories.

Before the assumption of administrative power by the British, the medieval polity in South was characterized by the development of many ruling families scattered in different areas. The political and economic institutions did experience a change from the Pallavas. From then onwards the royal gift became an autonomous arena for the proclamation and expression of authority.[17] The Inam grants which was previously only one element of the basic definition of kings as sacrificers, now became the central constituent of sovereignty.

The more the Inams, honours and rights the patron made to his client, the more the client participated in the sovereignty of his patron and so the more the client represented the sovereign in his own right. The conferment of Inams while indicating the solidarity and hierarchy among the patrons and clients from ruler down to the village officials, it also creates two poles of relation, center and periphery, which appear as the two distinct groups reigning over their respective areas. This was made possible because of the transference of authority while conferring Inams on the clients.

The hold on authority sometimes led the client to become more powerful and thus acted on his own in the matters that were related to the areas which he held. These were not the signs of disloyalty. This did not stop the patrons to confer Inams on the clients. If the patron felt that the clients became more independent, there was no need to confer any more Inams or to resume the existing Inams, because, then the political system established through the

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17 *Ibid.*, p.133

Inams could be disrupted. Sometimes the client claimed that he enhanced his power only to enhance the power of his patron. This enhancement of power by the client sometimes could lead to a conflict, as it happened in the case of Madurai during the reign of Achyutadeva Raya. The events could be summed up as:

> In the first half of Sixteenth century, the tributary chiefs of Vijayanagara, Chandra Sekhar Pandyan of Madura and Vira Sekhara Chola of Tanjore engaged in a war. The latter conquered the former's territory and pushed him away from Madura. Chandra Sekhar Pandyan fled to Vijayanagar and asked Raya's help to regain his lost kingdom. The Raya promptly responded to the request of Pandyan ruler and sent Nagama Nayaka to chastise the refractory Chola. Nagama Nayaka subjugated the Tanjore ruler and other refractory chiefs. In the meantime, Pandyan ruler was given pension for his maintenance. However, for some time Nagama Nayaka did not transfer the power to the Pandyan ruler and the latter complained this to the ruler of Vijayanagara. When enquired, Nagama Nayaka replied stating that he wanted to regain the money spent on the war. The reply angered the Raya so much that he sent a force under Viswanatha Nayaka to defeat Nagama Nayaka. Viswanatha Nayaka, defeated Nagama Nayaka and brought him to Vijayanagara.[18]

The client Nagama Nayaka's conduct need not be interpreted as the sign of disloyalty . Sometimes, when the client grew powerful, he is more likely to start acting on his own. Nagama Nayaka's contention was that the Pandyan ruler was not able to command the loyalty of refractory chiefs and hence there should be a powerful ruler to subjugate them. In this incident, the client acted on his own because he wanted to enhance the power of him as well as his overlord. In the process the client would, perhaps have gained independence and this

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[18] C.D. Maclean, *Manual of the Administration of Madras Presidency*, New Delhi, 1987, Vol.I. p.121 and p.154. Also see, Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire*, New Delhi, 1980, Vol.I, Pp.124-127. K.A. Nilakanta Sastry and N. Venkata Ramanayya ed., *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, University of Madras, 1946, Vol.II, p.225.

could lead to the conflict as it did between the Raya of Vijayanagara and Nagama Nayaka. However, the patron, the Raya of Vijayanagara, ultimately, was able to establish his overall authority over the client, Nagama Nayaka. Nagama Nayaka was not punished but was liberated as a gift to his son, Viswanatha Nayaka, who defeated the father and brought to Vijayanagara kingdom. Here, the Inam acted in different ways indicating the multidimensional relations it maintained.

Such situations kept the patrons always to follow the logic of political relations and thus increase their command over the symbolic and material capital of their rule which expressed in it continued overall authority on the clients, through the grants of Inams. Inam as a mode of state craft compelled the king to engage in expansive and incorporative activity. The pre-colonial political system encouraged the kings to launch *digvijaya*, a tour of conquest, through which they established their personal rule over all chiefs and made them to pay a regular tribute to them .[19] This was an easy process on which a king can depend on the revenue systems which sometimes gave least material support.[20] Thus expansion, incorporation and war increased the capacity of the patron to grant Inams to his clients.

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19 *Digvijaya*: Generally the supreme ruler did not hanker after territory so much as after having his superior prowess acknowledged. The description of digvijaya in Mahabharata indicate that there was no aggrandizement by acquiring fresh territory but all that was desired was to make the several kings submit and pay tribute or offer presents. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Poona, 1973, Vol.III, p.68. The Kings in pre-colonial South India as elsewhere went on digvijaya to conquer more and more territory in order to grant them as Inams, to their chiefs for the maintenance of their establishment.

20 R. Caldwell, *A Political History and General History of the District of Tinnevelly in the Presidency of Madras from the earliest period to its cessation to the English Government in 1801 A.D.*, Madras, 1881.

**Structure of Privilege Grants:**

The structure of Inams during the pre-colonial period reflects the structure of political power and socio-cultural participation within the kingdom or empire and village institutions. The chief landholders during this period were the great Maravas, Kallars, Cervaikkarars, Vadugas, Reddys, Kammas, Kapus, Muslims (especially in Tondai mandalam) etc. They were collateral relations of the king who participated in expansion and sustenance of the state. Most of the chiefs were provided with Jagir grants by the king. These royal families kept the estates intact until they were settled by the British during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The Jagirs were the large political grants, each containing a small court and a full set of Inam grants, including the "amaram lands". The Jagirs, in Madras Presidency consisted of group of villages which paid a nominal fixed rent to the king.

The next important class of people that formed the hierarchical structure of the privilege land holdings during the pre-colonial period were the Palegars or Zamindars and other big landholders. Generally the majority of this class of people belong to the same sub-caste which their patrons or chiefs of the region belonged. They were given large grants of land, titles, honours and emblems. They were served by the *Amarakarars* and *Kattubadidars* who were the armed retainers and accompanied to the battle along with their chiefs and took their honours and emblems to the royal court and temples when the occasions, such as coronation, festivals etc., demanded. Other lesser chiefs came from different sub-castes of Kallars, Maravars etc. Throughout the Madras Presidency Inams were also granted to other sub-castes, who were called in

diminutive form as cervais (in Pudukkottai), to keep watch over villages and localities not dominated by loyal kallars, Maravars, Vadugas etc.

These intermediaries were gifted with the grants of land in the villages. The Inam sometime consisted of waste land which was granted to the distinguished servants of the state, temple, monastery and mosque. The Inams of these hereditary intermediaries often consisted of the grant of the whole village itself (Darmilla or Mukhasa Inam).

In the village, the headman was given Inam in recognition of his local authority, who also used this authority as the representative of the state's power at large. These headmen, generally belonged to the dominant caste of their locality. The other dominant members of the village were called as the *Mirassidars* and were found in all the districts of Madras Presidency.[21] These *Mirassidars* were later assimilated by the British in the process of formation of formal bureaucracy.[22] The colonial government tried to keep these mirassidars as dependent as possible. Nevertheless, these Headmen are considered as powerful elites even during the twentieth century as the petty chiefs and *Kattubadidars* of the eighteenth century.

The mirassidars are elevated to the prestigious position because they were having a direct link with the king which was manifested through the

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21 Burton Stein, *Vijayanagara*, New Delhi, n.d. p.98.

*Mirassidar*: means the holder of mirassi right. Local landed elite, sometimes used interchangeably for the local ampalam (i.e. headman of caste, sub-caste, lineage, village etc), sometimes used specifically to designate a revenue agent appointed by the state. It originally signified the inheritance of right of land holding and often government service from the late 18th century.

22 Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, London, 1892, Vol.3, pp.109-127. Also refer Brian J. Murton, "Key People in the Countryside : Decision Makers in interior Tamilnadu in the late eighteenth century" in *IESHR*, 1973, Pp.166-180.

responsibilities and honours bestowed on them. These privileges included the Inam lands and specific emblems. They were the crucial component of the authority of office as frequent disputes occurred over it than the economic benefits accrued from the land. Individual mirassidar families could usurp resources traditionally attached to shares, and then fight to keep them, either locally or by the favour of some higher authority. Factions, in pre-colonial South India, in villages were formed around families recognized as the leaders in the community, who would have had many advantages in struggles occurring in that area between individual family and collective community assets. The heads of these families served as revenue contractors.[23]

The village also consisted of *payikaris* (tenants) who were *Ulkudi* (permanent) the original residents of the village and the *Parakudi* (temporary), who did not belong to the village but migrated from other places. The other village officials consisted of village servants and artisans, collectively called as *ayagars.*

The village officers owned more or less large mirassi land and were also allowed to have Inam land as well. They were entitled to enjoy certain rights and privileges in the village, e.g. to receive some amount of produce from peasants and village artisans. Their office and accompanying Inam land as well as privileges were not only heritable but saleable and transferable with the acknowledgement of state authorities and village assembly. The mirassidar peasants were permanent residents of the village and paid the regular revenue and miscellaneous cesses to the state on their mirassi land in which they held a fairly complete proprietary right. Though it was not a frequent practice,

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[23] David Ludden, *Peasant History in South India*, Delhi, 1989, Pp.85-91.

they could sell their own land. In the late medieval period village headmen were entitled to appropriate the waste land of their villages as their own land and village assembly also could dispose of waste land as Inam land through sale or gift to the willing peasants.

*Parakudi payikaris*, the temporary residents of the village, had left their native villages due to famines and devastations caused by wars etc. They would make an agreement with the village headmen to cultivate their land or waste land therein and pay a certain amount of rent. Apart from being the tenants of the mirassi they were also the tenants of Inam lands owned by village officers, temples, Mirassidars, headmen etc.

The *ayagars* collectively consisted, apart from headman, karnam and Talliar, carpenter, blacksmith, potter, shoemaker, barber etc. Their number varied according to the size of the village. In their respective capacities and according to the caste they represented, they served the villagers whenever required and were paid the remuneration at two harvests of the year which was usually in kind but occasionally in cash also. Besides this, they were entitled to certain shares of offerings dedicated to the temples, and to some other perquisites on special occasions. Moreover, many of them were given by the village a small plot of Inam land, which was cultivated by themselves. They were divided into permanent and temporary residents of the village. The permanent class were entitled to receive permanent remuneration recognized as mirassi or Inam; the later category received rewards so long as they worked in the village. The shares of grain heap of one-ninth was taken before its division between the king and the villagers. Village officials, artisans and servants were under services in many forms. Most of the village Inams

specified services both to the temple and village.[24] These many inter-connections which linked the constituent parts of the village community together and thus linked the village to the state. A.M. Hocart viewed the service group in the village as the priesthood and a connecting link between mundane service and the ritual performance. According to him:

> .....the barber and the washermen like the drummers are not so much technicians as priest of low grade.....potters sometimes officiate as priests in temples of village goddesses ....carpenters make the temple car in return for grants of land.[25]

The link between political and ritual communities was articulated by Hocart on the basis of services and lordship in the pre-modern period. The development of kingship acted as the base for the relationship between the village and the state, and also in organizing the complex of ritual and social services.

The services and goods exchanged in the village, in the pre-colonial period was interpreted as the Jajmani System.[26] However these services and goods

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[24] Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi, 1985, p.424.

[25] A.M. Hocart, cited in Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.121.

[26] Louis Dumont held the view that Jajmani System existed, more or less, in all parts of India. According to him it was a system of closed economy of the Indian village in which essential goods and services were found or used to be found, either on the spot or in the immediate vicinity. Different castes, in this system, were bound together in the village. This was called as the "village community" by Marx in the economic sense of the phrase. The division of labour, in this system, was expressed through the hereditary personal relationships, and the payment was made in kind. To a large extent it was a question of the natural economy as opposed to monetary economy. Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus*, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1970, Pp.97-106. However, Jajmani according to Perlin, is a term hastily conceived, delegating a spurious unity to a variety of different kinds (even different systems) of legal, primordial, ceremonial and even ideological exchange, coexisting with other, more conventional and indisputably economic kind of activity. Frank Perlin, "The material and the Culture : An attempt to Transcend the present Impasse", in *MAS*, 1988, p.391. However, Washbrook wrote that the advancement in the

were not only exchanged andutilized within the locality but it actually transcended the boundary of the locality or village. The different functions performed by various service groups was possible because of the incentive, social security and social insurance they enjoyed in the pre-colonial period. The Inam grants while acting as the incentive, social security and social insurance to these service groups, also made them to feel privileged as they were part of the king's extended authority.[27] Inam grants and the attachment of the Inamdars to their functional roles created new forms of integration, in the pre-colonial period, in which transition took place in the traditional role of various Inamdars in the structure of privilege. This transition was contemporaneous with the development of relations with outside of their locality. The advancement in specialization of production which eventually led to the surplus production and the growth of trade, repudiate the theories of village self-sufficiency and the Jajmani System. The privileged structure (or the existence of Inams) was able to integrate and accommodate the changing social and economic conditions during the pre-colonial period.

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specialization of production and the monetization of the 'labour class' and the numerous intrusion precluded the village self-sufficiency as stated by Moreland and Marx. It indicates that there was no such system existed in South India. D.A. Washbrook, "Progress and Problems : South Asian Economic and Social History c.1720-1860", in *MAS*, 1988, Pp.62-63. All the available evidence counter the idea of the existence of Jajmani System. The process of commercialization and monetization in the late pre-colonial period integrated very large numbers of urban and rural inhabitants into extensive relationships of production transcending localities and regions.

27 Mirassi and Inam, the system of hereditary properties, which are found in mature form in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries enabled the Palegars and other chiefs to emerge strong and form relatively free establishments i.e. Palems and other localities, when compared to the earlier periods. Both Mirassi (or Inam) and kinship include a good deal of ritual payment and ceremonial exchange which would conventionally be described as Jajmani, yet the existence of money-use and the advancement in the specialization of production affected the same system and the self-sufficiency of villages. See Frank Perlin, *Op.Cit.*, p.400.

**The role of Religious Grants:**

Among the different kinds of Inams, religious grants played a major role in the determination of British policy on Inams during the colonial period. Religious grants, even in the pre-colonial period, were central to the privileged structure and were active in the maintenance of relations between the king and the ritual domain.[28] The shift from the king as the sacrificer to the king as the benefactor of Inam coincided with the beginning of temple building associated with Puranic deities, such as Vishnu and Shiva. Numerous grants to the temples, during the Pallava period marks it evident that there was a spurt in the religious grants made by the kings. An inscription of Nrpatunga dated in his 18th year from Tiruvadi in South Arcot states that the Pandyan king Varaguna Maharaja was the donor to the temple situated in the heart of the Pallava kingdom.[29] During the Chola period also, this type of royal generosity was the basis for a generous royal endowment of temples, as well as for the grants to the Brahmans i.e. *Brahmadeyas*. Temple building and the Inam grants for their sustenance has played a peculiar and powerful role in

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[28] The political system was described by the Hocart as the ritual system and was viewed both as homologous rather than evolutionally derivative. King was seen as the central actor or principal in the ritual domain. The principal of the ritual, if he was human, was the head of the community. In a small tribe of low degree we call him the headman, in more advanced or larger communities we call him the king. This shows that in pre-colonial South India, the leader of the state was seen as heading the ritual system and in the area of study he was known as the king and consequently as the ritual king. This term was frequently used in the cultural study of the pre-colonial South India. Rodney Needham ed., A.M. Hocart, *Kings and Councilors: An Essay in the Comparative Autonomy of Human Society*, Chicago, 1970, p.86.

[29] C. Minakshi, *Op.Cit.*, p.163.

shaping the relations between the secular as well as ritual domains during the Chola period also.

However, from about 1350 A.D. , the south witnessed a serious decline of the Brahmadeya grants with the concomitant rise in the Inam grants to the temples.[30] Religious grants, during Vijayanagara period, became the centers of agrarian development. Endowments of land and money to the temples were given to maintain ritual performances of religious institutions in perpetuity and they in turn became involved in schemes of productive agricultural development and to produce a stable flow of income. Simultaneously, these temple endowments were a major technique for the extension of royal control into new areas and transactions involving both material resources and temple honours permitted the absorption of new local constituencies into Vijayanagara rule.[31] The relationship of kings to temples cannot be understood without taking into account the variety of local sectarian groups and local dominant leaders who were responsible for the management of temples.[32]

**Different kinds of Religious Grants:**

Temple endowments or Devadayams were the land grants provided without any revenue on them, to be paid to the king. Sarvamanyam, which also formed the religious grant, the land grants to Brahmans were totally exempted from paying

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30 Burton Stein, *Op.Cit.*, p.194 and also refer Appadurai, *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule*, p.64.

31 *Ibid.*, p.64.

32 *Ibid.*, p.65.

rent. These grants make evident the relations that existed between the king and the local village ritual and thus sustained the entire structure of ritual hierarchy. The grant may be of land, land revenue, or a fixed periodical allowance, the later was called *tasdik* or *mohini*. These grants made easy for the temples to organize the local ritual systems, facilitating the cultural coordination among the different castes or sub-castes, or social groups within the village and also deciding the ranking lineages (pollution-purity among the castes), thus sustaining the traditional social structure during the pre-colonial period. Services to the Temples were clearly indicated in the hierarchical level which coincides the village hierarchical structure.

*Brahmadeya* and *Bhattavritti* were the grants provided to the Brahmans for their personal benefits. There were some other Inam grants provided for specific purposes. *Acharyapurusha*, granted to the head priest of Temple, for performing the religious rites regularly. *Adhyayanam* was granted for chanting vedas. These grants were recorded by numerous epigraphical sources publicly proclaiming the importance i.e. *punyam* (merit) that accrued to the donor from such grants and also due to the centrality of the concept of Inams to the ideology of the dharmic kingship. The duty of the Indian king, according to the Shastras was to provide the economical source to the brahmans who chants mantras and render other ritual services for the protection and surety of his prosperity and that of his kingdom.[33] The grants to chatrams (choultries), the

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[33] There are many texts which make it a duty on the king's part to show himself generous towards Brahmans. He obtains for himself, thereby, as Manu and Yajnavalkya say, an "imperishable treasure" (*akshayanidhi*) of merits which will compensate for the sins which he might be led to commit in the course of his government. A *fortiori* he must see to it that no Brahman suffers privation in his kingdom, and he must even aid from his personal purse any who are found to be in need. Robert Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, New Delhi, 1973, p.218.

places of temporary residence and also the place where the pilgrims and Brahmans were provided food, was one more act of the dharmic king to get *punya* and this was shared by all who participated in the protection and preservation of them. This was articulated in the copper plates issued while making Inam grants to the Brahmans.

The prevailing force of royal ideology encouraged for the construction of the numerous temples and brahmanic institutions in all over the South India. When calculated by Blair, Inam Commissioner, in the latter half of nineteenth century, Inams granted for religious purpose consisted of 14, 58, 081 acres with an hypothetical tax, quit-rent, potential of an amount of Rs. 24,22,467.[34] The same number of acres of lands or even more should have been existed prior to the British under this category. The lands granted to these temples were among the best irrigated areas in different kingdoms during the pre-colonial period. They were watered by different irrigational sources, classified as high yielding lands and relatively secure from the alien attacks, during the time of wars because of the sacredness attached to them by the Hindu shastras. The role of *devadana* lands and other Inam grants should be analyzed within the larger context of rural development which occurred in Tamilnadu during and after the Vijayanagara period. A considerable part of the income accrued from these lands was invested in irrigation development and other allied activities. The temple was also provided loans to the ryots and others whenever there was need for the development of agriculture and also financed for carrying trade in the inter and intra regions. This kind of enterpreneurship was exhibited by the Temple and the management that supervised temple lands. The construction

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34 *CPRIS*, p.319.

of more number of temples during the Vijayanagara period and after, makes it evident that there were large tracts of land grants (devadanas) which supported their (temple) establishments. However, there are many imperfections in the available data which shows the existence of more than 2000 temples, whose major structures may have been constructed during the period c.1300 A.D. to 1750 A.D. These temples were dedicated to a variety of deities viz., Siva, Vishnu, Murugan, Ganesa, Amman or goddesses and other deities. Excluding Tanjavur, for which no accurate data is collected, every taluk in modern Tamilnadu consisted of on average one or two temples, constructed in every century between fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. The distribution of temples in different regions was represented as shown in the following table.

**TABLE NO. I-1. SHOWING NUMBER OF TEMPLES CONSTRUCTED IN TAMIL NADU (EXCEPT TANJAVUR) DURING c.1300- c.1750 A.D.**

| Region | No. of Temples |
|---|---|
| Tondaimandalam (Chingleput and North Arcot districts) | 406 |
| Naduvit-nadu (South Arcot district) | 332 |
| Pandyumandalum (comprising the districts of Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveri and kanyathmari) | 780 |
| Kongumandalam (Coimbatore district) | 517 |

Source : Tapan Ray Chaudhury, Irfan Habib ed., *Cambridge Economic History of India,* vol.I, pp.113-114.

The successive rulers did not disrupt the Inams granted by their predecessors but, actually recognized them and tried to preserve them. In addition to that, the new rulers went on adding to the existing grants. This reflects the importance given to the Inam grants during the pre-colonial period. These religious grants were not provided merely to legitimize the kingship. They, in reality, underlined the universal outlook which gave a central importance to brahmanical learning, ritual importance and royal support for the worship of deities in the temples.[35]

Temple, in the pre-colonial period, was seen as the utilitarian as it was used to worship for the prosperity of the king and his kingdom. In other

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[35] Robert Lingat., *Op.Cit.*, Pp.215-222.

words, the prosperity of the people was derived through the worship in the temple. If the moral and spiritual prosperity was derived from the rituals of the temple, the material and economic welfare was derived from the constructions of tanks and canals which support the irrigation source. Both temple and irrigation were a part of the same social system. However, the difference was seen from the ability of producing material benefits to the people. As Hocart has succinctly put it:

> If we call the reservoirs 'utilitarian' it is because we believe in their efficacy; we do not call temples so because we do not believe in their efficacy for crops.[36]

Thus the importance of irrigation was recognized by the king and granted large tracts of lands for the upkeep of it.

**Dasabandam Inams:**

The Dasabandam Inams were the land grants made for the purposes of public utility. They were also known as Kattu-kodige or cheruvu manyams.[37] As the word dasabandam (dasa=ten) itself suggest, it bears one-tenth of produce to be paid to the state.

Dasabandam Inams played a major role in the development of economy during the pre-colonial period. Prior to the British, the state development was based on the agrarian economy which depended on the irrigation sources. Since irrigation was a crucial component in agriculture, Inams at this point became

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[36] A.M. Hocart, *Op.Cit.*, p.217.

[37] Refer appendix, in *CPRIS*, p.344 & 347. Also refer Sundararaja Iyengar, *Land Tenures in the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1933, Pp.143-144.

essential as they supported the irrigation works during the pre-colonial period.

The group of persons who developed and maintained the irrigation works were incorporated in the structure of privilege through the grant of Inams. They were brought under the extended authority of the king through the benefits of Inams.

In South, rich peasants have taken interest to dug wells in their locality for the supply of water to their fields. The chiefs of the area built tanks and kings built large dams.[38] The local landowners or the village headmen also took keen interest in the development of irrigation in their localities.[39] All these people were always ready to support the development of irrigation with their investments which resulted in the form of Inam grants.

Dasabandams were an institutionalized form of incentive or of hereditary remuneration to local leaders for the maintenance of water works.[40] These Inams were divided into two types, depending on the extent of the work undertaken and the benefits accrued from it.[41] They were (1) khanda Dasabandam, which consisted of the grant of land as they were generally given when there was a major irrigational work (because it needed a regular watch over the work); and (2) the Shalimat Dasabandam, consisting of an assignment of revenue. However the later category of Inams was also realized through a grant of Inam land and

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38 David Ludden, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.353-358.

39 *Ibid.*, Pp.353-358.

40 R.E. Frykenberg., "The silent settlement in South India, 1793-1853. An Analysis of the Role of Inams in the Rise of the Indian Imperial System," in Frykenberg ed. *Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia*, New Delhi, p.45.

41 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.144.

they were not easily identifiable by locality, since it appears as the old Inam grants.[42]

There was another kind of Inam which form the *Dasabandam* category and was provided for the repair works to be carried on the irrigation sources. To prevent too much deposition of silt in the tanks and channels which impeded and chocked the discharge of water, the repairs should be carried out regularly. Large endowments were made to carry the repair works and clean the tank and channels from the deposition of silts.

During the pre-colonial period kings contributed to the development of irrigation through the authority they conferred on the chiefs, after granting them *Elipetty*, tax-free lands during Chola period. The local chiefs thus accommodated were able to invest in the development of irrigation, as the region came under their authority. It became their responsibility to develop the region, because, the continuation of their hold over it and also the sustenance of their establishment depended on the continuous extraction of local revenue. This was possible when there would be an irrigation source which supply a regular flow of water for the good harvest to be raised. Thus the local chiefs took keen interest for the investment in irrigation development.

The growth of irrigation source indicates the parallel growth in the grants of Inams. The numerous grants during the Chola and Vijayanagara period shows the existence of large number of *Dasabandam* grants.[43]

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[42] R.E. Frykenberg, *Op.Cit.*, p.45.

[43] David Ludden, *Op.Cit.*, p.356.

**Inams as connecting links:**

All the dynasties that ruled over the areas falling under the Madras Presidency during the pre-colonial period mostly depended on the military strength they possessed. This strength was in turn based on structure of alliances (affinity) and command, articulated by Inams, privileges and honours.[44] This military strength, always played such an important role that without it no medieval Indian kingdom survived. The structure of the medieval state in the south was such that the king was dependent on his subordinates who occupied various hierarchical positions and who were the armed retainers. They were,hierarchically solidified in the structure of medieval kingdom through the privileges, connubial connections and other land grants rather than organized centrally or bureaucratically. It was Inam grant that sustained the complex relations in the kingdom i.e. relation of the king with the temple, relation of the king with the Palegars, petty chiefs, village headmen, village servants etc.

The total or partial exemption of tax on Inam land in the pre-colonial South India and the organization of different military and ritual hierarchies were always fluid and dynamic.[45] Individuals could fight for the distinction in the social system where honour and rank were intimately connected and expressed in the political and ritual hierarchy. The receipt of extensive grants in the forms of Inams always provided, apart from other things, the security of life as there were uncertainties of a regular agricultural production enough for the

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44 Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.123.

45 *Ibid.*, p.123.

sustenance, because of the danger of failure of rains, external attacks etc. A large number of peasants lived in a system where risk and uncertainty were controlled and reduced by the grants of Inams, and where a hierarchical social and political system existed in which the constituents of this system were shared differentially and partially (shared sovereignty). The central idea of this privilege land grants - i.e. service - was offered by different constituent parts when entered in this (redistribution) system.[46]

**Rights of Inamdar:**

It is evident that the Inam tenures existed extensively in the Madras Presidency during the pre-colonial period. Though the rights of holding of tenures in India differed with that of West, the grant of lands was a universal phenomenon during the medieval period. A great importance was attached to the land as there was little development in the industrial and the related matters. However, the significance of the Inams can be understood through its existence in such a large scale, a phenomena peculiar to South India. Though a large number of grants of Inams were there, no clear definition of property was made as existed in the west. The institution of property though not clearly bestowed on any segments of the landed hierarchy, different group of persons were performing their duty according to the role ascribed or achieved by them. Land ownership prior to the British did not give the same meaning as it did after the introduction of permanent settlement in India. The colonial government was very much concerned with the rights of property and with whom it

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46 *Op.Cit.*, p.124.

was rested. The property rights in pre-colonial India did not rest in any single person. Marx stated that the king was the sole and only proprietor of all land in the East.[47] Later he changed his opinion and stated that there existed the communal ownership of property than the individual member possessing it.[48] More or less the same argument was put forth by K.P. Jayaswal and Iswar Dutt.[49] According to them the property right never vested with the King. However, Robert Lingat differed with the above views and stated that the king regarded his kingdom as his property, although he (Lingat) admitted that powers other than the king could also exercise their power along with him (king) over the actual parcels of soils.[50] The pre-colonial states did not concern much with the rights of property, but it had assumed significance during the British rule. It was the right of property which the British considered as the fundamental means for ordering the agrarian society, which facilitated the revenue collection on a systematic basis.

It was the revenue collection which occupied a central place in the agrarian history of India rather than the rights of property. The property during the pre-colonial period existed only in the context of social and political relations. It would be clear if one simplified the meaning of two terms used for property in Tamil - *Panku and Kani* - though appeared as different but interdependent in social and political relations.[51] The word

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47 Marx's letter to Engels, June 2, 1853, quoted in Anil Sen Gupta, "Karl Marx and India", in *Society and Change*, April- June, 1989, p.3.

48 *Ibid.*, p.4.

49 N. Venkata Ramanayya, *Op.Cit.*, p.164.

50 Robert Lingat., *Op.Cit.*, Pp.212-213.

51 David Ludden, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.165-168. Also refer Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.310.

*Panku* meant a share in the property or revenue of the usufruct land. During the pre-colonial period, the share of land in the village was distributed among the mirassidars or among the family members or lineage groups and sometimes among the dominant caste or castes of an entire village. The shares of revenue or property were related to the shares in specific plots of land or to a large area and sometimes to the entire village, which would be divided among themselves and reallocated periodically.[52] The word was also used to mean the shares in local temple festivals and in kinship units i.e., *Pankalis* (members of the same lineage).[53] The term *Kani* means a heritable right in the land.[54] It was also used to mean the right to fees or perquisites held by the village community or by the village officers.[55] *Kani* was fundamentally a vertical term because entitlement to a share was usually granted by a patron. This patron could be either a king or a chief, and sometimes the leader of the dominant caste group. To have this entitlement or Kani, was to have Kaniatchi, which was related both to control over the land and to participation in the village lineage assembly and also with *panku* or right to a share in the local temple, which in turn entailed rights to receive honours and responsibilities to invest in the temple.[56] The *Kaniatchikars*, who formed a corporate group were responsible for the collection and distribution of revenues of the village during the pre-colonial period. These corporate groups were hierarchically

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52 Ludden *Op.Cit.*, Pp.165-168.

53 Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.310.

54 H.H. Wilson, *The Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms,* Delhi, 1968, p.258.

55 H.H. Wilson, *Op.Cit.*, p.258.

56 Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.310.

placed within the larger structure of sub-caste or caste group and thus were able to spread their dominance beyond the village.[57]

All the rights possessed by the Kaniatchikarar was not made possible unless there was a prior sanction and an active encouragement or participation by the king. The king, according to Robert Lingat, regarded his kingdom as his property, although it was agreed that other powers than his own could be exercised along with his over the actual parcels of soil.[58] The term *Kshatra* indicated that the king was the master of all land in his kingdom. It also implies a real right over the soil. Since he held power over the soil, the king also called as *swamin*, a word which can be applied equally to a proprietor as to a husband or a chief, and which denotes an immediate power over a thing or over a person.[59] The ultimate right of the king over the land never opposed the heritable entitlement (*kani*) of the lands and also the shares (*panku*) of the peasants. On the other, it complemented those rights and entitlement through the grants made by the king and other chiefs. In the case of Inam grants the king voluntarily alienated the right to hold the land as well as the revenue accruing from it. *Sarvamanyam* lands were totally exempted from paying any tax while the other Inam grants paid *Jodi* i.e, the quit-rent to the king. However, the concept of property during the pre-colonial period was misunderstood by the British when they arrived in India and assumed a different meaning. The debates during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the result of such

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57 Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.310.

58 Robert Lingat, *Op.Cit.*, p.213.

59 For detail discussion refer Robert Lingat, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.212-214.

misunderstanding about the owner of the land, i.e. whether the king or the cultivator.

The principles of *Kani* and *Panku* applied by the people in Madras Presidency was helpful to build their domains in pre-colonial period. The principle of *panku* was applied to embrace whole irrigated villages, where Brahman and Vellala and other dominant families shared village assets under the terms of grants from the king. In the late period, the Maravars, Kallars, Reddys, Kammas, Vadugas and other chiefs known as Palegars, Zamindars and Jagirdars, have received the royal grants, which allotted the territories on the agricultural frontiers and designated them as Palem, Zamindari or Jagir, who in turn granted them to their subordinates. Thus the relationship of patron and client was built up in a hierarchical level from the top to down of the privilege structure. These Maravar, kallars, Reddys, Kapus and vadugas applied the principle of *panku* when they took away their share of revenue from the land and other subordinate members or the lower (a lineage) segments. The competition among the members produced sets of rights to land, granted by king and other chief and held by the dominant castes. As the dominant caste and the rights to land both became synonymous during pre-colonial period, it was expressed in proprietary status legitimized by the *Kani* and *Panku* principles.

**Types of Inam land:**

The position of segments and strata in the structure of privilege could be understood with a great deal of precision by the acreage of Inam land (or mirassi land) owned and controlled by the Inamdars who fall within these segments. Their hierarchical arrangement in the social structure by and large,

corresponded to the relative size of the Inam land they owned and controlled in the rural areas.

The social hierarchy of the South Indian rural areas was generally reflected in the hierarchy of land, whether *mirassi* or Inam. Types and plots of land got their specific names, occupy relative 'rank' and 'status' and vary in terms of their relative 'value'. As there were 'rich' and 'poor' classes in the social structure, there existed 'rich' and 'poor' lands even among the Inam lands. Their value varied according to the type of land i.e. *Nunjah* and *Punjah*, a major division among the lands. The former lands being supplied a regular flow of water and were in the advantageous position than the latter which depended on the rainfall. The dry tracts are found in Madras Presidency in the districts of Coimbattore, Salem, Kanyakumari, Tirunelvelly Cuddapah, Anatapur, Bellary, Kurnool, etc.

Most of the Wet lands (Nunjah) in the Madras Presidency were situated in the river valleys and at the places where the irrigational sources occurred. Tanjavur, Godavari, Krishna and Tambraparni valley in Tirunelveli district were the great irrigated areas in Tamilnadu. There was a heavy investment in irrigation by the kings, Palegars and other local elites. These wet lands produced a very substantial and reliable proportion of the local Inamdars' receipts and would appear to justify the investment made by them. On mirassi wet lands the assessment was twenty times higher than on the dry lands. The jodi (quit-rent) on *Punjah* lands was nominal and was collected in cash in accordance with the type of soil, which provided a surrogate measure of land productivity. The *jodi* collected was generally one-tenth of the assessment or even less than that, some Inam lands being exempted totally from the payment of revenue.

**Agricultural production on Inam lands:**

The main crop on the wet Inam lands was paddy which was the important foodgrain of South India. The other crops such as millets (Cholam, Ragi, Varagam etc.,) were also raised on a comparable area. Other crops raised were Chillis, oil-seeds (sesame, flax, groundnut ), cotton, sugar, etc. However, the Palegar's lands were mostly dry and produced some garden crops, Palmyra, cotton, oil-seeds and pulses, which generated considerable cash income for villagers.[60] Since the tribute payment was an essential factor between the Palegars and the king, the former collected their proportion of revenue from the peasants to pay the king their due (of tribute) in the form of ceremonial gift, ritual homage and above all military service instead of cash. Thus the Palegar's lands and other Inam lands were the crucial source of political as well as military base but not a lucrative source of revenue.[61] Most of the sources of revenue to the state was drawn from lands other than Inam lands and other taxes and thus maintained the economy of the state in pre-colonial South India. In Tirunelveli, the tribute from Palegar's land was only 1/6 of the Nayaka state's revenue though they held 1/3 of the cultivated land.[62] In many of the smaller states in Madras Presidency, during the pre-colonial period, between sixty to eighty percent of all cultivable land was given away to the

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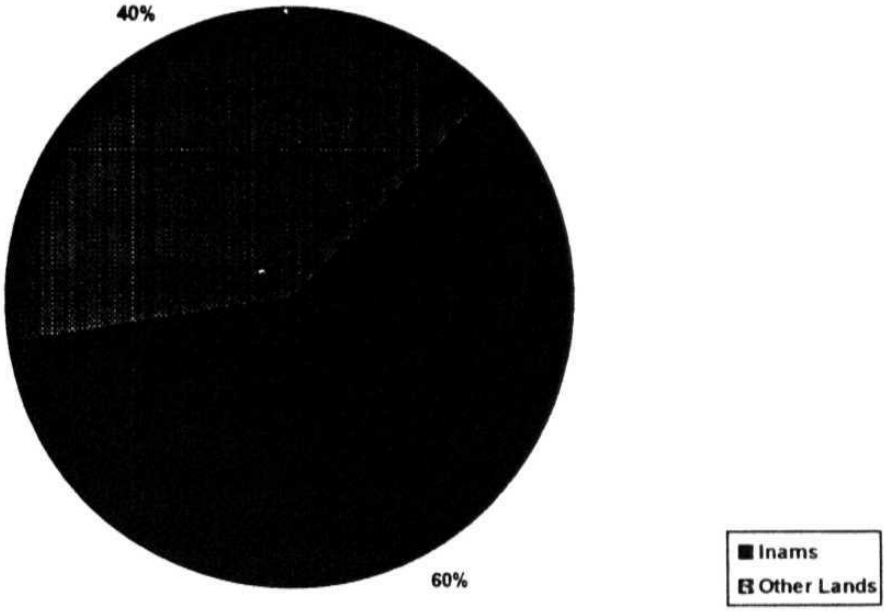
60 David Ludden, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.76-77.

61 *Ibid.*, p.77.

62 *Ibid.*, p.77.

individuals and institutions under the category of Inam.[63]

FIGURE I.2. DIAGRAM SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF LAND OCCUPIED BY THE INAMS IN PRE-COLONIAL SOUTH INDIA




63 Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.312.

The agricultural production during the pre-colonial South India shows the essential feature of extensive yields on the available lands and also the character of labour saving. Those Inamdars, like the other land holders, who held the small plots of Inam lands, themselves worked on it. In fact, most of the families belonged to either the middle or the lower strata of the economic structure. They could not afford to engage the labour all the time on their lands. (The principle of labour saving was applied on both the type of lands, *Nunjah* and *Punjah*, as there was a shortage of the demand).

However, during the time of rising crops, even the marginal peasant had to use the additional labour and this was met generally by the untouchable castes like Pallis and paraiahs.[64] This agrestic labour as estimated at the beginning of nineteenth century was numbered between 10 to 15 per cent of the population and 17 to 25 per cent of the agriculture population.[65] This labour apart from working on mirassi lands, also mainly engaged on the lands of dominant Inamdars, were removed because the dominant castes considered the physical labour as degrading and some agricultural operations as forbidden and thus avoided personal participation in the production process.

The productivity of land, whether mirassi or Inam, can be estimated through the inscriptions issued in tenth or fourteenth centuries. An inscription of 969 A.D. from Tiruchirapalli gave an account of the temple income which received in kind, at 120 kallams of paddy per veli on *devadana* lands.[66] The other inscription of 1036 shows that the average tax on some land

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64 L.B. Alaev, "The System of Agricultural Production in South India" in Tapan Ray Chaudhury and Irfan Habib ed. *Op.Cit.*, p.229.

65 Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, Delhi, 1992, Pp.52-55.

66 L.B. Alaev, *Op.Cit.*, p.231.

was about 112.5 kallams per veli.[67] Considering that the rate of tax in those times was hardly more than a quarter of the gross produce, the average output can be calculated as 400-450 kallam per veli.[68]

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67 *Ibid.*, p.231.

68 A.B. Alaev, *Op.Cit.*, p.231.

TABLE - I.3

**STATEMENT SHOWING THE AVERAGE GROSS PRODUCE IN DIFFERENT REGIONS**

| Districts | Year | Output | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | in Kallams | in centuers |
| South Arcot (on wet lands) | Rajendra Chola's inscription (12th century) | 583.3 | 33 |
| South Arcto (on dry lands) | | 233 | N.A. |
| Ramnad (perhaps on wet lands) | 1325 A.D. grant | 800 | 66 |
| Madura | 1796 | 84.6 | 20.4 |
| Tanjore | 1774 | 150.5 | 12.25 |
| Tanjore (low areas) | 1801-02 | 195 | 15.9 |
| Tanjore (high areas) | 1801-02 | 114.2 | 9.3 |
| Chingleput | 1788 | 78 | 29.5 |

1 veli = 6.6 acres = 2.64 hectars. 1 kallam was equivalent in most of the districts to 220.8 lb. i.e., 1 centner, and in Tanjore and South Arcot to 47.4 lb i.e., 21.5 k.g.

Source : L.B. Alaev, "The systems of Agricultural Production in South India" in Tapan Ray Chaudhury and Irfan Habib ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of India, c.1200-1750*, Delhi, 1982, Vol.I, Pp.231-232.

From the above table one can conclude that the system of agriculture in pre-colonial South India was highly productive. This system could be expanded

only upto a limit because of the shortage of labour and its high mobility. As the type of land differed and as the irrigation source existed only in few places, all the cultivable lands were not highly productive. However, it assured a definite and rather a high productivity, if the system continued without a further increase in the total population.

**Non-agricultural production and the support of Inam lands:**

The Inamdars were also involved in the production of non-agricultural production during the pre-colonial period. The non-agricultural production showed a great variety of forms of economic organization and of methods of integration into the south indian economy. A part of the production that was related to agriculture was carried out by the agricultural families. The middle and lower strata of economic structure who were enjoying the fruits of agrarian economy of Inam as well as mirassi lands, were also involved in the production of non-agricultural products. Except in the brahmanical families who enjoyed the *Bhattavarthi* lands, the women and children of other castes (particularly the lower class) were engaged in the cotton spinning work. Some of the rich landed elites, during the pre-colonial period shifted their interest to the production of cloth and engaged many workers (weavers) in the process.[69] The workers who actually involved in the process of production were paid through the cash as well as the Inam grants.[70] The handloom industry in pre-colonial South India was so developed that the production was aimed both

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69 S. Arasaratnam, "Weavers, Merchants and Company : The Handloom Industry in South-Eastern India, 1750-1790" in *IESHR*, 1980, Pp.262-263.

70 S. Arasaratnam, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.262-263.

for the consumption as well as for the market, thus adding an additional income to their (of weavers) sustenance, apart from the income from the Inam lands.[71] Leather goods, agricultural implements etc. also formed part of the non-agricultural production which involved *Kammalans* (in Tamilnadu) or *Panchalars* (in Andhra) in the village and who were supported by the grant of Inams.[72]

The different tenurial systems that existed during the pre-colonial period consisted of rights over land in one form or the other. But the ultimate right over the land was held by the king as it was the privilege of him, and since the two terms *Swamin* and *Kshatra* defined the king as the master of the territory over which he ruled. When the patron (king or other chiefs) granted Inams to the clients it transferred certain privileges which included the right to command groups of people as well as the right to receive the services from the clients in the hierarchical political and social system. In other words, Inams in pre-colonial South India, both as gift and entitlement, has acted as a basic ingredient in the determination of social and political relations of the state. Thus it became one of the principal means for the creation and maintenance of the local structure of privilege.

The structure of privilege was dominated at the local level by the *Cervaikarars*, *Kattubadidars*, *Mukhasadars* and other petty chiefs who were sub-ordinates to the Palegars and other chiefs. At the bottom of the structure of privilege, there were village vettiyans (servants of village headmen). The

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71 A.B. Alaev, *Op.Cit.*, p.315.

72 *Ibid.*, p.316. They consisted of five castes viz., Goldsmith, Blacksmith, Braziers, Stone and Wood sculptors. For details refer Narasimha Rao, *Corporate Life in Medieval Andhradesa*, Secunderabad, 1967, Pp. 110-123.

upper parts of the social structure would receive the grants from the chiefs and kings, but the lower part of the structure who served them never had the land grants or other privileges, received directly from the king, but through the dominant caste or the headmen. They were entitled only to the shares or rights to village resources, either as local *adimai* (Serfs) or as *Parakudi* (non-local, who came from outside the village) labourers only through the dominant members or *Mirassidars* of the village.

The *adimai* labourers who formed the lower part of the social structure with hereditary rights to service and subsistence were frequently classified as serfs overlooking their actual status and duties, who were known as untouchables (i.e. Pallar and Pariahs), and whose social units never constituted by the relations among themselves but in terms of their relations with the dominant group. They were also organized according to the lineages of the dominant caste for whom they rendered their service. Their only right was to service but not to land and other privileges. However, they were indirectly attached to the privilege through the dominant group to whom they were attached. Their labour did get importance only when they were scarce or when there was the conditions of drought and famine, otherwise, they remained in their regular services.

The *Valiyars* were the groups of people who also formed the lower part of the privilege structure in the pre-colonial phase and worked as agricultural labourers. They also performed their traditional callings of hunting and gathering in the forest by maintaining a precious balance between the two activities. The integration of *Valiyars* within the settled agrarian economy was partial but at the same time they never were looked down as the subordinate castes or untouchables. Some of these castes received Inams from the king for

beating the forest for the king's hunt and guarding the royal forests. Sheep and cattle herders (*Itaiyars* and *Konars*), formed the third group in the lower part of the privilege structure who did not receive any Inam grants. They belonged to a nomadic group and their importance to a land based political economy was marginal, even though their role in bullocks trade and their provision of herds for soil fertilization played a significant role in agrarian life.

Among the different groups discussed above, only the *adimai* labour entitled to shares of village resources through the dominant members to whom they were attached. It is evident that all the groups of people at the lower part of the privilege structure were not directly related to the king as the entitlement to the resources were not granted directly by the king, but was settled at the locality by the dominant members. Nevertheless, all the groups of people, in the pre-colonial South India, participated in the structure of privilege in one form or the other.

**Need for the Inam grant:**

Though Inams formed as the base to the statecraft during the pre-colonial period, all the grants of Inams were not the same. They differed according to the nature of their grant. The religious grants were different from political grants. The former category were granted to fulfill the role of dharmic king by the ruler, to sustain the Brahmanical order (dharma) and to earn punya (merit) which eventually resulted in the prosperity of the kingdom. The political and other service grants followed a different logic. The chiefs and others who received this kind of Inam, have played a key role in village

rituals by extending the resources and sometimes granting Inams. The other grants made to the village officers, servants and artisans were aimed at the maintenance of the structure of village ritual. This indicates that the distinction was not very obvious among the different categories of Inams. Thus, during the pre-colonial period the distinction between the ritual and non-ritual was obscure. The same was followed by the colonial government and used the word Inam without fundamental difference. Whatever be the nature of the grants of Inams, political inferences were drawn from them. The privilege land holders, however variable, established the relation between themselves and the king when once the king granted them Inams. Thus ritual and politics were inextricably linked with one another. Ritual appears in all the segments of the political hierarchy. The different ritual forms changed the politics as it spreads widely in the structure of privilege.[73]

The kiṅg granted Inams to the grantees only to implicate them to his realm with the condition of service, which differed according to the nature of Inam grants. Since they were granted to different categories of people, it created a political hierarchy. The conditions of service and command were also made explicit with these entitlements. Hence there was a rank differentiation among the Inamdars which logically decided the variable proximity to the king and thus to the sovereignty itself.

The grant of Inams proved that it cannot be identified separately from the political and social context. The other factors such as consanguinity and affinity also influenced when the grant of Inams were made. These were the factors that operated when the king granted Inams during the pre-colonial

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[73] Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.128-129.

period. They were granted to subdue the revolted chiefs or bandits to the Brahmans and to provide the village with carpenter or blacksmiths. As the kinds and nature of the Inam grants varied, the intentions and interests also equally differed. This process of granting of various Inams indicated the unique role it played in the pre-colonial South Indian history. It was, evidently, not just a land grant to be held, but, more so expressed in the form of socio-political relations and also the cultural meaning it inherently carried.

Thus Inams played a significant role in moulding the relations between the various segments of the kingdom and thereby integrating the state as one unit. It was the grant of rights to land and other honours viz., titles, emblems and privileges which symbolically linked individuals with the sovereignty of the king. This exchange of privileges was valued in terms of the concept of *punya* (moral) of the social universe in which the central importance was given to the development of relations with the king. Those who were nearer to the king have always enjoyed the power. The proximity to the king was decided through the relation that was maintained with him (king). Inam has played a significant role as it was one such base through which relationship with the king was maintained very closely, and the grant itself represent a part of the king, since the king represents the whole kingdom and the client was offered a part of it through the gift. The symbolic representation of the client, in the structure of privilege, also depended on the kind of the Inam he was granted.

The exchange of relationship did not base only on economic part, but it was extended to other social aspects such as rituals which eventually indicates that the relationship existed was not between the individual but between moral persons (persons who were meritorious, as the concept of *punya* was applied to

aspects of the dharmic king that made him to grant Inams to integrate his kingdom. It was never proved as a negative factor in the rise of revenue to the state as there were lands to contribute the sufficient material resources for the maintenance of the state in pre-colonial phase. The political structure, during this period, always was based on the system that emphasized the control over men rather than the land and revenue.[76] If the grant of Inam was the weakness of the king as stated by Stokes and Blair, the king would have been given them at the border areas of his kingdom where he has less control.[77] But such was not the situation. Inams existed in all parts of the kingdom. They were equally at the center of the kingdom. For example the towns of North Arcot, Tanjore etc., were situated in the center of the medieval states, around which there were a number of Inams granted to various individuals or institutions. The king was collecting revenues from the center as well as from the peripheries. If the argument of Stokes was right, then the advantage would go to the king as he was relieved of the burden of bearing the transportation charges of the revenue collections from the peripheries. He would have simply given away the lands as Inams and would have concentrated on the center because it would be easy and economical for him to transfer the revenues from the center. Granting the Inams at the peripheral areas was actually to incorporate the new people into the political structure in which the king was the central

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p.81. For details of the term "rurban" please refer Richard G. Fox, *Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule: State hinterland relations in pre-industrial India,* Berkeley, 1971, p.51.

76 Irfan Habib, "The Social Distribution of Landed Property in pre-British India: A Historical Survey," in R.S. Sharma and V.Jha ed. *Indian Society: Historical Probings in Memory of D.D. Kosambi*, New Delhi, 1974, p.297 and 309.

77 Eric Stokes, "Privileged Land Tenure in Village India in the Early Nineteenth Century," in R.E. Frykenberg ed. *Op.Cit.*, p.57.

authority. Inams at different levels i.e. from the center to the village level was the key element that knit the people into an obligation of service and was not a loss to the revenues, but signifying and sustaining the pre-colonial social order, simultaneously indicating the royal authority. Inams were an emanation of sovereignty in which the endowed institutions or individuals became actualized expressions of sovereignty....[78] The grants, while sustaining the various structures of political authority at different levels, gave political, social and economic liberties to the holders.

In the pre-colonial period, therefore, the Inam in Madras Presidency was clearly embedded in a complex set of process involving the king as well as the intermediaries, who chiefly framed the functions of it into a relatively complex tenurial structures. Although Inams coexisted with other tenurial grants, since many of the Inamdars held mirassi lands, they played a significant role while accommodating various segments into the political, social and economic structures. Consequently, they assumed greater importance since the holder of Inam was a privileged person. Such privileges were taken away by the British when they assumed the administrative charges of the region by 1801. The role of Inam had set to change, and this will be the subject matter for the following chapter.

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[78] Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.145.

# CHAPTER - II

# INAMS UNDER COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

After the assumption of administration in India, the British began to exercise their direct authority on lands including Inams. The attitude of the East India Company towards Inam and other tenures in Madras Presidency can be said as utilitarian. Decisions to regulate and control the Inams were made many times, which ultimately evolved into a clear policy in the latter half of nineteenth century.

Despite the similarities between the native rulers' and English attitude towards Inams there were some basic contrasts in their approaches. First, In the case of Inam, the shift from a pre-colonial cultural and religious context to a British colonial environment was relatively swift and direct. The attitude of the Government towards Inams was so practical that the decisions made concerning them moved around the economic advantage to the Government. The religious sanctity accorded to the grant, as in the pre-colonial period, was no more a custom under the British rule.[1] It was disregarded by the British during their rule, for their own political and economic ends. In addition to that, the medieval South Indian King possessed all the powers, legislative, administrative and judicial, who as a unifying authority dealt with the Inams. However, the structure of colonial institutions and their ideology regarding Inams provided a dichotomy that expressed in the form of administrative and judicial arms of the state. Second, Inam was at no time, a fundamental base

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[1] The religious sanctity accorded to the Inam grant in the pre-colonial period was recognized by Blair, the Inam Commissioner, in his report. Tracing the origin of Inam to the remote antiquity, he stated that "the gift of land is enjoyed by the Hindu Shastras as the most meritorious of charities and every Hindu sovereign was therefore ambitious of distinguishing his reign by the extent and value of the lands he alienated in Inam to the religious classes of the community." Blair Report in *CPRIS*, p. 311, para 3.

for the establishment or expansion of British authority in South India. The exchange of Privileges- status, honours and emblems- between the grantor and the grantee as a basis for political authority largely ceased to exist. The British did not interact in any systematic way with the traditional privileged class. Rather, they depended on the intermediaries (in Zamindari settlements) and individual ryots (in Ryotwari settlements) for raising the revenues to their economic and political ends, and these classes thus became pivotal in the Colonial economy. Later, this burden was shifted to the expanding bureaucratic apparatus of the Government. Third, there was a Government control over the authority of granting Inams by the intermediaries, which in the pre-colonial period was absent. The intermediaries were free from any control of the king to grant Inam in the areas which were under their authority. Because, the grant of Inam, apart from extending the authority of the ruler, would provide an incentive for the effective development of agrarian economy. Inam, as one of the tenurial system had caused the growth of the economy in pre-colonial period. But the British ignored the role Inam played prior to their rule and brought changes in all the then existing systems of settlements after 1801.

**Tenurial systems of the British:**

As the annexation by the British did not at once bring with it effective control of the rural areas, so also was the collection of revenue for many years a haphazard process. The new rulers, in the early years of their rule, did not possess the detailed knowledge of the system of settlements. The British administrative staff was also not enough to assess and collect the revenue in an orderly manner. Such uncertain hold over the land further

enforced upon them policies of short term expediency. As a result, the first two decades of the British rule in Madras Presidency were an era of experimentation, at times of almost disastrous trial and error, in the collection of the land revenue.[2]

In many of the districts, the British carried with them the system of settlement derived from their nearly a decade's experience of Bengal. They set out to find Zamindars of the sort they were accustomed to, and formed a settlement with these men in which the award of proprietary rights was followed by a perpetual assessment of the land revenue.[3] Wherever the actual proprietors declined to enter engagements for their lands or where there were no proprietors, a village settlement was to be made in those areas, giving preference to the Mirassidars or other head inhabitants.[4] However, the pattern of landholding in Madras Presidency differed markedly from Bengal or the other areas of East India Company. There were large areas of land that was held revenue free in the pre-colonial period. All these privileged tenures did not exist exclusive of Zamindari or Ryotwari tenures. Most of the Inam grants were the part of Zamindari areas where the Zamindar had superior control over them.

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2 For the details of experiments in land settlements refer W.K. Firminger, *The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 1812,* New York, 1963, vol. III. Baden-Powell, *The Land Systems of British India,* London, 1892. Nilamani Mukherjee, *The Ryotwari System in Madras, 1792-1827,* Calcutta, 1962. Sarada Raju, *Economic Conditions in Madras Presidency, 1800-1850,* Madras, 1941.T. H. Beaglehole, *Thomas Munro and the development of the administrative policy in Madras, 1792-1818,* London, 1966.

3 For details of Zamindari settlements refer Gnanasundara Mudaliyar, *Note on the Permanent Settlement,* Madras, 1940. Sundararaja Iyengar, *Land Tenures in Madras Presidency,* Madras, 1933. K.S.S. Seshan, *British Role in Rural Economy,* New Delhi, 1989. G. Pamela Price, "Raja-dharma in Nineteenth Century South India: land, litigation and largesse in Ramnad Zamindari, in *CIS,* 1979, Pp. 207-238.

4 Board's Consultations, 11 July, 1808, p.4.

Similarly, many ryots also held the Inam land, simultaneously with the ryotwari lands. Thus Inams, in many cases, co-existed with other tenures in Madras Presidency. Such privileged tenures which sustained most of the agrarian classes at once attracted the attention of the British. They considered them as an escape mechanism of revenue payment to the Government. The Government did not abolish such tenures, but affected changes in the system of settlements. These changes affected the honours, titles and emblems enjoyed by the Inamdars. In short, the privileged tenures were set to change by the Colonial Government.

Inams constituted one-third part of all systems of land holdings in the Madras Presidency and formed the part of the settlement that began in 1802.[5] The cause for the settlement was that the Government considered the existence of such a large number of Inams as loss to the revenue that would accrues , since " its most urgent need was for land revenue".[6] This made them to consider the existence of most of the Inams as "illegitimate" and were usurped by the "natives" through illegal means during the chaotic and decadent period

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5 The regular data of the cultivated land in Madras Presidency was collected only after 1886. By this year, the land under Ryotwari settlement consisted of 59 million acres, of which 30 million was either not fully assessed under ryotwari regulation or as estates bore privileged rate of rent. The land under Zamindari areas consisted of approximately 31 million acres of which 7 million acres were not fully assessed. The above calculations show the proportion of privileged land as one-third of the total cultivated acres of land. The Inam Commission's statistical data presented in 1869 did not have complete list of all Inam lands in Madras Presidency. Hence it is difficult to calculate actual proportion of privileged land based on this report. For details of the proportion of land under different systems of settlements refer Burton Stein, "Privileged Landholding, The Concept stretched to cover the case", in R.E. Frykenberg, ed., *Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia*, New Delhi, 1977, p.68.

6 Dharma Kumar, "Agrarian Relations in South India", in Dharma Kumar ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of India, 1757-1970*, Delhi, 1984, Vol.II, Pp.214-215.

prior to their rule.[7] Even Thomas Munro wrote in 1807 that

> the frequent changes of government and the loss or rather concealment of accounts have during a long course of years, facilitated the fraudulent extension of the enaums, at the expense of circar.[8]

The increase in the number of Inams was peculiar to its socio-political conditions prior to the British rule. The colonial government did not understand the Indian society and its institutions that played a significant role in the pre-colonial period. Inams, the privileged land grants, were only understood by the British in relation to the land revenue and their understanding did not go beyond that.

The British never wanted to assume all the Inams at once. Such actions, the Government thought, would bring large scale protests from many parts of the presidency, and this was experienced by the British in many places in the process of the assumption of the administrative charges of South India, e.g., Southern Palems, and from other chiefs. It was also not the policy of colonial Government to upset the social and economic relations in the rural areas, immediately after gaining the political control. The expediency and necessity to determine the number of acceptable Inams had prevented them to take the extreme and sweeping changes. But the process of change was initiated in 1802 and the first step towards it was taken with the passage of permanent settlement regulation.[9]

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[7] *CPRIS*, Madras, 1948, p.311.

[8] W.K. Firminger, *Op.Cit.*, p.273.

[9] The preamble to this Regulation referred to the practice of the native Governments under whom the public assessment of land revenue had never been fixed and had fluctuated without any definite principles for the determination

**Permanent Settlement and the Inams:**

In 1802, the Government adopted the land tenure policy which was earlier introduced in Bengal a decade ago. The Permanent Settlement, as it was known, was the foundation on which was to be built in the subsequent years, a lasting structure of revenue administration for the entire region. According to the regulation, the East India Company divided the whole lands of the Presidency into three categories, viz., (1) the permanently settled estates, (2) Ryotwari lands and (3) Inams.[10]

The Permanent Settlement vested supreme powers in the Government with regard to the "ownership" rights in land. It had the right to

> reserve to itself the entire exercise of its description in continuing or abolishing temporarily or permanently, the

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of landholders, the preamble indicated that they were deprived of their powers and "thereby reserving to the ruling power the implied right and the actual exercise of the proprietary possession of all lands whatever." This act of the native rulers, according to the Government, injured the property rights of the landholders and thereby the British resolved "to grant to Zamindars and other landholders, their heirs and successors a permanent property in their land in all time to come, and to fix forever a moderate assessment of public revenue on such lands, the amount of which shall never be liable to be increased under any circumstances." P.K.G. Mudaliyar *Op.Cit.*, p.157, para 38. It was discussed in the previous chapter that, in pre-colonial period, property rights were enjoyed by all landlords without interference from the ruling power with regard to land. The individuals were given absolute liberties and there was growth in the economy which was established in various studies. In nineteenth century, Contrary to the expectations of the British, it was the permanent settlement which brought injuries to the landholders under their rule. For details refer, R.C.Dutt, *The Economic History of India: Under Early British Rule,* New Delhi, 1989, Vol. I. and *The Economic History of India: in the Victorian Age, 1837-1900*, New Delhi, 1989, Vol. II. Bipan Chandra, "Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History" in B. Chandra, ed. *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, New Delhi, 1984, Pp.38-81. Irfan Habib, ed. *Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception*, New Delhi, 1995, Pp.296-335.

[10] *Report of the Madras Estate Land Act Committee,* (hereafter *MELAC*), part-I, Madras, 1938, p.197.

articles of revenue included, according to the custom of the country, under the several heads of salt and salt-peter.

The Inam land was part of the lands which were brought under the supreme control of the Government. Thus the Government excluded the Inams, major or minor, from the assets of the Zamindars, while fixing the revenue of the lands, at the time of settling them permanently.[12]

Inams situated both in Palems and Zamindari estates were dealt according to the 1802 act. But when the Inams were resumed and passed to the Zamindar they were charged with an addition to the quit-rent at the rate of two-thirds of the full assessment. However, some estates such as Venkatagiri, Kalahasti, Karvetnagar etc. were exempted from the application of permanent settlement regulation.[13] The Government, in the initial years of its rule settled the Inams in accordance with the above rules and directed all the collectors to settle the lands on the same rules.

Thus Inams were settled separately in accordance with the rules prescribed in the Act. However, the government was not satisfied with these rules. To strengthen its control further, it brought one more regulation which investigated the validity of the title of Inamdar. Regulation XXXI of 1802 was intended for investigating into and to try the validity of titles of Inamdars or such other grants and determining the rate of revenue or quit-rent to be paid to the government.[14] The same regulation prescribed a conditional

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11 "Section 4," Regulation xxv of 1802, in T.S. Coomaraswami Mudaliyar, *The Revenue Code*, Madras, 1887, p.2.

12 *Ibid.*, Section 4. p.2.

13 A.N. Row, *The Revenue Refresher*, Madras, 1877, p.94.

14 *MELAC*, 1938, part I, p.198.

recognition to the Inams through fixing certain dates according to which all the Inams held prior to these dates were considered as valid. The different dates prescribed to all the districts in Madras Presidency, according to which Inams should be deemed as valid are given below.[15]

1. In Northern Circars and the Jagir, prior to 20 February, 1768.
2. In the Carnatic Payinghat and Tanjore, prior to 12 July, 1792.
3. In the Baramahal, Salem and Dindigal, prior to 18 March, 1792.
4. In the Ceded districts, before 12 October, 1800.

However, the rule did not specify about the length of possession according to which the Inam title should be validated. Regulation XXXI of 1802 authorised the Collectors to demand general registration of Inams and institute suits in courts for the payment of quit-rent, if the Inamdar refused to pay it.[16] If the title proved invalid according to the rules set by the government, it would resume such Inams.[17] The quit-rent fixed on the Inams was based upon an exaggerated notion of the resources available to Government. These increased rates were a product in part of the ignorance of the new British collectors, who were confronted with revenue records of doubtful accuracy and a subordinate native staff who revealed nothing to their superior. At the same t)me, the British wished to make their new acquisition pay and they were anxious to raise the revenue rapidly to the sufficient level of its demand.

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15 *Ibid.*, p.198..

16 Minute by Sir Charles Trevelyan on the Inam Lands of Madras Presidency, 13 May, 1859, para 5.

17 *Ibid.*, para 5.

**Grantor's privileges:**

The Inam grantors, like Zamindars or Palegars and others in Madras Presidency were restrained from alienating the lands after the introduction of permanent settlement. Section 12 of Regulation XXV of 1802 stated that "the proprietors of estates permanently assessed," were restrained from alienating the land to "religious or charitable or to any other purposes by which it may be intended to exempt such lands from bearing their portion of the public tax."[18] He was also restricted to resume lands or to fix a new assessment on lands which are allotted to the religious or charitable purpose at the time of permanent settlement.[19] The Zamindar according to section 8 of Regulation XXV of 1802 can alienate land after the permanent settlement, subject to the condition that his amount of peshcush would not be reduced and he should pay the tax on the alienated portion also.[20]

**Effects of Permanent Settlement Regulation:**

It has been evident through the regulation XXV and XXXI of 1802, that the colonial government crippled the powers of grantors (Zamindars or chiefs) to grant the Inams. The government recognized some of the Inams that were granted prior to the permanent settlement and this was governed by a set of rules

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18 Regulation XXV of 1802, Sec.,12.

19 *Ibid.*, Sec. 12.

20 Sec., 8, Regulation xxv of 1802.

passed by the Regulation XXXI of 1802. This remained in force until 1869 when the above Regulation was repealed. Some of the Inams granted after the permanent settlement were not recognized. If they were recognized, it was only for the life-time of the incumbent. The recognition was obtained from the courts whenever needed, because their attention had not been drawn to sections 4 and 12 of the permanent settlement Regulation. However these Inams were not valid according to the government rules, and hence not binding upon it. The successor to the Zamindar was also given a choice to give or withheld the recognition. Such Inams were resumed by the government when they came to their notice. Some more Inams which were granted by the Palegars and other chiefs were included in the assets and hence formed part of the permanently settled estates.

The significant result of the British control, in political terms, upon agrarian relations and institutions by 1801 was the suppression of the military chiefs (Palegars) of earlier period.[21] The lands of these chiefs were resumed and assessed at full rate like other assessed lands in the presidency. The British viewed the "massive alienations" as a deliberate act of the military chiefs for reducing the amount of tribute that could be exacted from them. Their means of paying the tribute was

> "much diminished by the alienation of a great part of their countries into the hands of military dependents, yet as they were always competent to resume such improvident transfers, this consideration affords no palliation of their failure."[22]

The alienation of land was seen by the British as only to escape the land tax.

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21 Burton Stein, in "Integration of Agrarian Systems in South India, in Frykenberg ed. *Land Control and Social Structure in India,* New Delhi, 1969, p.201.

22 Lushington, *Collectors Report regarding the Tinnevelly Poligars and Sequestered Pollams, 1799-1800,* Tinnevelly, 1916, p.12. para 71.

They did not consider them as the basis of the military and political systems of Palegars and the rulers of the earlier period. Later the government argued that such system of alienations was peculiar to the pre-British period, but after the defeat of Palegars and their removal from the services, it was left to the government to resume them. But the question here is who removed them from their responsibilities. Why were the Palegars exterminated. It was the deliberate policy of the colonial Government to remove the military chiefs whenever possible and in some areas they were turned as mere landlords.

The colonial government did not understand the social and political relations of the rural areas. Neither it recognized the relations of grantors and the grantee in the society. There were some officers of the company who were afraid of the changes brought by the government without a proper understanding of the existing system. Munro who was one of the officers against such a change, wrote in 1824 :

> We must not too hastily declare any rights permanent lest we give to one class what belongs to another. We must proceed patiently and as our knowledge of the manners and customs of the people and the nature and resources of the country increases, frame gradually from existing institutions such a system as to advance"the conditions of the people and also "the country and be satisfactory to the people."[23]

Before affecting the existing system, it was necessary on the part of the colonial government to have a knowledge of the land settlements and the relations in the tenurial structures.[24]

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23 R.E. Frykenberg, "The silent settlement in South India, 1793-1853 : An Analysis of the Role of Inams in the Rise of the Indian Imperial System," in R.E.F ed. *Op.Cit.*, New Delhi, 1977, p.38.

24 Initial settlements were some what disruptive in its effects because the British were yet unaware of the traditions, values and social attitudes of the Indians. But once they realized the disturbing consequences of their actions and were better informed about the existing social order, remedial measures were introduced. These steps were taken only in the second half of the

In the early period of their rule, the colonial government did not formulate specific policy that governed the Inams. It was only from 1862, that there was gradual development made in the policy towards the settlements of Inams in Madras Presidency.

The early policy of the land settlements was described as "a very "extensive and melancholy revolution" in the property rights.[25] The changes brought by this policy precipitated into a controversy within the government and led to the introduction of Ryotwari settlement in other areas in the Presidency. But the Inams were not settled yet. They still had to undergo some more controversies before finally settled by the Commission. However, the immediate reaction of the early changes in the policies of the Government could be seen from the Palems.

**Inams in the Palems:**

The officers of the Company, in the early period of their rule, began to resume the Inams granted by the Palegars prior to 1801, without any specific policy formulated with regard to it.[26] They have shown one pretext or the other

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nineteenth century. By then, great damage has been done to the institution of Inam which reflected in many ways.

25 See Meckenzie Minute quoted in R. Thomas Metcalf, *Land, Landlords and the British Raj: Northern India in the Nineteenth Century*, Delhi, 1979, p.56. Also refer S.C. Gupta, *Agrarian Relations and Early British Rule in India*, Bombay, 1963, p.118.

26 The British considered many of the Inam grants as "illegitimate." These Inams included, the village service Inams, the *Pallekattu* Inams (i.e. grants made for building a village or hamlet), the *boorooz* (for building a village tower of defence) and some of *dasabandam* Inams. The other Inams which formed above category were the *Bhattavarthy, Kattubadi, Kaval* Inams, Palegar Inams etc. The Government, at the time of the disposal of these Inams, considered the grant from two aspects. The first was that whether the grants were supported by "native custom" permanently or for stipulated term. The British saw "many of the existing Inams, whether they have the semblance of authentic

for the resumptions. According to the British, such a system was followed even prior to them by the "native rulers" and quoted Tipu Sultan who, according to the British followed a rigorous extractive revenue policy in Baramahal.[27] The government also wanted to resettle the lands at full assessment rate. However, the government failed to understand Tipu's policy towards Palegars. He only extracted the revenue which was due to the government. If he resumed Inams at one place, he granted them liberally at another place.[28] Such type of resumptions were not reported in other parts of Madras Presidency. The existence of large number of Inams in Madras Presidency indicate the significance of the privileged system in the pre-colonial period. There was no indiscriminate resumption of Inams in the pre-colonial period, and such Inams never were discontinued by the successive rulers.[29]

The British government did not consider the grant of Inams by the Palegars as legitimate. In the early period of their rule, the British did not consider even the Palegars as the proper chiefs, but this opinion has changed and created them as the Zamindars under permanent settlement because of the large following they commanded.[30] Thus the British settled some Inams granted for

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origin, were given by parties who had no right at all to alienate revenue in perpetuity, such as renters, petty Zamindars, Palegars etc." Since the Palegars and others were not considered as legitimate rulers, the grants made by them were regarded as illegitimate. Though the religious Inams and few personal Inams were settled by the British, some of the Palems and *Kattubadi* Inams were resumed, because the Government considered them as a threat to their political order. Order No. 66, 19 June, 1857, in *CPRIS*, Pp. 21-22, para 26.

27 Nicholas Dirks, *The Hollow Crown,* Cambridge, 1987, p.327.

28 *CPRIS,* p.243, para, 17.

29 Refer Inscription of an Inam grant, in Le Fanu, *Salem District Manual,* Madras, 1883 p.349.

30 Lushington held the opinion that the Palegars were originated only from the time of Vijayanagar rule. According to him, the term Palegar literally meant "the chief of a camp" and not 'the proprietor of a country. He stated that many of the Palegars were created by Tirumala Nayak and permitted to keep up a

military service which were considered as the basis for Palegari system and burdened the Palegars.[31]

All the Inams granted for the upkeep of military were not recognized by the Company administration. Some of them repudiated and the justification given for it was that the military service so far rendered by the Palegars was no more required and it was the responsibility of the government to provide protection and to maintain order in the society. The police and revenue powers of Palegars took away by the British from them and the enhancement of the rate of land revenue to be paid by them, made the Palegars to revolt against the colonial government. The Chittoor Palegar revolt was one such example.

**Chittoor Palegar's revolt, 1804:**

The Chittoor Palegars who formed part of North Arcot District were altogether ten in number. They were : Bangaru, Yedaragunta, Naragunti, Gudipatti, Pakala, Mogarala, Pullur, Kallur, Pulicherla and Tumba.[32] They were managed by different Palegars who owed allegiance to the Nawab of Arcot.

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certain number of followers for protection of a particular area or locality. These military leaders were assigned some villages for the maintenance of themselves and families which became hereditary in the course of time. The grants made to the Palegars were not very ancient but usurped by them in the recent times and hence were not called as proprietors of their possessions. Lushington further stated that until the time of Tirumala Nayaka, the Palegars did not usurp their possessions.Refer Lushington, *Op.Cit.*, p.2. However, this opinion was changed by the British and considered it crucial to settle the Palegari Inams. This was not followed in all cases wherever the Palegars existed.

31 R.C. Dutt, *The Economic History of India Under Early British Rule*, New Delhi, 1989, Vol.I, P.85.

32 A.F. Cox, *A Manual of North Arcot District*, Madras, 1887, p.129.

After the assumption of charge of Arcot Nawabi, the Company administration settled the affairs of the Palems with its respective Palegars. Stratton, the then Collector of North Arcot District fixed the tribute at two-fifth of the produce of the lands under them. The Peshcush was increased from Pagodas 16,828-14-50 to Pagodas 35,775 from the year 1801.[33] The higher rate of assessment threw the Palegars in arrears and made them to evade the payment of tribute to the government. Also, the British curtailed the police and judicial powers of Palegars. These causes made the Palegars to revolt against the government. The government came down heavily on the Palegars. It wanted the Collector to resume all Palems, except Gudipatti, whose Palegar remained faithful to the company rule. The Palegars were defeated in the war and their Palems were resumed by the Government. Four of the ten palems viz., Pakala, Mogarala, Pullur and Yadaragunta were declared forfeited and their surviving chiefs were shifted to Madras.[34] The other Palegars were granted an allowance of eighteen percent upon the revenues of their Palems until the government issued a permanent sanad on them.[35] However, when the Palegars refused to the terms of the government, all the Palems, except Gudipatti, were assumed by the government.

The increase of peshcush was made even before the assumption of the administrative charges in 1801. The first step towards the imposition of increased tax was felt in 1792 when the East India Company made a treaty with the Nawab in which the latter gave up rights to revenue collection to the

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33 Board's Consultations, 16 November, 1815, p.13593.

34 A.F. Cox. *Op.Cit.*, p.81.

35 *Ibid.*, p.81.

British.[36] After dismembering the armies of Palegars, the government thought it was a step towards not only for establishing peace, collection of tax, but also for the development of agriculture as the "military peons" who were dislodged from them "unprofitable profession" and who could be used for other "profitable pursuits".[37] The Palegars, according to the government, were released from the burden of expenses on military services. The arguments supported the increase in peshcush imposed on the Palegars.

The British considered the displacement of Palegars not as a serious threat to their rule because their privileges were discontinued and their hold over the localities was weakened after the new policies adopted by the Government. Consequently, these Palegars would loose the claims to their authority. Thus, the Inams enjoyed by the Palegars were brought into the full assessment in the course of time. Yet most of the Inams were unsettled in the presidency. The whole Inam tenures in Madras Presidency occupied a large tract of land and consisted of the value of an "upward of a million sterling of annual revenue".[38] The government observed that "even this represents only the value ostensibly held, and keeps altogether out of sight the additional extent of land obtained and held by encroachment in excess of that professedly claimed."[39] The alienation of such a large extent of land resulted in the "loss" of revenue to the Government.This feeling of loss forced the Government to discontinue the granting of land as Inam.

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36 R.C. Dutt, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.80-83.

37 Papers Relating to the Treaty with the Nawab of Arcot and the Zamindars of Venkatagiri, Kalahasti etc. 1802-1812, in Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.328.

38 Minute by Charles Trevelyan, *Op.Cit.*, para 2.

39 Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.328.

**Replacement of land grants with money pensions:**

During the early period of their rule, the British Government, following the custom prevailed in South India, rewarded the meritorious services by the grants of Jagirs. These grants were made for a stated number of years or in perpetuity. However, this practice was discontinued after the despatches from the Court of Directors in 1822 and 1829 in which the Directors expressed their opinion of superiority of money pensions which, according to them, should be replaced the grants of land on all ordinary occasions.[40] The Directors also stated that if it was necessary for them to grant the land, then the government would consider such cases and the grants should be restricted to those special cases only.[41]

It was a deliberate policy of the Government which marked diversion from the policy of the earlier rulers of South India. The locally powerful individuals or elites who exercised an uninterrupted control over their areas were converted into dependents on the "money pensions" flowing from the Government. These "money pensions" expropriated the local economic privileges of the Inamdars. Although the British saw their payments to the Inamdars as an extension of the indigenous model of royal patronage, these "money pensions",

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40 Blair's Report in *CPRIS*, p.3 para 7. The British took the step of discontinuation of Inams because the regular grants would create such a problem that the state was unable to draw the revenue from the land. The permanent character of the grants made prior their rule, if continued even during their period, would very soon, deplete the resources of the country, thereby deprived the Government of its right to collect the revenues. This made the colonial Government to give up the idea of granting the Inams. Refer *CPRIS*, Pp. 252-253, para 9.

41 *Ibid.*, para 7.

in fact, consisted of a series of compensations for appropriation of local revenue sources. Thus, although previous royal endowments to Inamdars were functionally speaking, attempts to redistribute resources using the local economic autonomy of Inamdars. British patronage precisely attempted to compensate for the appropriate acts of a centralized revenue apparatus that had already radically reduced the economic autonomy of the Inamdars.[42]

The Inamdar was replaced by the collector who became the effective instrument of revenue exaction for the British. The arrangement of this kind reflects the tension in the economic relations of early British domination between the urge to maximize the revenue and the urge to maximize stability and order in economic relations.This contradiction i.e., necessary conflict between two objectives of a system, was expressed in numerous major policy conflicts in the early nineteenth century.[43]

In the meantime, there was an attempt made by the company government to investigate the titles of Inams of all kinds. A special establishment was sanctioned for that purpose in Bellary. However, all the measures became dead

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[42] The dismantling of privileges began with the Act XXV of 1802. Later the colonial Government passed many acts which reduced the Inamdars to mere landholders.Though there were acts that separately dealt with the Inamdars, ultimately, all these were subordinated to the broader colonial framework.

[43] During the nineteenth century, the British Government followed contradictory policies. Their major concern in India was revenue maximization and stability which necessitated them to formulate different policies. These contradictions reflected in many aspects. First, there was no definite policy regarding land revenue settlements. Several experiments were conducted in order to arrive at a suitable principle that would guide their extractive policy. Various regions had different type of policies. Second, in law, between the inclination to shrink executive and judiciary functions of the Collector to maximize efficient extraction and the leaning to separate these two functions, to make the revenue officialdom judicially accountable and thus to "protect" the rights of the individual. Third, there was a contradiction in the policy towards bureaucratic apparatus. On the one hand the Government attempted to maximize the vertical accountability (with central power at the top) and on the other , there was a desire of forming the local self- sufficiency.

letters with no consequences at all.[44] The attempt of the colonial government to find the details of the number of existed Inams has failed. Such failures necessitated the Government to strengthen its authority further by restricting the courts to recognize the titles of Inams.

**Removal of the jurisdiction of Courts:**

It is clear by now that the British attempt to extend the control over Inams were expressed in the form of various regulations brought out in different times. The Government also made efforts to stop the judiciary from recognizing the titles of the Inamdars contrary to the earlier decisions. There were many cases contested in the courts against the colonial policies that refused to recognize the claims of Inamdars. One of the earliest attempts was expressed in Regulation XXXI of 1802, wherein the Government stated that:

> Where doubts may arise with respect either the competence of public officer to issue grants for exempted lands, or with regard to the authority of the public officer to resume and assess exempted lands, in cases to be tried under this regulation, the same shall be determined by the decision of the Governor in council only, and the said decision produced in the courts of Juridicature shall regulate the judgement of such courts.[45]

Obviously, by this section the government established its authority over the courts. While this Regulation was in force, another Regulation IV of 1831 was passed declaring that the courts of adalat were "prohibited from taking cognizance of any claim to hereditary or personal grants of money or of land

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44 *Ibid.*, para 10.

45 Section 3, Regulation XXXI of 1802.

revenue", whether conferred by the British government or by the Zamindars or Palegars.[46] The power to decide such cases was also transferred to Governor in council "after due investigation by such persons and in such manner as he may deem fit".[47] The series of acts that crippled the authority of the courts to try the cases did not end here. Further the Government enacted the Regulation VI of 1831 which empowered it to remove the jurisdiction of courts on all claims to the:

> possession of or succession to, the hereditary officers in the Revenue or Police department, on the enjoyment of the emoluments annexed there to.[48]

These regulations were later supported by the acts of XXXI of 1836 and XXXIII of 1838.

The above Regulations precluded the civil courts from taking cognizance of any matter that referred in them and it was only the government that could dispose off all such matters.[49] The government stated that these regulations

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[46] Clause 1, Sec., 2, of Regulation IV of 1831. in *MELAC*, part, I, p.200.

[47] *Ibid.*, Clause 2.

[48] Regulation VI of 1831.

[49] To the colonial officials the law constituted the most significant basis of legitimacy. The process of definition and codification of the law was the process of legitimization of colonial rule. The appropriation of revenues and strengthening the power of the Government was not seen by the British, as arbitrary unjustified actions but as the legal rights of the modern state. Codification of the law was the necessary basis for the modernization of a oriental society like India. Hence, the British considered that all the traditional institutions and individuals should be submitted to the control of the British authority. The urge to gain the superior control was so much that the Government did not give chance to the Inamdars to complaint against its authority in the Court of law. In the process, the Government withdrew the judicial remedies granted to the Inamdars. In other words, the concern of the Government was not equity and social justice but legitimation of their authority. For details refer, Neeladri Bhattacharya, "Colonial State and Agrarian Society" in Burton Stein, ed. *The Making of Agrarian Policy in British India, 1770-1900*, Delhi, 1992, Pp. 137-149.

were formulated only to prevent the diversion of Inams for the purpose for which they were granted.[50] However, the British did not follow the earlier Government's policy of non-interference in such matters with regard to Inam grants. The predecessors of the British invested the grantees with privileges and allowed them to exercise authority over their areas. This liberty was misunderstood by the British. The grantee was very much attached to the privileged land and fulfilled the service conditions for which the grant was bestowed on him. The Inams were continued even after the death of its incumbents to one or the other person. It was the nature of the Colonial Government that wherever such lapses occurred it tried to resume those Inams and brought them under full rates. It did not appreciate the custom of the natives where, if lapses occurred, it would be passed to some other descendants. But, after 1800 A.D., the Company Government kept the reversionary rights to themselves. These rights were not utilized to its full extent by the Company officers until 1845, when the government issued orders strictly prohibiting local officers from continuing the Inams on the occurrence of lapses."[51]

The assessment of resumed Inam lands at full rate and the grant made to the person who was ready to buy them was justified by the British as follows:

> The institution of private property lies at the foundation of human society and the progress of improvement is generally commensurate with the respect in which the rights of property held by the Government and the Community. In this instance, an enormous mass of property, situated in every part of British India, has been kept for a long period in a state of unsettlement. Its precariousness, under the various and uncertain conditions of resumption, has been so much, that for

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50 Blair Report *Op.Cit.*, para 12.

51 Minute by Sir Charles Trevelyan, para 7.

> many years it has had the character of property only in the lowest and most qualified sense.[52]

The property in the earlier period, according to the British, was under the "various and uncertain conditions of resumption" which it wanted to make conditional on the payment of revenue. The non-existence of title-deeds to the Inams, according to the British, was considered an illegal occupation. The Government ignored the procedures of the earlier period. In the pre-colonial period the grants were recognized only after the local customs and the village community takes cognizance of those grants, the Inams were able to continue for many years. Moreover the population in India depended on landed property. The privileged lands enabled them to pay the exorbitant rent of other tenurial lands, since many Inamdars also held other type of lands. The government without showing a suitable alternative resumed the land granted for police and revenue personnel in rural areas. It was the duty of the government, under the modern system of rule, to provide other means to those whose lands were resumed. It is well known that it was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century that the Government was able to give encouragement for the development of industry in India.[53] In the pre-colonial period Karkhanas in urban areas, ruling chiefs, Darbars (courts), etc., provided employment to the landless people. All these were replaced by the modern government with one council, which did not give employment to the landless artisans and other Inamdars.[54]

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52 Minute by Charles Trevelyan, para 14.

53 C.J. Baker, *An Indian Rural Economy, 1880-1955, The Tamilnad Countryside*, Delhi, 1984, Pp. 393-414.

54 The Courts in Pre-colonial India provided employment to many. Its disappearance after 1801, threw many people without any livelihood. During the British period"the existence of a court, even though a titular one, exerted a considerable influence upon the population of the town in which it was held, as it attracted a number of people. There can be little doubt that it(Tanjore) has declined since the death of the last Rajah in 1855. When the British established its control the Courts were enabled to provide livelihood to the

Thus the minor Inamdars have lost other opportunities through which they could live if their rights were disturbed by any chief in the pre-colonial India.

The British were aware of the conditions of India and also the systems of Tenurial holdings. There were many protests when it tried to bring the changes in the existing systems of land holdings. The officers who went to investigate the affairs of Inams did not get proper response to their efforts. The presence of Inams in every village indicate that the system was deeply attached to the culture of the natives. Under such situation it was not a wonder that the British efforts to gather information was met with failure. The Inamdars did not respond to the attempts of the Government when it tried to change the rights to the property.

> The fact that these Inams are found in every village, and always owned in great part by the office-bears and other most influential members of the community affords the means of forming some idea of the very powerful body leagued together to prevent or baffle investigation.[55]

Hence the British retreated from its efforts of finding the existence of total number of Inams in Madras Presidency. If the investigations continued, the Government thought, that it could lead to the formation of the league of powerful Inamdars and thus would bring revolt against its rule. Such political expediency necessitated the Government to deliberately leave many Inams under former holders and made them loyal, which Frykenberg termed as "silent settlements".[56]

The recognition of the title of some Inams did not by any means make all the Inamdars loyal to the British. Throughout the early nineteenth century,

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population. D.R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times: 1860-1939*, Delhi, 1988, p.9.

55 Nicholas Dirks, *Op.Cit.*, p.329.

56 R.E.Frykenberg, *Op.Cit.*, Pp. 37-53.

the policy towards Inams vacillated between continuation and removal of the Inamdars. There were many Inams resumed by the Government. At this time the Government enforced a policy that affected the rights of Inamdars.

The increased quit-rent, the repudiation of the privileges of the local village officials drove the Inamdars to rise against the colonial Government. The revolt of palegar Narasimha Reddy was one such example.

The British never counted the troubles they faced, while enfranchising the Inams, as serious. The 1846 Cuddapah revolt, according to them, was purely because of the order they passed that the Inams should be registered. The report on this revolt concluded that the cause of it was "feudal" based on the residual regard held by the people for their local chiefs rather than anything connected with the Inams themselves. The British never considered the repudiation of the privileges, the status, honour and the perquisites attached to the Inams and linked to the prestige of Inamdar, would pose a serious threat to them.

**Palegar Narasimha Reddy revolt:**

The revolt of Narasimha Reddy in the erstwhile Cuddapah district was essentially traditional in character. It was one of the prominent rebellions in the country against the British rule before the mutiny of 1857. Though this revolt has been much underplayed by the company administration, it can be said that it was mostly due to the indiscriminate Inam policies adopted by the British. Most of the people participated in this revolt were connected to the palems where the revolt took place. The dominant landed elites that took the lead in revolt were the *Kattubadi* Inamdars, but the *Bhattavarthy, Khairathi* Inamdars and peasants also participated in the movement. The causes for this

revolt were traced to the effects upon the Inamdars of British legal and economic institutional innovations. The order issued by the Government had resulted in the resumption of land and the displacement of much of the Inam property by the assessment of them on par with other tenures.[57]

Narasimha Reddy was a palegar who held the palems of Uyyalawada and Nossum which were part of the then Cuddapah district. The former was inherited from his grandfather in the male line and the latter from his grandfather in the female line.[58] These two palems were served by 300 *Kattubadidars* - Uyyalawada Palem consisted of 76 *Kattubadidars* and the Nossum Palem that of 224 *Kattubadidars*.[59] In the beginning of their rule, the government sanctioned a pension of Rs.11/- per month which was hardly sufficient for the Palegar to maintain the family.[60] The Palegar also received a regular customary contribution from the *Kattubadidars* of both the Palems. Yet, the amount was barely sufficient for him to sustain his family.

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[57] The resumption of Inam lands was not a new phenomenon. It was there from the beginning of the colonial rule. In 1801 Sir Thomas Munro instructed Mr. Thackeray that only grants possessed for forty long years and were granted by *Amildars* or other revenue officers should be continued. These resumptions, was a source of dissatisfaction to the Inamdars. The British themselves admitted that "if the resumption would militate against the feeling and habits of the people, such act should be condemned, although its performance might be conformable to European notions of equitable dealing. In such a case there would be arrayed against us not only the hostility of the persons actually deprived and of their dependent cultivators, who will continue to look upon them (as has been the case in many parts of India) as their legitimate landlords, but also the sympathies of those belonging to the same condition of life apprehensive of similar treatment." Yet, the Government pursued the policy of resumption continuously. Revenue Department, G.O. No. , 20 May, 1859, in *CPRIS*, Pp.50-51.

[58] "Official Report of a Revolt by Palegar Narasimha Reddy in Koilkuntla Taluk (which found part of Cuddapah District) in 1846", in *A Selection of papers from the old records of Cuddapah District*, vol.I, p.19, para 11.

[59] *Ibid.*, para 12.

[60] *Ibid.*, para 5.

The company government, in 1845, issued an order which said:

> that Bhattavarty Inams were of the nature of the charitable allowances mentioned in clause (2), regulation IV of 1831," and then objected the "jurisdiction of the courts over these Inams to prohibit any transfer of them by gift or sale and report all cases of deaths of present incumbent for the specific order of government.[61]

In addition to that, an order also was issued stating that all the *Kattubadi* Inams would be resumed after they lapse.[62] This caused discontentment among the 1,557 *Kattubadis* of the district, whose emoluments were, by the measures proposed, rendered liable to resumption. It was natural that the holders of the Inams who were enjoying hereditarily, considered that their rights and privileges were infringed. On the one hand the Inamdars accused the government for breach of faith in the promises made by them with regard to the continuance of Inams and on the other, they never questioned the political authority of the

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61 *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.2, para 8.

62 *Ibid.*, vol.I, p.18, para 7. The *Kattubadidars*, under the British were reduced to such a deplorable condition that they were criticized by them as "corrupt" and "dishonest." They were also termed as inefficient. The Government which wanted to preserve the traditional village institutions could not provide continuous support in terms of new land grants to this village officers. The existed Inams were partitioned and subdivided among the relatives and co-sharers. The Inam lands of these *Kattubadidars* were generally assessed at high rates as to exceed in many instances the survey assessments on lands of the same quality held by the circar ryots. In many cases the remuneration was so inadequate that the average of it was Rs 12/- per annum, per man. The Government through its various policies denied the *Kattubadidars* adequate emoluments that could afford them a honest livelihood. It was this "grevious evil" committed by the Government which according to the official report made the *Kattubadidars* to plunder the villagers. However the view of the Government was different as the revolt received larger support of the peasantry in and around the district as was mentioned in the reports. Official Report Pp.26-27, para 42,44,45 and 46. Also refer.M. Pattabhi Rami Reddy, "1846, Nati Rayalaseema Raitanga Thirugubatu" (Peasant Rebellion of Rayalaseema, 1846), published in *Kadalika,* (a monthly journal from Anantapur), September, 1985. Panyam Narasa Ramayya, *Swathanthra Veerudu: Ooyalawada Narasimha Reddy Charitra* (padakavyam), Koilakuntla, 1984.

Government. There was also no proof of "misconduct" against them.

The order issued for the resumption of Inams on 28 May, 1846, was responsible for the outbreak of revolt led by Narasimha Reddy.[63] The attack began when the rebels seized the Cutcheries of Mittapally and Koilakuntla. Initially the movement started with few rebels. When the news of outbreak spread in and around Cuddapah district many people joined the revolt. Palegar Narasimha Reddy received support from the Nawab of Banaganapally, the Zamindar of Wanaparthy and others. Gradually, the revolt gathered large support from different classes of people. Narasimha Reddy was able to meet success in the beginning of the revolt. The local police were unable to contain the revolt. The situation alarmed the Government and made the district administration to request the help of the army. The provincial administration provided army from Kurnool, Bellary, Cumbum and Secunderabad. Brig. Anderson supervised the army operations against the rebels. The pressures of army operations made the rebels to hide in Nallamalai forests for sometime. They launched an attack on Government offices at Giddalur. But the attack was repulsed.

Once the revolt spread to different parts of the district and outside it, the Government adopted oppressive measures to put it down. The Government announced a cash prize of Rs. 1000/- to those who captured Palegar Narasimha Reddy and later the amount was doubled. All the relatives and friends of Narasimha Reddy were kept on strict surveillance.[64]

As the army surrounded the rebels from all corners, it was difficult for them to prolong the revolt. Before the rebels were caught by the army, they

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[63] In 1846, the government issued a notification and urged the officers that adoption involving the inheritance to Inam lands should not be recognized unless it was reported six months before the death of the actual incumbent.

[64] Vol. II, p.1.

were taking shelter in Yerramalai forests. This area was kept under the charge of captain Nott, Captain Young Husband and Lieutenant Newlyn. They together fought a final battle with the rebels and captured them along with Narasimha Reddy. He was hanged and his head was kept in a cage and left hanging for many years for public viewing. A special commission was appointed by the government to investigate into the causes of the revolt. It reported that the means proposed regarding the Kattubadi Inams were responsible for the outbreak of revolt.[65]

However, the Collector, Mr.Cochrane disagreed with the views of the special commissioner as to the causes of the disturbances. He admitted that the order might spread discontentment among the holders of the Inams, but it was a general rule applicable to all parts of Madras Presidency.[66] This revolt, the Collector said, was confined to a particular locality. The cause of the revolt, according to him was the discontentment of Narasimha Reddy with the treatment he received from the government with regard to the palems. The Collector further said that he compared his low status with that of his earlier family members and wanted to improve his position. The Collector also stated

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[65] *CPRIS*, p.23, para 30. However, in 1852, the Government recorded their views in the extract minutes of consultations, 4 June, which discarded the notion that the outbreak originated because of its policy regarding Inams. It noticed certain circumstances which disproved such belief. First, it stated that the revolt was not because of the measures which the Government has taken in 1846 and earlier. Second, the 300 *Kattubadidars* who took part in the outbreak belonged to the 19 villages which formerly constituted the Palem of the family of Narasimha Reddy. Among these *Kattubadidars*, only 60 were affected by the contemplated changes, while 79 were, according to the Government, directly benefitted by the measures proposed. The other peasants of the district, who numbered 11,756, actually, did not participate in the revolt. Thus the Government viewed that the policy measures of 1846 did not commonly affect the *Kattubadidars* but it was the regard held by these military chiefs to their traditional family leaders which made them to join the revolt. *Ibid.*, para 32.

[66] *Ibid.*, p.23, para 31.

that Narasimha Reddy was cherishing the idea of revolt for a long time, since the Uyyalawada Jagir, which yielded Rs.30,480- 8-5 annual revenue was resumed owing to the "misconduct" of his father.[67] Consequently the palegar lost the rank, influence and power in his locality. This, according to the Collector made him to revolt. After the revolt was put down, the British had an opportunity to reformulate their policy. Their first move was to issue an order regarding long possessed Inam in Madras Presidency. This was done through the despatch of the Court of Directors to the government, dated 13 october, 1847, which declared that :

> long undisturbed possession both afforded an evidence of right and also constituted a motive to government not to interfere.[68]

The impact of the revolt was such that the government had, in 1848, issued a series of instructions with regard to the Inams and asked the Collectors to recognize the Inams. The order stated:

> grants of Inams at the date of the British assumption, and held by the same family at the time of passing of regulation XXXI of 1803, should be continued to the next heir on the same terms.[69]

The Inams held without grant were left to the judgement of the Collectors to decide whether it was held for a long time or through the succession. However, the immediate attachment of Inams on the occurrence of lapses was prohibited.[70] The Government at the moment allowed these Inamdars to enjoy their privileged

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67 Papers relating to palegar revolt., *Op.Cit.*, vol.I, p.22, para 24.

68 G.N.Taylor, "summary of the operations of the Inam Commissioner during 1859-60," in *CPRIS*, p.133, para 2.

69 Charles Trevelyan Minute, *Op.Cit.*, para7.

70 Blair,s report in *CPRIS.*, para 17.

lands.

The various policy measures pursued for so long affected large number of Inams in Madras Presidency. The inability of the revenue authorities to dispose the cases immediately resulted in the discontentment of Inamdars which resulted in the numerous petitions filed in Courts. The revenue authorities before clearing the cases had to enquire about the lapses an impossible task to attend as quickly as the case came before them. These conditions pushed the Government in confusion and it began resuming Inams indiscriminately. The value of the resumed Inams is given in the following table.

**TABLE: II-1. VALUE OF RESUMPTIONS FROM 1849 to 1853**

| Districts | Annual amount of the land tax | |
|---|---|---|
| | Inams of 3 acres and less Rs. | Inams above 3 acre Rs. |
| 1. Salem | 76 | 456 |
| 2. North Arcot | 72 | 811 |
| 3. Tanjore | N.A | N.A |
| 4. Trichinapally | 137 | 346 |
| 5. Tinnevelly | 148 | 480 |
| 6. Madura | 53 | 121 |
| 7. South Arcot | 2 | 1,454 |
| 8. Madras | N.A | N.A |
| 9. Coimbatore | N.A | N.A |
| 10. Chingleput | 114 | 337 |
| 11. Ganjam | N.A | N.A |
| 12. Visakhapatnam | N.A | N.A. |
| 13. Rajahmundry | 544 | 111 |
| 14. Masulipatnam | N.A. | N.A |
| 15. Guntur | 64 | 14,923 |
| 16. Nellore | 33 | 1,515 |
| 17. Bellary | 683 | 2,923 |
| 18. Kurnool | N.A | N.A |
| 19. Cuddapah | 2,519 | 2,453 |
| 20. Canara | N.A | N.A |
| 21. Malabar | N.A | N.A |
| Total | 602 | 4,005 |

Source: Minute of Sir Charles Trevelyan, para 8.

The above table shows that the years after the revolt marked an increase in the number of Inams resumed. However, according to Trevelyan, all the resumed Inams were not listed in the table. Some of the Inams resumed were not registered in the official reports.

The British argued that the resumption of Inams would relieve the burden of high rate of incidence of other tenures, because the enfranchisement of Inam would increase the rate of rent to be paid to the government. Such measures, in consequence, would relieve the other landholders, whether Zamindar or Ryotwar. If the Government, in contrary to these measures, continued the existence of large number of Inams then it would

> diminish the power of the government to execute those public works, and make those administrative improvements, in which all are interested.[71]

**The changed role of Inam:**

The allegation made by the British with regard to the raising of less tax on the Inams had one more dimension. The company wanted to dissolve the ancient ties of the Palegars and other village headmen as well as the Mirassidars and Inamdars. Because such measures would bring all the privileged lands under full rate of assessment. This was made explicit in the actions of the Government when it:

> ignorantly denied and by their denial abolishing private property in the land, resuming what belonged to a public body (the gramamaniem) and conferring in lieu of it a stipend in money on one individual.[72]

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71 Charles Trevelyan, *Op.Cit.*, para 10.

72 R.C.Dutt, *Op.Cit.*, p.97.

The denial of a long standing village institution was a disaster for the government as it could not find an alternative institution which would effectively function the role of village officials. In the later times it was difficult for the Government to receive the full information about the village and also to maintain the rural areas in order. The "ayagar" system in pre-colonial period was well suited for the village and everything was done among the villagers themselves.[73] Without changing the structure of administration thoroughly the British bestowed the power on modern classes 'who were unable to perform effectively. Munro admitted that, "the old institutions are better to administer local areas."[74] He endeavored to continue the village communities of India as living and organic institutions, as they had been in the past. But all these endeavours failed when the government took away the power from these "old institutions."

The Palegars, the Jagirdars, the Inamdars etc. were not only the landholders but preserved a peace and order in their estates during the pre-colonial period.[75] They spent the rent they received from the people, through various channels such as, building the Irrigation works and had fructified their trades, manufactures and industries.[76]

It was true that the earlier governments often resumed the Inams and the military and civil officers were,

liable to frequent removals, but they were replaced by others,

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[73] Burton Stein, "Vijayanagara, 1350-1564, in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of India,* Delhi, 1982, vol.I, p.112.

[74] R.C.Dutt, *Op.Cit.*, p.98.

[75] *Ibid.*, p.86.

[76] *Ibid.*, p.86.

> and as new Jagirs and Inams were granted to new claimants, these changes had the effect of continually throwing into the country a supply of men whose wealth enabled them to encourage its cultivation and manufactures. These advantages have almost entirely ceased under our government. All the civil and military office of any importance are now held by Europeans, whose savings go to their own country.[77]

The British brought all the natives who held different tenures, under one broad category of revenue, repudiating all the earlier privileges. Munro said that:

> one of the greatest disadvantages of our Government in India is its tendency to lower or destroy the higher ranks of society, to bring them all to one level, and by depriving them of their former weight and influence, to render them less useful instruments in the internal administration of the country.[78]

**The Religious grants:**

The Religious grants, though continued, there was a change in the attitude of the British even towards these grants. Their policy concerning religious grants was pragmatic, especially when it involved the economic advantage or related in anyway with the public order. The British did not transact the affairs of temple and other religious grants with the local leaders or groups as done during the pre-colonial period. The Government rather depended increasingly on the intermediaries who were actively involved in the colonial set up. Later, the British depended on its own expanding bureaucratic apparatus to manage the religious grants as well as the affairs connected to it. The colonial Government almost reversed the role the temple played and took over the activities of it with regard to the investments in irrigation,

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77 George Campbell, "Modern India", London, 1852 quoted in R.C. Dutt, *Op.Cit.*, p.108.

78 Minutes of 31st December, 1824, in G.R. Gleig, *The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro*, vol.3, London, 1830, p.384.

trade and the role of usury etc. Gradually the British subjugated the different social institutions that were actively involved in the state's economic and other allied matters, prior to their rule, for its overall development. At the same time the British were reluctant to interfere in the ritual activities of the temple. These contradictions of the traditional institution created tensions and necessitated the Government to bring changes in its relations with the religious grants. The departures of the Government policy appeared from the initial years of their rule.

The Government in the beginning of their rule, as a continuation of the earlier norms, confirmed the existed grants and directed that the proprietors of the land should not:

> appropriate any part of a landed estate permanently assessed to religious or charitable, or to any other purposes by which it may be intended to exempt such lands from bearing their portion of the public tax.[79]

Such confirmation was viewed as necessary by the Government in the beginning of their rule. It was a minimum regulative task of the British which accommodated some of the native elements without involving the Government too much on their part.

The Government though involved in the arbitration of the temple disputes, it was dissociated itself from the ritual aspect of the temple. At this time, it did not interfere on the matters related to the Inam grants made to the temple. The colonial Government even did not let the proprietors of land to disturb the traditional support extended to the temples. It directed the landlords who granted the Inam lands to the temple, not to

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[79] Section 12, Act XXV, in T.S. Coomaraswamy, *Op.cit.*, p.5.

> resume lands, or to fix a new arrangement on lands which may be allotted to religious or to charitable purposes under the denomination of *Devasthan* or *Devadayam*, of *Brahmadayam* or *Agraharam*, *Maddad-i-mash* or *Peeran* or *Fakiran* etc.[80]

But the proprietors were allowed to resume them if they obtained a prior permission from the Government.

The control of religious grants began as early as in 1817, through a regulation which allowed the Government to superintend the Inam grants.[81] It also empowered itself to repair and preserve the religious institutions and also could appoint the trustees or managers.[82] The idea was based on the traditional role of the king who was as a dharmic ruler obliged to protect temples. Such control continued until 1863 when the Government brought a legislation through an Act of XX by which it divested from interfering in all the affairs mentioned in regulation of 1817. It left the control of the religious grants to the independent trustees or to District committees.[83] Though the control of religious Inams were left to the natives, the temple Inams were controlled by the Government in an indirect way. The Government allowed the trustees or District committees to supervise the activities of the temple, but these committees ultimately had to operate within the broad

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80 Section 12, *Op.Cit.*, p.6.

81 The preamble to the Regulation says that the Government through this regulation was assuming the control "for the due appropriation of the rents and produce of lands granted for the support of mosques, Hindu temples..." Refer *The Madras Revenue Code*, Madras, 1952, Vol.I, p. 43.

82 *Ibid.*, para 3.

83 For details about the management of religious grants by the trustees or District committees refer A.N. Row, *Op.Cit.*, Pp 98-101. Also refer Arjun Appadurai, *Worship and conflict under colonial rule*, New Delhi, 1983, Pp.105-211.

Governmental control. It did not interfere directly as perhaps it was afraid of the widespread protest from the people. The Government had two kinds of relationship with regard to the religious grants. On the one hand it exercised an indirect control over the Inam lands and on the other, it resumed many religious grants. The policy of Government was that the religious grants were to be

> confirmed on their existing tenures and to be resumable only when the object for which they were held had ceased to exist.[84]

Gradually, the traditional institutions were made subordinate to the colonial Government.

**Inams in the Irrigated tracts:**

The government obviously felt that to exempt one class of persons (Inamdars) from taxation would increase the burden upon the other classes, and diminished the power of it "to execute those public works and make those administrative improvements, in which all interested."[85] But, in pre-colonial period, it was these classes who were responsible for most of the development of tank and well irrigation which were built in many places "through local investment of local wealth".[86] This was possible because of the control of agricultural sources within the village or locality by the Amaranayakas and the Palegars.[87] The privileged classes appointed the local persons for the

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84 Blair's Report, *Op.Cit.*, p.317, para 31.

85 Charles Trevelyan, *Op.Cit.*, para 10.

86 David Ludden, "Patronage and Irrigation in Tamil Nadu : A Long-term View" in *IESHR*, 1979, p.356.

87 Arun Bandopadhyay, *The Agrarian Economy of Tamil Nadu, 1820-1855*, Calcutta,

execution and maintenance of irrigation and granted them Dasabandam Inams.[88] The system of patronage was extended even to the community labour for the upkeep and for repairing the tank through the grants of Kudimaramat Inams.[89]

As a consequence of change in the tenurial policies, these privileged classes were unable to finance the irrigation works as their power of granting Inams were taken away by the British. The company administration saw irrigation only as a means to land revenue. Even after matters of public welfare entered official thinking, "quasi-commercial accounts remained the soul of their decisions on irrigation outlays."[90] Consequently, many of the irrigation works were thrown under repair. Even the development of new sources was slow during the British rule. At about the middle of the century, the government turned its attention to the major irrigation works at the cost of minor projects. The number of minor works that were in existence during the first half of 19 century are given in the following table.

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1992, pp.43-44.

88 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Land Tenures in the Madras Presidency, with an appendix and a glossary*, Madras, 1916, pp.143-144.

89 V. Ratna Reddy, "Irrigation in Colonial India, A Study of Madras Presidency during 1860-1900," in *EPW*, 1990, p.1047. Also refer Arun Bandopadhyay, *Op.Cit.*, p.54.

90 David Ludden, *Op.Cit.*, p.358.

**TABLE: II-2. SHOWING THE NUMBER OF TANKS, CHANNELS, WELLS IN REPAIR IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY DURING THE FIRST HALF OF NINETEENTH CENTURY.**

| District | Year | Tanks | Index | Channels | Index | Wells | Index |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chingleput | 1846-50 | 2770 | 99.11 | 713 | 160 | 6,280 | 102.26 |
| North Arcot | 1849-50 | 3101 | 94.62 | N.A | N.A | 43,196 | 226.59 |
| South Arcot | 1845-49 | 2561 | 113.56 | 905 | 123.12 | 17,813 | 192.30 |
| Salem | 1849-52 | 3244 | 100.43 | N.A | N.A | 37,644 | 103.01 |
| Coimbatore | 1850-51 | N.A | N.A | N.A | N.A | 32,913 | 107.51 |
| Madurai (Madurai division) | 1838-41 | 720 | 77.25 | N.A | N.A | 2,805 | 181.55 |
| Madurai (Dindigul region) | 1883-41 | 1095 | 112.48 | N.A | N.A | 6,042 | 99.08 |

Source: Arun Bandopadhyay, *The Agrarian Economy of Tamil Nadu, 1820-1855*, Pp.44-49.

For the first half of the nineteenth century, Madras Presidency enjoyed a fairly sufficient form of government. Colonial rule amounted to raising enough revenue to support the army and the company's central administration to send a slender bureaucratic and judicial presence into the districts and to provide a small surplus for public works.

The company rule has been characterized as the rule of "mercantalist state" as its influence of Anglo-Indian law was more in maintaining the liquidity of capital than over the relations of production on the land. Though there was a continuation of the pre-colonial institutions, there was change in the powers they held during the British rule. The British took care to

preserve few social institutions.[91] The Courts during the company rule upheld the Anglo-Indian law favouring the role of government in most of the cases. The law enacted in such a way as present an illusion of continuity of the old institutions which acted as the political security to the government. No sooner had they fought the Palegars into submission than they set about resurrecting them as the agents of colonial government in the rural areas. The idea was that Palegars would act as a combination of estate owners and revenue farmers and would thus provide government with a flow of revenue without the need for itself to interfere too deeply in the affairs of rural society. Their authority over the power to grant Inams which was used to raise troops were repudiated by the colonial government.[92] Thus the rights of the privileged classes restricted with the enactment of laws from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the end of company rule. This facilitated the extractive operations of the company administration wherever it was possible. The significant impact of Company rule was that it precluded the operation of principles of open market in the agrarian society. The benefits of development was marred by the sinister designs of the colonial government. The Company rule, in Madras Presidency was in retreat because, involvement of government

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91 Christopher Baker, *Op.Cit.*, p.59. In order to perpetuate their rule, the colonial Government had to adopt these traditional institutions. They were integrated and accommodated in the colonial power structure. The specific local influences moulded the British policies. Consciously or unconsciously the Government succumbed to the influences of traditional institutions. For more details see, Nilamani Mukherji and Frykenberg, "The Ryotwari System and Social Organization in the Madras Presidency" in R.E. Frykenberg, ed. *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, New Delhi, 1984,Pp. 237-246. However, Nilamani Mukherji is less emphatic about the continuity of traditional institutions. He states that "the people experienced the strain of life in transition. The old economic and social institutions were being uprooted and new ones of a different pattern were taking their place." Nilamani Mukherji, *Op.Cit.*, p.314.

92 Baker, *Op.Cit.*, p.60.

was withdrawn in many development activities.[93] It cannot adopt its laws to the circumstances of the people, unless it received accurate information upon the subject from active and intelligent local officers. Their duty was to investigate carefully the conditions and opinions of the inhabitants and to report upon them.[94] The ancient institution in rural areas, the Revenue and Police personnel of the village, were no more there to pass such accurate information to the government.

**Towards Inam settlements:**

By 1840s, the ideological strength of the Colonial Government had been firmly established in Madras Presidency by more than forty years of hard bargaining that fought state demands and English expectations against the power, interests, and convictions of Inamdars. The officials of Company involved in corruption and oppression, has increased during the 1840s.[95] The time for Compnay's charter renewal approached. The working of company statecraft was exposed to the forward-looking minds and it offended them. At the same time, we find many contending claims and conflicts over the terms of Inam settlements.

It was pointed out by the government that the number of resumptions made by it under the operation of the rules enacted in 1848 gives no idea of the extent

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93 Baker, *Op.Cit.*, p.59.

94 R.C. Dutt, *Op.Cit.*, p.107.

95 *CPRIS*, p.8.

of Inam property that has been unsettled and held in abeyance.[96] The result was that large number of cases were piled up in the government offices and at the same time the Government felt that many cases were not reported to it.[97] As the reports of district Collectors with regard to Inams have not reached the Government, it felt unhappy over it. Similarly, the Inamdars were also not happy as their cases were not disposed since long time. At this time it was contemplated by the government to adopt the rules of Act XI of 1852 but itself retreated because of the inadequacy of these rules in Madras Presidency as the prevailing circumstances were different.[98] The government intended to propose that all Inams which were not emanated from the sovereign rulers should be "resumed immediately with a view to the final extinction of these tenures, the existence of which considered injurious to the payers of revenue generally."[99]

The company administration felt that there were many irregularities which occurred in the granting of Inams and there was a need for a general survey and revision of the assessment throughout the Madras Presidency. It concluded that "the general survey will be fit time for investigating the tenures of rent free land."[100] Accordingly a general survey was ordered in all parts of Madras Presidency. In view of the problems concerning Inams, the Government also felt of investigating into the titles of Inams and therefore a commission was constituted in November 1858. This commission probed the problems of Inam

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96 Charles Trevelyan, *Op.Cit.*, para 9.

97 *CPRIS*, p.16, para 9.

98 *Ibid.*, p.19, para 20.

99 Blair's Report in *CPRIS*, para 24.

100 Blair's Report *Op.Cit.*, para 22.

titles for more than a decade and submitted a report in 1869. The constitution of Commission and its work forms part of the chapter III of this study.

**Changes in the Policies:**

As mentioned earlier, the opinion of the Government on the question of settlements of Inams began to change with the discovery of the "mistakes" and "injustices" of the earlier decisions. The British Government, within a few years of the formation of Inam Commission realized that it had to make a final settlement of the Inams in Madras Presidency. The process of correcting the earlier mistakes began immediately after the formulation of Inam Commission. However, such corrections were made keeping in view of the political and economic necessities of the colonial Government. This was explicitly expressed in the rules framed by the Commission.

According to the rules set by the Commission, the Inams were divided into the following heads:

1. Enfranchised,
2. Enfranchised but liable to jodi or quit-rent and
3. Enfranchised, rent-being commuted or redeemed.

The Government's intention in the settlements of Inams was to dissolve the relationship between the landholding and the cultural values of these landholders i.e., Inamdars. In 1862, the Government enfranchised the Inams through the act IV.[101] Enfranchisement meant the giving up of the reversionary

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101 The legal effect of enfranchisement by the charge of a quit-rent was to acquit the holders from all interference by Government, such as attachment, enquiries of lapse and resumption. Enfranchised Inams were transferable at the pleasure of the holders, while Inams not enfranchised were continued subject to

right of the Government regarding the Inam land on the condition of the Inamdar agreeing to pay an annual quit-rent.[102] The British Government considered that the enfranchisement of Inams could benefit both the former Inamdars and the present pattadars. The general effect of this act was described in the preamble to the enfranchised Inams Act IV of 1862, which says " whereas, under the Inam rules sanctioned by the Government, under date 9 August, 1859, the reversionary rights of Government are surrendered to the Inamdars, in consideration of an equivalent annual quit-rent, and the Inam lands are thus enfranchised and placed in the same position as other descriptions of landed property, in regard to their future succession and transmission."[103] The British believed that after this act, the Inam land became transferable and heritable as other description of land.[104] This act adopted the earlier division of Inams made by the Commission. It also settled the issue of title-deeds in accordance with the Regulation XXXI of 1802 and enabled the government to decide the quit-rent to be paid to it for surrendering the reversionary rights.[105]

The misconception with regard to the Inams of village officials was acknowledged in the later half of the nineteenth century. The Government

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the disabilities, which were imposed by Imperial Act XXIII of 1871, embodying the provisions of the Regulation IV of 1831. See A.N. Row, *Op.Cit.*, p.95.

102 B.R. Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p.260.

103 Madras Act IV of 1862, in T.S. Coomaraswamy, *Op.Cit.*, Pp. 496-497.

104 But the Inamdars contended "that the sanads, the usual terms of which are 'from generation to generation so long as the Sun and Moon endure,' are permanent in their character, that the State thereby gave up its right to the revenue of the lands absolutely and forever, and the Inamdars have therefore the power to sell and transfer them at their pleasure: or in other words, that the Inams are already free holds which need no further enfranchisement and from which the Government can derive no rent at anytime." *CPRIS*, p.252, para 3.

105 Section (i), Madras Act-IV of 1862, in T.S. Coomaraswamy Mudaliyar, *Op.cit.*, p.479.

restored the jurisdiction of the Court and the exclusive powers of the officials to deal with the village service Inams which were abandoned by the act IV of 1866. Section I of the act stated that,

> all the hereditary village or other service Inams, falling hitherto exclusively under the cognizance of the officers of government in the Revenue Department, under the provisions of Regulation VI of 1831, which have been, shall be enfranchised from the condition of service by the Inam Commission, or other officer acting under the sanction of government shall be exempted from the operation of the aforesaid Regulation.[106]

The correction of the earlier mistakes did not end with the restoration of Court's jurisdiction to try the cases pertaining to village service Inams. The rights of Inamdars over the Inam property was not clearly defined by the Government. It was alleged that through the earlier acts, the Inamdars gained more property rights in land than actually intended. By merging all rights, whether of property or of occupancy, in recognition of the Inamdar's permanent property in land, the British Government had neglected the rights of all the other classes. Some apprehensions also were expressed with regard to the rights of the grantors of Inams after the passage of the act of 1866. The government, in view of the confusion created by the earlier acts, considered it as an expedient to explain the true meaning of such words in the above two Acts. Hence it passed one more Act in 1869. Section I of this act stated that:

> Nothing contained in any title-deed heretofore issued to any Inam holder shall be deemed to define, limit, infringe or destroy the rights of any description of holder or occupiers of the lands from which any Inam is derived or drawn, or affect. The interest of any person other than the Inam holder named in the title-deed.[107]

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106 Section (1), Madras Act-IV of 1866 in T.S.Coomaraswamy Mudaliyar, *Op.cit.*, p.497-498.

107 Section(1), Madras Act VIII of 1869, in Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.cit.*, p.381.

In view of these errors and injustices of the policies, it was realized that the Government had failed to protect the privileges and honours of the Inamdars and to utilize their services, as performed in pre-colonial period. It had also created a difficult situation for itself because no attempt was made to ascertain, define, record and protect the rights of different classes in Inam tenurial structures, as it found them on the eve of the British rule. All the Inam acts passed by the Government only met the immediate demands of the situation. There was no systematic attempt for the codification of rules at once. Even the Commission has taken a long time to formulate rules that govern the role of Inams in the later times.

However, all these Acts would, as stated in the minutes of Charles Trevelyan, came into effect only when the Government ascertained the extent of Inams by actual survey.[108] Consequently, the land-revenue of a village could not be fixed until the claims to the Inams and the title-deeds for them were adjudicated.[109] Because of this reason the enquiry into the title-deeds of Inams was in many cases, preceded the survey and the reassessment of the land-revenue. The Inam Commissioner also began his work in those districts where the survey had begun.

The Government in the latter half of nineteenth century followed a compromise policy. When it settled Inams it compromised with the existing old institution of the pre-colonial period. At the same time it did not delegate any power to them as done by the "native government." On the other hand, it

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108 Charles Trevelyan, *Op.Cit.*, para, 34.

109 *Ibid.*, para, 34.

took away whatever privileges they had along with the Inam lands. Some of the Inams were continued. Often, Inams pertaining to Revenue and Police departments were discontinued. However according to the report of Blair, Inam property was considered in every aspect preferable to other descriptions of real property, through the Act-IV of 1862 and Act-IV of 1866.[110]

**Resumption of Inams:**

As soon as the British began exercising its control over Madras Presidency, it began to resume the Inams. At the same time, the British were aware of the permanence of the whole grants prior to their rule and admitted that;

> there can be little doubt that the whole of these grants, which appear to have been made by the Rajas of the country and their Ministers, for an endless variety of reasons, to institutions and individuals, were all intended by the grantors to be permanent.[111]

The British found it difficult to establish that the resumption was common phenomenon in the pre-colonial period. The British considered that the king possessed the superior rights in land and hence he could resume the land whenever he felt to do so. When the Inams were granted by the king, generally he never interfered in the matter of rights over Inam land. Inam had distinct value as the king directed not only the land but the rights to the clients while granting them, and thus established the relationship with the clients and

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110 Blair Report, *Op.cit.*, para, 68.

111 *CPRIS*, p.252, para 9.

also showed the sovereignity over them. Whenever the clients revolted against the king, he would begin his *Digvijaya* (Tour of Conquest) to suppress them, and replace the client with the other. The resumption of Inams from the client was described by Mauss as the cessation of gift.[112] The invocation of theory that there was a historical precedent for the resumption and it sustained across generations was purely an expedient. The British admitted that there was no frequent resumption of Inam lands as they did prior to their rule. It was also argued that such frequent grants would exhaust the resources which was a fundamentals source of revenue to the Government. Confronted with these conflicting arguments, the British had to admit that the regulation with regard to the resumption of Inam lands were harmful to the traditional institution for its continuation.[113]

Inams during colonial rule lost all their privileges. The Inamdars were not allowed to share the sovereignty by the Government but made subject to it. Status and honour were not governing the social and political relations, but, were subjugated to the colonial Government and regulated for the sake of existing traditional elites. The British did not give the cultural value to the Inam grant. It never accorded religious sanctity while dealing with the Inams. Rather the Government based its relations on the economic necessities.

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112 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift, the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*, London, 1990,Pp- 47-64.

113 On the appeal of Maharaja Moheshar Singh against the Government, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council pronounced the following judgement. "It may be well to observe that the Regulation respecting the resumption of lands, and the subjecting them to be assessed, are Regulations in themselves almost necessarily severe in their operation; and while we give to them the force and effect which we are bound to do, as the subsisting law upon this subject, we cannot, and ought not, to forget, that though it is manifestly, at first sight, the interest and duly of Government to bring under taxation as large an extent of land as possible." Minute of Charles Trevelyan, *Op.Cit.*, p.49, para 15.

The value of Inam was determined not on the relations the grantee maintained with the grantor, but in the market. Because of the colonial policies, Inamdars could not make investments in the public works or in land, as they did in the pre-colonial period. Since the control on the local public works were not given to Inamdar, it was neither profitable nor according status or honour for him to invest in such public works. Moreover the colonial trade provided an alternative choice to these landed elites. Thus Inam was deprived of all its privileges.

Changes during the period 1801-1871 in the relationship between the Inam and colonial state were partly due to the change in the interactions of Inam with the broader policy framework and partly to the specific policy guidelines that interacted with Inams. The decisions of the East India Company to raise the revenues for its political, economic and other ends, as well as the withdrawal of the grant of land in 1829 reflected a readiness to end the illusions of continuity between pre-British and British sovereign attitudes to Inams. Given that the core of this indigenous relationship, predicated on honours, states transactions between the grantors and grantees, had never engaged British policy and ideology, it is not surprising that this was willingly discarded, especially as such they were unnecessary for the security of the colonial regime. The various regulations that were passed in the nineteenth century clearly established the ultimate authority of the British over the Inams. However, such authority could not be established with the mere passage of the regulations. The Inamdars had to provide with the title of their holding. For such provision, a systematic investigation of title deeds and the confirmation of the right of the holder made by the Inam commission for more than a decade had a major role to be discussed. The work of the Inam commission from 1859 to 1869 is the subject of the following chapter.

# CHAPTER - III

# INAM COMMISSION AND ITS WORKS

The primary and abiding interest of the colonial Government in the settlements of Inam was the extraction of a part of surplus in the form of increased quit-rent. In Madras Presidency, after much debate and several experiments, the British took interest into an arrangement to this end with the Inamdars. This remained throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the basic institutional form through which the Inamdars were dealt all over the Presidency.

The other factor that influenced the Government was the concern of the British to continue the traditional institution for the fear that the total abolition would bring a social revolution against its rule. Most of the Inamdars, whatever may be the nature of their position, were continued during the initial stages of the colonial rule.

The official policy in Madras Presidency was predisposed to disturb the traditional structure. The reasons for the positional change in the privileged structure were many. The major cause was the pragmatic political consideration of causing as little dislocation as possible to the sustenance of these traditional elites. This would ensure a social and political security to the alien Government as well as the steady, though less, source of income to it. It was made clear in the despatch of the Court of Directors stating that the settlements of Inam was necessary for two objects:

> On the one hand to vindicate the just rights of the State, meaning thereby not the Government but the great body of the public, by retrenching exemptions and privileges standing on no valid ground, and injurious to the payers of revenue generally and thus making it practicable to lighten the burden of taxation to the general body, or to devote a large amount annually to the execution of public works for their advantage;

and on the other hand, to confirm the titles of the rightful holders of Inam.[1]

The settlements of Inam assumed importance as it involved the sacrifice of a large amount of revenue to the Government. The concern for the revenue was so much that it fixed higher quit-rent on different types of Inams when compared to the earlier rents. Such a difference was the result of the policy of private economy pursued by the British Government in the belief that it would bring about a commercial revolution in India. The other reason, according to the Government, was the confused state of affairs of Inams that forced it to establish the Inam Commission for the settlements. This made the colonial government to recognize the importance of a general inquiry into the titles of these privileged land tenures. The earliest measure which they adopted was a rough revenue survey.

**Experiments prior to Inam Commission:**

In pursuance of the policy indicated by the Court of Directors, a general survey of the lands in the whole of the Presidency, except Northern circars was conducted and the Inam lands in every village were carefully recorded.[2] But

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[1] Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 8, dt. 1 September, 1858, in *CPRIS*, p.31, para 4.

[2] The Government recognized the importance of investigating the titles of Inams in the beginning of their rule itself. Accordingly, the inquiry was held in all parts, except in Northern Circars because most of the land in this part of the Presidency held by the Zamindars. The reason for not instituting the inquiry was that the policy did not allow the Government to carry out investigation in those lands whose administration was entrusted to others. In these lands a general scrutiny into the rights of Inam holders was not admitted but the Government now and then made a partial investigation of such tenures in limited tracts. The result was that Inam lands were largely left without a proper inquiry of the titles from the Government in the initial years. Blair Report, in *CPRIS*, Madras, 1948, p.312, para 8.

due to the unsettled state of the British administration and also the inadequacy of its administrative apparatus, the inquiry proved rather very imperfect.

The Government, when found their Revenue Surveys failed to achieve the object for which it was carried on,passed a number of regulations, in order to safeguard their reversionary right in Inam, . Regulation XXXI of 1802 empowered the Collectors to inquire into the titles of the Inamdars. The government according to the section II of the regulation could take action against those Inamdars who did not register their lands at the Cutchery.[3] However, it was not able to implement this regulation as the administration had not penetrated deep into all parts of the Madras Presidency. The next attempt was made in 1825 when orders were issued for inquiring the Inam tenures and a special establishment was sanctioned for that purpose in Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. But these measures failed to materialize.

There were other attempts through the Regulations IV of 1831, XXXI of 1836 and XXXIII of 1838 which prohibited civil courts from taking cognizance of suits relating to personal or hereditary Inams whose creations or continuance was due to the British government. Regulation VI of 1831 extended this prohibition to hereditary village service Inams. These regulations did not prove to be a success. In 1845 the government issued orders to local officers, to examine the matter of continuance of confirmation of Inams. The government limited the continuance of charitable grants to the lives of the existing holders, on the ground that it was objectionable in principle to exempt a portion of the land for the maintenance of a class of persons who had no

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[3] Section II, Regulation XXXI, of 1802 in *MELAC*, part I, Pp.198-199.

"legitimate" claim on the state.[4] In 1846, the government ordered that Inam lands should not ensure for the benefit of adopted heirs, unless the adoption had been intimated to it at least six months prior to the death of the Inamdar. These and other similar rules passed by the government gave rise to the revolt of Palegar Narasimha Reddy in the then Cuddapah district. After this revolt the government changed its policy with regard to the Inamdar's rights in land for a higher period. All the Inams were continued according to the instruction of the government, except in few, where there was dispute in the possession of title. The immediate resumption or forfeiture of Inams on the failure of an issue, thus, was abandoned, for the time being. But, at the same time, a notification was issued prohibiting the Inamdars without a sanad from "alienating" their Inam lands and warning other people from purchasing them.[5] This notification caused serious anxiety and discontentment among the people.

During the middle of the nineteenth century the government wanted to revise the assessment throughout the Madras Presidency. The government during this time was under pressure for more revenue and held the opinion that the "proposed inquiry would be one source from which to replace the immediate loss of revenue".[6] The Government aware of the fact that the revenue accrues from the Inam lands "would not be great, but ultimately it would be very

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[4] C.D. Maclean, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, New Delhi, 1987, Vol. I, p.166.

[5] The Government has given lot of importance to the sanad because the failure to produce it would enable it to resume the Inam land. This idea did not reflect while the grant was made by the grantor in the pre-colonial period. "What the ruling power did bestow by the issue of a sanad of Inam, was the alienation of a portion of the land tax to some specific object, sometimes in favour of an individual for past or present services, sometimes as a mere mark of the favour or caprice of the sovereign, sometimes to a community or public institution, in the nature of an endowment for its support." Refer Minute of W.Elliot, 16 June, 1859, in *CPRIS*, p.56, para 9.

[6] Blair Report, *Op.Cit.*, para 22.

considerable".[7] These factors received the attention of the court of directors and they sent their assent through their revenue despatch No. 17, 1856.[8] The government also wanted to formulate a policy which comprehensively dealt with the Inams in Madras Presidency. The earlier surveys made clear that they were not done properly. The details of the surveys carried out at different periods varied from district to district according to the Revenue officer's views and capacity.[9] The investigations were determined to some extent by local factors. The methods followed at different times were not the same and were sometimes not just. The methods pursued by the Revenue officers affected many Inamdars, since they practiced extortion and oppression on holders eventhough the hereditary titles possessed by the holders were proved valid.[10] Their effects on land revenue were in many instances harmful, for the assessment was done blindly on the survey rates. The initiation of the general survey and revision of the assessment led to definite proposals being made to the home government for the appointment of a special commission to deal with Inam tenures of all kinds.[11] Accordingly, the government established the Inam commission on 16th

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7 Blair's Report, *Op.Cit.*, para 22.

8 *Ibid.*, para 22.

9 G.O. No.1069, 9 August, 1859, p.63, para 5.

10 No.8, Despatch of Court of Directors, 1 September, 1858, p.31, para 4. In some districts the register of Inams was prepared without reference to the records of Collectors office. Such incomplete investigation of Tahsildars was the result of non cooperation of different officials in the administrative structure of the early British Government. The papers were moved in different directions again and again, uselessly, and were sent back for further enquiry, which needed fresh witnesses to be taken again. This process involved lot of time and money which was a source of annoyance to both the officers and Inamdars. It ultimately resulted only in the corruption of the officials. See G.O. No.1069, 9 August, 1859, p.64, para 6.

11 The Government kept the reversionary right to itself and resumed Inams wherever it was possible. It did not favour the continuation of Inams wherever the lapses occurred. The Government defended its action arguing that if it

November, 1858 during the period of Lord Harris, with G.N. Taylor as its commissioner. In his reports of 22nd February and 28th March in 1859, Taylor proposed certain modes of procedure with regard to the registration of Inams, the object of which was to be carried on through the district revenue agency either under the orders of the Inam Commission or of a member of the Board of Revenue.[12] These principles served as a temporary measure in the investigation of titles of Inams. Later, Sir Charles Trevelyan assumed charge as the Governor of Madras, and the first question engaged to his attention was the settlement of the Inams in the Madras Presidency. In his minute of 13th May, 1859, Trevelyan proposed certain rules by which the principles enunciated by the court of directors were to be practically applied by the Inam Commission in the investigation of the titles of Inams.

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exempted one class of persons it would increase the burden upon others. The principles of justice and institution of private property also caused the Government to resume the Inam lands. Later it pointed out that the continuation of Inam lands has the following consequences which were described thus: "Of the justice and necessity of an investigation of the titles of Inamdars there seems no room for question. It is just and necessary for two opposite objects, on the one hand to vindicate the just rights of the state, meaning thereby not the government but the great body of the public, by retrenching exemptions and privileges standing on no valid ground, and injurious to the payers of revenue generally; and thus making it practicable to lighten the burden of taxation to the general body or to devote a large amount annually to the execution of public works for their advantage; and on the other hand to confirm the titles of the rightful holders of Inam. The second object is scarcely less important than the first. At present the tenure of Inam lands is so uncertain, being dependent on arbitrary rules little known and liable to continue to change and the title being subject to interference and inquiry on every lapse, that is undoubtedly less valuable as property than it otherwise would be." G.O.No 66, 19th January, 1857, in *CPRIS*, Pp. 17-18, para 13.

[12] For details of 22nd February memorandum of G.N. Taylor refer *CPRIS*, Pp. 41-46. The abstract of these two letters is given in Blair's report in *CPRIS*, para 28.

**Composition of Inam Commission:**

The Inam Commission constituted in 1858 was headed by one commissioner. This commissioner was provided by two assistants and a number of Deputy Collectors were appointed as members. The Commissioner was selected among the European officers. The Deputy Collectors belonged to the native agency and were provided with an establishment to enquire the titles of Inamdars. These officers stayed at taluk cutcheries and the proceedings were generally conducted at taluk level. The Deputy Collectors were charged with the duty of investigating the titles and to record the proceedings of the enquiry. They were responsible for the due communication of the cases to the commissioner, and orders of the commissioner, to the parties concerned. All the cases pertaining to the titles of Inams were first verified by the village officers in the village itself and then they were taken to the Deputy Collector's establishment with all records ready at hand, along with the Inamdars. The Commission through its investigations secured a complete and valuable record of Inam tenures and rights of the holders, which was, hitherto, not done by the Government. The investigation was proceeded in all the districts one after the other. The entire strength of the commission was at a time concentrated in one locality. This would facilitate the work to progress with ease and also help the commission to interchange the correspondence with the Inamdars in all parts of the district as the members were scattered all over the district. The commissioner was given a salary of Rs. 2500 per month while the salary of the deputy commissioners was Rs. 1200 each. After one year of working, the commission recommended the government to increase the number of members. The recommendations of the commission were accepted by the government and the

number of members were increased. The number of Deputy Collectors had been increased to sixteen and the total establishment of the commission and their salaries stood as follows.[13]

**TABLE III-1. SHOWING THE NAME OF THE POST AND THE SALARY**

| Designation | Salary in Rs. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | A. | P |
| Commissioner | 2,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Two Special Assistants | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| One second-class Deputy Collector | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Three third Class Deputy Collectors | 1,050 | 0 | 0 |
| Three fourth class Deputy Collectors | 2,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Two fourth class Deputy Collectors | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Commissioner's Establishment | 1,331 | 8 | 0 |
| Two special assistant Establishment | 268 | 0 | 0 |
| Sixteen Deputy Collectors Establishment | 1,276 | 0 | 0 |
| Monthly Total | 10,925 | 8 | 0 |
| Annual Total | 1,31,106 | 0 | 0 |

Source: Taylor's Report, in *CPRIS*, p. 136, para 17.

[13] Taylor's Report of the operations of the Inam Commission, during 1859-60, in *CPRIS*, p.136, para 17.

With the increase in strength the commission expected that it would complete the operations in less than three years since 1860. But the work could not be completed. G.N. Taylor was succeeded by W.T. Blair as the Inam Commissioner in 1862. The commission completed most of the work by November, 1869 and submitted a report regarding Inams.[14]

**Adjudication of Title-deeds:**

In accordance with the objective of the Government the commissioner, G.N. Taylor, prepared a draft of rules and practical directions for the guidence of the officers to be employed in the adjudication of the Inams of Madras Presidency. These rules were framed in accordance with the general principles laid down in the minute of the Governor, Charles Trevelyan. The rules dealt with all classes of Inams which existed in all districts of the Presidency. The rules also framed in such a way that all the varieties of Inams could be dealt with. Taylor reported that if any further questions with regard to the Inams arise, which were difficult to be disposed, that would be solved by the Government.

The Commission explained the necessity of framing the rules for the adjudication of Inams stating that the existing rules appeared to be liberal but were not so in practice. The rules framed till the establishment of the

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[14] The Government always considered the existence of Inams as a source of problem to it. The expression of such sentiment could be gleaned from the report of Blair, which stated that "a long pending, which was a source of perplexity to every successive Government, a cause of much irritation among a very influential section of the community and an ever increasing burden on the energies of the local officers, has been now set at rest. The just claims of Government have been peacefully indicated and prescriptive right of the people in a vast mass of valuable property has been scrupulously respected and confirmed in perpetuity." The Government felt that it lightend its burden after the settlements of Inams by the Commissioner. For more details refer Blair Report, in *CPRIS*, p.326, para 73.

Commission were modified and supplemented by many subsidiary orders which proved as "a source of vexation, annoyance and uncertainty to the Inamdars."[15] The tendency of the British officers was that they interpreted the rules framed by the Government in different forms and were put to unequal operations in different districts. Cases pertaining to recognition of the titles were disposed off according to the personal views of the officers who investigated them.[16] These circumstances necessitated for the organisation of a special commission which was expected by the Government to improve the position of Inamdars, to provide security to landed property, to confirm the titles and to enhance the value of the land.[17]

The Commission framed rules with regard to the adjudication and enfranchisement of Inams in the Madras Presidency.[18] The basis of the rules that guided the investigation was that where it was proved that the land was held for 50 years, free of revenue, the commissioner conferred an absolute title to the land.[19] Earlier, in the beginning of their rule, the British held

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15 Revenue Department, G.O.No.1063, 9 August, 1859, p.63, para 4.

16 G.O. No. 1063, *Op.Cit.*, p.63, para 5.

17 *Ibid.*, para 7.

18 For details refer *CPRIS*, Pp. 70-78. The objective of the Commission was to frame rules to adjudicate and made the final settlements of Inam based on the principles of justice and liberalism. The special commission, according to the Government would have undivided attention to the work and hoped that a complete register of Inams of the Presidency would be prepared in a given form. This would help the Government as a useful record for reference in all matters connected with Inams. Revenue Department, G.O.No. 1069, 9 August, 1859, p.64, para 8.

19 The origin of title or possession became a much debated question to the British and hence Inams were classed as follows: 1. Those held with or without grants from the earlier rulers or officers prior to the assumption of the British, 2. Those acquired immediately after the assumption and continued as the grants made by the earlier rulers or officers and 3. Inams acquired recently under the authority of the British Government or grants made by the

a different opinion on the possession of Inams for a longer period. Section 8 of the Regulation XXXI of 1802 stated that "it shall not be competent for persons holding exempted lands under invalid titles to plead possession for any length of time whatever in bar to the right of government to resume such lands."[20] However, this decision was changed after the revolt of Narasimha Reddy in Cuddapah district in 1846. In their judicial despatch of 13 October, 1847, to the Government the Court of Directors reminded that long undisturbed possession affected evidence of right, and constituted a motive for the government not to interfere.[21] But this rule of 50 years appeared to be irrational as it was difficult for the government to establish the length of possession. The village accounts which were supposed to contain all details with regard to Inams were lacking all the information about them. Even the commission held the view that "Inams acquired subsequent to the introduction of the permanent settlement in 1802, if it was not registered and consisted of Sanads, then it would be difficult to determine the age".[22] The village accounts of Karnams were not of such unquestionable authority as to justify the presumption that the absence of the registration of an Inam in them was a sufficient proof of its non-existence at that time".[23] The village accounts prepared by the Karnams, subsequent to the reversion, stating that Inams were granted in 1806 or after, were equally untrustworthy".[24] Under such

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subordinate district authorities or the Zamindars, Palegars, renters and others. G.O. No. 1069, *Op.Cit.*, p.65, para 10.

20 Minutes by Sir Charles Trevelyan 13 March, 1859, p. 47, para 6.

21 *Ibid.*, Pp. 49-50, para 16.

22 Inam Commissioner letter dt. 24 October, 1859 in *CPRIS*, p.126, para 2.

23 Inam Commission letter dt. 24 October 1859, *Op.cit.*, p.126, para 2.

24 *Ibid.*, para 2.

circumstances, the rationality behind the rule of 50 years proved extremely weak. However, the commission proceeded in its work with such rules.

The Inamdar even if he did not possess any proof of holding Inam for 50 years, the commission recognized such Inams, subject to the payment of quit rent according to the rule prescribed with regard to that particular Inam. When the said 50 years were established in the case of service Inams, the quit rent payable, was fixed at 1/8, 1/4, or 1/2 of the ordinary assessment, accordingly as the original grant was a permanent one, or for number of lives, or for the life of the grantor only. Religious and charitable Inams were confirmed on the existing tenure and they were effective only for the purpose for which they were sanctioned. When the Inam happened to be partly personal and partly religious or charitable, the enfranchisement was to be made on half the assessment. The Inamdar was given an option by the commission to redeem the quit- rent by paying a premium equal to 20 times the value of annual quit-rent ( It was subsequently increased to 30 times after 2nd February 1895. However, later no redemption was allowed).[25] These rules were continued to govern the adjudication of Inam till the end of the British rule in India.

In addition to the quit-rent imposed on the Inam lands, the Government levied a duty on every succession to the Inam property. Hereditary holders of Inam, though their possessions confirmed after formal enquiry were subjected to this tax in common with all others whose claims were not investigated.[26] The rate of duty "would be fixed with reference to the degree of consanguinity as by the English succession and legacy Acts."[27] The scale of duty fixed on the

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[25] B.R. Chakravarthy, *Land Law in the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1927, p.232.

[26] Revenue Department, G.O. No.275, 5 March, 1859, p.43, para 13.

[27] *Ibid.*, para 12.

succession of Inam property was as follows:

**TABLE III-2. SHOWING THE TYPE OF SUCCESSION**

| Type of Succession | Quantum of payment |
|---|---|
| 1. Widow and Legitimate sons. | Sum equal to one year's full assessment of the land. |
| 2. Adopted sons and collateral heirs. | Sum equal to two year's full assessment of the land. |
| 3. Strangers. | Sum equal to three year's full assessment of the land. |

Source: *CPRIS*, p.43, para 14.

Apart from the succession duty, a fine of sum equal to three year's full assessment would be levied for every sale or transfer of Inam land.

The succession rules were a source of annoyance to the Inamdars as the term hereditary was interpreted and applied in a restricted sense. The succession in case of collaterals recognized by the Hindu law was excluded from the rules propounded by the Government. The British recognized the succession only of direct lineal descendants and undivided brothers. The share of Inam property held by the divided members of the family of the original grantee was liable to revert to Government on the death of the present incumbent. The right of females to succeed to an Inam was not extended to all degrees of relationships.[28] The claims of adopted sons were recognized only out of the family of an undivided brother or cousin, thus prescribed certain limits. Inam

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[28] G.O. No.1069, *Op.cit.*, p.63, para 4.

property was not allowed to be transferred irregularly through a collateral branch by an illegal adoption or by alienation of any kind, which weakens the claim of the heir of the existed holder and render such Inams liable to resumption.[29]

At the time of the Inam commission the village Inams were not enfranchised. Their enfranchisement was carried out later on by a special staff appointed for this purpose at 5/8 of the ordinary assessment.[30] In the case of Inams which were already subjected to quit- rent the additional tax levied in such a way that the total assessment shall not exceed 3/4 of the normal.[31] When the jodi on particular Inam exceeded the full assessment the Inamdar was given the choice of holding the land either under the Inam title or under ryotwari patta. The dispute that would arise between the individuals with regard to Inam were to be settled according to the established procedures in the ordinary courts of Justice.[32] The claims of government upon Inams prior to enfranchisement were to be determined by the officers of government. But after the enfranchisement, the Inams were to be in every aspect under the protection of the courts of justice.[33]

**Progress of the work:**

Under the new system a comprehensive scheme of detailed local inspection

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29 G.O.No. 1069, *Op.Cit.*, p.63, para 4.

30 *Ibid.*, p.231.

31 *Ibid.*, p.231.

32 Section XXIX, Inam rules, in *CPRIS*, p.78.

33 *Ibid.*, p.78.

was prescribed as the essential preliminary step to the making of a settlement. The Deputy Collectors were required to proceed to every taluk under settlement and with the help of the subordinate staff to carry out the investigations, village by village. The inquiries were to secure the most extensive information about not only the verification of the title-deed, the extent and produce, the value of that produce, but also all interests attached themselves to the land. These data were to provide the ground work for stabilizing existing rights and determining the pitch of the jodi (quit-rent). The object was to discover as closely as possible the actual condition of the land, the value of the gross produce and thus to make an addition to the resource of revenue and to improve it in every practicable way.[34]

The officers deputed for the investigation entered the results of their enquiry in a tabular form of register. The Government circulated the printed forms to the investigators for enquiries, one for each village. The list of *Shrotriyams, Agraharams* and whole Inam villages was prepared in a separate register. Before the preparation of the register, printed vernacular forms were supplied to the Karnams through the Tahsildars. The statement of the particular Inam would be prepared by the Karnam under the immediate superintendence of taluk officer, either the Sherishtadar or the head gumastah who were appointed for the purpose by the Collector. All these local officials prepared the list of the existing Inams, whether possessed by the parties, temporarily under attachment etc., in the register kept for this purpose. These entries would be scrutinized by the superintending taluk officer with the corresponding Jamabandi or other accounts of his taluk which showed the extent of the existing Inams in the villages. Despite many ambiguities of the new

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[34] *CPRIS*, p.136, para 16.

policy with regard to the settlements of Inam, the commission proceeded further to investigate the title deeds.

The operations of the commission were based on the rules framed by it. The course of procedure adopted by the commission, for the preparation of the register of Inam of each village was, to issue a proclamation for the information of Inamdars of the district.[35] In addition to the proclamation a general notice was also issued to the Inamdars of every village, which required their attendance at the Taluk office of the Deputy Collector, who was sent by the commissioner to investigate about the title deeds of Inams. The proforma of the general notice was the invitation to the Inamdars who were holding Inam lands wholly or partially exempted from assessment. This invitation when issued to the Inamdars of any particular village, the name of that village, the taluk to which it belonged, the part of and the name of the district were also mentioned in the invitation. The Inamdars were required to attend the cutchery with the sanad, title-deed and other documents supporting the claim of their possession. A written statement giving the name, age, place of residence, relationship to original holders, the particulars of their family or heirs and the manner of the acquisition of Inam land were to be given by the Inamdars in accordance with the notice issued to them. The important aspect of the notice was the date of acquisition of Inam land which "constituted a kind of

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[35] The English version of proclamation was as follows:

In view to the removal of the evil incidents to the state of uncertainty in which Inam tenures and the titles to Inam lands generally are now involved, and the unsatisfactory character of the rules relative to their continuance of reversion, the government has resolved to adopt a more regular, thorough and comprehensive, plan for their investigation and immediate settlement, and so to confer on this description of property a value and security which it does not now possess. The other part of the proclamation consisted of the rules adopted for the adjudication of the titles. These rules are given in the text and also described in the appendix. Refer *CPRIS*, p.80.

prescriptive right."[36]

The Inamdar, according to the government should have the full notice of the proceedings of the enquiry and he should produce the proof of the validity of title within the time given to him and the Government "does not by any means" felt it "necessary to allow a period of two months" or"six" months" for his appearance before the commission, if the party was not found.[37] If the Inamdar failed to appear before the Deputy Collector or send his agent, the Deputy Collector would issue individual notice to the Inamdar, through the Tahsildar, calling him to appear within a period 15 days or to face the penalty within the rules which would result in the attachment of the Inam land by the Collector. If the Inamdar did not attend even within a year of the attachment of his property, the property would be assessed at full rate. The individual notice would be served to his place of residence or would be pasted on public place of the village. The individual notice served by the commission contained all the details. The name of the Inamdar in full, the number of the notice, the name of the village, taluk and district in which the Inam was situated, the description of Inam forming subject of inquiry and the particulars of the Inam etc. The notice was in the form of a letter from the Deputy Collector of the Inam commission.[38]

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[36] *CPRIS*, p. 33, para 9.

[37] G.O.No.66, dt. 19 January, 1857, in *CPRIS*., p.25, para 37.

[38] "It has been determined to inquire into the validity of your title to the Inam described in the foregoing table, and you have failed to appear in pursuance of the general invitation issued for the purpose to all Inamdars, this is to warn you to appear either personally or by a duly authorized agent at the cutchery of-at- within 15 days after the receipt of this notice, together with such deeds, accounts or other documents as you may wish to produce in support of your claim.

In the event of your failing to appear either in person or by agent within the period above allowed, the Inam herein described will be placed under attachment, and will be liable to ultimate resumption after the expiration of a

If the Inamdar appeared before the Commissioner, the taluk officers were deputed for registering the Inams in vernacular language and checked them with the standard Inam accounts of the village. All the details of the Inamdar which included the name, age, place of residence, relationship to original holder, the particulars of the family or heirs, the manner and date of acquiring of the Inams formed a part of village accounts referred to as the register of Inam.

The form of register consisted of different details of an Inam possessed by the Inamdar. It was broadly divided into four parts viz., 1. Class, extent and value of Inam, 2. Description, tenure and documents in support of Inam, 3. Name and relationship of original subsequent and present holders or length of possession and 4. Remarks and the decision of the commission.

The first part of the above division indicates the number of the grant which specified the particular plot of land in the village where it was allotted. The class to which the Inam land belonged e.g. *Dharmadayam* or personal was also mentioned in the form of register. The major division of Inam land into three types i.e. dry, wet and garden was also specified for the purpose of the imposition of quit-rent. The extent of Inam land possessed by the holder was included in the first part and generally expressed in local measure, that is in cawnies. But the corresponding measure of English in acres and decimals was given in the next column for the convenience of Europeans and other English educators. The next important item mentioned in this part was the old as well as the revised assessment rates over the Inam land.

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year in the event of your not appearing before the commission or the Collector of the district within that period." See *CPRIS*, Pp. 81-82.

In the second major part of the form of register, the service for which it was granted whether continued or not was described. The nature of service was also given in the column. The tenure of the Inam, i.e., whether granted for free of rent or bear any tax and the nature of the grant i.e., hereditary or life-grant was also mentioned. One of the columns in this category gives the details of the grantor and the date on which the grant was made. The Government also mentioned whether the grant was supported by Sanad or not etc.

The third major part consisted of the name of the original grantor, the relationship of the grantor and the grantee, the age and the place of residence. The details of relations included the connection the holder had with the original grantee.

The last part gives the remarks of the commissioner about the length of possession, the recommendations and the confirmation of the Deputy Collectors. The confirmation was to be made at every succession to the Inam. This was later countersigned by the commissioner or his assistant to give further confirmation to the title-deed issued on the annual payment of a specified quit-rent. All these details formed a part of the Inam register.

The details were verified, whenever required, with the village officers, who would attend the Deputy Collector's office, with the duplicate copy of accounts they possessed. Every Inamdar was required to file a statement with the particulars of his Inam and thus the "burden of proving a just cause of exemption must rest with the claimant"[39] This should be invariably attested by the village officers and also by two independent witnesses, who were generally the Inamdars of the area to which the claimant belonged. In addition to the above information provided to the Deputy Collector on Inam, he was also given

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39 Minute of Charles Trevelyan, 13 May, 1859, in *CPRIS*, p.51, para 20.

the information of that particular Inam from the Collector's records where the standard Inam register and accounts of the taluk from the earliest to the recent period was preserved. This evidence would be, then recorded in the English register by the Deputy Collector himself after his verbal inquiry. The sanads and other documents produced in support of the claim of Inams, were to be inspected and noted in the English registers and were attested by the Deputy Collector and other concerned authorities and later these documents were to be returned to the parties concerned. When all the particulars were entered in the register and the claim was established through the investigation, the Inamdar was informed of the rate and amount of quit-rent charged on his Inam. If the Inamdar provided insufficient information to the Deputy Collectors at the time of enquiry, the commissioner after establishing the facts forwarded such cases to the Collector to attach the Inam lands of those Inamdars pending the appearance of him. The proceeds of the Inam lands thus attached were taken over by the Government and were not to be repayable to the Inamdar after the Inam was given back to him. The Inamdar who did not appear before the enquiry committee to prove the validity of his possession was given one year time to do so. Within this specified time the Inamdar was required to appear before the Collector or his assistant to get the sanad from him after producing the required documents in support of his claim. Otherwise the Collector, according to the rules, would report the matter to the commission for his action. The commissioner based on the report of the Collector would assess the Inam land at full rate. If the Inamdars produced false accounts of their possession, they were to be punished according to the rules of the Government. The Deputy Collector also took the consent of the Inamdar whether to enfranchise his Inam or not before the register was sent to the Inam commissioner for review and for the issue of title-deed. All the title-deeds, issued by the commission, bore

the name of governor in council instead of Secretary of State for India-in-council. This was found defective as per the statute.[40] To remedy this defect an act was passed on 12 July 1869 which declared that all the title-deeds issued so far on behalf of Governor- in -council were regarded as valid , but from thereafter, they were to be issued on behalf of the Secretary of State for India-in-council instead.[41]

After the survey and the assessment of every field was done, the individual settlement became simple to be carried out. The work left was to ascertain the land occupied by each Inamdar and to enter them, with the fixed jodi attached to it, in his patta title-deed. For example a title-deed granted to one Ramaswamy Mudaliyar contained details which mentioned the type of land, the place where the Inam land was situated, the taluk and the district to which it belonged. It also specified the extent of land and the jodi paid by the Inamdar. The grant also mentioned that Inam was of hereditary character but not transferable. If there was a failure of lineal heirs, the title-deed stated, the grant-would lapse to the state.

The Government had given choice to the Inamdar to convert the Inam into an absolute free hold subject to the payment of Rs.5/- which included the jodi already charged. The Inamdar was free to dispose the Inam land subject to the above condition as stated in the pattah. The Inamdar was also given an option of the payment of quit-rent at one instance which was equal to twenty years and could make his possession absolutely free.[42] This required an Inamdar to pay a

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40 Blair's Report in *CPRIS.*, p.325, para 70

41 *Ibid.*, para 70.

42 There were many attempts from the Government to set the Inams absolutely free. One such attempt was made through the Deputy Collector directly. During the progress of the enquiry, the Deputy Collectors had the time to explain the Inamdars the "intentions of the Government on the subject of Inams and the

sum of money as calculated in the Government treasury "in permanent redemption of the entire quit-rent chargeable on the land."[43] After the payment of the Inam was confirmed to the owner "in perpetuity as an absolute free hold," meaning "free of all tax whatever to the Government." The end of the title-deed consisted of the signature and seal of the Inam commissioner.

The specimen title deed indicated the terms and conditions to be accepted by the Inamdar. If the Inamdar agreed to convert his Inam as a freehold, the terms for this also noted in the title. If he wanted to convert it absolutely free hold, the terms for that also indicated in the specimen title-deed.[44] This title-deed exhibited the method adopted by the Inam commissioner to validate the Inam in the Madras Presidency. The language of title-deed appeared to be conveyed to the Inamdars more extensive rights than were intended to be given. This was misconstrued in such way as to affect the rights and interests of the tenants or cultivators of Inam lands. This was brought to the notice of the government which through the Inam Act of 1869 interpreted the meaning of the title-deed. Section I of the act declared, *inter alia*, "that nothing contained in any title-deed there -to- fore issued to any Inamdar shall be deemed to define, limit, infringe or destroy the rights of any description of holders or

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principles upon which it is proposed to convert their tenure into an absolute free hold; and he will note in the column of remarks those cases in which they may express a desire to avoid themselves of the option allowed them for the purpose. This course, however, is only preliminary to the formal consent which will be ultimately accepted in each case by the commissioner on the occasion of conferring the title-deed." Revenue Department, G.O.No. 919, 11 July, 1859, in *CPRIS*, p.62. para 16.

43 *CPRIS*, Pp. 89-90.

44 After the title-deeds have been given as above described, the consent of those Inamdars who desired of availing themselves at once of the option of converting their tenure into a free hold would be taken by the Commissioner and the alteration of the tenure would be entered in the form printed on the deed, under the seal of the Government and the signature of the Commissioner. Revenue Department, G.O. No.919, *Op.Cit.*, p.62, para 20.

occupiers of the lands from which any Inam is derived or drawn, or to affect the interests of any person other than the Inam-holder named in the title-deed.[45]

The Inamdars who gave their consent to enter into agreement were to present the form of it to the government, after signing the agreement. It consisted of the exact field of the Inam land, the village, the taluk and the district. The Inamdar according to the muchilka had to agree to pay the Government, through the officers appointed to collect the revenue, the required quit-rent charged on his possession. It also mentioned about the regular period in which the rent should be paid. If the Inamdar desired to convert his land into absolutely a free hold then he was required to pay the stipulated quit-rent as per the rules mentioned in the title. The choice was to be given in the agreement. All the details of the payments would be mentioned in the muchilka. At the end, the muchilka consisted of the date of agreement, signature of the Inam, the number and the office seal.

The Inamdar, if he desires, could pay the quit-rent of stipulated years e.g., equal to 20 years quit-rent, at once and could make his Inam free of quit-rent. Such type of arrangement was offered by the Inam commissioner to the Inamdars. The agreement or muchilka should be entered by the Inamdar.

The forms of agreements were of two types. One of the agreements shows the manner the Inamdar gave his consent for the continuous payment of jodi and the other exhibited the enfranchisement of Inam made by the holder by the payment of annual rent of 20 years at once.

At the time of adjudication of titles, the commission had given the option of enfranchising the Inam, to its holders. The Inamdars were,however, skeptical

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[45] Act VIII of 1869 in *MELAC*, part -I ., p. 210.

about the motives of Inam commission. They considered the enfranchisement as sacrificial of the portion of their revenue as they had to enfranchise their Inams with a sacrifice of the part of their rent accrued to them.[46] They were also critical of the revised quit-rent charged by the Inam Commissioner as the beginning of the destruction of their Inam property in future.[47] Thus the work of the commission met with the protests from the Inamdars.

**Importance of the Title-deed and the Inam Register:**

In the above pages a discussion on how the scrutiny of title-deeds was carried out and the issue of title-deed to the Inamdar is presented. The issue of title-deed was to accord recognition to the Inam land by the Government. If the Inamdars were willing to enfranchise their Inams, that was recorded in the title-deed and the enfranchisement was made accordingly. In addition to the title-deed, the commission recorded the results of their enquiry, including the fact of enfranchisement of Inam in the Inam register. The Inamdars could have the authenticated information from the register for a small fee. Section 2 of Act-IV of 1862 provided that:

> the title-deed issued by the Inam commissioner, or an authenticated extract from the register of the commissioner or Collector, shall be deemed sufficient proof of the enfranchisement of land previously held on Inam tenure.[48]

The effect of this act was that the mere production of the title-deed itself

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46 Blair's Report, *Op.Cit.*, p.318, para 37.

47 *Ibid.*, para 37

48 Section 2, Act IV of 1862 in T.S.Coomaraswamy Mudaliyar, *The Revenue Code*, Madras, 1887, p.497.

was a proof of enfranchisement of an Inam. Then the question arises about the value of the Inam register or the title-deed issued by the Inam commissioner. Through the observation of Inam register, it is clear that it was not merely a supporting document for the confirmation or enfranchisement of an Inam, but contained the nature of the Inam, the present and the past holders of it, the extent or quantity and the condition on which the confirmation or the enfranchisement was made. The question as to how far the Inam Inam register was reliable in terms of the details it provided was answered by the judicial committee as follows:

> its preparation and contents were the subject of much consideration under elaborately detailed reports and minutes. It is to be remembered, that the Inam commissioners through their officials made inquiries on the spot, heard evidence and examined documents and with regard to each individual property, the Government was put in possession not only of the conclusion come to as to whether the land was tax free, but of a statement of the history and tenure of the property itself.[49]

The Inam register and the title-deed both provided the needed evidence to the Inamdar. In addition to that both gave the details of the conditions on which the grant was made. Earlier also there were pattas and muchilkas which contained the terms and conditions and they gave evidentary value to the possession of Inam. Although the British Government recognized the grants made earlier, it felt that the existed pattas and muchilkas were not provided with enough details in the manner which they wanted. Many of the Inamd!rsl according to the Government, possessed defective titles, yet the Inams were confirmed and enfranchised in favour of the holders, but the terms set for the settlements were in consonance with the colonial needs.

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[49] Judicial committee pronouncements quoted in B.R.Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p.252.

The next point of importance of both the title-deed and Inam register was the difference of the terms and conditions prior to the Inam settlement under the original grant and subsequent to the settlement. In the pre-colonial period, the successive kings' recognized and continued the grants made by their predecessors as it was the custom and has religious sanctions to that effect.[50] But this practice was not continued by the British. The Government held different opinion on the question of recognition of the title-deeds. It argued that the earlier native rulers, "when the cession or conquest of a territory takes place," was not

> bound to recognize all or any of the rights of the subjects of the conquered or ceded territory, as they might have stood possessed against their old sovereign and that the only rights which those subjects can legally enforce against the new sovereign are those, which such new sovereign has been pleased to recognize and confirm.[51]

The British, accordingly was not bound at all to recognize the old rights. Whatever the rights recognized by the Government were subjected to the terms imposed on them. Once these rights were recognized by the Government, they were not altered at any level between the Government and its subjects. Even the grants recognized prior to the settlements made by the Inam Commission were on certain terms imposed by the Government. These settlements were not altered

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[50] The inscription speaks that the Inam grants has cultural and religious sanctity accorded to them. Because of the importance given to them the Inam grants continued to exist in South India, in spite of the change in the rule or dynasty. If anybody disturbed the possession, he was, according to the dharmic rules, "fit for a sin-body." It further says that "neither has there ever been a greater sin than the resumption of that gift, nor shall there be hereafter. Whoever shall resume land, whether given by himself or by others, partakes of the sin of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows. Refer appendix, in H. Le Fanu, *A Manual of the Salem District in the Presidency of Madras,* Madras, 1883, p. 349.

[51] B.R. Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p. 254.

by the Inam Commission but the burden of proof in support of such grant was to be produced by the possessors to get Government's recognition. The terms on which the recognition given to the Inam was the choice of the Government. The prerogative of Government to decide what conditions, if any, had to be incorporated into a given title-deed, depended on each particular case. The terms and conditions which set by Government were based on the issue of the title-deed by the Inam Commissioner and this was entered in the Inam register also. Thus both the title-deed and Inam register assumed special importance because it was these terms which govern the grants.

The commission, after the enquiry of the vast variety of Inam tenures submitted a descriptive list of them , which consisted of 452 separate categories. All of them were described as land holdings either wholly or partially exempted from taxation. The Commission in its report grouped all these tenures into nine broad classes.[52] They were,.

(1) Those held for the support of religious institutions and for services connected there with.
(2) Those held for purposes of public utility.
(3) Those held by Brahmans and other religious classes for their personal benefit.
(4) Those held for the support of works of irrigation yielding public revenue.
(5) Those held by the families of Palegars and those who filled hereditary offices of trust under former Governments.
(6) Those held by the kinsmen, dependents and followers of former Palegars and Zamindars.
(7) Those connected with the former general police of the Country.
(8) Those held for ordinary village revenue and police service.
(9) Those held by various descriptions of artisans for services due to village Communities.

Later in November, 1869, the Commission submitted its report to the government.

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[52] Blair's Report *Op.Cit.*, p. 319.

The Commission dealt not only the Inams proper but also investigated the details of the title-deeds and settled the disputed titles also, which was a regular phenomena of the revenue system of Madras Presidency. These measures, according to the government, simplified the revenue administration of the districts. The adjudication of many long disputed titles and the rights between the government and the zamindars, between the zamindars and Inamdars and their tenants, had facilitated the revenue procedure of district officers.

**Results of the Operations:**

The significance of the investigation into the title-deeds can hardly be exaggerated. It served in certain instances to bring on the revenue register lands that had escaped assessment. The far reaching effects upon the Inamdars were the stricter application of the rules, that were already formulated, to make Inam lands absolutely free hold.

The consequences of the operations of the commission was the addition made to the revenues of the government. It resulted in the permanent addition of the revenue of Rs. 7, 16, 372 to the state, exclusive of village service and Police Inams.[53] It was also decided that the Inams to the value of Rs 1, 41, 220 were fully assessed.[54] These included the Inams which were reverted to the government because of the want of heirs and the rigid rules framed by the British with regard to the succession to the Inams. Much more was added when the government resumed the Inam lands in all the districts. There were considerable gains of the government after the operations of the commission as

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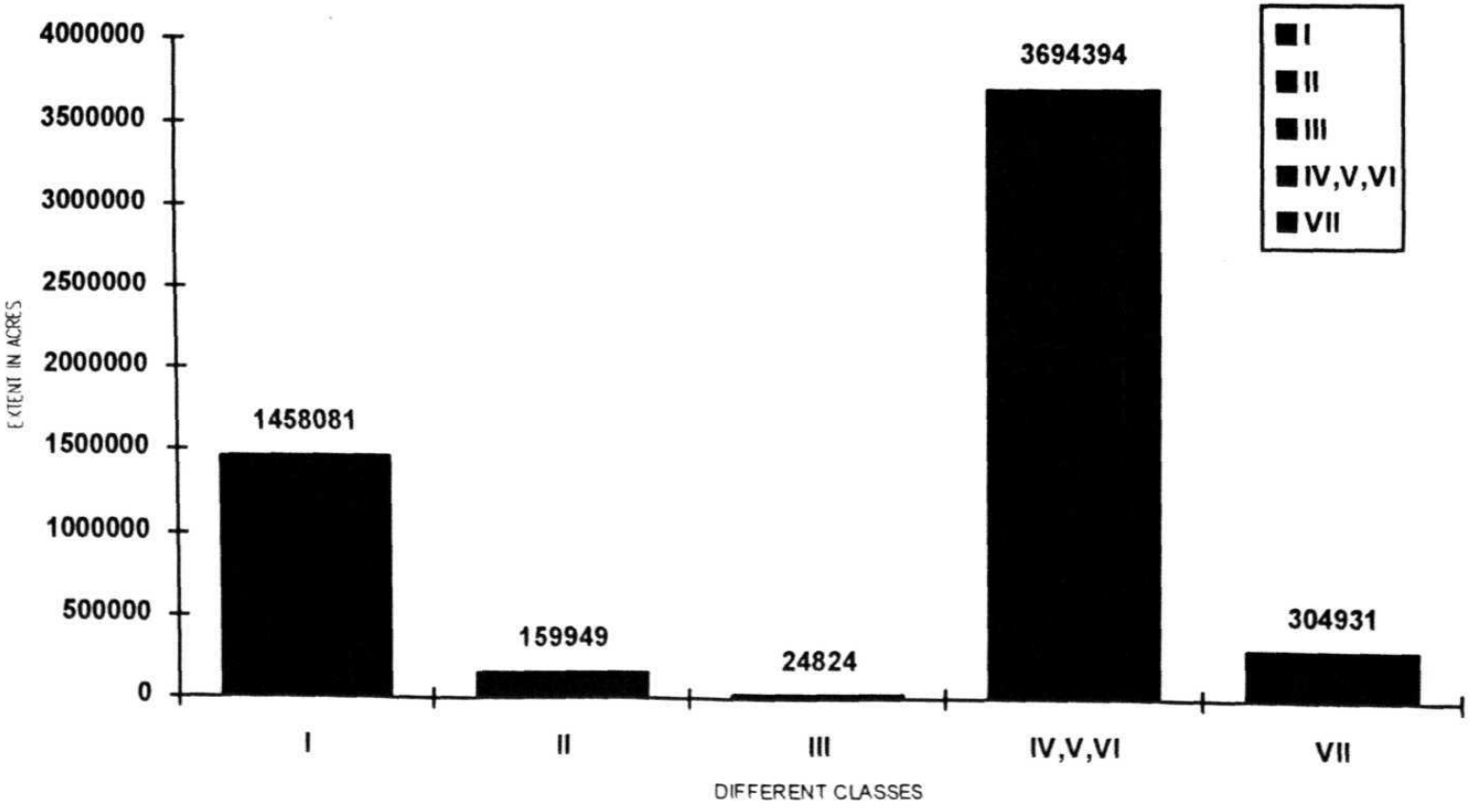
53 Blair's Report *Op.Cit.*, P. 323, para 65.

54 *Ibid.*, para 65.

well as the resumption of Inams. The Commission took eleven years to complete its work. In 1869, it was abolished due to the non-availability of funds for its continued existence. Later the remaining work was entrusted to one of the members of the Board of Revenue who submitted his report in 1870. With this, the work of the commission came to end. After the dissolution of it, the Collectors, acting under the supervision of the Board of Revenue, had settled the Inams in all the districts of Madras Presidency on the same conditions and subject to the same rules as adopted by the Inam Commission. The following diagram exihibit the extent of area occupied by different kinds of Inams in Madras Presidency.

FIGURE III.3. DIAGRAM SHOWING DIFFERENT KINDS OF INAMS AND THE EXTENT OF AREA IT OCCUPIED




Source: Blair's Report, in *CPRIS*, Pp. 319-321.

The settlement of Inam did not escape unchallenged. After the settlements the Inamdars served no useful function either politically or economically. The Inamdars who once played constructive role in the preservation and extension of sovereignty of the king were no longer allowed to do so under the British rule. They neither had individuality to do so nor accommodated in the political authority as privileged one. All the Inamdars were robbed of their privileges. They lost their prestige and power entirely as the colonial power gradually penetrated all the corners of the Madras Presidency. They could have been rehabilitated and restored to the earlier position, but such measures required the sacrifice of the colonial needs. The political demise of the Inamdars was not compensated by the economic advantages of the colonial Government. Thus the settlements inflicted a change in the role of Inamdars thoroughly. But how these settlements directly affected the different structures of Inam tenures is the subject of discussion in the subsequent chapter.

# CHAPTER - IV

# TENURIAL STRUCTURES OF INAMS

The extent of the penetration of the State in rural areas in Madras Presidency depended on a variety of factors. The different policies pursued by the East-India Company were instrumental to make an impact on the far reaching areas in South India. The land revenue policy of the government was one such example which changed many of the relationships of the South Indian Political system. Some of the landholders were able to dominate the central and eastern parts of Madras Presidency. These land holders gained control of agrarian production by means of state action but many of them were attracted into the state-level machinery or formed a group to play a role at the state-level.[1] There were others who were very active at the regional level and who were concentrating on collecting the labour, to cultivate their lands and thus became dominant in the local areas. The most important aspect where the dichotomy became apparent in south India was the land control.[2]

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1 C.J.Baker, *An Indian Rural Economy, 1880-1955: The Tamilnad Countryside*, Delhi, 1984, Pp.19-97.

2 The discussion on the meaning of land, as something which was "owned," "controlled " and "possessed" become different after the advent of the British rule in India. For details refer C.Walter Neals, " Land is to Rule" in R.E. Frykenberg, *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, New Delhi, 1969, Pp.3-15. The nature of property rights described in the Permanent Settlement took a different meaning and assumed significance in the land revenue policies of the British. The details are to be found in Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property for Bengal, An essay on the Idea of Permanent Settlement*, New Delhi, 1981. Also refer P.K Gnanasundara Mudaliyar, *A Note on Permanent Settlement*, Madras, 1940. Dharma Kumar, "A Note on the term 'Land Control', in Peter Robb ed., *Rural India: Land, Power and Society under British Rule*, London, 1983, Pp.59-75.

The control of land by the Inamdar was continued almost on the lines even accepted the same after the permanent settlement became an aspect. The transformation of the structure of land holding and property right by the various Acts or Regulations were, though major, did not eradicate significant continuities. Because the colonial policy was such that it had to recognize the institutions of earlier regimes and simultaneously changing them in such a way as to suit their needs. The British were concerned about property because they perceived it as the fundamental means for ordering Indian agrarian society and also they wanted to establish systematic basis for the continuous flow of land revenue to the government. The introduction of permanent settlement appeared to be different in the approach towards the Inamdars though, it did not change the earlier institution thoroughly. The colonial government's efforts to bring change did not take place until the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

**Inamdar's right in land:**

When the British consolidated their position in South India, they began to introduce a political economy in which both relations between the government and Inamdar and between the Inamdar and the tenant were regulated according to law and new forms of property.[3]

Section II of the Regulation XXV laid down that :-

> The proprietary right of the soil shall become vested in the Zamindars or other proprietors of land and in their heir and

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[3] All the Inamdars, large or small holders of land, were also themselves cultivators to a greater extent. Some of them were the Mirassidars and also the heads of the villages and some of them existed in the zamindaris and were perhaps the greatest cultivators in their areas.

lawful successors forever.[4]

It is evident that the framers of the Permanent Settlement in Madras vested the kudivaram (right in land) right in Inamdar and made him on par with Zamindars. The draft makers planned the Regulation in such a way that the Inamdars (who also consisted of Palegars, Zamindars, Jagirdars, Mirassidars etc) after the Permanent Settlement have lost all their privileges, were given the right in land but at the same time were not left free as they were made to pay the quit-rent to the government. Their privilege of sharing the sovereignty of the government was removed by the act of the British. Simultaneously, their energies, according to the Regulation, were divested to agrarian management and investment.[5] In short, they were made as part of rural elites and were assigned the duties of supervising the local stability and a steady flow of revenue.

**Inamdar and the Kudivaram right:**

The East India Company felt that the Inamdars were the ancient nobility of the state in pre-colonial period. Prior to the arrival of the British, they occupied an important position in the tenurial structure in South Indian rural areas. This structure in Madras Presidency was so complex that it cannot be analyzed without reference to agrarian structure within the village as well as the tribute collecting method over the village. In order to avoid the trouble

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[4] Section II , Regulation XXV of 1802 in T.S Coomaraswami Mudaliyar, *The Revenue Code,* Madras, 1887. p.2. The "proprietary right of landholders (Zamindars) in the Regulations, is therefore no more than the right to collect from the cultivators the rent which custom has established as the right of Government." Such was the interpretation of proprietary right given by Hodgson in his report, 28 March, 1808, quoted in P.K. Gnanasundara Mudaliyar, *Op.Cit.*, p.73, para 375.

[5] Nicholas Dirks, "From little king to landlords: Property, law, and the Gift under the Madras Permanent settlement," *MAS,* 1986, p. 313.

and expense of collecting the land revenue from a numerous body of Palegars and Mirassidars the pre-colonial governments allowed and even encouraged the agglomeration of large stretch of territory under big Palegars and conferred on them with the titles. Some of these big palegars such as those of Ramnad, Sivaganga, Pudukkottai etc., survived as autonomous chiefs. Others, such as petty Palegars were holding small stretch of territory under them. Inamdars spread in various layers of social structure. Some of them were holding the Palems and administered the territory rather than to hold land. They maintained armies, dispensed criminal justice, enforced law and order, decided land disputes and above all collected the revenues of the rural areas. The all important task of revenue management was administered through a pyramidal structure of tribute collecting rights, at the apex of which stood Inamdar. Below them existed a much more numerous class of high caste smaller gentry, holding 'hamlets' or villages, service rents and rent free lands, who enjoyed a proprietary right of collecting the revenue of a defined territory, a right which, like that of their overlord, was freely inherited, alienated and sold. From the Palem or Jagir at the top of a chain of revenue collecting rights went down in the interior to the village level, where the system was confronted by the village heads, who, apart from the revenue they paid, also contributed the quit-rent to the lowest grade of revenue collectors. The "ayagars," or the barabaloti among whom the headman was also included, were the village servants and enjoyed the plots of village land, conferred on them for a fixed quit-rent.[6] The need of a graded privileged structural organization arose out

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[6] Every village was a corporate unit comprising within itself the entire machinery of local administration in an establishment of hereditary servants called as the village community or *ayagars*. These village servants were twelve in number viz., the Headman, karnam, Talaiyar, Toti, Washerman, Priest, leather worker, Potter, Blacksmith, Carpenter, Waterman and Moneylender. For details refer Burton stein, "Vijayanagar, c 1350-1564," in Ray Chaudhury and Irfan

of the basic assumptions and nature of political and social systems. In the pre-colonial period such hierarchical structure played a significant role in the presentation of royal power as well as in the upkeep of a social and economic system. After the changes affected by the British, this privileged structure has transformed on the colonial expediencies. The village in North Arcot District has the following segments in the privileged structure.

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Habib ed., *Cambridge Economic History of India,* Vol. I, New Delhi, 1982, P 112. However, their composition differed in the various accounts. Wills in his *Historical sketches of South India*, mentioned all the above servants. Hodgson, member of the Board of Revenue, excluded the Shroff (moneylenders) and Jyotishi but included the potter and the dancing girl. Mr. Ellis, Collector of Madras, in his *Mirassi Papers*, Mr. Place in his report on the Jaghire and Munro's report of 30 November, 1806 and 15 May 1808, gave a varying list of functionaries of the village. The servants in the village had more or less of these officials according to the population of it. For details refer Sarada Raju, *Economic Conditions in Madras Presidency, 1800-1850*, Madras, 1941, Pp.12-27.

TABLE: **IV. 1 SHOWING THE DIFFERENT VILLAGE SERVANTS AND THE EXTENT OF LAND HELD IN NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT.**

| Description of Inams | Average extent of Land held by each description of Inamdars | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Punjah | | | Nunjah | | | Total | | |
| 1 | 2 | | | 3 | | | 4 | | |
| | caws | as | | caws | as | | caws | as | |
| 1 Inam to Reddies or head inhabitants | 7 | 4 | 4/16 | 1 | | 13 | 9 | 1 | 4/16 |
| 2 D. to pullikut Reddies or head inhabitants of a depending Village | 2 | 5 | 8/16 | :: | 10 | 12/16 | 3 | | 4/16 |
| 3 D.to Kurnam or village account Keeper | 7 | 4 | 2/16 | 4 | 11 | 4/1 | :: | 15 | 6/16 |
| 4 D.to Totty | 1 | 9 | 13/16 | :: | 9 | 1/1 | 2 | 3 | 11/16 |
| 5 D. to Tallery | 2 | 7 | 7 1/4/16 | 1 | 1 | 3 3/4/1 | 3 | 8 | 11/16 |
| 6 D. to Nirkutty or Village water distributor | :: | 1 | 3/4/16 | :: | 10 | 12 1/4/16 | :: | 11 | 13/16 |
| 7 D. to Rulmaganum or he who collects money from the inhabitants | 2 | 1 | 14/16 | :: | 10 | 8 1/2/16 | 2 | 12 | 6 1/2/16 |
| 8 D. to Punchangee or almanac keeper | 1 | 5 | 6 1/4/16 | :: | 10 | 1/2/16 | 1 | 15 | 6 3/4/16 |
| 9 D. Carpenter | 1 | 5 | 14 1/4/16 | :: | 13 | 1/2/16 | 2 | 2 | 14 3/4/16 |
| 10 D. to Ironsmith | 1 | 5 | 7/16 | :: | 9 | 7/16 | 1 | 14 | 14/16 |

Table continued..

| 1 | 2 | | | 3 | | | 4 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | caws | as | | caws | as | | caws | as | |
| 11 D. to Potter | 1 | 10 | 11/14 / 16 | :: | 10 | 4 1/2 / 16 | 2 | 4 | 15 3/4 / 16 |
| 12 D. to Washerman | 1 | 6 | 10 / 16 | :: | 9 | 10 1/4 / 16 | 2 | 4 | 1/4 / 16 |
| 13 D. to Barbar | 1 | 14 | | :: | 11 | 8 / 16 | 2 | 9 | 8 / 16 |
| 14 D. Madoog somosleeghee | :: | 1 | 10 1/4 / 16 | :: | 10 | 5 3/4 / 16 | :: | | 12 |
| 15 D. Notger or Village Shroff | 1 | 4 | 6 / 15 | 1 | 6 | 2 / 16 | 2 | 10 | 8 / 16 |
| 16 D. to Chuckler | 1 | 5 | 6 / 16 | :: | 7 | 4 / 16 | 1 | 12 | 10 / 16 |
| 17 D. to Sagubadi | 1 | 8 | 10 / 16 | :: | 7 | 15 / 16 | 2 | | 9 / 16 |
| 18 to Hoodnee or Physician for the biting of snake | :: | 12 | 2 / 16 | :: | 7 | 1 1/2 / 16 | 1 | 3 | 3 1/2 / 16 |
| 19 D. to Munday or Head Village shepherds | 1 | 10 | 8 1/2 / 16 | :: | 8 | 9 1/2 / 16 | 2 | 3 | 2 / 16 |
| 20 D. to chetty or head Village Merchant | 3 | 1 | 6 / 16 | :: | 12 | 3 / 16 | 3 | 13 | 1 / 16 |
| 21 D. to assistants | :: | 13 | 10 1/2 / 16 | :: | 9 | 14 1/2 / 16 | 1 | 7 | 9 / 16 |
| 22 D.assaddee or village Festival letter | :: | 10 | 5 / 16 | :: | 3 | 3 / 16 | :: | 13 | 8 / 16 |

Source: Board's Consultations, dt. 16 March, 1818, Pp. 3685-3686.

All these segments of the privileged structure were not found in all the villages because, villages differed greatly in size and in their relations within and outside it. The Government recognized these officers and wanted them to be

> punctual in your engagements with Government; and ...perform the duties of allegiance to the British Government, its laws and Regulations.[7]

The British were suspicious of the village officials and afraid that they could hide the information with regard to the land revenue, etc., of the village, hence the continuance of their services were made conditional.[8]

In cases where Inams were seen as straight forward remunerative grants for military service, the East India Company shared Lushingtion's belief that tribute on those lands could be assessed because of the commutation of military service, which was no longer considered as necessary.[9] In remaining cases, the

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[7] P.K Gnanasundara Mudaliyar, *Op.Cit.*, para 369.

[8] There is an interesting account given by Sarada Raju on the condition of the village after the advent of the British. She writes: "The village administration under the British was transformed thoroughly. The village itself lost its local autonomy and became a unit of a vast centralized system. The village councils disappeared since the individual settlements of the ryotwari tenure obviate the necessity for the villages meeting to debate upon the rent. Village co-operation for protective and irrigation works was rendered increasingly rare and difficult; though isolated instances of communal actions still occurred throughout the period and later, as in the case of the Pinnapeddas of the Anantapur district who settled irrigation questions most satisfactorily among themselves and the Pettandars of the Northern Circars who constituted an unofficial, but highly useful, panchayats for the trial of petty disputes. The new centralized method of judicial administration militated against village corporate existence, for, with the establishment of courts of justice, trial by panchayats fell into destitude. Assailed by these various influences, the village community lost its vigour by degrees and finally disappeared." Sarada Raju, *Op.Cit.*, p.21.

[9] S.R. Lushingtion, *Poligars and Sequestered Pollams, 1799-1801*, Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras, Pp.1-8. Also refer Extract from the report of S.R Lushington, Esquire collector of Tinnevelly to the Board of Revenue, dt 29th Dec., 1800. Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras Pp. 8-20.

Inams were continued, but it was believed that a great amount of potentially taxable land was unnecessarily, though for the moment unavoidably, exempted.[10] The British determined the figure for the average amount of peshcush to be collected on the basis of collections after 1792, when they had taken over the administration of the Palegars and had doubled both the amount and frequency of the average collections over what they had been only a decade before.[11]

The permanent right in land was extended to Inamdars and other landholders in order to end the practices of tax farming revenue augmentation and dispossession which had been, according to British, "so fruitful a source of uncertainty and disquietude."[12]

**Right of Inamdar:**

The government did not give Inamdars the absolute right in land. The right depended on the continuous payment of quit rent. This right was not to infringe upon the established rights of the "under tenantry." The government reserved to itself many rights over Inam lands in Zamindaris. Yet the Zamindars were left to alienate the lands. Section 8 of Regulation xxv stated, that:

> Proprietors of land shall be at free liberty to transfer, without the previous consent of the government, or of any other authority, to whomever they may think proper, by sale, gift or otherwise their proprietary right in the whole, or in any other part of their Zamindaris.[13]

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10 Lushington, *Op.Cit.*, Pp 8-20.

11 Nicholas Dirks *Op.Cit.*, p 317.

12 Sec., I, Regulation xxv, in T.S Coomaraswami, *The Revenue Code*, Madras, 1887, p.1.

13 Regulation XXV of 1802, T.S Coomaraswami, *Op.Cit.*, P.4. Though there was transfer of land, such transactions did not exempt a Zamindar from the payment of any part of the public land tax assessed on the entire Zamindari prior to the transfer. If the alienation of land was not complied with the law of the land, such alienation was invalid against the grandson of the Zamindar and that

However, the Zamindar had to register such transfer of land in the collector's office and such transfers should not violate the "native law" of the land . These "alienations" would not reduce the total peshcush of the Zamindar for which he shall be answerable.

**Mode of recognition of the right:**

After the introduction of permanent settlement the government asked all the holders of Inams to register their lands in the collector's office and thereby receive the title-deed. Section III of the permanent settlement act stated that:

> a sanad-i-milkiyat-i-istimrar, or deed of permanent property, shall be granted on the part of the British Government to persons being, or constituted to be, Zamindars or proprietors of land.[14]

The sanad contained the conditions and terms of the tenure by which the Inam land shall be held. The title-deed indicating the legal ownership of land replaced the *Kshatra* (who exercised the superior right in land in pre-colonial period).[15] The rights of the cultivators under this system was regarded as the tenancy rights rather than the proprietary right. Commenting on the issue of title-deed to the Inamdar, Munro wrote that:

> We have relinquished the rights which the sovereign always possessed in the soil, and we have in many cases deprived the real owners, the occupant ryots, of their propriety rights and bestowed them on Zamindars and other imaginary

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a suit by the grandson would be barred after twelve years from the alienation. *Ibid.*, p.4.

14 T.S. Coomaraswami, *Op.Cit.*, p.3.

15 Robert Lingat., *The Classical law of India*, New Delhi, 1973, p.212.

landlords.[16]

But the *Kshatra,* in pre-colonial period, never utilized the superior power to infringe the rights of Inamdar. On the other hand, Inamdar was bestowed other privileges and made part of the sovereign. The government was, through Permanent Settlement, "rather calculated to unsettle whatever was before deemed permanent".[17] The government, though had little knowledge of the "native system," expressed the desire of settling everything permanent and to thrust the alien system on those areas where their awareness of the local customs was imperfect.

> We have in our anxiety to make everything as English as possible in a country which resembles England in nothing, attempted to create at once, throughout extensive provinces a kind of landed property which had never existed in them.[18]

It is evident that the Government wanted to thrust an alien system on the "native" institutions which bore little similarity when compared to the English institutions.

The Inamdar, during the British rule, has lost all his privileges which he otherwise enjoyed in pre-colonial period. In addition to that, the Government on one pretext or the other resumed the Inam lands. The Inamdars spent their energies in diverse activities of litigation over the rights of succession and other issues of property and office.[19]

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16 P.K Gnanasundara Mudaliyar *Op.Cit.*, para 392.

17 *Ibid.*, para, 392.

18 *Ibid.*, para, 392.

19 These issues are separately discussed in a chapter entitled "Succession Disputes."

**Role of Inamdars:**

The big Inamdars were drawn from the ritually high-ranking castes like Brahmans, Maravas, Kallars, Reddys, Kammas, Kapus, Vellalas, and the other ritually low castes. The existence of the big Inamdars, whose holdings consisted of hundreds of cawnies of Inam lands, implied a very considerable concentration of land holding with very few people. By the end of the operations of Inam Commission, Blair, the Inam Commissioner had settled 3,67,427 title-deeds which involved 59,77,305 acres of land in Madras presidency.[20] Agricultural labour had no land at all and worked either as share croppers or as agricultural labourers under the rich Inamdars. Apart from the Inam lands, most of the privileged classes were also holding other tenurial lands which bears full assessment. For example, the Mirassidars and the village Headmen in all over Madras Presidency, were holding the other tenurial lands and paid full rate of assessment over it. The village economy, which was the combination of grain dealing and money lending with land holding, gave an enormous political power within the village to the big Inamdars (who in many villages invariably consisted of Mirassidars).

The greater part of rural credit was supplied not by professional bankers and money lenders but by well to do villagers who combined agriculture with money lending. At least half of the cultivation of the rural areas was carried on with the money or advances given by the rural gentry which included Inamdars also. Through the credit mechanism the Inamdars enjoyed command of the labour

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20 *CPRIS.*, p.323, para, 65. However, Blair report was not a complete list of all Inams in Madras Presidency. The remaining work was carried out by Robinson and he added some more Inams to the Blair's list. Hence, the preparation of accurate statistics of all the Inams, at this time was not possible.

force of the village. One more advantage was that, in Inams the rate of rent was nominal and most of the peasants preferred to cultivate the Inam lands which eventually rise the power of Inamdars, particularly the big Inamdars. The operations of the rural credit mechanism, through which the rural elite assured of the labour power of the village and political control of the villagers, were facilitated by the structure of the market for agricultural produce. The poor farmers and share croppers lacking holding power and means of transport to the market, sold their produce immediately after the harvest, when the ruling prices of grain were lowest during the year, to the local grain dealer who was often the village Inamdar.

The success of Inamdars after the permanent settlement, as expected by the British, is difficult to determine. The declaration of Inamdars as landholders was itself an ambiguous question. The policy of agricultural improvement outlined by the Regulation XXV of 1802 might have indicated a settlement with the actual controllers of land. East India company was, at the turn of the nineteenth century, too weak as yet to sweep aside the various grades of revenue collectors, and the exigencies of revenue collection compelled it to vest the proprietary rights in this class of people. This did not mean, either in practice or in law, that other existing landed rights were liquidated by the Regulation XXV of 1802. The landlords' rights were specifically limited in this Regulation by the rights of the ryots or tenants, and the government reserved the right of legislation to regulate their relations, a right which it utilized by passing the Rent Recovery Act of 1865 and the Estate Land Act of 1908.

In other words, the Inamdars were not proprietors of the land before 1802, nor did they become landlords in the strict sense of the term after 1802. In the absence of any radical change in the social basis of production after the

permanent settlement the Inamdars were afforded no opportunity for converting their title- deeds into free hold with the full powers of alienation after paying the rates of amount fixed by the government.[21]

The Inamdars derived few new advantages vis-a-vis the tenants from the rural order set up by the permanent settlement Act. The new structure of rule created by Regulation XXV of 1802, afforded the Inamdars considerable increased powers for obtaining enhanced rents from the tenants.[22] In the first place, new powers of distraint and sale of tenant's property were granted by the Regulation XXVIII of 1802, which empowered landholders and farmers of land to distraint and sell the personal property of under-farmers and ryots and in certain cases the personal property of their sureties for arrears of rent or revenue.[23]

This was passed with a view to strengthen the hands of the landholders for collecting the rents at a time when punctuality of revenue payment was an over riding consideration of government. The regular police establishments and law courts set up by the company gave the Inamdars an opportunity to exploit these legal advantages effectively. In effect, the landholders obtained access to the

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21 Inam Rules in *CPRIS.*, p.71, para V,2. The Inam Commission stated that "an option will be given to the Inamdar to convert this restricted tenure into a freehold with the full powers of alienation by gift, sale, adoption or otherwise by consenting to the payment of an annual quit-rent, calculated according to the rules with reference to the value of the reversionary claim of the Government in each case." *Ibid.*, p.71. The fixed rates differed depending on the rule on which the Inam was enfranchised.

22 The Various sections of Regulation xxv of 1802 clearly indicate the powers conferred on Inamdars. It gave them the superior right in their land and also over the tenants. Refer Regulation XXV of 1802 in T.S Coomaraswamy, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.1-6.

23 P.K.G Mudaliyar, *Op.Cit.*, para, 156. This Regulation empowered Zamindars to distraint and sell, with certain specified exceptions, the crops, cattle and personal property of ryots for the recovery of rent without sending any previous notice to any court of Judicature or to any public officer. P.K.G. Mudaliyar *Op.Cit.*, para, 159.

means of coersion acquired by a modern bureaucratic state in the process of centralizing the administration. But all these powers were not applicable to the Inamdars.[24]

The range of opportunities for exercising compulsion over villages by revenue collectors was considerably widened and the result was reflected in the enhancement of rates of quit-rent after the Permanent Settlement. In the reverted chittoor Palems and other parts of the North Arcot district, after 1806, the jodi (quit-rent) was fixed at the rate of 1/2 of the assessment on the *Grama kattubadis* or those attached to the villages and 1/3 on the Palems or *Stalam Kattubadis*, employed on general duties.[25] The exorbitant rents went to the extent of restraining the Inamdars to cultivate these Inams.[26] Later, G.N. Taylor, the Inam commissioner in 1858, enfranchised them on a quit- rent of 1/2 of their value in addition to the Jodi already charged on them.[27]

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[24] Inam Commission enquiry about the distraint power of Inamdars. Revenue Department, G.O.No. 170, 13 May, 1864, para 3 and 4.

[25] *CPRIS.*, p. 228, para 22.

[26] *Ibid.*, p, 228, para 22.

[27] *Ibid.*, p, 234, para 18.

**TABLE IV.2. SHOWING QUIT-RENT CHARGED ON INAMDARS BEFORE AND AFTER THE COMMISSION**

| Description of Inam Tenure | Former Jodi payable to Government | Additional Quit-rent payable to Government | Total Quit-rent payable to Government or Total of column 2 and 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Class Devadayam or Inams held for the support of pagodas or other religious institutions | | | |
| HINDU | 1,29,262 | 22,016 | 1,51,278 |
| MUHAMMADAN | 7,532 | 1,233 | 8,765 |
| CHRISTIAN | 141 | 21 | 162 |
| TOTAL | 1,36,935 | 23,270 | 1,60,205 |
| Class II Dharmadayam or Inams held for the support of Charitable institutions | | | |
| Charitable Inams | 15,264 | 1,612 | 16,876 |
| Inams held for the support of water pandals. | 575 | 144 | 719 |
| Topes for public utility. | 125 | 77 | 202 |
| Inams for the maintenance of tanks, wells and channels for public utility. | 1,727 | 594 | 2,321 |
| Inams for village schools. | N.A. | 127 | 127 |
| Miscellaneous | 150 | 90 | 248 |
| TOTAL | 17,841 | 2,652 | 20,493 |

Table continued ..

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Class III Inams held for maintaining works of irrigation | | | |
| tanks | 2,933 | - 58 | 2,991 |
| wells | 293 | 17 | 310 |
| channels | 402 | 22 | 422 |
| anicuts | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| TOTAL | 3,628 | 97 | 3,725 |
| Class IV Inams held for personal benefit | 6,06,844 | 6,90,353 | 12,97,197 |
| Total of classes I, II, III and IV | 7,65,248 | 7,16,372 | 14,81,626 |
| Class V Inams held for police services later discontinued | 40,780 | 1,35,044 | 1,75,824 |
| Class VI village service Inams enfranchised | 36,737 | 2,11,351 | 2,48,088 |
| Grand Total of Inams settled by the Commission | 8,12,765 | 10,62,767 | 19,05,532 |

Note: The Inams held by village police and revenue officers and by artizans, which have not been enfranchised, are not included in this table. The statistics given belong to all districts of Madras Presidency.

Source: "Blair's Report" in *CPRIS.*, p,324.

The quit-rent collected from the Inamdars was increased during the British period. The Inamdars were susceptible to the increased demand of rent from the Government. But a remarkable feature of rural society under the colonial dispensation was that, although a much greater surplus was now extracted from the villages, the dominant village groups were by no means leveled down by the new outside pressures. When there was no understanding between an Inamdar and his tenants, the former, if he was weak and unskillful, stood no chance whatever against a few energetic village landholders. If, on the other hand, the Inamdar happened to be rich and strong, the issue of the conflict remained wide open. But although in such cases the Inamdar might succeed in obtaining substantial increases from the tenants, it does not seem that he generally succeeded in levelling down the village land holding class with the rest of the villagers.

**Tenants of Inam lands:**

The tenants in Madras Presidency were divided into two categories viz., *Ulkudi Payikaris* and *Parakudi Payikaris*.[28] The *Parakudi Payikaris* did not belong to the village where they cultivate their land and hence did not possess the hereditary right in land like *Ulkudi Payikaris*.[29] They enter the agreement, generally, for one fasli with the Inamdar. Unless entered into special agreement, their leases were to be enquired at the end of each year. The rent

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[28] *Ulkudi Payikari* means "a cultivator who, though not a proprietor, has inherited the land he cultivates, and cannot be dispossessed as long as he pays the stipulated rent."
*Parakudi Payikari* means "a temporary cultivator, one who cultivates the land of another for a stipulated term and a given share of the crop".H.H Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, Delhi, 1968, Pp.400, 413 and 531.

[29] A.D.Campbell," A Paper on the land Revenue of India"in Burton stein ed., *The Making of Agrarian Policy in British India, 1770-1900*, Delhi, 1992, p.36.

demanded on the land held by the *Parakudi Payikaris*, was limited by local usage. According to Col. Read, this class of tenants paid 9/10 of the share of the produce to the landlords in Salem district.[30] In Tanjore, the share of them varies in different parts of the district from 18 to 33 percent.[31] The difference was chiefly due to variation in the productive powers of the land. In the *Parakudi* system of cultivation, the tenants *waram* does not include *kudimaramat* (the customany farm repairs usually termed village labour) or manuring or the remuneration of village servants, all of which were separately provided for by the Inamdars or proprietors.[32]

The *Parakudi Payikaris* when employed by the big Inamdars upon their lands, they were termed as annual tenants or as holders under special agreements. Generally this class of tenants were allotted the inferior quality of lands as they did not belong to the village where they took up the profession and hence a tendency has prevailed among them to occupy the high class of land if they were available. However, the resident tenants would not allow the *Parakudi Payikaris* to occupy higher class of lands and the former were never removed from the lands as they were willing to pay their rents regularly.[33]

The resident tenants who were termed as *Ulkudi Payikaris* were exercising the hereditable right in land subject to the condition of payment of their rent. These resident tenants were not ceased to hold annually like *Parakudi Payikaris*, by special agreement.[34] The *Ulkudi Payikaris* did not loose their

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30 F.J. Richard, *Gazetteer of the Salem District*, Madras, 1918, 2 vols, vol. I, part II, p.62.

31 T.Venkasami Row, *A Manual of the District of Tanjore in the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1883, p.381.

32 *Ibid.*, p.381.

33 A.D Campbell, *Op.Cit.*, p.37.

34 *Ibid.*, p.37.

right by sale or otherwise and liable only to the payment of public dues as prescribed by local usage.

**Patta Regulation and the Tenants:**

Regulation XXX of 1802 was also known as Patta Regulation as it indicated the "cowle" between the Inamdar (or Landlords in other tenurial systems) and the tenant. Section II of this Regulation govern the relations between the Inamdar and the tenant. It stated that:

> Proprietors and farmers of land shall enter into agreements with the inhabitants and cultivators of land, on the terms on which they respectively occupy such lands; and the contracting parties shall be mutually bound to exchange their agreements in writing; the engagements of the proprietor being denominated patta, and the engagements of the ryot being denominated muchilka.[35]

The purpose of the Regulation was to settle the terms on which the tenants should occupy the lands.[36] The Inamdar and his tenants were referred as the contracting parties. The pattas and muchilkas exchanged by the contracting parties consisted of four kinds. They were:

1. for the rent of villages in gross sums of money (e.g Darmilla Inams in Tinnevelly District and other Inam

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[35] W.K Firminger, *Op.Cit.*, III, p. 478.

[36] The regulation did not specify about the payment to be made by the tenants or cultivators to the landlords. "Local usage, indeed, had immemorially limited the cultivator's payment or in other words landlord's receipts but it was an usually ill-defined." Many cultivators held the right to such limited payment, independently of any contract, by virtue of their hereditary tenure. Thus the tenants were exposed to the increased exactions by the landlords. The regulations declared enough to intimate to the courts that there were rights, but they neither pointed them out nor assisted them in obtaining a knowledge of them.... To this cause one more defect in the form or constitution of the court was added which ultimately resulted in the over-load of suits. P.K.G. Mudaliyar, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.79-80.

villages);
2. for a division of the produce of land (*Waram*);
3. for lands on which a money rent was assessed (*Taram*) and
4. for lands charged with a grain rent.[37]

The government restricted the Inamdar to levy any extra rent other than mentioned in the patta by section VII of Regulation XXX, except it was "otherwise authorized" by it. The rents to be fixed on the Inam lands should be entered in the patta.[38] These rents were not collected under various denominations as prevailed prior to this regulation and it should be consolidated into one specific sum of money or quantity of grain.

The tenants, according to the terms offered by the patta Regulation, were bound to pay the rent regularly. If he would fall in arrears he would be removed from the land he held for cultivation. According to section X of the Patta Regulation "the Proprietors had power to grant the lands of such ryots (tenants) to other persons."[39] The patta Regulation also dealt with the matter of dispute between the Inamdar and his tenant. The Board of Revenue authorized the collector and his assistants to have a Jurisdiction in all disputes between

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[37] Among these four classes, the rent was divided as detailed below.
The first kind related to village rents and was presumably intended for execution between proprietors and their farmers for the rent in money of the village as a whole.
The second kind was to specify"the extent of the land which the under-tenant, under-farmer or ryot may engage to cultivate and the rate of the cultivator's share of the different kinds of grain cultivated and produced".
The third kind was to specify the rate of assessment according to the land measure in use and "the rents on each description of land grain as the usage may be".
The fourth kind was to specify the quantity of land occupied and the quantity of grain to be rendered and "the species of grain". P.K. Gnanasundara Mudaliyar, *Op.Cit.*, p.40.

[38] The incidence of the rent varied enormously from district to district and indeed from village to village. It also depended on the type of the land the tenant held. Dharma Kumar, ed., *Cambridge Economic History of India, 1757-1970*, Delhi, 1948, Vol.II, p.219.

[39] Section X, *Op.Cit.*, p. 40, para, 170.

the Inamdars (or landlords) and their under-tenants, regarding the rates of assessment, occupancy of land and payment of revenue and they should hold the revenue court for the investigation and settlement of such disputes. In the settlement of such disputes the "custom or special agreement should regulate the demand of the Zamindar against the ryot."[40] Such disputes could be referred, by the collector, to the panchayats or local assemblies and their decision should be final, provided, both parties had previously agreed to abide by their award.

Later the government enacted one more Regulation in 1822, where it specified the powers of Inamdars and tenants clearly.[41] It also empowered the collectors to take notice of certain cases of suits cognizable summarily by the District courts under Regulation XXVIII and XXX of 1802 and modified the provisions of these regulations.[42]

**Effects of Government's regulations on Tenants:**

According to the Regulation XXVIII of 1802 the Inamdars could bring

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[40] P.K Mudaliyar, *Op.Cit.*, p 91, para, 414. Section 9 of the Patta regulation XXX of 1802 which stated that "where disputes may...the rates shall be determined according to the rates prevailing in the cultivated lands in the year preceding the assessment of the permanent jummah on such lands; or when those rates may not be ascertainable, according to the rates established for lands of the same description and quality as those, respecting which the dispute may arise." This could be applied only when there was dispute between the Inamdar and the tenant or cultivator over the latter's payment of the rate of rent. Moreover the operation connected with the permanent settlement did not embrace the ascertainment of the rates of the year preceding the settlement. The permanent settlement act entirely neglected to fix the amount payable by the cultivator to the landlord and instead of making a preliminary record of occupants, fields and individual assessments, the Government at that time left it quite undefined. *Ibid.*, p.80.

[41] *Ibid.*, para, 417.

[42] Regulation V of 1822 in P.K.G. Mudaliyar *Op.Cit.*, p. 92-93.

pressure on the tenants for the arrears of rent and force the attendance of them at the panchayats or local assemblies. The effects of these regulations were most immediately felt in districts of Madras Presidency, where the tenants and other cultivators complained the oppression of landlords, including the Inamdars, in regard to revenue exaction.[43] One example of such oppression was found in Tiruchi. The cultivators of an estate in this district, owned by a Brahman fled away as they were unable to pay the rent demanded by their landlord. This Brahman, who was an Inamdar, complained about them as he did not find other tenants to cultivate his lands. Then the collector of Trichinopoly wrote to the collector of Salem district asking for help in bringing back those cultivators and said that they were slaves of the soil and as such were not at liberty to leave the estate to which they belong."[44] The Collector also stated that the owner of the estate, a Brahman , was unable to cultivate the lands without their help and if he would not be assisted in recovering his rights over them, the land must lay waste and the Government to lose the revenue.[45] The condition was the same in Madurai District also. In 1823 , Mr Rous Peter, the collector proposed to the Board of Revenue to reduce the rents and revise the assessment in the Dindigul area.[46] The rates of rent were higher than the

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[43] The oppression of ryots was mostly felt in other tenurial holdings than in the Inam tenures. However, the distraint and sale of property for the arrears of revenue was felt generally in all tenures. It was there occasionally in Inam tenures also. These measures were unknown in South India before the enactment of the Regulation XXVIII and XXX of 1802. "The character of the ryots has been degraded, their customs and comforts invaded and their means of cultivating and paying the public revenue diminished by the frequent recurrence to these measures by the revenue farmers..." The Board was of the opinion "that they should never be restored to, except in cases of contumacy, which where ryots are concerned will hardly ever occur when the demand is fair." P.K.G. Mudaliyar, *Op.Cit.*, p.92, para 414.

[44] Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, New Delhi, 1992, p.42.

[45] *Ibid.*, p.42.

[46] W. Francis, *Madura District Gazetteer*, Madras, 1906, p.192.

ryots could afford and they were unequal in their incidence owing to the imperfections in the land classification affected by Mr. Hurdis.[47] The tenants instead of awarding the safeguards, were put at the mercy of the Inamdar, other landlords and the collector through the Regulations IV and V of 1822.

The Court of Directors in their despatch of 18 August, 1824 enquired about the effects of the higher assessment on the tenants by Inamdars and other landlords. This was circulated to all the collectors on 10 May, 1827. The reports of the collectors, based on this circular, were submitted to the Court in which nothing was mentioned about the conditions of the tenants.

The coercive powers granted by the Regulation XXVIII of 1802 and XXX of 1802 could not be used indiscriminately in Inam lands in the initial phase, except in pockets of higher population density. Given the overall context of absolutely deficit labour, in the initial decades, tenants could still exercise the option of deserting the lands especially of oppressive landlords. The Inamdars could not dispossess the tenants or cultivators. They could collect the full rent from them "but pay quit-rent, which was a favourable rent, to the government."[48] With the increase up of population pressure and the non-availability of land to cultivate as before, the rents of the tenants were not reduced in the middle of the nineteenth century. In some areas the settlement of rent with the tenants was fixed in cash and the prolonged fall in prices between 1826-27 and 1851-52 may have increased the real burden of tenant.[49]

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[47] P.K.G. Mudaliyar, *Op.Cit.*, p.93, para 422.

[48] Dharma kumar, *Op.Cit.*, p. 13.

[49] Sarada Raju, *Economic Conditions in Madras Presidency: 1800-1850*, Madras, 1941, Pp. 50-52 and 225-244.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the defects in various Regulations had become glaringly known and by then the British were also familiar with the social conditions of India. Special privileges and local peculiarities were removed whenever possible. This could be known by the attempts of the Government to affect changes in the tenants Regulations in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

**Necessity of Rent Recovery Act of 1865:**

The government in 1832, invited the opinion of Sudr Adawlat on the law of distraint, Regulation XXVIII of 1802, whether these provisions, i.e., the power possessed by the landlords for the recovery of the arrears of rent by distraint, were also conferred on the Inamdars. The Court replied that only the persons liable to pay revenue to government had such power and that Inamdars were not paying revenue to the government and hence they had no power of distraint.[50] In 1863, the Inam commissioner urged that the powers of distraint, hitherto not conferred by the Regulation of 1802 should be extended to Inamdars also.[51] Accordingly a bill was prepared in 1863 "to empower landholders to collect arrears due to them, whether those arrears consisted of the land tax which Zamindars and Inamdars collected as authorized representatives of the government, or of that private revenue or rent which proprietors have a right to levy from the tenants to whom they lease their lands."[52] This bill did not

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50 G.O.No.171, 13 May, 1863, para 5. Mr. Taylor, the Inam Commissioner, proposed to the Board of Revenue that like other landholders, Inamdars also should possess the powers of distraint to the realization of the assessment due to them from the ryots. However, the Board, quoted the expression used in the ruling of the Sudr Court which stated "all persons liable to pay revenue to Government for their land" were only eligible for using these powers. Revenue Department, G.O. No. 170, 13 May, 1864, para 3.

51 *Ibid.*, para 4.

52 P.K. G. Mudaliyar *Op.Cit.*, p 102, para 438.

give any new powers for the recovery of rent but sought to place those powers which existed in a clear form, and to define them with accuracy the parties who were entitled to exercise them.

The bill which was passed in 1865 is also known as the Rent Recovery Act. It gave the Inamdar the power of removing the tenant if he did not pay the rent regularly.[53] However, the unauthorized exactions were forbidden by the section 5 of the same Act.[54] The tenant could occupy the lands as long as he met the terms of agreement.

**Eviction of Tenants:**

The Rent Recovery Act of 1865 granted the right of occupancy to the tenants subject to the continuous payment of rent, and could possess the lands

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53 "When rent shall remain unpaid at the time when, according to any written agreement or the custom of the country, it ought to have been paid, the amount remaining unpaid shall be deemed an arrear of rent. It shall be lawful for landholders to distrain upon their own responsibility the crops and movable property of their tenants for the recovery of arrears of rent due by them." Section 14, of Rent Recovery Act of 1865, in V. Ramdas, *The Madras Estate Land Act, 1908,* Madras, 1915, appendix II, p.vi. The act further stated that "when any tenant shall be in arrear at the end of the current revenue year and when there is no significant distress upon the premises to satisfy the same, and when the tenant has no salable interest in the land, it shall be lawful for a landholder, or for his authorized agent to apply to the collector for a warrant, authorizing him to enter upon and take possession of, the premises." *Ibid.*, Section 41. Thus if the tenant did not pay his arrears even at the end of the year for which he entered agreement with the landholder, he was liable to be ejected from the possession of the land given to him on lease.

54 The Inamdars were restrained from exacting the rents more than specified in the patta. If there was any such act from the Inamdars, then the tenants "shall be entitled to recover by a summary suit before the Collector doubled the amount so exacted, with costs." With such legislation from the Government, the tenants should be secure, particularly in Inam tenures. But these regulations were implemented more in favour of landholders than in favour of tenants. The corruption and informal relations in the higher levels with the landholders precluded these regulations to operate in favour of the tenants. *Ibid.*, p.ii, section 5.

to the end of their tenure.[55] The tenants were better located after this Act and demanded for fair and equitable rents. Inamdars could claim enhancements if (a) the area under cultivation increased, (b) the value of the produce rose and (c) higher rates than the one applied to a particular holding prevailed in the locality. The law put limits on the Inamdar's power of distraint by placing the tenants in a secure position. In short, tenancy legislation was seeking to bring about relative stability among the cultivating classes and to restrict grounds for rent enhancement to economic ones. An initial judicial test of the new law in 1867 appeared to permit dramatic rent increase on the basis of increased value of the produce. The High Court decision in 1871 also supported the view expressed by the lower Courts, in the Chockalingam vs Vythilinga Pundara Sannadi case (the former was the tenant and the latter the Inamdar), stated that the proprietor can increase the rent at the end of the existing tenure. The state was now set for a new phase of struggle over occupancy status and rent in a period of accelerated commercialization and rising agricultural prices.

Eviction, a case study:

The property of dispute, in this case , was the Matham held by a trustee, Vythilinga Pundara Sannadi. The land had been given to Chockalingam's father under a muchilka entered with the collector in 1837. The tenancy had continued to be regulated by the terms of that agreement until Vythilinga in 1867 demanded an increased rent. This was refused by Chockalingam. Later, at the end of the fasli, Vythilinga brought a suit to eject Chockalingam from the Inam

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55 The tenants does not always have occupancy rights in Inam villages. "Extracts from papers Relating to Tenancy Right in Inam." cited in Dharma Kumar, *Op.Cit.*, p. 13.

land, who contended that the right to put an end to his tenancy was conditional only upon his failure to pay the rent fixed by the agreement. The lower Courts favoured Vythilinga and ordered the ejectment of tenant. The tenant took the matter to the High Court where it was decided according to all hitherto passed regulations, including the Madras Act VIII of 1865, that the tenant had the occupancy right only to the end of one year as per the agreement entered between him and the landlord. The Court stated that the Inamdar (Vythilinga) had a right to eject him at the end of the fasli.[56]

The effects of the inadequate description of the rights of tenants in 1865 Act and the ruling of the High Court in Chockalingam case, had altered the position of the tenants and rendered them precarious. Obviously, the tenants did not possess the right of occupancy in Inam lands. On the other hand, the Inamdar's position was strengthened by various regulations. All such conditions were influenced by the growing commercialization and rising agricultural prices in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Once the emphasis shifted from extra-economic forces to economic reasons for rent enhancement, the property-production contradiction came into its own in influencing the activity of Inamdars to increase the rental demand and collect them. Wherever the Inamdars controlled large tracts of lands, there they were better able to maintain high rental rates and extracted surplus from the tenants. However, the extraction of rent was also based on the type of land the tenant cultivated.

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[56] P.K. Gnanasundara Mudaliyar, *Op.Cit.*, Pp. 111-112.

**Classification of lands:**

The soils, in all the districts of Madras Presidency, were classified under two broad categories i.e., the Regur or black cotton soil and Red Ferrugious.[57] These main varieties were again sub-divided according to their fertility into classes and sorts. The division of land differed from village to village and also from district to district.

The cultivatable Inam lands, as in other tenurial holdings, in Madras Presidency were grouped under three types, (1) Nunjah, the wet lands, (2) Punjah, the dry lands and the (3) Totakal, the garden lands.

The Nunjah or wet lands which commanded of irrigation sources were divided into four classes: (a) the permanent anicuts or head sluices on the main rivers and tanks directly fed by channels, (b) channels led directly from the main rivers without permanent anicuts or head sluices, permanent anicuts on the minor rivers, tanks fed directly from the major and minor rivers and rain-fed tanks of six months capacity and upward, (c) channels from minor rivers without permanent anicuts and tanks fed by them, spring channels and rain-fed tanks of three to six month's capacity and (d) other rain-fed tanks, hill and jungle streams.[58] The Punjah or the dry lands drew water only from the rains.

The classification of lands did not remain constant. It changed according to the availability of water for irrigation. The Nunjah of one year became the Punjah of the next year and perhaps the Totakal of the succeeding year. As there was a change in the classification of lands, it was assumed that the rate of assessment also changed accordingly. It was because, while the Nunjah land

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57 W. Francis, *Op.Cit.*, p. 202.

58 W.Francis, *Op.Cit.*, P.202.

was usually *Warapat*, i.e., liable to a division of the produce, Punjah and Totakal were almost invariably *Tirvapat*, i.e., charged with a fixed rent not dependent upon the quality of the produce.[59] The distinction occurred because Nunjah lands were totally dependent on rains and hence there was a risk of failure of the supply of adequate water. This risk has to be shared by the state and the cultivator equally. But the Punjah and the Totakal crops were assured of the supply of water and were imposed a fixed assessment by the government.

There was another type of land also in the village for which no assessment was paid. It was classified as waste lands i.e, Poromboke and Tarasu, the former included rocky, sterile soils, or lands reserved for public purpose like grazing, while the latter comprised all the lands cultivatable, but were left-uncultivated.[60]

Lands were also classified as higher and lower types. Since there was a higher rate of assessment over the former type of lands, these lands were not cultivated regularly and hence given up for some period. In Cuddalore taluk of South Arcot District, a higher rate of Rs. 28/- and Rs. 32/- per cawni were charged.[61] The Government recommended a remission of 20 percent and proposed a maximum wet assessment of Rs. 12/- per cawni.[62] The lower class of lands were assessed at a moderate charge and there were no extra collection. The lands were cultivated for one or two crops in a year. In the southern taluks of North Arcot District, the wet lands had a consolidated assessment, those in the northern taluks were distinguished as single and double crop lands, the former

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59 A.F. Cox, *A Manual of North Arcot District*, Madras, 1887, p.90.

60 *Ibid.*, p.90.

61 *Ibid.*, p.238.

62 *Ibid.*, p.238.

bearing an additional assessment when cultivated with a second crop.[63] The proposition was that two-thirds rate should be fixed upon the first crop and one-third upon the second. But even this moderate assessment did not make the tenants to cultivate the higher class lands. The classified lands were assessed in different modes.

**Assessment on lands:**

In each taluk, villages were divided into three classes and the lands of each village again grouped into four or five or more sub-divisions. The lands composing the second sub-division of the first class were similar in quality and produce to those of the first sub-division of the second class and so on, quality being progressively on the decline. The estimate of the produce of each class was then fixed, and the tenants share would also be calculated.

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63 *CPRIS.*, P.232.

TABLE: IV .3 SHOWING THE RATE OF QUIT-RENT ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF LAND.

| | Extent | | | | | Former Quit Rent | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Districts | No.of Title-deeds issued | Dry | Gard-en | Wet | Total | Assessm-ent | payable to Govt. | Payable to Zamindar | New Quit Rent payable to Govt | Quit rent not agreed to by Inamdars whose Inams have conseque-ulty been left unenfranhised | Total quit rent payable to Govt., or total of colums 8 & 10 | quit rent Redeemed |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
| | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1. Ganjam | 208 | 2,821 | 416 | 5,296 | 8,533 | 19,956 | 563 | 1,590 | 3,917 | N.A. | 4,480 | N.A. |
| 2. Visakapatnam | 584 | 2,692 | 249 | 2,821 | 5,762 | 17,456 | 897 | 1,017 | 4,464 | 9 | 5,361 | N.A. |
| 3. Godavari | 12,194 | 9,252 | 285 | 744 | 10,281 | 29,731 | 946 | 20 | 10,933 | N.A. | 11,879 | N.A. |
| 4. Krishna | 4,553 | 20,431 | 21 | 721 | 21,173 | 23,936 | 2,337 | 1,305 | 4,768 | 6 | 7,105 | N.A. |
| 5. Nellore | 234 | 3,045 | 67 | 228 | 3,340 | 3,773 | 627 | N.A. | 368 | 28 | 995 | N.A. |
| 6. Madras | 6,135 | 4,808 | 1,196 | 8,307 | 14,311 | 56,571 | 1,895 | N.A. | 3,070 | N.A. | 4,965 | 25 |
| 7. Cuddapah | 433 | 3,242 | 138 | 315 | 3,695 | 4,358 | 534 | N.A. | 611 | 8 | 1,145 | N.A. |
| 8. Bellary | 138 | 4,691 | N.A. | 230 | 4,921 | 3,510 | 637 | N.A. | 222 | N.A. | 859 | N.A. |
| 9. Kurnool | 250 | 3,685 | 10 | 136 | 3,831 | 5,145 | 238 | N.A. | 744 | N.A. | 982 | N.A. |
| 10 North Arcot | 3,076 | 8,589 | 17 | 3,356 | 11,964 | 24,924 | 1,749 | 134 | 3,543 | 294 | 5,292 | N.A. |
| 11 South Arcot | 69 | 636 | 9 | 499 | 1,144 | 7,499 | 1,018 | N.A. | 1,270 | N.A. | 2,288 | 25 |
| 12 Salem | 409 | 5,323 | 39 | 584 | 5,946 | 10,232 | 2,798 | 646 | 889 | 12 | 3,687 | N.A. |
| 13 Coimbatore | 56 | 493 | 34 | 29 | 556 | 880 | 186 | N.A. | 92 | N.A. | 278 | N.A. |
| 14 Tanjore | 586 | 1,031 | 122 | 2,878 | 4,031 | 16,617 | 707 | 80 | 1,859 | 10 | 2,566 | N.A. |
| 15 Madura | 62 | 5,961 | N.A. | 4,435 | 10,396 | 25,410 | 28 | 2,502 | 1,403 | N.A. | 1,431 | N.A. |
| 16 Trichinopoly | 319 | 1,984 | 2 | 285 | 2,271 | 3,244 | 254 | 40 | 193 | N.A. | 447 | 2 |
| 17 Malabar | 3 | N.A. | 12 | 223 | 235 | 1,691 | 278 | N.A. | 1 | N.A. | 279 | N.A. |
| 18 Tinnevelly | 79 | 2,257 | N.A. | 836 | 3,093 | 7,133 | 1,325 | N.A. | 325 | 428 | 1,650 | N.A. |
| Total | 29,388 | 80,941 | 2,617 | 31,925 | 1,15,483 | 2,62,066 | 17,017 | 7,334 | 38,672 | 795 | 55,692 | 52 |

Source: Revenue Department, G.O.No. 77-80, dt, 11 October, 1870, p.2.

The above rates were fixed after the survey.[64] The average selling price of grain in ten moderate years constitute the rate at which the Inamdar's share of the produce was commuted. The average rates for lands in different districts varied considerably.

**Types of Quit-rent:**

Quit-rent was generally levied in two different modes viz., by Teerwa i.e., money assessment and by Waram i.e., share of produce. The Teerwa was imposed on those lands which were given to the tenants for cultivation. These lands were generally constituted waste or jungle lands and they were made over to tenants on cowle for a term of years on the principle of a Russoom i.e. Progressive increase.[65] At the expiration of cowle when the land was imposed to have been brought to the highest pitch of improvement by successive cultivation and the application of measure, a fixed Teerwa was settled, with reference to the valuation of that kind of arable land in the village, by the general occurrence of the servants of the Inamdars. This was termed as mamool Teerwa and would be registered accordingly in the Karnam's accounts. The Teerwa was not the same in all the villages and differed in every village and on every kind of land.

The second type of rent was the share of produce divided between the Inamdar and the tenant. This share was to be decided by the caste and condition of the Inamdars or persons having a preference to cultivate

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64 The assessments adopted for the settlements were either the revenue settlement rates where such were determined or the old survey field assessments. But where the Inam lands had not been regularly assessed, the assessments were calculated in reference to the rates on the adjoining Government lands. Refer A.N. Row, *The Revenue Refresher*, Madras, 1877, p.96.

65 Cowle: It was an engagement or lease of land to the ryots or large farmers etc.

particular lands and by the labour incidents to that of cultivators. These were also registered in karnam's accounts.

The third type of rent was collected from the Inamdars. The rate of rent was to be fixed at once and this would not be changed by the Palegars, other chiefs and rulers regularly. All these chiefs followed a systematic method in the collection of different type of rents.

**Mode of collection of Rent:**

The mode of collection of rent followed by the Inamdars was to issue orders as money was required on renters or tenants amounting to a percentage on the rent of the area under them. The percentage varied depending on the exigencies of the requirements. These orders by the Inamdars were issued to collect the rent in money or grain without resorting to any *Kist* i.e., regular installments. Sometimes these orders could be issued before the harvest of the crop. These orders sometimes coincided with the attempts of Inamdars to extract the rent in advance from the tenants. This would be a big burden to the tenants. The tenants had to yield to the pressures of the Inamdars forgetting the difficult earnings of their hard labour.[66]

The tenants who cultivated the other type of lands than Inams, were able to pay the exorbitant demand of Government in case of Ryotwari lands and Inamdars and Zamindars, in case of Inams or Zamindaris, because they possessed the Inam lands also. But this advantage of Inam lands had curtailed by the British Government. The tenants, thus, faced a difficult situation to meet the demand of rent.[67]

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66 George Stratton, *Report on the Western Pollems,* Chittoor, 1916, para, 27.

67 A.F. Cox., *Op.Cit.*, p.108.

A comparative rates of rent or tax on the different tenures are given in the following table. The table also exhibit the average rates of local taxes in different districts per acre in different tenures. The average rent paid by the cultivator (or tenant) is also shown in the table.

TABLE: IV. 4 SHOWING COMPARATIVE RATES OF QUIT-RENT AND THE TAX PAID BY CULTIVATORS.

| District | Type of land | Amount of payments to Govt. Including charges for water Rs. | Amount of Local rates and cesses paid on Land Rs. | Total of the two preceding columns Rs. | Amount of rent including local cesses paid by cultivators Rs. | Percentage of Agriculturists on Total population | Average Incidence of Amount of payments specified in column 1 per acre of Revenue paying cultivable area R A P | Average Incidence of Amount of payments specified in column 1 per acre of Revenue paying cultivated area R A P | Average Incidence of local rates and cesses (column 2) per acre of cultivated land R A P | Average Incidence of rent (column 4) paid per cultivated acre R A P |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anantapur | Government | 8,63,170 | 1,74,114 | 10,37,284 | 10,37,284 | | 0 14 4 | 1 1 5 | 0 3 6 | 1 4 11 |
| | Inam | 83,891 | 53,968 | 1,37,859 | 2,95,064 | 44 | 0 3 7 | 0 6 7 | 0 2 9 | 0 14 11 |
| | Zamindari | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| | Total | 9,47,061 | 2,28,082 | 11,75,143 | 13,32,348 | | 0 11 4 | 0 15 3 | 0 3 3 | 1 3 3 |
| Bellary | Government | 11,47,854 | 1,95,782 | 13,43,636 | 13,43,842 | | 0 14 4 | 1 2 6 | 0 3 2 | 1 5 8 |
| | Inam | 1,48,512 | 63,079 | 2,11,591 | 4,32,842 | 40 | 0 4 4 | 0 7 6 | 0 2 1 | 0 14 3 |
| | Zamindari | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| | Total | 12,96,366 | 2,58,861 | 15,55,227 | 17,76,478 | | 0 11 4 | 0 15 9 | 0 2 10 | 1 3 3 |
| Chingleput | Government | 16,26,446 | 1,87,137 | 18,13,583 | 18,13,583 | | 2 12 10 | 3 10 1 | 0 6 8 | 4 0 9 |
| | Inam | 1,62,447 | 40,171 | 2,02,618 | 3,85,058 | 30 | 0 13 7 | 1 10 2 | 0 5 7 | 3 5 9 |
| | Zamindari | 1,06,245 | 13,805 | 1,20,050 | 3,03,147 | | 0 10 9 | 1 8 4 | 0 2 10 | 3 14 8 |
| | Total | 18,95,138 | 2,41,113 | 21,36,251 | 25,01,788 | | 2 0 8 | 3 1 2 | 0 6 0 | 3 14 6 |
| Coimbatore | Government | 24,38,166 | 1,71,862 | 26,10,028 | 26,10,028 | | 1 0 7 | 1 5 5 | 0 1 6 | 1 6 11 |
| | Inam | 37,457 | 21,756 | 59,213 | 1,16,106 | 37 | 0 6 0 | 0 7 7 | 0 1 9 | 0 9 2 |
| | Zamindari | 27,781 | 4,644 | 32,425 | 84,083 | | 0 5 6 | 0 6 4 | 0 1 0 | 1 2 1 |
| | Total | 25,03,404 | 1,98,262 | 27,01,666 | 28,10,217 | | 0 15 10 | 1 4 4 | 0 1 6 | 1 5 5 |
| Cuddapah | Government | 15,96,787 | 2,33,853 | 17,30,640 | 17,30,640 | | 1 5 4 | 1 8 5 | 1 2 0 | 1 10 5 |
| | Inam | 2,11,413 | 80,303 | 2,91,716 | 13,29,911 | 42 | 0 6 8 | 0 8 9 | 0 2 6 | 2 9 10 |
| | Zamindari | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| | Total | 18,08,200 | 2,14,156 | 20,22,356 | 30,60,551 | | 1 1 0 | 1 4 3 | 0 2 2 | 1 15 6 |
| Madurai | Government | 14,12,072 | 78,379 | 14,90,451 | 14,90,451 | | 1 10 6 | 2 3 0 | 0 1 11 | 2 4 11 |
| | Inam | 1,30,997 | 55,696 | 1,86,693 | 4,17,307 | 41 | 0 6 10 | 0 15 10 | 0 3 9 | 1 11 11 |
| | Zamindari | 8,00,119 | 99,424 | 8,99,543 | 22,04,016 | | 0 10 2 | 1 0 5 | 0 1 11 | 2 10 0 |
| | Total | 23,43,118 | 2,33,499 | 25,76,687 | 41,11,774 | | 0 15 6 | 1 8 1 | 0 2 2 | 2 6 2 |
| | | 67,959 | 9,371 | 77,330 | 77,330 | | 0 11 0 | 1 0 10 | 0 2 3 | 1 3 1 |

Table Continued

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Niligiri | Government | 67,959 | 51 | 51 | N.A. | 38 | N.A. | | | N.A. | | | 0 | 0 | 8 | N.A. | | |
| | Inam | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | | N.A. | | | N.A. | | | N.A. | | | N.A. | | |
| | Zamindari | N.A. | 9,422 | 77,381 | 77,330 | | 0 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 9 |
| | Total | 67,959 | 2,30,465 | 19,70,796 | 19,70,796 | | 2 | 10 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 9 | 4 |
| North Arcot | Government | 17,40,331 | 38,167 | 1,24,002 | 1,24,002 | | 0 | 9 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| | Inam | 85,835 | 99,341 | 5,96,683 | | | 0 | 11 | 10 | 1 | 9 | 7 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 11 |
| | Zamindari | 4,97,342 | 3,67,973 | 26,91,481 | | | 1 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| | Total | 23,23,508 | 1,15,063 | 12,09,223 | | | 1 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 11 |
| Kurnool | Government | 10,94,160 | 92,728 | 4,71,440 | | | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 15 | 4 |
| | Inam | 3,78,712 | 92,728 | | | | N.A. | | | N.A. | | | N.A. | | | N.A. | | |
| | Zamindari | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | | 0 | 12 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| | Total | 14,72,872 | 2,07,791 | 16,80,663 | | | 1 | 5 | 11 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 11 | 0 |
| Salem | Government | 13,75,087 | 1,10,979 | 14,86,066 | 14,86,066 | | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 11 | 0 |
| | Inam | 65,487 | 17,377 | 82,864 | 1,71,843 | 40 | 0 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 14 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| | Zamindari | 4,52,597 | 44,358 | 4,96,955 | 6,71,768 | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 9 | 2 |
| | Total | 18,93,171 | 1,72,714 | 20,65,885 | 23,29,677 | | 2 | 6 | 11 | 2 | 12 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| South Arcot | Government | 30,51,800 | 2,21,049 | 32,72,849 | 32,72,849 | | 0 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 7 | 9 |
| | Inam | 52,669 | 21,579 | 74,266 | 4,01,826 | 38 | 0 | 10 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 3 | 0 | 9 |
| | Zamindari | 8,947 | 11,766 | 10,713 | 29,257 | | 2 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 11 | 11 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| | Total | 31,13,416 | 2,44,412 | 33,57,828 | 37,03,932 | | 3 | 13 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 0 | 8 | 1 | 4 | 12 | 10 |
| Tanjore | Government | 40,96,789 | 4,84,412 | 45,81,201 | 45,81,201 | | 0 | 6 | 11 | 0 | 13 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| | Inam | 1,84,431 | 41,609 | 2,26,040 | 8,81,214 | 30 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 11 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 1 |
| | Zamindari | 32,162 | 3,007 | 35,169 | 68,363 | | 2 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| | Total | 43,13,382 | 5,29,028 | 48,44,410 | 55,30,778 | | 1 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 5 | 11 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| Tinnevelly | Government | 23,60,488 | 2,54,289 | 25,14,777 | 25,14,777 | | 0 | 9 | 7 | 0 | 14 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 7 |
| | Inam | 1,40,287 | 31,686 | 1,41,973 | 3,99,106 | 32 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 12 | 3 |
| | Zamindari | 3,18,343 | 55,839 | 3,74,182 | 9,75,662 | | 1 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 10 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 6 |
| | Total | 26,89,118 | 3,41,814 | 30,30,932 | 38,89,580 | | 1 | 7 | 11 | 1 | 13 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Trichi-nopally | Government | 14,83,506 | 2,27,722 | 17,11,228 | 17,11,228 | | 0 | 14 | 8 | 1 | 7 | 10 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 14 | 10 |
| | Inam | 1,16,536 | 17,624 | 1,34,160 | 2,17,023 | 38 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 |
| | Zamindari | 53,111 | 19,317 | 72,428 | 1,96,391 | | 1 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 10 | 7 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| | Total | 16,53,153 | 2,64,663 | 19,17,816 | 21,24,642 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Source: C.D. Maclean, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1885, Volume II, Appendix LVII, Pp.396-397.

The above table indicate the quit-rent and taxes collected by the government on different tenures in Madras Presidency. It also shows that there was not much difference in the incidence of tax on Inam lands and Zamindari lands. Both paid fixed rent on their lands. However, when compared, these two type of tenures with Ryotwari tenure, the rate of tax was more on the latter. For the cultivator, the rate of rent was almost the same. The cultivator whether he cultivated Inam land or Zamindari land, his condition was almost the same.

Thus it is established that the influence of the Inamdars, like that of the Government, vindicate their exclusive right to manage the Inam. This right, in terms of practice, was to be perceived in relation to the overall authority of the Government and its right to resume the Inam property wherever the lapse occured. Although the right of Inamdars appears to exclude the Government from any direct role in the affairs of the management of Inam property, the wish of the Inamdars for more powers over the tenants reveal the difficulty of asserting rights in relation to the other forms of the tenure. On the one hand the Inamdars were trying to assert their right over the subordinates and on the other, the *Payikaris* (tenants) and labourers were fighting for more safeguards against the superior rights of Inamdars. This exposes the contradictions of the colonial policies towards the different segments of Inam tenures. Neither of the segments asserted their right, but, the policy of the Government reveals the overall superior power of it. This indicates the complexity of right of Inamdar over the Inam property and appears as fragile which resulted in the conflicts around Inam and the property right in land was a clear cause of friction. But this structural situation and their rights on which they are founded do not provide an exhaustive explanation of the nature of the existence of different kinds of Inams. The mode of

settlement of each kind of Inam differed from one another. The Government pursued various policy measures to settle the different types of Inams in nineteenth century. The settlements of Inams in different districts forms the subject matter for the following chapter.

# CHAPTER - V

# SETTLEMENTS OF INAMS

The most important work that was turned out by the Provincial Government after the establishment of the Inam Commission was the settlements of Inams. The first Commissioner, G.N. Taylor, codified Trevelyan's views on the Inams and established the legal framework for the ensuing settlements. The long delayed work of settlement was entrusted to the commission with the new assessment procedures which dragged on for over a decade. Even then the work was not completed. It was carried out further by Robinson, a member of Board of Revenue and later by the board itself. But by the time Blair retired in 1869, the policy towards Inam settlements in Madras Presidency had taken the basic shape which has remained until the end of the British rule.

In spite of the formulation of rules according to the views of Trevelyan, they were not always carried into effect during the settlement operations that followed. Part of the problem arose from the inherent difficulties faced by the British in carrying out the policy to settle those Inam lands on which they did not possess comprehensive understanding. The remaining part of the work rested with the revenue officers of the Government who did not adhere to the policy formulated by it. Hence the Government faced many difficulties while settling the Inams in Madras Presidency.

The award of land on quit-rent or reduced land revenue for different purposes was an age old custom followed by all the rulers during the pre-colonial period. By the time the British assumed administrative charges of Madras Presidency, Inams had proliferated to such an extent that they

constituted one-sixth of the total area under cultivation in Ceded districts.[1]

The British never wanted to uphold the grants of the earlier rulers, especially where such grants were in return for services no longer rendered.[2] The Government was less scrupulous while resuming the Inams wherever possible. The Inamdars had to fight bitterly to establish their claim over the property they held, only then their right was declared as hereditary. In the initial years of their rule, the Government did not hold as proof of title of those Inams in which one or two succession have taken place. It further directed that all Inams which were registered according to the *Patta* regulation were to be resumed and should be released only when the holder could show sufficient cause. The ruthless policy and the authoritative view of the right of Government make explicit the concern for the revenue. Such concern pressurized the Government to resume the Inam lands indiscriminately. However, very soon the Government realized the importance of settling the Inams of different kinds in all the districts of the Presidency.

The process of settlement of Inams by the Commissioner began soon after its establishment. The settlement indicates the policy of the British to introduce a definite and defined property rights which were alien to the nature and character of the institutions that existed in South India. The attempt by the British to bring all the Inams under one category was a vital move for the

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1 Ceded districts then consisted of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Bellary districts. According to the rough calculations taken from Munro's accounts in the early years of the British rule, Inam lands in ceded districts accounted somewhere between one-fourth and one-third of estimated total revenue resources (11,85,195-29-09 pagodas out of 39,54,417-23-70 pagodas). R.E. Frykenberg, "The Silent Settlement in South India, 1793-1853: An Analysis of the Role of Inams in the Rise of the Indian Imperial System," in idem, *Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia,* New Delhi, 1977, p.49.

2 For example, the Revenue and Police service Inams discontinued by the Government stating that their services were no longer required for it.

repudiation of the privileges which were implicitly transferred along with the Inams to the grantees. The Inam settlements under the British was "designed to eliminate the different kinds and forms of land, privilege and political relationship", that they were once associated with.[3]

**Division of Inams:**

Inams were classified into nine groups by the Inam Commissioner, based on the definition formulated by the officers of the Government.[4] As the "Inam" was a grant of land, either free from payment or subject to a light quit-rent or favourable rent, those who held the Inams were regarded as privileged one in the pre-colonial period.[5] But under the British all the grants of land recognized with a common feature concerned with the revenue therein. The Inams are divided into several classes and were identified with different aspects of the grants. They were recognized with respect to the rent payable on them viz., *Sarvamanyam,* fully exempted from rent, *Ardhamanyam*, half the ordinary rent and *Tribhagam*, one third rent free etc. They were also known with regard to their quantity or extent as major or minor, and with regard to the purpose for which they were granted; such as service Inams. Some times they were known by the methods on which they were held like Tarapadi and Sanad

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3 Nicholas Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom,* Bombay, 1989, p. 407.

4 The categorization of Inams into nine groups is given in the earlier chapter on "Role of Inams under the British."

5 A.N. Row, *The Revenue Refresher,* Madras, 1877, p.91.

Inams etc.[6]

The classification of Inams was made according to the convenience of recognition. They were regrouped into four divisions by A.N. Row in 1877, in respect to the object of the grant, that is, (1) Religious, (2) Charitable, (3) Personal or subsistence and (4) Service grants. A similar categorization is found in Frykenberg's classification of Inams. He also divided them into four groups viz., (a) socio-religious holdings, (b) socio-political holdings, (c) social service holdings and (d) socio-economic holdings. This type of division was made according to the definition and description of holding either wholly or almost wholly, free from taxation.[7] Frykenberg's categorization of Inams comes closer to the classification of Inams by the British which was also primarily based on the concerns for the revenue. However, such categorization was not made on the careful analysis of all kinds of Inams. Rather they were generalized broadly into those groups. It appears that Frykenberg arrived at such a categorization in an arbitrary way, instead of probing the details of each kind of Inams that existed in Madras Presidency. Though some Inams, in different districts, were identified with the nature of the grants made, the others varied much with the type and character apart from the nature of the grant. It was customary for the patrons to know the recipient while granting the Inam. The cognizance of recipient was essential because he would be, after the grant, made part of the extended authority of the patron. The essential feature of Inam was the condition of service which the recipient has to render. These features differ according to the grants made. Inams, when associated

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6 B.R Chakravarthy, *A Hand Book of Land Tenures in Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1924, p.149.

7 R.E.Frykenberg, *Op.cit.*, p.40.

with different service conditions, were difficult to be grouped into definite categories. Such a hasty and general categorization make the Inams to loose their differential essence of the privilege they consisted of. Thus each category of Inam was granted on different conditions and therefore they functioned for different purposes.

**Service Grants:**

One of the major category of Inams belonged to the service grants. It was the custom of the ruling authorities to recognize the services offered by the subjects through the grant of Inams. These grants consisted either of land or land revenue. The assignments varied according to the nature of the services rendered. Initially these grants were provided for the life of the grantee only, but gradually they became hereditary. They may be divided into four classes:[8]

1. Grants for personal or private services,
2. Grants for public services,
3. Grants for religious and charitable services, and
4. Grants in favour of village servants.

**1. Grants for personal or private services:**

The Personal grants were those held by individuals or communities for

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[8] B.R.chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.161-162. Also refer Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.138.

their subsistence and personal benefit.[9] The individuals consisted of the pious and learned Brahmans, officers of state whom these grants were made to support in their old age, and people whom the state considered worthy of being rewarded on causes of political and other aspects .[10] In the pre-colonial period these grants were held hereditarily by the grantees and were totally exempted from paying any tax to the king. In the case of hereditary grants, it consisted of land, otherwise, if it was for a life or a number of lives, then land revenue alone was made to the grantees.[11] Initially,the grants were entirely rent free but, subsequently a portion of rent, quit-rent, was levied depending on the degree of benefit intended to be conferred on the grantees.[12] These services grants were reserved to the grantor, as distinguished from the second class in which the community or any portion of it were interested in their maintenance.[13]

The Personal grants, during the British rule were governed by different regulations and acts. In the beginning of their rule the Government passed Regulation XXXI of 1802 which allowed it to investigate into the titles of Inamdars. The next important move of the British with regard to the Personal Inams was the passing of Regulation IV of 1831 which took away the jurisdiction of civil courts of cognizing the suits of disputes which arose between the

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9 A.N. Rao, *Op.Cit.*, p. 93.

10 B.R. Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p.153.

11 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Land Tenures In the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1933, p.128.

12 *Ibid.*, p.128.

13 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.138.

Inamdar and the Government. However, such restriction on courts was withdrawn through the enfranchisement Act in 1866. The desire of the Government for passing such acts, which were inimical to the Inamdars, was to extract more and more revenue as well as to have the reversionary right in it.

Jagirs:

Among the grants of land *Jagir* was considered as the most important of various kinds of personal Inams. It was literally expounded to mean the place taken and was applied to a grant in which the grantee took the place of the ruler and intercepted *Khiraj* before it reached the public treasury.[14] During the Muslim rule in South India, these grants were very common. The grants were made to a servant of the state either conditionally or unconditionally. It was made generally for other purposes also. For instance, the following services also were attempted by Jagirs.

1. In frontier tracts, for the maintenance of troops for local service,
2. For the maintenance of garrisons,
3. As remuneration for civil, military or police service,
4. As means of subsistence to conquered chiefs and princes,
5. As pin money to the relations of the emperor,

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[14] Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p. 134. According to Irfan Habib, the Emperor transferred his right to the land revenue and other taxes to his subjects over certain areas. These assignments were known as *Jagirs.* The term was a compound of two Persian words spelt jai-gir. Literally, it means '(one) holding or occupying a place. In India, the term came into use only in the fifteenth century. For more details refer Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India: 1556-1707,* Bombay, 1963, p.257.

6. In order to reclaim lands, not under cultivation.[15]

The grants made to the Jagirdar allowed him to act according to the purpose for which they were granted, and the relations between the intermediary and the lands which were subject to it. The authority of Jagirdar also increased if he was related to the conquered ruler or chief and diminished when he was a reclaimer of forest lands and lands that had been lying waste.

There were conflicting opinions about the duration of the grant of Jagir. Under the British, it was viewed that a *Jagir* was a grant for life or at will and therefore can be resumed after the death of the grantee. There were hereditary *Jagirs* also, but the alienation of lands in these jagirs by the Jagirdar,endure only during his life time and beyond that it would be declared null and void.

The difference between the term *Jagir* and Inam is important to be noted. Both were defined as the assignments of land or land revenue, though granted for different purposes, and were similar in nature. The services required from a Jagirdar was more of a honorific character and hence the Jagir was considered as one of the species of Inam.[16]

The grant of *Jagir* can be compared to another kind of grant i.e. Zamindari land. Both have similarities of being the middle men between the state and the cultivator. The Zamindar paid the fixed amount of the land revenue to the Government as the holder of the Zamin (land) and the rest was kept by him. Whereas the Jagirdar had the right to receive only the amount of land revenue

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15 B.R. Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.158-156.

16 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.137.

that constituted his revenue.

A similar kind of grant known as *Mukhasas* existed in Northern Circars.[17] Wilson defined them as "a village or land assigned to an individual either rent free or at a low rent on condition of service; or a village held *Khas* by the state, the revenue being paid to the Government direct; or the share of the Government in a village, or in the revenue paid in it."[18] They were classified according to the conditions of the grant into (1) *Kattubadi mukhasa*, village or villages granted for services at low quit-rent; (2) *rayayat mukhasa*, villages held on a favourable assessment but the rate of rent being fluctuated depending on the cultivation of each year; and (3) *sarva or darobust mukhasa*, villages granted with no condition of service.[19]

In Tanjore the term *mukhasa* was applied to the private estate of late Raja Sarbhoji. These lands were originally taken over by the Government when it annexed the district, but was regranted to the wife and other relatives of the late ruler.[20] These lands were totally exempted from paying the tax, except the nominal police fee, the water tax levied for dry cultivation and converted

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17 It is said that the Palegars were especially active and "open-handed," with each successor or local power making number of fresh grants to immediate relatives, political adherents, Government servants, army officers, religious leaders and even to potential enemies- all so as to forestall the antipathy and possible rebellion. These Inams included the *doratanams* (and *bissoyis*) of Northern Circars, the *samsthanams* and *mukhasas* of the Carnatic, the *amarams* and *umligas* of the interior and the *jivithams* of the deep South. See, R.E.Frykenberg, *Op.Cit.*, p.42. Frykenberg has taken a negative view of the grant of Inams to various sections of population. The grants were, in fact, made to accommodate the various elements of the society in the political authority of the ruler to extend his sway to the extent possible.

18 H.H Wilson, *The Glossary of judicial and revenue Terms*, New Delhi, 1968, p.352.

19 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.141.

20 B.R. Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p.164.

into wet with the aid of Government water, and the local cess.[21]

The *Mukhasa* lands were enfranchised by the British Government at 1/4 the rate of the full assessment and in Nellore at 1/8 the rate of the full assessment.[22] In Godavari and Krishna districts, they consisted of 208 1/2 in number, which were granted by the earlier Zamindars. After the introduction of the permanent settlement, the Government included these Inams in the assets of the Zamindars, if they were situated in Zamindari tracts, and the peshcush was fixed accordingly. If any lapses occurred in the *Mukhasa* Inams, the Zamindar had the right to revert that particular Inam, instead of the Government.[23]

Another kind of grant, similar to the *Mukhasas* of Northern Circars, known as *Jivitham*, existed in Madura and Ramnad areas. They were also the subsistence grants made by the Zamindars to their relatives and dependents. They were also granted as rewards for meritorious services or as support to helpless poets etc.[24]

Shrotriyams:

The earlier kings and chiefs made grants of land or land revenue to pious Brahmans who were supposed to help the state by their prayer to God. These grants were known as Shrotriyams.[25] In the course of time the term was applied

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21 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.141-142.

22 *CPRIS*, p.15, para 24 and p.204, para 8.3.

23 G.O.No. 1956, *Revenue Department*, 12 September, 1862, para 2.

24 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.140.

25 B.R. Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p.157. More than half of all the Inams in the

to the grants made in favour of the servants of the state in the civil as well as military departments, as a reward for past services. These grants conveyed two different type of rights to the grantee; (1) where the grantee has no kudivaram right over the land and hence cannot interfere with the cultivators as long as they paid the fixed rents and (2) where the kudivaram right has vested in the mirassidar and was made the absolute owner of the land free from the payment of tax.[26] The shrotriyams were liable to resumption and forfeiture on failure to pay the stipulated rent.[27] The Inams in Tanjavur district were given to strangers on low rent.[28] Whereas, the lands of shrotriyams situated in the high taluks i.e., Pattukota, they bore heavy Jodi.[29]

In some districts such as Bellary , Cuddapah and Salem, these Inams were known as Hissa Shrotriyams meaning, villages the revenue of which was shared between the Inamdar and the Government, or the Inamdar and the Zamindar, as the case may be.[30]

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Madras Presidency were held by persons of socio-religious (and political) merit. They remained as the personal possessions of them and their descendants. Most of these grants were held by Brahmans. Such holdings, whether religious or political, were called *agraharams, brahmadayams* or *shrotriyams*. There were also *bhatta-vritti* Inams (*bhattavartulu* in Telugu, *bhattavritti* in Tamil), those held by the Muslims were also known as *Khairati* Inams. See, R.E.Frykenberg, *Op.Cit.*, p.42. For the description of these tenures refer *DLITMP*, Pp.324-354.

26 *Ibid.*, p.158.

27 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.133.

28 G.O.No. 2346, *Revenue Department*, 23rd December, 1861, para 17.

29 *Ibid.*, para 17.

30 DLITMP, in *CPRIS*, p.346.

Bellary district consisted of 159 Hissa Shrotriyams while Cuddapah district had 127 only.[31] They existed even prior to the arrival of the British. Col. Munro, during the early decades of the nineteenth century alleged that these *Shrotriyamdars* held the land on defective titles. These *Shrotriyamdars* did not have much power except the collection of the assessment out of which a fixed percentage was allowed to them for their own maintenance according to the condition on which they existed.[32] These tenures enfranchised were according to the rules propounded by the government.

Agraharams:

These grants were similar in nature compared to *Shrotriyams*. The latter were granted to particular families, but the *agraharams* were granted to a community of Brahmans consisting of different families. *Agraharam* literally meant the villages of which the revenue was appropriated before it reached the treasury. Thus it was a grant of a village or part of it made to the community of Brahmans held either revenue free under special grants or at a minimal rent.[33] During the pre colonial period the grants once made to the Brahmans were not resumed by the state. Even if they were resumed they were regranted to the Brahmans. Tipu Sultan of Mysore is said to have resumed the agraharams, but

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31 G.O.No. 677, *Revenue Department*, 22nd March, 1861, para 5.

32 G.O.No.677, *Op,Cit.*, para 6.

33 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.130.

later they were restored under the denomination of ardhamanyams.[34] The portion of lands thus restored were treated as separate villages, and when the division made of the land was considered to be in favour of the agraharamdars, a jodi was charged on them.[35] The share allowed to the agraharamdars was varied from 1/3 to 2/5 of the collections of the village. In Salem district, agraharamdars in some areas allowed to enjoy 1/3 share i.e. *swastiam*, and in other areas it was 1/4, 1/5, 1/6 and 2/5 share of the village collections and in one instance a fixed money of Rs 19/- was paid to the Government by the agraharam.[36] The nature of the tenure of the these agraharamdars resembled that of the Hissa Shrotriyams of the Ceded districts.

The holders of the agraharams were jointly and severally responsible for the land granted to them and the jodi was fixed at a single rent. However, the shareholders held the separate pattas of their holding but this did not negate their joint liability.[37] Thus the joint responsibility necessitated the agraharamdars to be answerable for the entire rent. If one of them sells his share, that particular share would be held separately, yet the purchaser had the responsibility of paying his share due to him. The mere non-payment of rent was not a sufficient cause for resumption.[38]

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34 G.O.No. 2041, *Revenue Department*, 25 October, 1861, para 16.

35 Ibid., para 16.

36 G.O.No. 2041, *Op.Cit.*, para 18.

37 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.131.

38 *Ibid.*, p.151.

The *agraharams* were divided into different kinds. They were denoted by different terms depending on the rent fixed on them.[39]

Some of them were as follows :

(1) *Bilmukta agraharam:* An agraharam held at a fixed rent below the usual standards;
(2) *Kattubadi* or *jodi agraharam:* They were the villages assessed at a quit-rent;
(3) *Patta Kattubadi agraharam:* These were the Inams held subject to a quit-rent payable at a certain rate per *putti* of produce.
(4) *Sarva agraharam:* A village held free of all tax and
(5) *Trishwakam:* They were the Inam villages in which two thirds of the revenue was payable to the Government and the remaining one-third was left to the Inamdar.

A similar type of Inam known as Dharmasanam existed in Madurai district. It was a village grant held by Brahmans for subsistence on the payment of a fixed favorable rent.[40] The holders of these Inams were allowed to transfer their property.[41] In most of the Inam villages the tenants had no occupancy right (pannai), but in some of Inam villages, part of the lands were held on pannai and in the rest, the ryots enjoyed the occupancy rights.[42]

The Brahmans also enjoyed lands on other denominations also. These grants, *Pattam* and *Poruppu*, comprised lands in villages and were granted revenue free. But in the later times, *a poruppu* or rent on these land, was imposed. This tax was paid in money by the Inamdars. Such grants existed in

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39 DLITMP in *CPRIS*, Pp. 342-354.

40 G.O.No. 545, *Revenue Department*, 19 March, 1863, para 12.

41 *Ibid.*, para 12.

42 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.132.

Madurai and Tinnevelly districts. Most of these Inams were granted before the British assumed these districts, principally for support of religious and charitable institutions and partially to the individuals. The British officers were also granted a small extent of land on these designations for the purpose of promoting the cultivation of the waste lands.[43]

| Type of Inam | Extent | Full assessment | Favourable assessment or jodi | Remainder |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ACS | Rs | Rs | Rs |
| Pattam | 7,665 | 67,907 | 36,092 | 31,815 |
| Poruppu | 3,561 | 21,988 | 8,889 | 13,099 |

Source: G.o. No.545, Revenue Department, 19 March, 1863, para 12.

The imposition of jodi on these Inams, shown in the table, was made before the new survey on the Government lands. After this survey, the *Pattam* and *Poruppu* rent was by no means favourable.[44] After increasing the rate of tax the Government justified their act saying that the Inamdars were at liberty to relinquish their holdings.[45] The rate of rent on these lands fluctuated according to the cultivation and was commuted into a fixed quit-rent based on

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43 G.O. No 545, *Op.Cit.*, enclosure (2), para 10.

44 G.O.No.545, *Op.Cit.*, para 12.

45 *Ibid.*, para 12.

the average collections of past five years.[46]

Khairati Inams:

They were charitable endowments. The term was applied to Inams held for personal benefit by Muhammadans. However, in the later period it was granted to the persons other than Brahmans. These Inams were continued by the British without any condition of service and regarded them as personal Inams.

Inam Altamgha:

This was a grant made by earlier rulers under the royal seal and were later recognized by the British Government after they assumed the administrative charges of the Madras Presidency. They were rent-free tenures and were held perpetually. They were also treated as hereditary grants and was allowed by the Government to transfer the property. Thomas Munro considered them as unimportant and accorded no sanctity to these grants.[47] However, the Government stated that they were not resumable and allowed the Inamdars to part or alienate them.[48]

Brahmadayam:

One more personal Inam grant made to Brahmans was the Brahmadayam Inam.

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46 *Ibid.*, para 13.

47 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.134.

48 DLITMP in *CPRIS*, p.342.

There were several other Inams, which were minor grants and formed part of the Brahmadayam grant. The *Adyayanam* Inams were granted for the service of reciting the vedas in Temples.[49] The *Puranam* Inams were given over to the Brahmans for reading the *puranas* in Temples. The Inam grant *panchangam* was made to the Brahmans for announcing to the villagers the auspicious days for commencing the agricultural operations for celebrating marriages or festivals, or engaging in any business. The Inamdar was also the village priest and as such performed certain ceremonies connected with birth,marriage and death. The *purohit* grants resembled the above grants.

Amaram:

These were the land grants made by the Zamindar or Palegar on condition of service and were also known as *umblikkai*. The grants were generally made to the armed retainers of the princes, Zamindars or Palegars.[50] Sometimes these grants were provided to the relatives and dependents of the rulers and chiefs for their maintenance. Thus the grantees were the military chiefs. The amararkars were bound by the service and should attend the grantor on his summons, within the required period and keep peace and order in the locality entrusted to them. The neglect of duty would mean the displacement of them. But there were occasions when they were granted permission to escape such duties. If the *amararkar* was sick or minor and had such other problems, he was exempted from attending his duty. However, in such cases he had to send some able person in his place. The amararkars were given *batta* (an extra allowance)

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49 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

50 B.R.Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p.132.

while they rendered services to the grantor. They were also responsible to guard the place under their charge and if any theft was committed, the *Amararkars* concerned were bound to make good the loss.[51]

The ***amaram*** grants were hereditary. If the Inamdar died without any male issue, the other male member closely related to him was to succeed him with the due sanction of the grantor. If there was no male heir to succeed to the Inam property, then the grant generally lapsed to the grantor. These grants were enfranchised at one-fourth value of the assessment, as in the case of the *mukhasa* lands in Machilipatnam.[52]

Kattubadi Inams:

The *Kattubadi* grants to a large extent resembled the *amaram* grants. The only difference was that they were given to the lower class of military personnel. These grants, were also, made by the Zamindars or Palegars to the lower order of the military hierarchy on the condition of the service to be rendered, whenever called upon. The grants, Frykenberg said, made as hereditary reimbursements to the warriors at the local level, variously known as *peons, pawns* or foot-soldiers, in return for the revenue collection, police and military duties they rendered.[53] These Inams were subjected to a quit-rent. The *Kattubadi* Inams were of two classes. They were: Grama Kattubadis who were

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51 B.R. Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p. 162.

52 Order to G.O. No. 1951, *Revenue Department*, 25th October, 1861, para 13.2.

53 R.E.Frykenberg, *Op.Cit.*, p.42. These grants continued for generations. No one dared to discontinue the grants for the fear of revolt against them. The British when tried to discontinue them, they faced the armed rebellion of the *Kattubadidars.*

strictly the village servants and were required to perform service throughout the year and *Jangi Kattubadis*, who were called out for service only on emergency occasions.

In some districts of Madras Presidency, these Inams existed more in number. For example, in Cuddapah district, among the service Inams, *Kattubadi* Inams formed a very large proportion and were known by various designations. They were, (a) *Ankala*, who carried the provisions to village and taluk officials, (b) *Angazala*, were the distributors of water to the fields and collected ryots for the performance of customary labour and (c) *Kavilgar* and *Tallari* were the village watchman. Most of the *Kattubadis* were allowed to hold lands by the British. The *Jangi Kattubadis* in Cuddapah were numerous in existence and chiefly found in Chitvel, Gurrumkonda, Madanapalli, Rayachoti and Dhur.[54] The Deputy collectors recommended the Government for the enrollment of them in the new police force as a distinct body of stipendary hill-rangers, for the better attainment of public safety.[55] All the Kattubadi Inams were enfranchised at 1/2 of the full assessment in Cuddapah, Nellore, North Arcot and South Arcot districts.

Bissoyee lands:

There was a class of hill chieftains in Ganjam district who held their lands on the tenure of performing military or police service. The inhabitants of the area, known as *Savaras*, were causing trouble in the hill region by

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54 G.O. No. 677, *Revenue Department*, 22 March, 1861, para 16.

55 *Ibid.*, para 16.

constantly revolting. The *Bissoyees* were appointed to control these Saravas. These areas were divided into eleven Mittas and each Mitta had its chief. Lands were granted to these *Bissoyees* either rent free or at low rate of assessment as remuneration for keeping the *Savaras* under control. The *Bissoyees* had, however, no proprietary right on the lands granted to them. As long as they rendered their service, they were allowed to enjoy the lands, the lands were cultivated with the help of the *Savaras* with the Mitta, who owed a fixed amount of agricultural service to the chief every year. The British Government ordered that their Inams should not be disturbed.

Doratanams:

The *Doratanam* Inams were enjoyed by *Dora* or *Sardars* in the district of Ganjam for maintaining the security of the areas and preventing the incursions of hill tribes.[56] They held the Inam villages mostly in the Zamindari of Parlakimedi. These *doratanam* Inams did not include in the peshcush fixed when the permanent settlement was made.[57] The Government thought that their service being occasional they were no longer required under the new arrangement. Thus their Inams were enfranchised, like Jangi *Kattubadis* in ceded districts, on half assessment and the proceeds were credited to the new Police forces for their payment. If the minor Inams existed under the Inam areas of the Doras, then those held by lower order of military classes, were recorded in detail in

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[56] DLITMP in *CPRIS*, p. 345.

[57] G.O. No, 647, *Revenue Department*, 24 March, 1862, para 24.

the register.[58] However, no separate settlement was made with them.

Dufter Gardens:

Lands were granted for the development of gardens to encourage the plantation. The term *Dufter* meant the gardens registered in the revenue records.[59] They mostly existed in South Arcot district and peculiar to the taluk of Cuddalore. The Inam Commission did not find any special features of this tenure and wanted to treat them on those lines of Inams which they settled in Tiruvendrapuram.[60] The *dufter* gardens treated as private estates without subjecting to ordinary rules of lapses.[61] They were regarded as free-holds and the title-deeds were granted accordingly.[62] The *Pudu Tottams* in the Cuddalore taluk, which fulfilled the condition of fifty years rule were enfranchised on the same principle.[63]

Tope Inams:

*Tope* Inam was described by the Inam Commission as a grant made for the

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58 *CPRIS*, p 157.

59 DLITMP, in *CPRIS*, p.344.

60 G.O.No. 1011, *Revenue Department*, 8 march, 1861, enclosure, para 9.

61 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.125.

62 Order No. 1011, in G.O.No. 1011, *Op.Cit.*, para 4.

63 G.O.No. 1011, *Op.Cit.*, para 10.

service of preserving a tope planted by a Zamindar.[64] *Tope* Inams were the grants of lands consisting of a grove of trees that bear fruit and were granted to encourage the plantation of trees.[65] Sometimes, the grant consisted of the produce from the trees, but more often, the revenue arising from the land itself. In the former case, the grant ceased when the *Tope* was destroyed, but in the latter case it continued, even after the tope ceased to exist. If the Inam was *Tope*, consisting of trees, then the Inamdar had the right to these trees and the rent was to be paid by the tenant whenever he cut them.[66] The *Tope* Inams existed to a large extent in Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Nellore, Salem and Tinnevelly districts. These Inam tenures appeared to be the same as that of the *Asalminaha* gardens of Rajahmundry. Both the types of Inams were settled on the same principles. If these Inams were held for a period of fifty years, then they were enfranchised and treated as personal Inams. In other cases they were confirmed on 1\2 of the assessment or as rent-free for the public benefit, according to the circumstances.[67] In Zamindaris, the quit-rent of these Inams was included in the assets at the time of permanent settlement.

Asalminaha Gardens:

There were a different type of service Inams in the Godavari and Krishna

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64 DLITMP, IN *CPRIS*, p.353.

65 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p.125.

66 *Ibid.*, p.126.

67 *CPRIS*, p.158.

districts. They were lands exempted from assessment, but not included under the land of Inams in the public accounts. Such grants were made by the earlier rulers on the condition that the grantee should maintain the gardens and make further improvements upon them. They were known as *Asalminaha* Inams.

The term *Asalminaha* denotes the lands that were simply deducted from the cultivable area which paid revenue to the Government. But it did not convey the right to the grantee, to use the lands as he pleased. They existed uniformly throughout the delta in these two districts and differed little with the ordinary *topes* in other districts. In some places, these Inams were permitted to enjoy on rent-free terms and in some localities an ordinary quit-rent was charged. In some places in the Godavari district, they were practically treated as Inams under the Inam lapse rules.[68] The following table shows the number of title-deeds issued to the Inamdars who held personal Inams in Madras Presidency.

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[68] The Inam rules applied to the gardens were as follows:

(1)Though gardens enjoyed tax-free for private purposes, they were subjected to a quit-rent imposed by the Government, with reference to length of enjoyment as chargeable upon other Inams.

(2) The Government conferred on the holders of these gardens unrestricted right of free hold in return for a quit-rent to be paid to Government.

(3) Public *Topes* were treated as charitable Inams upon the express condition of the *Topes* being preserved.

(4) Private *Topes* which paid quit-rent, or totally exempted, or unproductive, were not treated as Inam. G.O.No. 4, *Revenue Department*, 3 January, 1860, para 5.

TABLE: VI.2 SHOWING THE INAMS HELD ON PERSONAL SERVICES.

| Districts | Number of title-deeds issued | Dry | Extent | | Total | Assessment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Garden | Wet | | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| | | ACS. | ACS. | ACS. | ACS. | Rs. |
| 1 Ganjam | 7,152 | 43,699 | 1,896 | 90,563 | 1,36,158 | 3,54,688 |
| 2 Visakhapatnam | 21,915 | 1,21,997 | 332 | 94,289 | 2,20,158 | 6,65,097 |
| 3 Rajahmundry | 47,420 | 1,51,256 | 5,463 | 66,424 | 2,23,143 | 4,99,921 |
| 4 Machilipatnam | 12,669 | 1,99,883 | 138 | 54,061 | 2,54,082 | 2,61,338 |
| 5 Guntur | 11,604 | 2,49,108 | 539 | 4,126 | 2,53,773 | 2,98,125 |
| 6 Nellore | 12,935 | 2,78,255 | 6,919 | 27,968 | 3,13,142 | 3,37,376 |
| 7 Madras | 3,492 | 32,252 | 218 | 53,417 | 85,885 | 1,75,461 |
| 8 Cuddapah | 39,003 | 2,84,619 | 10,230 | 23,428 | 3,18,277 | 3,81,378 |
| 9 Bellary | 30,755 | 5,29,810 | 111 | 25,733 | 5,55,657 | 4,70,566 |
| 10 Kurnool | 33,108 | 3,87,593 | 2,622 | 8,791 | 3,99,006 | 3,85,751 |
| 11 North Arcot | 9,199 | 57,210 | 37 | 20,064 | 77,311 | 1,59,373 |
| 12 South Arcot | 4,240 | 27,722 | 309 | 12,211 | 40,272 | 1,00,159 |
| 13 Salem | 7,085 | 1,27,579 | 659 | 12,931 | 1,41,169 | 2,38,678 |
| 14 Coimbator | 3,957 | 72,778 | 2,169 | 2,966 | 78,213 | 97,122 |
| 15 Tanjore | 3,313 | 1,25,417 | 4,471 | 1,31,687 | 2,61,575 | 4,04,691 |
| 16 Madurai | 2,810 | 1,25,919 | 171 | 71,861 | 2,00,954 | 4,41,535 |
| 17 Trichinopally | 2,376 | 47,482 | 630 | 6,083 | 54,195 | 63,286 |
| 18 Malabar | 57 | 579 | 757 | 592 | 1,928 | 5,307 |
| 19 Tinnevelly | 1,381 | 71,063 | 251 | 8,180 | 79,194 | 1,52,683 |
| Total | 2,54,473 | 29,37,221 | 38,225 | 7,18,948 | 36,91,394 | 54,39,928 |

Source: Blair's Report, in *CPRIS*, p.366.

TABLE:VI. 2 SHOWING THE INAMS HELD ON PERSONAL SERVICES- Cont.

| Districts | Former Quit-rent | | New quit rent on Inams enfran-chised payable to Govt. | quit-rent not agreed by Inamdars whose Inams have conse-quently left unen-franchised | Total quit-rent Payable to Govt. or total of columns 2 & 3 | Quit-rent Redeemed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Payable to Govt. | Payable to Zamindar | | | | |
| (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) |
| | | ACS. | ACS. | ACS. | ACS. | Rs. |
| 1 Ganjam | 16,813 | 27,420 | 15,925 | 656 | 62,738 | N.A. |
| 2 Visakhapatnam | 19,049 | 67,372 | 83,358 | 800 | 1,02,407 | N.A. |
| 3 Rajahmundry | 50,153 | 13,515 | 67,374 | 956 | 1,17,527 | 230 |
| 4 Machilipatnam | 34,295 | 20,159 | 28,216 | 1,013 | 62,158 | 178 |
| 5 Guntur | 44,584 | 31 | 37,874 | 2,663 | 82,158 | 11 |
| 6 Nellore | 1,03,363 | 412 | 34,116 | 3,152 | 1,37,179 | 28 |
| 7 Madras | 54,372 | 6 | 15,545 | 5,313 | 69,917 | 48 |
| 8 Cuddapah | 53,913 | 308 | 49,926 | 4,378 | 1,03,839 | 26 |
| 9 Bellary | 24,665 | 21 | 63,290 | 6,834 | 87,955 | 1 |
| 10 Kurnool | 20,432 | N.A. | 70,903 | 2,147 | 91,335 | 11 |
| 11 North Arcot | 19,259 | 8,144 | 19,040 | 2,940 | 38,299 | 39 |
| 12 South Arcot | 18,334 | 47 | 12,130 | 411 | 30,464 | 12 |
| 13 Salem | 20,702 | 15,209 | 25,561 | 2,430 | 54,263 | 1 |
| 14 Coimbator | 11,790 | N.A. | 13,710 | 26 | 25,530 | 7 |
| 15 Tanjore | 60,177 | 1,808 | 44,710 | 67 | 1,04,236 | N.A. |
| 16 Madurai | 3,728 | 63,120 | 52,983 | 719 | 56,711 | N.A. |
| 17 Trichinopally | 7,702 | 254 | 9,008 | 544 | 16,704 | N.A. |
| 18 Malabar | 946 | N.A. | 4 | 210 | 950 | N.A. |
| 19 Tinnevelly | 34,567 | 1,580 | 17,277 | 626 | 51,844 | N.A. |
| Total | 6,06,844 | 2,20,415 | 6,90,353 | 35,885 | 12,97,197 | 580 |

Source:Blair's Report, in *CPRIS*, p.367.

The above table shows the number of title-deeds issued to the Inamdars in different districts of Madras Presidency. These Inams came under the category of personal services and they were reduced to minimum when compared to their number in 1800. This was because the Government discontinued grants to the personal service Inams and moreover many Palegars, *Kattubadidars* and other military persons were removed from their services by the British Government in nineteenth century. The extent of these Inams in different types of lands also figured in the table according to each district. The table further reveals the total assessment on these lands. The quit-rent paid to the Government and to the Zamindar is also accounted in two columns in the table. One of the rows of figures in the table exhibits the total quit-rent paid by the Inamdar whose Inams were left unenfranchised. The total quit-rent paid by the Inamdar is also indicated in the table. The quit-rent redeemed in few cases, though accounts for some districts were not available, represents in the last column. The table shows the increased rates of quit-rent imposed on the Inams, after the survey, by the Government, which indicate the level of importance given by the colonial Government to the privileged land grants.

**2 Grants for Public Services:**

The grants under this head were those conferred on the people who rendered services to the public or community. Different kinds of Inams formed part of this category. Among them the most important was the *dasabandam* Inams, also known as *kattu-kodige* or *cheruvu manyams.*[69] The *dasabandams* were granted

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69 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, Pp. 143-144. Irrigation system in the

as an incentive hereditary remuneration to local leaders for the maintenance of the irrigation works. *Dasa* means ten and the holder of the Inam was allowed a ten percent reduction of the assessment payable on these lands. The grants were made for three different purposes.

(a) To keep in repair tanks which cultivate Government land,
(b) levelling the lands and rendering them fit for cultivation and
(c) bring waste lands into cultivation.[70]

There were two kinds of *dasabandams*. (1)*Kandam dasabandam*, which consisted of the portion of land assigned and the (2) *Shamilat dasabandam* was the grant of land revenue made for the services rendered.[71] Most of the earlier category Inams were continued by the Government on the same condition for which they were granted. Some of these were commuted into personal Inams stating that they were not contributing the required service for which they were granted.[72] The Government disturbed the latter category of Inams. The Inamdars belonged to the *Shamilat dasabandam* were enjoying the fraction of land revenue from all the fields which were under the tank or well and this caused confusion to the Government. The Government proposed to change such type of arrangement to a

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pre-colonial and also under the British, required a regular expenditure for development and maintenance. Especially in the pre-colonial period, irrigation system was supported by the hereditary grants of land and was a convenient way of removing the burden of administration from a central Government and throwing them upon local Government. In many areas, but especially in Rayalseema and Baramahal, Inam grants of this kind were known as *dasabandams*. See for details, R.E.Frykenberg, *Op.Cit.*, p.45.

70 B.R. Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p. 165. Also refer R.E.Frykenberg, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.45-46.

71 DLITMP in *CPRIS*, p. 344.

72 G.O.No. 677, *Op.Cit.*, enclose (1), para 11.

particular allotment of field to the Inamdars.[73]

The *dasabandamdars* were entitled to get an additional share of the produce, or an additional rate of the share of the profit whenever there was an increase in the area of cultivation or in the annual produce of the lands. These Inams could be resumed by the Government whenever there was a failure of service. The reversionary right of the Inams situated in the Zamindari areas belonged to the Zamindar not to the Government. If the Inamdar in the Zamindari areas failed to meet the condition of service, such Inams would be reverted to the Zamindar.[74] The dasabandam Inams existed in all parts of the Madras Presidency.

The available data on *dasabandam* Inams provide a variety of comparable figures about the Inams granted for maintaining the Irrigation works. However, the data given is not total, because the number of Inams granted for this purpose was not registered in the Commissioner's accounts. Apart from this, the major cause was that there was a decline in the number of grants made for this purpose, since the Government had discontinued the practice of granting Inams for the upkeep of irrigation works. Due to the change in the policy, the Government directly involved in the construction and maintenance of the irrigation works in nineteenth century. This policy of the British, considerably reduced the number of *dasabandam* Inams. The figures in the table shows the quit-rent paid by the Inamdars to the Government as well as to the Zamindars.

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[73] G.O. No. 677, *Op.Cit.*, para 12.

[74] Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p 144.

TABLE: V-3. SHOWING THE INAMS HELD FOR MAINTAINING IRRIGATION WORKS IN THE PRESIDENCY.

| Districts | Extent | | | | | Assessment | Former jodi | | New imposed Quit Rent | Total quit-rent payable to Govt. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of title deeds issued | Dry | Garden | Wet | Total | | Payable to Govt. | Payable to Zamindars | | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| | | ACS. | ACS | ACS | ACS | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1 Ganjam | 1 | N.A. | N.A. | 2 | 2 | 1,12,238 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 2 Visakhapatnam | 1 | 73 | N.A. | 136 | 209 | 12 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 3 Rajahmundry | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | 1,240 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 4 Machilipatnam | 14 | 120 | N.A. | 9 | 120 | N.A. | 28 | 20 | N.A. | 28 |
| 5 Guntur | 18 | 145 | N.A. | 48 | 193 | 169 | 30 | N.A. | N.A. | 30 |
| 6 Nellore | 21 | 7 | 7 | 112 | 126 | 562 | 4 | N.A. | N.A. | 4 |
| 7 Madras | 2 | N.A. | N.A. | 6 | 6 | 611 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 8 Cuddapah | 3,158 | 1,490 | 2,193 | 4,999 | 8,682 | 28 | 2,527 | 11 | 54 | 2,581 |
| 9 Bellary | 204 | 1,059 | N.A. | 512 | 1,601 | 56,935 | 13 | N.A. | 21 | 34 |
| 10 Kurnool | 136 | 283 | N.A. | 375 | 715 | 3,768 | 5 | N.A. | 1 | 6 |
| 11 North Arcot | 2, 922 | 607 | 57 | 10,285 | 10,891 | 3,435 | 967 | 873 | 24 | 988 |
| 12 South Arcot | N.A. | N.A. | 2 | N.A. | N.A. | 64,164 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 13 Salem | 401 | 528 | N.A. | 1,585 | 2,113 | N.A. | 54 | 57 | N.A. | 54 |
| 14 Coimbatore | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | 9,590 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 15 Tanjore | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 16 Madurai | 47 | 141 | N.A. | 10 | 154 | N.A. | N.A. | 35 | N.A. | N.A. |
| 17 Trichinopally | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | 204 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 18 Malabar | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 19 Tinnevelly | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| Total | 6,938 | 4,456 | 2,259 | 18,109 | 21,824 | N.A. | 3,628 | 996 | 97 | 3,725 |

Source: Blair's Report, in *CPRIS*. p.366.

**3 Religious and Charitable Inams:**

The religious grants were those made in favour of religious institutions like Temple, Mosque, Math, Darga and the servants employed in these institutions as a remuneration for their regular services.[75] For instance, an Inam, *Archanabhagam*, was granted to the *pujari* or *archaka* of a temple for the due performance of the pujas. The Darga Inam was granted for performing service at the tomb or shrine of a Muhammadan saint. All these Inams formed the category of *Devadayam*. These grants were also known as *Amaniyas* in the Oriya speaking areas of Ganjam district. The religious grants comprised whole villages or only part of it and consisted of the assignment of the land, exempted from the tax i.e *Sarvamanyams*, or of land revenue alone known as *Tirwamanyams*.[76] However the Devadayam grants consisted of land assignments only.[77] Sometimes the endowments were made for specific service rendered in the temple. The *Arai* Inam was held for the service of store keeping in the temple in Madurai district and other places.[78] *Adhyayanam* was given to those people

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[75] The religious institutions consisted of large tracts of Inam land which comprised roughly a quarter of all tax-free holdings. By the late nineteenth century, this category of Inams spread to 1.458 million acres with hypothetical tax potential of Rs. 24,22,467. The greatest portion of these lands were held by the temple at Tirupati, Kanchipuram, Srirangam, Annamalai, Chidambaram, Rameswaram, Madurai and Tanjavur. In Northern Circars there were very few larger temples and hence Inams of this nature, in these areas were few compared to southern part of the Presidency. Different Maths, Jangams, Bairagis etc., also held Inams in the Presidency. Islamic institutions were also endowed with land grants. See, R.E.Frykenberg, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.41-42.

[76] Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p 158.

[77] *Ibid.*, p.158.

[78] *Ibid.*, p 158.

who recited the vedas in temples.

The land grants were, sometimes, made directly to the grantee, and sometimes the rulers made these grants to the private persons in anticipation that they might transfer them to the temples.

In the pre-colonial period, the rulers not only granted the lands as Inams, but also the money allowances to the temples, which was known as *Tasdik* or *Mohini*. This was continued by the British Government till 1863 and in which year the assignments were converted into the land revenue, as it did not want to interfere directly in the religious affairs.[79] The trustees of many temples objected to this type of arrangement and therefore the British Government had to continue the money allowances in places where the trustees did not consent to the proposal.[80] However, from 1878 a system called Beriz deduction has been introduced according to which the allowances allotted to the temple was deducted from the revenue of the village in which the temple was situated and asked the *maniyagar* to pay the allowances direct to the temple or mosque concerned.[81]

The colonial Government was also in favour of allotting the land revenue instead of granting the land as Inams. In fact, it resumed lands belonging to the big temples in the early part of their rule.[82] Many of the Inams continued by the British belonged to the small temples.

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79 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, Pp 158-159.

80 B.R. Chakravarthy, *Op.Cit.*, p 166.

81 *Ibid.*, Pp.166-167.

82 G.O.No. 2041, *Revenue Department*, 25 October, 1861, enclose, para 25.

The data in the following table is taken from the report of W.T. Blair, the Inam Commissioner, who submitted this in 1869. The figures in the table represent the number of title-deeds issued in erstwhile Madras Presidency in each district by the Inam Commissioner. The figures for the various type of land i.e., dry, wet and garden, indicate the extent of land occupied in the Presidency. The total extent of Inam land in the Presidency and the assessment on them is shown in each district. The other columns exhibit the figures of the quit-rent paid to the Government as well as to the Zamindars. One of the columns of the table gives the new quit-rent imposed on the Inam lands.

TABLE: V-4. SHOWING THE AGGREGATE EXTENT OF INAMS HELD ON RELIGIOUS SERVICES.

| Districts | Extent | | | | | Assessment | Former jodi | | New imposed Quit Rent | Total quit-rent payable to Govt. | quit-rent redeemed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of title deeds issued | Dry | Garden | Wet | Total | | Payable to Govt. | Payable to Zamindars | | | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) |
| | | ACS. | ACS | ACS | ACS | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1 Ganjam | 4, 858 | 8,973 | 661 | 31,346 | 40,980 | 1,12,238 | 5,597 | 4,678 | 3,868 | 9,465 | N.A. |
| 2 Visakhapatnam | 1, 285 | 11,919 | 159 | 5,812 | 17,950 | 55,479 | 682 | 2,067 | 987 | 1,669 | N.A. |
| 3 Rajahmundry | 2, 649 | 16,105 | 166 | 9,263 | 25,531 | 61,201 | 1,751 | 1,382 | 1,143 | 2,894 | 4 |
| 4 Machilipatnam | 1, 270 | 21,021 | 13 | 7,573 | 28,657 | 37,331 | 1,327 | 1,000 | 331 | 1,661 | 3 |
| 5 Guntur | 2, 777 | 59,181 | 14 | 1,618 | 60,813 | 81,034 | 3,924 | N.A. | 3,031 | 6,955 | 12 |
| 6 Nellore | 2, 723 | 40,820 | 692 | 6,142 | 47,663 | 77,631 | 7,156 | 3 | 723 | 7,870 | N.A. |
| 7 Madras | 4, 248 | 12,138 | 86 | 18,651 | 30,875 | 86,514 | 9,016 | 115 | 207 | 9,258 | 4 |
| 8 Cuddapah | 5, 235 | 36,409 | 833 | 3,350 | 40,592 | 51,112 | 3,207 | 25 | 133 | 3,310 | 4 |
| 9 Bellary | 6, 280 | 149,800 | 60 | 6,343 | 156,203 | 1,11,414 | 10,978 | 6 | 1,153 | 12,131 | N.A. |
| 10 Kurnool | 5, 225 | 88,236 | 476 | 1,508 | 90,220 | 96,118 | 4,057 | N.A. | 2,667 | 6,724 | N.A. |
| 11 North Arcot | 3, 963 | 27,475 | 5 | 9,544 | 37,021 | 78,410 | 4,916 | 1,942 | 351 | 5,300 | 3 |
| 12 South Arcot | 5, 951 | 19,506 | 136 | 6,571 | 26,213 | 74,596 | 779 | 2 | 280 | 1,059 | N.A. |
| 13 Salem | 6, 328 | 43,184 | 101 | 2,922 | 46,207 | 72,718 | 4,080 | 3,431 | 101 | 4,181 | N.A. |
| 14 Coimbatire | 5, 220 | 98,246 | 3,476 | 2,891 | 101,613 | 1,11,330 | 5,684 | N.A. | 21 | 5,705 | N.A. |
| 15 Tanjore | 5, 150 | 50,366 | 2,495 | 47,896 | 100,787 | 2,20,107 | 13,120 | 320 | 4,216 | 17,315 | N.A. |
| 16 Madurai | 6, 305 | 235,374 | 236 | 81,658 | 320,268 | 5,89,650 | 10,153 | 36,693 | 1,053 | 11,206 | N.A. |
| 17 Trichinopally | 6, 454 | 122,510 | 2,438 | 11,363 | 136,311 | 1,96,802 | 8,417 | 399 | 1,679 | 10,096 | N.A. |
| 18 Malabar | 183 | 521 | 2,525 | 5,711 | 8,760 | 28,785 | 909 | N.A. | 674 | 1,583 | N.A. |
| 19 Tinnevelly | 2, 768 | 117,933 | 1,123 | 19,385 | 138,441 | 2,79,535 | 41,113 | 2,915 | 646 | 41,759 | N.A. |
| Total | 79,196 | 1,159,709 | 15,695 | 282,577 | 1,458,081 | 21,22,467 | 1,36,935 | 55,048 | 23,270 | 1,60,205 | 30 |

Source: Blair's Report, in *CPRIS*, p.360.

Dharmadayam:

The *Dharmadayam* grants were of land made for those who rendered services to people by maintaining charitable objects.[83] These grants were made in favour of the institutions such as *Chatrams*, that is grants made for the support of chaultries or halting places for the accommodation of travellers; *Tannir pandals* lands given for maintaining a water-pandal where water and butter milk were distributed to travellers during the hot-season.[84]

During the British rule, the most important act which dealt with *Dharmadayam* Inams was passed in 1817. The Regulation VII of 1817 provided for the due appropriation of rents and produce of lands, money payments and assignments of lands.[85] To regulate these kinds of Inams the Board of Revenue delegated the powers to district collectors. The collectors were asked to submit a periodical report on the condition of the chaultry and its function. If the building provided for charity purposes fell into decay, it was disposed off by the Government.

The following table represents the charitable Inams granted in different types of land. The number of title-deeds issued by the Commissioner, the total

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83 Within the content of social stratification, social exclusion and social (ritual) pollution, social services were severely restricted and reserved only for the "clean" and often only for the Brahmanical population. In a multi-faceted "plural society," like India, service and charity had to be restricted to what was provided by each community for its own members. But political recognition of the economic means for providing service was essential to the preservation of privileged status. Hence, in general terms, Inams granted for the support of institutions were known in sanskrit as *Dharmadayams*. R.E.Frykenberg, *Op.Cit.*, p.44.

84 DLITMP in *CPRIS*, p 352.

85 A.N. Row, *Op.Cit.*, p. 101.

extent of Inams occupied in this category and the assessment on these Inams are mentioned in the table. The figures indicate the quit-rent paid by the Inamdars in different districts of Madras Presidency, to the Government and Zamindars. The new quit-rent imposed by the Commissioner has also figured in this table. For many Inams the accounts were not available and so they were left blank by the Commission.

TABLE: V-5. SHOWING THE INAMS HELD ON CHARITABLE SERVICES.

| Districts | Extent | | | | | Assessment | Former jodi | | New imposed Quit Rent | Total quit-rent payable to Govt. | quit-rent redeemed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of title deeds issued | Dry | Garden | Wet | Total | | Payable to Govt. | Payable to Zamindars | | | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) |
| | | ACS. | ACS | ACS | ACS | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1 Ganjam | 4 | 6 | N.A. | 6 | 12 | 41 | N.A. | 2 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 2 Visakhapatnam | 26 | 367 | 18 | 712 | 1,127 | 6,731 | N.A. | 54 | 601 | 601 | N.A. |
| 3 Rajahmundry | 17 | 631 | N.A. | 290 | 921 | 3,127 | 56 | N.A. | 16 | 72 | N.A. |
| 4 Machilipatnam | 111 | 2,467 | 15 | 368 | 2,850 | 3,634 | 12 | 1,470 | 17 | 29 | N.A. |
| 5 Guntur | 480 | 5,206 | N.A. | 234 | 5,111 | 9,669 | 981 | N.A. | 506 | 1,190 | N.A. |
| 6 Nellore | 1, 143 | 9,005 | 87 | 919 | 10,011 | 17,961 | 1,200 | 2 | 157 | 1,114 | N.A. |
| 7 Madras | 372 | 1,082 | 16 | 2,350 | 3,437 | 9,997 | 1,342 | N.A. | 10 | 1,100 | N.A. |
| 8 Cuddapah | 43 | 719 | 24 | 12 | 765 | 958 | 7 | N.A. | N.A. | 7 | N.A. |
| 9 Bellary | 355 | 8,611 | 26 | 301 | 8,911 | 10,930 | 070 | N.A. | 136 | 800 | N.A. |
| 10 Kurnool | 60 | 1,011 | 20 | 26 | 1,057 | 1,441 | 27 | N.A. | 63 | 90 | N.A. |
| 11 North Arcot | 374 | 7,843 | 4 | 1,308 | 9,155 | 11,251 | 78 | 137 | 8 | 86 | N.A. |
| 12 South Arcot | 516 | 1,644 | 11 | 662 | 2,317 | 7,014 | N.A. | N.A. | 10 | 10 | 1 |
| 13 Salem | 156 | 770 | N.A. | 571 | 1,341 | 4,478 | 32 | 38 | 10 | 42 | 9 |
| 14 Coimbatore | 266 | 11,208 | 194 | 681 | 12,086 | 14,537 | 82 | N.A. | 10 | 92 | 3.3 |
| 15 Tanjore | 480 | 13,195 | 916 | 8,402 | 22,513 | 44,518 | 1,866 | 112 | 736 | 2,602 | N.A. |
| 16 Madurai | 317 | 26,291 | 23 | 11,663 | 37,977 | 1,02,009 | 207 | 6,375 | 84 | 291 | N.A. |
| 17 Trichinopally | 441 | 4,541 | 51 | 287 | 4,979 | 6,373 | 431 | 40 | 116 | 547 | N.A. |
| 18 Malabar | 17 | N.A. | 49 | 230 | 279 | 968 | N.A. | N.A. | 18 | 18 | N.A. |
| 19 Tinnevelly | 392 | 27,855 | 219 | 3,613 | 34,717 | 53,853 | 10,807 | 299 | 152 | 10,959 | N.A. |
| Total | 5,600 | 122,432 | 1,703 | 32,811 | 156,919 | 3,07,912 | 17,841 | 5,526 | 2,652 | 20,193 | 4 |

Source: Blair's Report, in *CPRIS*, p.363.

The religious and charitable Inams were the hereditary grants. The Inscriptions indicate that it was disgraceful to resume such grants.[86] The alienation of the emoluments or Inams by the grantee was recognized by the Government only during the life-time of the alienee. The religious Inam could be held by a woman also, as the deputies of the Inamdar could also render the services in temples. Similar rule was applied in case of Muhammadan religious grants, unless there were duties of a religious nature which she could not perform either by herself or through a deputy.[87]

**4. Grants for village servants:**

There were various kinds of service grants made to different persons who rendered services to the villagers. Inams which formed this category were granted to different officials in the village. The head of the village stood foremost among them. He was the leading personality among the officials who rendered the services to the village. For his services he was provided with the Inam grant on a nominal rent. This privileged land grant was apart from the usual tenurial holdings which the headman enjoyed as the head of the village. The next important officer was Karnam, the accountant who enjoyed the Inam land for the services of keeping accounts of the village in revenue and other related matters. There were lower military class persons, Naidus in Ganjam district, who also held the Inam grants. Inams were also granted to *Kavalgars*, *Talliars* and *Dandasis* for rendering police services in the village.

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86 H. Le Fanu, *A Manual of the Salem District in the Presidency of Madras*, Madras, 1883, Appendix p 349.

87 Sundararaja Iyengar, *Op.Cit.*, p 161.

Artisans in the village like Potter, Washerman, Barber, Carpenter, Smith, Boatman, Nirgranthi etc., were also provided with the Inam grants. The role of Nirganthi was one of the most prestigious and important and remunerative since he operated and maintained the local irrigational facilities, such as tanks, canals and sluices. This was particularly important in places where agriculture was dependent on tank irrigation. Thus it was not surprising to locate most of the Inams of Nirgranthis, around the irrigational bodies.

There were some Inams granted to the private persons in the Zamindaris. They consisted of people who rendered services as door attendants, fixed watchers, palanquin bearers, domestic servants of Zamindars and Samsthanams attendants. The dancing girls and Tom-tom beaters of temples were also provided Inams in the village, as their services were felt very essential, and every village invariably consisted of a temple with the presiding deity of local importance.[88]

The village service Inams, mostly, existed in Zamindaris or in those estates which lapsed to the Government. The British confirmed the Inams granted to the Revenue servants, artisans and private servants in Zamindaris, other private estates and registered them in the service register. However, these grants not only consisted of land but also was in the form of share of the crops produced in the village. They had a nominal rent in the pre-colonial period. But the British Government, after enfranchisement of these Inams, confirmed them on different rates. In Ganjam district they were confirmed at 1/2 or 1/4 of the full assessment.[89] In Government taluks, these Inams were

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[88] *CPRIS*, p.156.

[89] *CPRIS*, p 156.

enfranchised at 5/8 of the full assessment.

The village service Inams in Chingleput district, as in other districts, were kept under the head of *Toropady* Inams.[90] The *gramamanyams*, an they were called, were not the exclusive property of the village servants, since the produce of these lands was also shared by the mirassidars in Chingleput district.[91] In North Arcot the *grama kattubadis*, who were the village servants attached to the villages, were enfranchised at 1/2 of the full assessment.

In Salem district, the *Maniyagar* Inams i.e lands held by the headman of the village and Karnam Inams were resumed by the Government in 1801 and 1803. The other Inams were *Nattagar* who superintend the cultivation, *Tandalkar*, held by a servant employed under the maniyagar of a village in collecting Government revenue, *Toti*, a man of low caste who waited upon the village officers and generally assisted in measuring land, carried letters to the Tahsildar, acted as a guide to the officers travelling on public duty etc. *Nirkattis*, superintendent the distribution of water for irrigation etc. All the village service Inams were continued by the Government and the extent of area they occupied, except *Nirkatti*, was very small.[92] The Nattar Inams in Trichinopoly district were resumed by the Government when the lapses occurred, and the alienations were prohibited.[93]

The grant of the service Inam like other Inams consisted of land or land revenue. Where it consisted of a share of the crops, it was called *Russoom* or

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90 G.O.No. 83, *Revenue Department*, 17 January, 1860, enclose (2), para 2.

91 *Ibid.*, para 2.

92 G.O. No. 2041, *Op.Cit.*, para 29.

93 G.O.No. 457, *Revenue Department*, 12 March, 1862, para 7.

*Swatantram*. The Inam grant, generally, attached to the office of the grantee and enjoyed by all the members of the family, was practically the family property. The Inam property, though enjoyed by the grantee, was never an absolute property of him as it was attached to the office of the holder. Under the British, this village service Inam was kept in very precarious position and it was liable to resumption when the particular person was removed from the office or such service was abolished.

The Civil Courts, through the Regulation VI of 1831, were restrained from taking cognizance of suits related to service grants, but later, such restriction was ceased after the Government passed Madras Act IV of 1866, which enfranchised the services grants.

Thus by 1871 the settlement of different kinds of Inams in Madras Presidency was made by the British. The settlement officers never considered the role Inam played in pre-colonial period, while settling them. They simply finalized the task given to them and settled each and every Inam as they understood. The classification of Inams by the British had relation with the broad revenue policy of the Government and the consequent structural changes it brought at each level of political system during the nineteenth century. Under the colonial rule, the political equations were not determined by the grant of Inams but by the relations maintained with the new rulers. These relations were defined by the British through their notions of precedence, history, loyalty and by adherence to the policies formulated by the Government in social, economic and political activities. The policies of the Government in nineteenth century created many new conflicts for the possession of Inam property. These colonial policies and institutions were partly responsible for the succession disputes which were accelerated during the British period. The

next chapter discusses the nature of different types of disputes over the lnam property.

# CHAPTER - VI

# SUCCESSION DISPUTES

The continuous interaction between the Inams and the Government policy from 1801 to 1871 has features of both local and comparative interest. In the first place, it reveals the process by which the Inamdars appropriated an alien policy to their own purposes. More important, it reveals the transformation of earlier social categories into actual social organization, of previous ritually constructed privileges into bureaucratically defined ones and of a relatively fluid system of alliances into a relatively rigid and antagonistic set of interest groups. These three processes which are discussed in a highly specific cultural and historical milieu, might constitute the key features of colonial regime to assess how it affected indigenous political and cultural systems.

The present chapter discusses about the impact of British policies on the Inamdars in the South Indian context. The core of the arguments move around the succession disputes over the Inam property. This would help to locate the general issues raised in the earlier chapters in a specific context.

Before going to analyze the impact of the British policy on Inam property, the nature of royal arbitration of disputes in the pre-British period need to be highlighted. The actions of the king, in the earlier period, in authoritatively solving the succession disputes, resembled those of an

administrator, not a legislator.[1] Thus, decisions were made to suit contexts and did not either strictly follow or generate a body of general rules. Thus, although the *Dharmasastras* (Hindu law) were subject to historical change, it was not considered to be either the direct source or the logical outcome of decisions in particular cases. British policies, on the other hand, followed a mixture of legislation (i.e,. a series of acts, codes and regulations) and precedent generated by earlier Government or judicial decisions. In both respects, the earlier royal arbitration of the disputes over Inam property towards the specific and the context upon which the particular cases generated the disputes, was changed. The general rules as well as the decisions made by the Government had unanticipated effects on Inamdars and these effects form the subject for the discussion and analysis of this chapter.

**British Policy and the Colonial context:**

In spite of the similarities between the pre-colonial Government attitude and the colonial policy towards Inam settlements, there were certain basic contrasts in the policy formulated by the British Government. First, Inams were no more, a fundamental base for the establishment or expansion of British authority in Madras Presidency. Thus the exchange of honours between the king and the Inamdar as a basis for the extension of political authority has largely ceased to exist. The grant of Inams were made only when the Government felt

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[1] Robert Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, New Delhi, 1973, Pp.207-256.

that it was necessary to do so for the expansion of their political authority.[2] The expansion of new bureaucratic apparatus in the nineteenth century, made the Government to depend more on it rather than on the pre-colonial structure of administration. Consequently, Inam which was pivotal in the building of administrative structure in pre-colonial period became unimportant to the colonial Government.[3] Secondly, in dealing with the Inams, the British reversed the emphasis of the "native kings," who had left day-to-day management of local affairs to the local leaders supported by the grant of Inams. These local leaders had acted as the extension of king's authority in their respective areas and maintained peace and order. The British, after 1801 A.D., gradually expanded its day-to-day involvement in the local affairs through the expansion of its bureaucracy. At the same time they were reluctant to interfere in the disputes of religious issues. Thirdly, the structure of colonial institutions as well as their ideology regarding land provided an inherent dichotomy which expressed in the formation of executive and the judicial arms of the state. This division was yet another contrast compared to the pre-colonial king, who combined both the powers in himself and acted as the ultimate judge as well as the administrator.[4] These departures from the pre-colonial indigenous structure of relationships created disputes and pressurized the colonial Government for the establishment of Inam Commission and subsequently, formulate a clear policy towards the settlements of Inams.

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2 Blair's Report in *CPRIS*, Madras, 1948, p.3, para 7.

3 Nicholas Dirks, "From Little King to Landlord: Gift, Law and Property under Permanent Settlement," in *MAS*, 1986, Pp.311-312.

4 Robert Lingat, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.224-232 and 243-256.

**The Government and the Judiciary:**

The British Government policy in the realm of law - as in other aspects of the policy formulations, viz., social, economic and political - took into consideration of the pragmatic and ideological needs of its rule and largely overcame any intention of preserving the traditional institutions of Indians.[5] As the British revenue policies oscillated between laissez-faire and utilitarian or reformist goals, British policies in respect of law and judicial system in India oscillated between the idea to leave Indian customs and usage intact and the idea to create rationality and uniformity in indigenous law.[6] The cumulative effect of these ambivalent motives was the massive, though often covert, importation of British ideas and mechanisms into the legal system in India. Consequently, there was a serious, though unintended, alteration of key features of Indian society and culture.[7] The

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[5] There are contradictory views over the British Policy. One view suggest that the British followed the accommodative policy and continued the traditional institutions. Such arguments are presented in the writings of R.E. Frykenberg, "Company Circari in the Carnatic, c.1799-1859: The inner logic of Political systems in India, in G. Richard Fox ed., *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, New Delhi, 1977, Pp, 177-164,. and David Washbrook, "Law, State and Agrarian Society in Colonial India," *MAS*, 1981, Pp.649-721. For Bengal, refer Ratnalekha Ray *Change in Bengal Agrarian Society: 1790-1850*, Delhi, 1979.
The other view suggest that the British brought changes through its policies in India. See Eric Stokes, "The First Century of British Colonial Rule: Social Revolution or Social Stagnation," in idem, *The Peasant and the Raj*, CUP, 1978, Pp.19-45.

[6] Eric stokes, *The Utilitarians and India*,, London, 1959, Pp.108-110, 115-116 and 132-139.

[7] Rudolph and Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*, Chicago, 1967, p.279-293.

struggle of the colonial state was often for "an implementation, reform and redefinition of existing laws."[8] Under such indecisive policies of the Government, many Inamdars got victimized and their sufferings could not be heard properly by the Government. One such area where unclear policy of Government made many persons involved in the disputes over the succession to the property right was Inam land. In this particular analysis of disputes, the relationships between various individuals provided the background. This analysis was the outcome of the details of episodes or cases and the key principles of tensions within a changing social structure. The approach taken here which follow the general thrust of the study, involves an emphasis on the relationship between the British policy and the Inamdars in the changing social structure.

**Disputes among Inamdars - Personal Inam grants:**

The disputes over Inam property under the personal or subsistence grants occurred when the heir of the original incumbent faced problems of renewal of his possession.[9] Disputes also occurred when the collateral brothers of the

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[8] The British attempt to base its rule on a framework of colonial laws had contradictory results, for a while it sought to provide a certain legitimacy to domination and exploitation, it created in the every process a struggle around state laws and policies. For more details refer Neeladri Bhattacharya, "Colonial State and Agrarian Society," in Burton Stein ed., *The Making of Agrarian Policy in British India, 1770-1900*, 1992, p.147.

[9] Personal grants were those held by individuals or communities for their subsistence and personal benefit. They were known as *Brahmadayams*, and *Khairati* Inams, being generally grants made to Brahmins, Fakirs or Muslim ascetics. They were either hereditary in their tenure or limited for one or more lives. See A.N. Row, *The Revenue Refresher*, Madras, 1877, p.93. The

last incumbent simultaneously claimed the Inam. Besides, some of the persons who were related to the deceased Inamdar could claim legal rights on the tenure. Generally this happened with the connivance of the Government officials and the manipulation of records which allowed them to fight for the possession of Inam property. The Government, according to the rules, only confirmed to the holder according to its actual nature[10].

The case discussed below affected an important transition in the succession disputes of the Inam property. In course of meeting their demands of shares, different persons represented their claims over an Inam village in North Arcot district namely Yellum. The solving of this case as well as the final decision given by the Government represent an extremely important transition in the position of Inamdars and their relationship with the Government.

The immediate stimulus for the dispute over the Inam property was the vacancy created by the death of the Inamdar. The Inam village, Yellum, was granted to Maulvi Anwar khan, qazi of Arcot by Nawab Omdut-ul-omrah, Nawab of Arcot . After his death, the Inamdar desired to divide the Inam property among the surviving kins i.e. his two wives, one son and two daughters equally.[11] Accordingly, the shares were decided by the Government among the five members of the family ignoring the lineal succession law which transferred the property

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details of various kinds of personal Inams are mentioned in the next chapter.

[10] Inam Rules,V, in *CPRIS*, Madras, 1948. p.71.

[11] Board's Consultations, 2nd May, 1811, Vol.540. Pp.3422-3426.

to the son of the deceased Inamdar.[12] But the Inam property was not inherited by any person as per the Government rules. On the other hand, differences were crept in among the surviving family members of the deceased Inamdar, in 1809. One of the wives of the last incumbent requested the Government to allot separately the shares belonged to her and her daughter.

The dispute over Inam property was intensified further when Imam Bee Bee, who declared herself as one of the wives of the deceased Inamdar, has claimed a share of the Inam property. It was stated that she was not a wife but a concubine and took advantage of the inability of the yet to penetrate colonial bureaucracy into the interiors of Madras Presidency.[13] The claimant, however, could not produce any proof in support of her demand. The matter was referred to the provincial court. The dispute was settled in accordance with the wishes of the deceased Inamdar and the whole property was divided among the five members of the family. Imam Bee Bee did not get any share as she could not produce the evidence of her marriage with the deceased Inamdar.[14]

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[12] According to the rules set by the Government the Inam would be continued to the direct descendant of the original grantee, if there was any of them, unless it was wished otherwise. Inam Rules, V, in *CPRIS.*, p.71.

[13] In the initial years of nineteenth century, the bureaucracy of the East India Company was not spread in the interiors of Madras Presidency. The Government had to depend on the traditional village officials to realize their policies. See,R.E.Frykenberg, *Guntur District,1788-1848: A History of Local influences and Central Authority in South India,* Oxford, 1965. Also see R.E.Frykenberg, "Company Circari in the Carnatic ....," *Op.Cit.*, and R.E.Frykenberg and Nilamani Mukherjee, "The Ryotwari System and Social Organization in the Madras Presidency," in R.E.Frykenberg, ed., *Land Control and Social Structure in India,* New Delhi, 1979, Pp.237-246.

[14] The Inam property was shared among the five members of the family till 1809, when one of the wives, Matha Begum, of the deceased Inamdar had misunderstanding with other shareholders and wanted the Government to deliver her and her daughter's share separately. Matha Begum gave evidence of her marriage with the deceased Inamdar, whereas Imam Bee Bee who claimed herself as

The above case of dispute over the Inam property brought out the contradictions between the formulation and execution of the policy by the British. Generally the Inam was to be succeeded by the next heir in accordance with the rules formulated by the Government, and a similar system existed during the pre-colonial period. The colonial policy appears also in the precarious position in which the Inamdar was kept. He was made subordinate to the Government after being robbed of all privileges enjoyed in the pre-British period. The existence of Inamdars indicate the continuation of the old tradition but the new rules formulated by the British made them bereft of the privileges enjoyed by them.

The changed relations between the Government and the Inamdar during the British rule had two aspects to be cited. It exercised the right to extract tax, though nominal, in response to its policy. It also gave the support to the traditional institutions to continue their existence when their Inams were regularized. Thus it established a two way relationship with the Inamdars and made their rule secure, since these traditional institutions would support them politically and to a lesser extent economically also.[15]

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the wife did not produce any evidence in support of her claim. She requested the Government to admit her claim and allot a share in the deceased Inamdar's property. However, the inquiries revealed that Imam Bee Bee was not the wife of the Inamdar, but a servant of his family. Thus the district collector divided the property into five shares and distributed them among the five members of the family as earlier. Imam Bee Bee did not get any share of the property. For details refer, Board's Consultations, 2 May, 1811, Pp.3422-3426.

[15] The preservation of such privileged elites of the South India, Frykenberg argued, perhaps explain in some measure how the Company authority became so firmly established. He further says that these leaders felt very much satisfied and this could be the case for maintaining the security and status-quo silently. Frykenberg further states, that one can understand why the Rebellion of 1857 had little effect in the South. For details see

In the subsequent case, the Government found itself to oblige the rules it formulated for resolving the disputes over the Inam property. The case was a dispute among the cousin-brothers over the inheritance of the property. The dispute involved the large tract of land granted by the Nawab of Arcot to Kumara Veerama Raz, which consisted of the villages of Oottavaukkum, Pudupaukkum (including a hamlet of Kattanpally) and Sattankuppum in Terupur taluk of Chingleput district.[16] In the middle of nineteenth century a dispute arose between Chingleput Raz and Ram Raz, the descendants of the Inamdar but not the sons of the same father, over the revenue from the Inam land.

The petitioner, Chingleput Raz requested the Government to divide the Inam property into two parts, the one half to be belonged to his family members and the other half to be given to Ram Raz family. Thus Chingleput Raz pleaded that he was entitled to 1/6 share of the melvaram and of the mirassi right of the 3 villages for five years period i.e., from 1822 to 1828.[17] He also claimed the value of Melvaram Grain of two years, 1821 and 1822, realized from the village Pudupaukkam, which according to Chingleput Raz, was taken away by Ram Raz illegally.[18]

The defendant, on the other hand, mentioned that the Inam was granted to

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R.E.Frykenberg, "The Silent Settlement in South India, 1793-1853: An analysis of the Role of Inams in the Rise of the Indian Imperial System" in R.E.Frykenberg ed., *Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia*, New Delhi, 1977, p.50.

16 Board's Consultations, 12 April, 1838, Vol.1603, P.4218.

17 Board's Consultations, *Op.Cit.*, p.4219.

18 *Ibid.*, p.4219.

his ancestors in 1760 and it was legally enjoyed by his fore fathers and hence he was the real owner of the Inam property. He further stated that he employed the petitioner, Chingleput Raz, and his father, as they were related to them and granted a piece of land. But after knowing that they were plotting against him, with the help of village karnam, the Inamdar took away the land granted.

According to Ram Raz, the property was attached because it belonged to him. Later he mentioned that Chingleput Raz after enjoying the confidence of the Government, as he repaired the tank of the Inam village which the Inamdar was supposed to do, he mortgaged and disposed the land he held whenever the situation demanded.[19] But Chingleput Raz was not the legal owner of the property, and hence he had no right to either mortgage the land or to dispose it. Thus, the property was attached by Ram Raz, according to his statement.

All the information was given in the complaint to the collector, Mr. Smalley, when the details were demanded by him. The investigation, later held by the district collector, revealed that Chingleput Raz has submitted an incorrect information and hence was fined a sum of Rs 77/- . The collector directed the Chingleput Raz not to interfere in the village affairs.

The disputed Inam property actually belonged to Palegar's assets. The British after the assumption, removed most of the Palegars. Some of them, who were loyal, were continued without the privileges that they once enjoyed. The present Inamdar was one among those Palegars and was given a Taqueed by the

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19 According to the rules framed by the Government, Inams granted for the construction and repair of tanks and channels will not be interfered with so long as the terms of the grants were fulfilled, and the works were kept in good order. Inam Rules, III, 2, in *CPRIS*, p.71.

Government on 30th June, 1802.[20] The Inam property consisted of Devastanam and kanungo lands which yielded an annual revenue of 59-13-75 pagodas. However, there was no separate *Parvanah* with regard to the proprietorship of these lands.[21]

The complaints of both the parties thoroughly went through by the collector and came to the conclusion that since both belonged to a common ancestor, he stated that "there can be no doubt of their (both the contending parties) right to the whole of the village of Pudupaukam," which was taken away by Ram Raz.[22] Such decision was in contrary to the rule according to which the Inam should be inherited by the direct descendent and undivided brothers.[23]

A suit was instituted by Chingleput Raz in the Zillah court over the claim of 75 cawnies of land in Pudupaukam village. The court, in contravention of the custom of the area and the framed rules of Government asserted the right of Chingleput Raz and passed a decree in favour of him. However, the Provincial Court recognized Ram Raz as legal owner of the Inam property according to the Hindu law, but, allotted the 75 cawnies of land to Chingleput Raz.

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20 Board's Consultations, *Op.Cit.*, p.4237.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 4238.

22 Board's Consultations, *Op.Cit.*, p.4239.

23 The Government formulated certain rules according to which it has to settle the disputes with regard to the Inam property. But, very often, the Government broke the rules which were formulated by itself. According to the rules, if "the present incumbent is a descendent of the original grantee or of the original registered holder, the Inam will be continued to him hereditarily. The alienation of the Inam was prohibited." For details, see Inam Rules, V, in *CPRIS*, p. 71.

The court arrived at the decision after reading the statements of facts, proposals, affidavits, Tauqeeds and considering the earlier decisions of the Government. This decision represented an interesting transitional form, from the particularistic, administrative and authoritative style of earlier kings in relation to Inam disputes to the generalizing, legislative and reluctant style of the Government. The case proceedings and the decision has raised many questions to which there was an immediate solution, but it did not answer the general question of succession disputes.

In one more case the disputed Inam land was situated in the village of Petta in Chellumbrum taluk of South Arcot District. It was entered in pymash accounts on Raghunatha Pandit, granted during the rule of the Nawabs of Arcot. The Inam was granted for the service rendered by Raghunatha Pandit to the Nawab of Arcot and also as medical aid to him. The extent of Inam was 7 1/2 cawnies of nunjah land yielding an annual income of Rs. 71-2-4.[24] After the death of the original grantor, the Inam was inherited by his son Gopal Pundit, but the Inam was continued in the name of Raghunatha in the register. Gopal Pundit died in 1806 and succeeded by his wife Guruvammal. But the Inam was continued to be on Raghunatha's name until 1813 in which year it was entered in the register on Ramaswamy, the nephew of Raghunatha Pundit and Guruvammal, the daughter-in-law of Raghunatha Pundit.[25] Both enjoyed the property till 1816 when a dispute arose between the two Inamdars. Ramaswamy and his brother

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[24] Board's Consultations, 16 November, 1837, p.14,947.

[25] Board's Consultations *Op.Cit.*, p.14,948.

Subbaiah instituted a suit and requested the Government to divide the Inam into two equal shares. The Inamdars shared the Inam property until 1829 when Ramaswamy disturbed the arrangement.[26] Again in 1833 one more attempt was made by Ramaswamy to disturb the possession of Guruvammal. However, Ramaswamy was unable to dislodge Guruvammal from the possession of her share of Inam property. At this time an enquiry was ordered regarding the appropriation of funds allotted for the purpose of affording medical aid for the Inamdar.[27] The Inamdar, Guruvammal, during this time, requested the principal collector to transfer her share to her son-in-law. This was objected by the other Inamdar, Ramaswamy, on the plea that Guruvammal being a woman and devoid of male issue did not possess the right to alienate her property, but entitled only to maintenance during her life time.[28] In 1831, the whole of Inam property was transferred to Ramaswamy on the pretext that he was rendering the service and in accordance to the Regulation VI of 1831, the entire Inam was entered in the register on his name.[29] This was objected by Guruvammal and she was supported by the principal collector. The principal collector I. Dent requested the Board of Revenue that Guruvammal could not be disturbed from her possession because her claim was recognized by the civil court and accordingly a Razeenamah was made with Ramaswamy for the joint ownership of the Inam

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26 *Ibid.*, p.14,949.

27 *Ibid.*, p.14,950.

28 *Ibid.*, p.14,950.

29 *Ibid.*, p.14,951.

property.[30] The principal collector further mentioned that Guruvammal was enjoying the property for thirty years and because of these reasons she should be permitted to enjoy her half share during her life time. Later, if the Board was willing, the principal collector stated, the Inam could be transferred to the son-in-law of Guruvammal or else, he would consider the case of her daughter who was entitled for maintenance.[31]

Thus several factors had emerged that remained central to Inam settlements in the nineteenth century. First the continuation of Inams gave rise to disputes that were not manageable within the arbitration of district bureaucracy and consequently required the involvement of the state. Second the involvement of state in the dispute over Inam property was uneven. It was quick enough to act in the settlement of rate of rent and other economic matters. But in resolving the disputes and other related issues, its role, though crucial, was not active. Such involvement in the settlements of Inam was not done according to the definite principles and thus it lacked a systematic policy and ideology over the Inam settlements. The rules framed were followed rarely and the exigencies of colonial Government, implicitly or explicitly, expressed in its activities. The role of state, although marked by several features that were in conscious accord with the policies of previous rulers towards Inams, was nevertheless, not coherent. This was not only the ad hoc style of English administrators but also primary distinction between early

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30 Board's Consultations, *Op.Cit.*, p.14, 951.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 14,952.

colonial rule and its native predecessors,namely, the desire to separate the executive arm of the Government from the judicial arm.

The involvement of judiciary and its institutional separation from the executive power had two interrelated consequences. First, it meant that the executive arm of the colonial state had no special legitimacy for the extension or consolidation of its control over South Indian institutions. Thus its actions were open to challenge by the natives. Second, the judiciary was available to the natives as an institutional forum where the actualization of the challenge to the effectiveness of British political control over their institutions could take place.

**Dispues between Inamdar and Government:**

The challenge to the Government arose when it tried to extend its control over the land wherever it was possible. It reveals the conflict between various levels of British administration, the complexity of succession disputes, and the interaction of these two sets of conflicts as a direct challenge to Government control on the Inams. If there was failure to challenge the power of colonial control, then it gave a chance for it to penetrate into the interiors, from where it provided a fresh stimulus to disputes over the property right. Such disputes arose between the Government and the Inamdar also. It occurred when the Government grew so powerful from where it was impossible for it even to respect its own law. Even when there was legal heir to the Inamdar, the government refused to recognize him as the successor. The claimant, a legal heir, had to request the Board of revenue to

regrant the same Inam in favour of him. Above all, such disputes arose because of the hasty decisions of the bureaucracy. The disputed property in this case belonged to *Pattam* and *Poruppu* Inam lands in Tinnevelly district.[32]

The *Pattam* and *Poruppu* Inams as a long standing possession were left unsettled for a longer time. The Government stated that they were not mentioned in the Inam accounts but some *mamool* Inam holders claimed the rights continuously which caused the dispute between the Government and the Indamars. The Government on its part maintained that these Inams were not supported by Sanad. However, the Board of Revenue considering the long possession of the Inamdars had settled them after a thorough investigation into the title-deeds.

There was one more incident of dispute between the Nattamaigars and the Government. Nattamai were the land grants made for the service of headman of a village.[33] The colonial government, as a part of its policy, attached the Inam lands of these people, on the pretext that they were involved in debts.[34] These Inam lands, like other grants, were given to the head of the villages in Tirunelvelly by the Nawab of Arcot, Chanda Saheb in 1751 as *mamool*. The Inamdars enjoyed this property continuously till 1834 by paying the quit-rent to the Government. The British sequestrated the Inams when the arrears of the quit-rent mounted up to a certain amount. The Nattamaigars of thirteen villages in Perioor Zamindari made a joint petition to the collector of Tirunelvelly to

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32 Pattam and Poruppu were generally the wet and dry lands held on favourable assessment. These lands were existed in the southern parts of Tamil region of the erstwhile Madras Presidency. In the former case, the rent was paid in kind and in the latter case it was paid in money.

33 A descriptive list of the Inam tenures of the Madras Presidency, (DLITMP) in *CPRIS*, p.349.

34 Board of Revenue Proceedings, 13 November, 1834, Pp.12,264 - 12,265.

reinstate their Inams in 1834. The collector, R.Eden, directed the Ameen of the Zamindari to report the real value of the lands alluded. Later, after a through enquiry, the Board of Revenue modified the amount of quit-rent to be paid by the Inamdars to the Government. The petitioners request was considered by the Board but confirmed the lands on the condition of the regular payment of quit-rent.[35]

In the fight between the Government and the Inamdar on the control of Inam property, the Government in many cases resumed the Inams stating that the right of resumption was rested with it as the ruler of this country. The resumption of an Inam meant to take back of things granted. If the Inam consisted of land revenue or the *melvaram* alone, the resumption was only with respect to such land revenue or *melvaram*. On the other hand, if the Inam consisted both of the land and the land revenue, the resumption was with respect to the land or the land revenue alone or with respect to both. Sometimes, the policy of the Government, even in cases where the grant consisted of both the *warams*, was to resume the land revenue by levying the full assessment, leaving the land as it was to the Inamdar. The Government left the land with those Inamdars who were willing to pay the full assessment.

The question of partial or total resumption becomes important because of the legal consequences that flow from it. For instance, if in the case of an Inam consisted of both the *warams*, granted in favour of a religious or charitable institution, the *melvaram* alone is resumed and regranted in favour of a particular individual. This particular individual received only the

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35 Board of Revenue, *Op.Cit.*, P.12,265.

*melvaram* right and the *kudivaram* right continued to be held by the institution. Such unclear policies of the Government instigated many disputes over the succession to the Inam property. The following case is an ample example of the ambivalent attitude of the Government towards the Inam.

The village Pamboondy, a Dehat Inam, in South Arcot district was held by the Inamdar, Syed Tippu until the Government resumed it in 1801, as soon as the East India Company took the charges of the administration of Madras Presidency.[36] But the Government, since its resumption, paid the proceeds of the Inam land to the actual owner, Syed Tippu, which was due to him. The case pointed out the ambiguous policy of the colonial Government with regard to the rights on Inam property. It has taken over the *kudivaram* right and the *melvaram* was granted to the Inamdar. The actual Inamdar enjoyed this right till his death in 1805. Later this right was regranted to two claimants, Fackira Bee and Emma Bee Bee, the former as the sister and the latter as the daughter of the deceased Inamdar. According to the Government, Fackira Bee was the widow of the brother of Syed Tippu's wife and Emma Bee Bee was his cousin.[37] The Government recognized the claims of these two incumbents and stated that the right was given only to the present holder. In 1830, a petition was forwarded by one Irfan claiming the share of the *melvaram* right. But it was not granted as he was unable to prove his claim. Later, the district collector recommended that after the death of these two Inamdars the Government could

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36 Board's Consultations, 10 July, 1837, p. 7809.

37 *Ibid.*, p.7810.

resume the *melvaram* right also.[38] Accordingly, the Board of Revenue also passed the resolution.

A similar case has occurred in the same district. The Government wanted to resume the Inam land in the village and taluk of Villupuram in South Arcot district. The Inam property belonged to Shabad Shah who received the grant from Nawab Omdut-ul-mulk.

The Inam land consisted of cawnies 13-10-3/4 of nunjah and punjah land of which the teerwa amounted to 157-8-10. This was entered in the pymash account on his name and afterwards in the name of his eldest son, Lal Subah Shah from 1815 to 1819. From 1820 it was enjoyed by Abdul Khadir, the fourth son of Shabad Shah. The last transaction was made without the authority of the collector.[39]

When the Government wanted to resume the Inam land, the holder produced the copy of a sanad in support of his claim. After examining the evidence the collector recommended that the Inam during his life time and further stated that it would be resumable after his death.[40] The result of these two cases was the threat posed by the Government to Inam through the weapon of resumption, wherever it was possible to do so.

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38 Board's Consultations, *Op.Cit.*, p.7811.

39 Board's Consultations, 24 September, 1840, p.12,052.

40 *Ibid.*, p.12,052.

**Discontinuation of Inam grants:**

The policy towards Inams had been changed gradually by the Government. The necessity of revenue had invited the state to involve in the settlement of Inams. By 1829, Inams lost much of its earlier privilege and the state, in turn, had considerably expanded its control over the land.[41] This control was defined in systematic, rule governed and self conscious terms. It is interesting to know as to what made the Government to change its policy towards Inams.

The earlier analysis of disputes over the Inam property suggests the following explanation. The developments were important in different aspects: (1) the alteration and exacerbation of disputes resulting from the discontinuation of the grant of Inam, which eventually led to the control of land in one more way, (2) the sanction of money payment, *yeomiah* (Pension), which replaces the grant of land had resulted in the rise of more disputes over the privileged lands and (3) the beginning of a new policy which fundamentally changed the character of the Inam during the colonial rule. The case of the Jagir of Sankarapuram in South Arcot was the example to cite with regard to changed policy pursued by the Government.

The Jagir of Sankarapuram was granted to Syed Mohammad Azim Khan Bahadur,

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41 Through experiments in land settlements and other policy measures the Government expanded its authority over Madras Presidency in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century.

who was the minister of Nawab of North Arcot, by Nawab Mohammed Ali in 1789.[42] The Jagir consisted of 182 villages which was divided into four estates around Sankarapuram, Chekkadi, Palaiyamkottai and Kollamalai. The Jagirdar and his son enjoyed the Inam property for a longer time. In the first half of the nineteenth century a dispute arose among the family members over the amount of their shares in the property. A suit was filed in the court which went to the Supreme Court. The case was kept in pending for sometime and during 1828-1829, the management was transferred to the district collector.[43] Taking the advantage of the dispute among the members of the family the Government ordered the resumption of Jagir and the members were given pension in accordance with the new policy.

**Religious Inam grants:**

The disputes of succession over the Inam property with regard to temple Inams or Devadayams, emerged when there were different claimants to it.[44] The institution, as such, was not involved in the disputes, but the persons who rendered services to these institutions fought for the right in the property. The Government did not involve "so long as the buildings or institutions are

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42 *History of land Revenue Settlement and Abolition of Intermediary tenures in Tamil Nadu*, Madras, 1977, p.288.

43 *History of land Revenue Settlement, Op.Cit.*, p.289.

44 Religious Inams were those held for the support of religious institutions such as Hindu temples, mosques, Idgahs, Dargas, Christian churches and for the performance of services in them. They were called Devadayam Inams, being assigned to Gods, and were continued so long as those institutions or services were kept up. Refer A.N. Row, *The Revenue Refresher*, Madras, 1877, p.93.

maintained in an efficient manner and the services continued to be performed according to the conditions of the grant."[45] But the different policies pursued by the colonial Government, in practice, allowed the people to exploit them for their own benefit. Sometimes, the bureaucracy, with or without its knowledge, helped such persons to enjoy the Inam property, as they would be loyal to them (the British). Thus there were claims from different persons which generated the disputes. Examples of such disputes are cited below.

The contestants to the Inam property of 25 cawnies of land in the village of Sydapet were Hyder Hussain, who allegedly claimed himself as the successor to the Inam property, and Mohammad Shariff Khan . The Inam property was held on behalf of the Sydapet Mosque. The religious service Inam, according to the rule propounded by the Government, would be "confined to the present holders and their successors.[46]

The property was registered in the name of Muhammad Haneef Hussain Khan through a Board's order dated 11 May, 1835.[47] The Inamdar granted half a cawni of land to Hyder Hussain for the purpose of brick making and utilized the amount thus raised for the upkeep of mosque.

The matter of dispute was not the 1/2 cawni land but the 47/8 cawnies of

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45 Inam Rules III,1, in *CPRIS*, p.71.

46 Inam rules, III.1. in *CPRIS*, p.71. If the religious grants were abandoned or left in a ruined condition for twelve years and above they would be resumable by the Government, without according them any special treatment. The amount and circumstances of such resumption would be notified in the annual report. It was also stated that an opportunity should be given to the holders to renew the service, if the cession of it has been recent. See A.N. Row, *Op.Cit.*, p.101.

47 Board's Consultations, 4 January, 1838, Vol.1591, p.74.

*Warapat* land, suitable for brick making which existed adjacent to the Mosque. This land, according to the petitioner Hyder Hussain, was formerly held by him along with the whole Inam property consisting of 25 Cawnies of land. He registered his name fraudulently and thus produced an evidence in support of his claim. The disputed land (i.e.,47/8 cawnies land) was assessed but not used for cultivation, instead, it was used for brick making. The false evidence shown by Hyder Hussain allowed him to enjoy the property for six years. The moment the Government came to know about this, immediately canceled the right of Hyder Hussain to enjoy the property. But the claimant moved the court on the ground that he was the real owner and enjoyed the property formerly, and hence, it should be transferred to him. He also complained and sued the Board of Revenue as well as the Government for acting against him.

The real character of Hussain was revealed from a petition which he submitted to the Government in 1837. This petition consisted of a reference to the decree of the Provincial Court passed in 1818. The decree was passed over a suit filed in the court between Bauker Hussain (brother of Mohammad Shariff Hussain) and his father's concubine.[48] The matter of dispute was the ownership of House. Through the above reference, Hyder Hussain wanted to prove that Bauker Hussain was the father of Muhammad Shariff Khan. He also mentioned that Mohammed Shariff Khan acquired the property through illegal methods. In the meantime, Government, after a thorough investigation established that Mohammad Shariff Khan was the legal successor and it was proved by the document obtained

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[48] Board's Consultations, *Op,Cit.*, Pp. 75-76.

from the Qazi of the Sudr Court.[49] The oral evidence provided by the ancestors of his own relatives also supported the case of Mohammad Shariff Khan. Thus the 25 cawnies of land was given over to him as he was the legitimate son of the deceased Inamdar.

There was yet another example of religious service Inam which involved a dispute over the right to enjoy the property. The Inam land mentioned in this case was connected to Ganoomiah mosque, situated in Tirunelvelly. The grant of this Inam was made in 1712 by Viswanatha Nayaka to Vijayaranga and Chokkanatha, who were the sons of the tributary chief of Madurai. In addition to the above Inam, the Nayakas granted Panagudi and Keelpathu, two Inam villages in support of the Mosque. The religious and other connected services of the Mosque were performed by the income accrued from the Inam property. The property yielded an yearly income of Rs.1,240.00. In addition to that, the mosque was provided with the revenue from the Palmyra trees and Moturpha. The latter tax was collected from the weavers and other self employed who inhabited the villages which the mosque held as Inam. The Moturpha and Palmyra groves granted as *Sarvamanyam* or rent free to the mosque "so long as the sun and moon exist," as mentioned in the copper plate. But it was not supported by any sanad with regard to the annual allowance or *yeomiah* (pension) of 359-5-4.[50] Until the assumption of charges of administration by the British, the allowance of Rs

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49 Board's Consultations, *Op.Cit.*, p.77.

50 Board of Revenue, 15 February, 1849, Vol.2182, Pp.2650-57.

359-5-4, per annum was disbursed to the mosque as a *mamool*.

Dispute regarding the Inam of the mosque arose when the original grantee Ganoomiah died. He was succeeded to the Inam property by his son Ibrahimpani, who rendered services to the mosque from 1818 to 1824. But the Collector of Tirunelvelly, Cotton, was not satisfied with the services of Ibrahimpani, and immediately transferred the Inam property to Gassen Khan. When the information was known to Ibrahimpani, he claimed the property and mentioned that he was the legal successor to it.[51] At about this time, Ibrahimpani died and left no male issue to succeed him. He left his two wives, Daulatu and Rahmatu and a widowed daughter called Gani Bee Bee.[52] Since they were women, the Government transferred the property to Gassen Khan and permitted him to conduct the religious services, in violation of the rule that the property could be succeeded by male or female heirs of the Inamdar.[53] Later the Government found the character of Gassen Khan undesirable and transferred the management to Ajmad Khan. The dissatisfaction of the Government over the functions of these Inamdars forced it to replace them in 1833 by Mir Ibrahim and later he was replaced by the Ameen. Such quick replacement of different persons to the Inam property brought a serious disruption in the religious services to be conducted

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51 Board of Revenue, *Op.Cit.*, p.2658.

52 *Ibid.*, Pp. 2657-59.

53 "If the present holder of an Inam has, or if, as in the case of youth, there is a reasonable presumption that he will hereafter have competent heirs, that is to say, heirs, male or female, who are capable of continuing the family, and by whom the Inam will be inheritable; the prospect of reversion to Government being in this case remote." Hence the Government cannot disturb the right of the Inamdar. Inam rules, V,3, in *CPRIS*, p.71.

in the mosque. At this confused situation, the three aspirants (Daulatu, Rahmatu and Gani Bee Bee) of the Inam property jointly requested the Government for the transfer of Inam property to them. Immediately after this request, the two wives of the deceased Inamdar died and Gani Bee Bee became the sole claimant to the property. In 1836, a complaint was effectively made to the Board of Revenue regarding the services rendered to the mosque. Accordingly, the Government suspended the allowances, which was then increased to Rs 2,335-10-8, connected with the mosque.[54]

In the meantime, a complaint was given to the Government by Gani Bee Bee in which she claimed as the legal successor to the Inam property, since, there was no male issue left by her father. Her request was accepted by the Government and it asked Gani Bee Bee to conduct the services to the mosque for a temporary period. However, she appointed a person called Sivagurunatha Pillai for the management of Inam property and left Tirunelvelly. Meanwhile, the district collector, served a letter through which he rejected the claim of Gani Bee Bee on the grounds of neglecting the services to be conducted to the mosque. Consequently, the allowances supposed to be enjoyed by the Inamdar, were ceased to be allotted to her. The uncertain circumstances prevailed over the religious activities to be conducted and the dispute over Inam property necessitated the involvement of the Board of Revenue, which immediately ordered for a general investigation about the condition of mosque. The enquiry revealed that the mosque was placed under good condition. Since it was maintained properly by Gani Bee Bee the Board of Revenue asked her to continue

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54 Board of Revenue, 23 April, 1849, Vol. 2189, Pp. 5686-5688.

the service properly and granted the property to her.[55] She was allowed to enjoy the property as long as the institution was "maintained in an efficient stage, and the services continue to be performed according to the conditions of the grant."[56] There were different dimensions of disputes over Inam property. In the following case the dispute arose between the Zamindar and the Inamdar.

**Disputes between Zamindar and Inamdar:**

The Zamindars, prior to and from the beginning of the permanent settlement, did make extensive grants of land as Inams to their relatives, dependents, followers, servants and to religious and charitable institutions.

The grant of Inams by the Zamindars were considered by the Government as illegal and contrary to Regulation XXV of 1802.[57] Since these Inams situated in the areas which were permanently settled, it had to adopt a liberal policy towards them. The Government had to recognize them because they were inextricably attached to the culture and the prestige of the patrons. To know the status of the Inams in the Zamindari or Jagir areas it is necessary to analyze fully the various implications of the policy which has been from time to time adopted towards them: (1) in estates which permanently reverted to the

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55 Board's, *Op.Cit.*, Pp.5686-5688.

56 Inam rules, III .1. in *CPRIS*, p.71

57 Inam Rules, XVII, in *CPRIS*, p.75. According to Section 12 of Regulation xxv, the Inams granted by the Zamindars were strictly invalid. Section 12 says, "it shall not be competent to proprietors of land to appropriate any part of a landed estate permanently assessed to religious or charitable, or to any other purposes by which it may be intended to exempt such lands from bearing their portion of the public tax." Refer Section 12, Permanent Settlement act in T.S. Coomarasami, *The Revenue Code*, Madras, 1877,p.5.

Government, (2) in the estates which were temporarily attached for arrears and (3) in the estates which were placed under the court of wards.

The Government from the beginning adopted such a policy that whenever there was a lapse in succession to the Inam it tried to resume that property. There were numerous examples of such kind. Similarly, when a lapse occurred in the succession to the Inam property in the Zamindari or Jagir areas, the Zamindar or Jagirdar tried to resume such Inams. The dispute, in such areas, was between the Zamindar or Jagirdar and Inamdar. If the Inam property was not succeeded because of the lapses or minority of the successors at the time of the death of the then incumbent, then the property was attached by the Jagirdar or Zamindar. An example, of such lapse has occurred in the village Corbullokuree of the Denkencotta taluk in Salem District.

The Inam property belonged to Singarachary, after whose death, it was attached to the Jagir of Mudugundhuly by the Jagirdar. The son of the deceased Inamdar, Seeravassachary, who was a minor at that time requested the Board of Revenue for the restoration of the property to him.[58] The property consisted of 3939 acres in extent and yielded a beriz of Rs 11-8-3.[59]

The district collector called the Jagirdar and asked him to explain the conditions under which the Inam land was attached to his Jagir. The Jagirdar stated that as he held a sanad entitling him to all Zufted Bhattavarthy Inams,

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58 Board's Consultations, 16 July, 1840, p. 8429.

59 *Ibid.*, p.8429.

he thought the land as his own property and hence attached it to his Jagir.[60]

The main cause which prompted the Jagirdar to annex the property was the death of the Inamdar. The heir was minor and hence unable to approach the court or the Government. But when he attained the age of sixteen years he wrote a letter to the Board of Revenue and requested it to return his Inam property.

The Board of Revenue asked the Jagirdar to present his case before it. The Jagirdar presented a deposition to the Board which gave the details about the ownership of the Inam property. It consisted of the answers to the questions posed to the Jagirdar.[61] The answers given proved that the Inamdar alone had the right to possession and that the Inam land was not included in the average amount to be paid by the Jagirdar to the Government. This deposition established that the Jagirdar was exploiting the inability of the minor heir. He was even cheating the Government as he did not include the Inam property to his assets which decided the tax he has to pay to the Government, and thus escaped the quit-rent supposed to be imposed on the property. The partial attitude of the Government towards landholders, without knowing the details about the Inam property, made it to sanction a sanad which entitled the Jagirdar to attach the property to his jagir. Based on the details of the petition and the deposition, the Board ordered the Government to restore the property to the Inamdar.

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60 *Ibid.*, p. 8430.

61 Board's Consultations, *Op.Cit.*, p. 8431.

In the following case the concern of the contestants moved around the issue of Carpenter's office that created conflict over Inam land situated in the Zamindari. The dispute can be considered as the result of the following three distinct, but interrelated, things i.e., carpenter's office, Inam property and the material gain.

The argument of Jangamaya of Chumbacoor village in the Punganur Zamindari was that he was a descendent from the original grantee but was turned out by the Zamindar unjustly.[62] This led to the dispute which dragged the Zamindar into it and questioned his authority over the Inam property by the Government. The claimant complained of the abuse and fraud perpetrated by the Zamindar and invited the Government to interfere in the matter and to stop Chinnappa, the present Inamdar, to enjoy the Inam property. On behalf of the Government the collector investigated the details of dispute and reported the matter to the Board of Revenue . The collector has given the details about the origin of the Inam based on the enquiries made by the sub-magistrate.

The Inam originally granted to Jangapathadu was proved by the survey accounts. He had two sons, Siddappa and Ramalingappa, who inherited the Inam property after the death of their father. It was first inherited by Siddappa, but has died after sixteen years of enjoyment and left no issue to succeed to the Inam property. The office was late passed to Ramalingappa, who enjoyed it for fifty years. He also did not have any issue and hence the Inam was given over to his nephew, Chinnappa in 1867, who performed the funeral rites after

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62 Board of Revenue Proceedings, 6 October, 1871, p.7269.

his death.[63] The transfer of property to Chinnappa was made by the Zamindar. However, the claimant, Jangamaya was also allowed to enjoy the property along with Chinnappa. But Jangamaya neglected his work and became so unpopular that the ryots of the village demanded his removal from the Carpenter's office. After the removal of Jangamaya, Chinnappa became the sole holder of the Carpenter's office and emoluments.

This act of Zamindar sparked the dispute and the matter was taken to the Government by Jangamaya. The collector, on the evidence given by Karnam and Monigar of the village, established that the claimant was not a legitimate son of Siddappa, but was enjoying the property from the days of Ramalingappa who succeeded to the Inam property after Siddappa's death. It was proved that Jangamaya has no right to claim the Inam property. All the evidences suggested that the Inamdar, Chinnappa could enjoy the property as he was effectively organizing the Carpenter's service and had the consent of Zamindar to continue it. The Government, on its part, should recognize the succession to the Inam property. Instead, it gave support to Jangamaya, undermining the authority of the Zamindar and asked him to sue the Zamindar under the Regulation VI of 1831. According to the Regulation the Zamindar had no power regarding the appointment and dismissal of village servants, but such power was rested with the collector. The district collector, Whiteside, stated that in all such cases the "Zamindar should conform to the requirements of the law," and should not

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63 Board of Revenue, *Op.Cit.*, p.7269.

interfere in the matters of succession on his own.[64] The attempts of the collector to the established control was contrary to the custom of South India. The motive was to proclaim the overall superiority of the colonial Government. Finally, based on the reports of the collector, the Board observed that "the proceedings of the Zamindar being absolutely invalid in the case of the order given by him four years ago on the death of Ramalingappa, the collector will give notice that the village is vacant and that all claimants thereto were to appear before him, when he will adjudicate on their claims in accordance with the Regulations."[65]

The above dispute over the Inam property suggest not only the complexity of the authority of the concerns that were expressed through the Zamindar as well as the Government, but also the different claimants who fought to control the Inam property itself. What follows from this dispute is the analysis of the power of the grantor which no doubt, dismantled by the colonial rule. The dispute between the Government and the Zamindar over the question of patronage resulted in the emergence of the superiority of the British.

In another case, the dispute has taken a different turn. It arose between the Government and the purchaser of the Inam property in Ramnad Zamindari. The dispute was regarding Ambalam mirassi of a head of village in the Zamindari.[66] The Inam was held for village office of Revenue and according to the Inam rules

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64 Board of Revenue, *Op.Cit.*, p.7269.

65 *Ibid.*, p.7269.

66 Board's consultations, 17 November,1845, Vol.1997, p. 15,585.

it should be continued to the holder of the office.[67]

The Inamdar has sold his property in contrary to the regulation VI of 1831. However, the sale was made prior to the passage of the above regulation. But the dispute arose after the passing of this regulation. Hence the Collector quoted the regulation and stated that the alienation of the Inam land was contrary to the Regulation VI of 1831. The subordinate court directed the Government, in violation of the law encoded, and said that the purchaser has right to enjoy Inam property.

The Government according to the instructions received from the court made the transfer of property right to the purchaser and made him the owner of the Inam land. It further enquired from the court whether the purchaser has the right to sell the Inam property, since the alienation was contrary to the Regulation VI of 1831.[68] The transfer of property indicated the positional change of the Inamdars and also the emergence of new elite in the social structure.

The order of the court gave wrong signals to the people and made them to believe that colonial Government did not have definite policy towards the social institutions and it could abuse its own laws. The shortcoming of the policy threw other such Inams into controversy.

When the Government submitted a report over the applicability of the

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67 Inams held for village offices of Revenue or Police, the duties of which still require to be performed, will be continued to the holders of the office. Inam Rules,XXI, in *CPRIS*, p.76.

68 Board's consultations, *Op.Cit.*, p.15,586.

Regulation VI of 1831 in this particular case, the Sudr Adawlat stated that the regulation could not have a retrospective effect and hence it was not applicable to the above case.[69]

The outcome of all the disputes over the Inam property indicate the precarious position of the Inamdars under the British rule. The conscious attempt by the Colonial Government to control the Inam property was given a concrete expression in the policies adopted by it . A series of disputes among the Inamdars, Inamdar and Government, Inamdars and Zamindars as well as the Jagirdars and others were stimulated by the Government attitude towards Inams.

The consequences of the policy was largely unexpected. If so how should they be explained ? The answer is available in the opinion expressed by the Government over the Inams. From the beginning the Government viewed the Inams as being a loss to the Government since it paid less amount as tax to it. This implied a fundamental misunderstanding of the role of Inam in the pre-colonial period, which as a part of the extended authority of the king, played a significant role. Every dispute over the Inam property in nineteenth century was not safeguarding the role it had played once but indicated the degeneration of the privileges it enjoyed. The policies adopted in different times were actually exacerbated such disputes. The willingness of the Government to settle the Inams of different kinds in all districts, after the formulation of a general policy, was in effect gave rise to other disputes in one place or the other.

The disputes that arose would not have consequences of serious nature if

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69 Board's Consultations, *Op.Cit.*, p. 15,588.

the policy, in general, has not the orientation of the Anglo-Indian features. This subordination of disputes over Inam property to a set of a general rules, which were constantly modified, encouraged the natives to utilize them for their own concern.

Thus the disputes over Inam property indicate the changes in the social structure, changes in the social equilibrium through the success and failures of a host of Inamdars. The change in the nature of the control of Inam can be attributed to some factors. Among them the foremost one was the incapacity of resolving the disputes which arose between the claimants according to the traditional methods. The other factor was the emerging tension in the British rule which appeared between its administrative arm and its judicial arm. The various disputes discussed above also pointed out to the extended contradictions in the British ideology of continuation and discontinuation of Inam. The policy adopted in 1829 was apparently interpreted as the discontinuation of granting Inam for rendering service to the state. The regulation IV of 1831 crippled the powers of the judiciary. These factors resulted in the emergence of the increase of the powers of the state. Whatever be the type of Inam, whether religious or personal or charitable, they were subordinated to the authority of Government. All the disputes were finally decided as per the rules prescribed by the Government disregarding the traditions and customs of South India. Thus Inams which had played such an important role in the formation and sustenance of the State in the pre-colonial period not only became obsolete in the nineteenth century but were considered by the British to be both needless and a loss to the revenues of the Government.

# CONCLUSIONS

The intense struggles generated by the institution of Inam in South India measure the significance of it in the social structure. In these disputes, individuals and families fought for their respective privileges and altered their prospects. The discussion on role that the Inam played in the pre-colonial and during the colonial administration is made the subject of study in different chapters. The existence of Inam during the period of study indicates that Inam as one of the social institution continued symbolically. It was considered by the British as privileged for their own reasons. The Government compared this symbolic existence to that of pre-colonial period. The collection of rent on these lands did not make a drastic change. Its central significance was maintained by the British. As a social institution that constituted privileges, Inam lost its importance to its social context because of change during the colonial rule. However, Inam was an essential social institution that played a major role in the political, social and economic activities in the pre-colonial period.

For the British, the pace of social change in pre-colonial period seemed to be very slow. They understood the political system as simply the degeneration of once despotic rule. But the actual situation was different. The two centuries before the heyday of British dominance in the mid-nineteenth century was a period of rapid change. The region witnessed the creation of new types of states and the emergence of new social classes which participated in the political as well as economic expansion of the state. The process of

development was possible due to the accommodative policies pursued by these social classes and the rulers. The center of these policies was the grant of Inam through which various sections of the society were involved in the obligation of service.

This study has challenged some of the prevailing opinions in the modern social and economic history of Madras Presidency. It has shown the limitations of the earlier studies, particularly concerning the land tenurial structures, by bringing out the hitherto neglected important area which represent the agrarian social structure of the Presidency. This study on Madras Presidency provide a basis for the comprehensive analysis of the land tenurial structures and for comparison with the other forms of land holdings. But most importantly, the study has exposed the bankruptcy of the colonial revenue administration as the framework which is useful to examine Madras Presidency's agrarian economy and society. The Presidency has to be seen within a context which takes account of the all aspects of economy on colonial lines and its relationship with the outside world economy. The focus has been on the impact of the colonial policy on Inam during 1801 and 1871 in particular and the agrarian economy and society of the region in general. It has probed the differential impact of the Government policy on the Inam tenurial structures and the implications it had on the changing Inamdar as well as peasant position under the British rule.

The studies so far made did not take into account the vast extent of Inam land for the comprehensive analysis of the colonial rule. The figures in the chapters point out that in the middle of the nineteenth century one-third of the cultivated land was occupied by these tenures. Under such circumstances

any study which neglected Inam as a part of the analysis of the colonial policies would give a partial and incoherent picture of the impact of the British rule.

The Madras Presidency has a long recorded history, which did not give the impression of a static traditional society as represented in the colonial sociology. This larger province as represented during the British rule, was rarely united under the native rulers. The history of this region presents a rapid economic change, social evolution and political experiment. There are many new writings which supported the view that, at least, the late medieval period witnessed a rapid development in all aspects. These changes were most conveniently viewed through two interlinked processes. One was the gradual interpenetration of different economic and social systems within the region and the other was that of complex history of the state formation. Except for a short period during the Vijayanagara rule, the Madras Presidency was at no time unified in any political or economic sense prior to the colonial rule. It was divided into different kingdoms. In the late medieval period, Arcot, Madurai, Tanjavur acted as the centers of political activities. The circar region was under the control of the Nizam of Hyderabad whereas the ceded districts changed the ruling hands from Mysore to Hyderabad. The economy of the wet zone of the presidency depended on irrigation and this area had comparatively a dense population. There were many migrations from the northern parts to the wet regions of the Madras province. The society of this region was marked by a strict division between those who controlled the land and those who worked it, which was supported by religion and the state. The agrarian society had been

influenced by the gradual expansion of the urban culture centered in the ritual and political capitals. The polity in the late medieval period was divided into many principalities which guaranteed the rights of the agrarian elites. It contributed to the continued prosperity by patronizing irrigation and extending foreign trade and defended regional civilization against foreign incursions. The economy of the dry zone was based on the long history of cultural contact, diplomatic alliances and the colonization from the wet zones. The social structure of the dry zone represented a fusion of the quasi-tribal customs of the early inhabitants with the military organization of local chiefs, i.e., Palegars and the migrants. The result was a complex hierarchical system based on units of lineage and clan at the bottom but was changed at the top by different influences particularly from the wet zone.

During the late medieval period, there was much activity in the political, social and economic spheres, however, they were often localized and incoherent. Many of the changes, which the scholars so far accorded to the nineteenth century have actually occurred prior to the British rule. To analyze the changes in the society one can depend on the type of polity witnessed in the pre-colonial period. The decentralization of Vijayanagara empire could not be seen as either the degeneration of the power structure or as a cause for making the society chaotic. Instead, it should be analyzed in terms of the actual development brought by these numerous principalities and smaller states. These powers developed closer links with rural society and favoured regional elites by granting privileged lands. All these smaller states and other principalities adopted the pattern of Vijayanagara administrative structure and continued to operate within a system of honours and titles.

The decentralization of political authority encouraged the growing economic vitality of local areas. Inamdars and other landed elites employed by the regional states developed better irrigation system and settled colonies of cultivators around them. While the old imperial cities declined, the new towns were developed on the same lines in which different occupational groups were settled with the support of Inam grants. The grants to temples, masjids, etc., continued to flourish as the rulers and other dominant elites displayed their faith in religious patronage. Zones of high farming and commercial enterprise existed around the courts of nobles and other political elites. The Palegars founded many fort centers which drew in petty local entrepreneurs who ushered the commercial activity in the late medieval period.

The privileged land grant was critical in the relationship between the grantor and grantee. Inam was the source of the legitimacy for both the persons who were involved in the gift activity. The superiority of the grantor could be known through his elaborate gift activity and his mediation of conflict which emerged in the fight for the possession of Inam. Since the Inam inherently carries privileges it was effectively used for building the transactional relations between various structures. Inam also represent the systematic allocation of material resources and services. In this sense, honours transacted to a variety of grantees and involved them to stand in an asymmetrical, dependent and subordinate relationship to their grantors. The various hierarchical structures were made to participate in the political and economic development of the state. These transactional relations, from the top of the privileged structure to the bottom, neither remained static nor endlessly flexible. They were susceptible to the outside influences and

reacted as much as they did. The pre-colonial economy, in this sense, responded to the needs of the times. Trade and commerce were developed to such an extent that they were catering to the needs of the different nations. At this time, the regional culture did not receive heavy shocks which thoroughly changed the existing social system. The outside contacts did not make the society so much flexible that it's regional caste system, religious ideas etc., could have changed thoroughly. Inam brought a delicate balance between the indigenous political, social and economic structures and the extraneous influences during the pre-colonial period. While asserting the individual attitude of it, Inam accommodated the necessary elements for sustaining the overall development. Inam provided a way for the accommodation of local chiefs, the village servants and other important individuals as well as groups in the authority of the grantor and later to maintain the transactional relations with them. Thus the central meaning of the Inam rested on the coherent and shared ideology.

When Inam was granted, it was not simply the right to land that was granted but it also included the privileges like, honours, emblems and status, which symbolically linked with the sovereignty of the grantor and involved the grantee into an obligation of reciprocation. The obligation to reciprocate was valued, apart from other things, morally in which the central importance was given to the development of relations with the grantor. Thus the involvement of the grantee was made total and it was bounded by moral and religious sanctity, apart from the service condition, to reciprocate. In such activities individual liberties and freedom were not overpowered, but respected by the grantor.

Thus the extensive prevalence of Inams in pre-colonial period implied a continuous mutual obligations of the grantor and grantee. It was not the dependence of the grantor on the grantee and neither it was a weak central authority, as considered by W.T.Blair and other British officials, that exacerbated the grant of Inams. The fact that the royal orders and judgments over the Inams were not legislative but administrative could not be understood as the inability of the grantor. Although these measures addressed directly to the specific groups or individuals, they were not made as the fixed law or even strictly serve as an illustration before the arrival of the British. These laws were never applied generally, but subjected to alteration or repeal according to the need of the situation. The administrative actions of the grantor in respect to the Inam of any area were depended on the context of particular case and was bounded by it only. Hence, there was no centralized, permanent, bureaucratic organization as appeared in the nineteenth century. Instead, the local groups were involved in the decision making process of anything that related to the Inam, on behalf of King.

The nature of the grant of Inam differed according to the specificity of service rendered. The political and other service grants followed a different logic. However, all the Inams played a key role according to the condition of grant in the ritual hierarchy. This indicated that the distinction between the ritual and non-ritual was obscure.

The intimate relationship between the grantor and the grantee was changed in different respects with the introduction of British rule. Inam was not essential base of the authority of the colonial Government in Madras Presidency. Consequently, the exchange of gifts and honours between the

grantor and grantee largely ceased to exist. However, the Government continued the existence of Inams but did not maintain a transactional relationship with the Inamdars in systematic way. These Inamdars were made subjugated to the colonial economy through various legislations. The day to day involvement in the affairs of the Inams was not left to the local leaders but were taken over by the British through the gradual expansion of their bureaucracy which was reluctant to resolve the succession and other disputes related to Inams. The institutional separation under the British rule, of executive from judiciary created ambiguities in the arbitration of Inam disputes. Such ambiguities did not exist in the pre-colonial period as both the powers were unified in the king. The contrast between the context specificity nature of the royal orders to deal with the disputes of the Inams and general tendency of the law of the British provoked many new conflicts between the British rulers and their native chiefs and this had serious consequences on the role of Inam in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the pre-colonial period, Inams were widespread and the possession of it was meant the privilege in the locality. But the British dismantled the privileges of the Inam which it was once consisted of and such attempts of the British were resisted by the Inamdars. The Chittoor Palegars' revolt and the Cuddapah Narasimha Reddy revolt prove this. During the period of study, this privileged land grant lost its honour and status,and was rendered to the level of ordinary land grant, though the Government collected a nominal rent on them.

The emphasis of the British on revenue was so much that the alienation of land was seen by the British as only to escape the land tax. It did not understand the social and political relations of the rural areas of the region.

The urge on revenue was so much that it has given importance to the control of land rather than men, the latter was the basic feature of the earlier regimes. The Government, to extract as much revenue as possible, discontinued the grant of Inam in 1829.

The Inamdars aided the British rule and participated in moulding the form of colonial society. The Government was able to establish this relations because they could recruit into this system many Inamdars, specially of those who formed the lower grade of the erstwhile rulers. They provided the British with skills to penetrate the rural areas. However, the loyalty of Inamdars was not total as some of them revolted against the social and economic policies of the colonial Government. These links between the Government, intermediate classes and the peasants suggest new arenas for South Indian history. A widespread growth in the pace of agriculture production in the later half of the nineteenth century may be related to the growing pressures of population on land. As for the study is concerned, it has been argued that for the Inamdars, the first half, particularly the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century represented the first major break with indigenous forms.

The disruption of the economic activity in the early part of the nineteenth century was sometimes argued as the result of development of capitalism in Europe rather than the British Government in India. The early Nineteenth century was influenced by the external forces. They were partly reflected by the British policies in England. The relentless drive for higher revenue demands by the Government Officials and their retreat to the Laissez-faire policies also reflected the influences of classical political economy. The administrative structure utilized by the British in the nineteenth century

mostly for the redistribution of resources was in many ways similar to the indigenous institutions but where they failed was to offer services and expenditures in return for high revenue demand, like the earlier regimes.

During the period between 1801 and 1871 the financial needs of the Government became the dominant theme of the policies. By 1871 the right of the Government to manage the affairs of Inam as a supreme power was clearly and legally established. The report of the Inam Commissioner accorded a major role to the Government in the affairs of the Inam. The report of Blair thoroughly changed the character of Inam and this was continued till the end of the colonial rule.

The colonial period witnessed a competition between the state and the Inamdar to have a legitimate case for monopolistic and mutually exclusive control of Inam property. On the side of the Government, there was a protective coverage to the Inam, as existed in the pre-colonial period, in the form of nominal rent. However, the introduction of centralization and the pan-regional legislation overridden many local factors that has played a significant role prior to the British rule. The structure and continuance of Inam reveal a complex accretion of features from the past i.e., a mixture of pre-colonial character and the British policy measures. This reflects that there was both a continuity and change in the policy of the British regarding Inam during the period of study.

In the disputes over the rate of rent on the Inam land, the Inamdar gained greater than the tenant and other peasants. However, with the fall in prices between late 1820s and 1850 and the absence of credit, many small Inamdars were

in doldrums and it took long time to recover from it. Big Inamdars maintained a comparatively better position during this slump period. The strengthening of ties of dependency in Inam tenures precluded the possibility of any sustained or widespread challenge to Inamdar's right, though there were sporadic incidents of the plight of the tenants and labourers particularly in dry zones. Moreover, there was little scope for unified political action between the tenants and peasants. Political agitations involving the tenants and landless peasants occurred only where there was total unity against Inamdars. However, the agitations occurred on specific issues of rent enhancement and right in land but from Inamdars and rarely by tenants. The Government provided the Kudivaram right in land to the Inamdar but subjected few limitations which came out at the time of succession to the property. In many cases, the Inams were resumed on one or the other pretext. In other words, the Inamdars were under precarious position during the period of study as they faced different types of policy threats from the Government. This threat could be gleaned in the increased number of legal cases that continued to accumulate in the nineteenth century. Many of the Inamdars who occupied important place in the pre-colonial period became agricultural workers. The disruption of the regional elites affected the performance of agriculture.

The succession disputes of Inam and the fight for the control of the property, was equally complex. The disputes appeal to the ancient usages and customs could be revealed from the cases cited in the study. The various cases make it clear that in the fight over the possession of Inam property, the disputants had to oblige the Government policy and it was the British which ultimately emerged victorious as the attempts to control Inam resulted in the

gaining of overall control of the property by the colonial Government. The irony was that the only real protection afforded to the Inamdars for the smooth succession to the Inam property by Inam rules has acted as a check to the control of Inam by the Inamdars. In this case, what was required to the Inamdars was the protection against the Government itself. Why did the Inamdars fail to resist the attempts of the Government for the control of Inam. The answer lies in the crippling powers of the judiciary which was supposed to exercise a free and fair judgement in the disputes which had come before them. Instead, judiciary has acted according to the wishes of the Government to extend its control over the Inam. Further, the legal procedures helped to dismantle the privileges of the Inam in nineteenth century. Continued disputes among the Inamdars, between the Zamindar and Inamdar, Government and Inamdar etc., were at least partly traceable to the divisive codifying tendencies of the rules by the Inam Commission. Given this fragmented attitude of the Government, it was not surprising that only some of the Inamdars were actively involved in the disputes against Government policies. Other Inamdars were either indifferent or rendering services to the Government in various aspects. The consequences of the disputes over the Inam property during the period of study was the divisions among the Inamdars. They could not become one group to fight collectively against the Government policies at the provincial level. This also explains why there was no armed rebellion on large scale as witnessed in North India in 1857. Various Inams were settled on different conditions by the colonial Government. Such differences helped the British to segregate the Inamdars from one another. This deliberate attempt by the provincial Government checked the unity among the Inamdars, which, if formed could be a

threat to the political sovereignty of the British. The sporadic incidents that took place in the first half of the nineteenth century indicate that the Inamdars enjoyed a lot of support and commanded loyalty from the people. If such loyalty of the people in all parts of Madras Presidency was unified then it would be a serious threat to the political sovereignty of the British. The colonial Government had to face such threat occasionally from the Inamdars, but it was confined to particular locality of the Inamdar and the influence of them was eroded by the British gradually by different policy measures.

At one level the results of this study serve as an example and expand upon, from the point of view of one type of land settlement, the larger process of change in the social and economic history of the region. How did the Inam support the argument about the change in the alliance in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When one considers why Inam was continued under the British, it was argued that it had a role to play in local politics. Since they occupied in various aspects of life the British thought that if controlled, it could bring loyalty to the Government and thus balance the political and social order. The other explanation of the British regarding the continued existence of Inams was their usefulness for resource distribution with the view that they would bring economic change in the presidency.

The attitude of the British towards Inam was not without serious flaws. It overlooked the link between the status, honours and the Inam and the way the grantees connected to their patrons. The Government explained that the political situation necessitated the differential treatment of Inam. In the pre-colonial period, Inam acted as a base for the expansion of the political as well as the economic realm of the king. Whereas the colonial Government did

not require to depend on such political means for the expansion of their authority. Interestingly, Inam was a significant institution even under the British rule and this could be measured by the intensive disputes it generated among the different individuals, though there was new arenas for the accumulation and disposal of resources. The reason being that Inam during the period of study, continued to be privileged land as the rent collected on them was nominal. The colonial economy offered many new opportunities for the landed elites but provided no corresponding opportunities which were comparable to Inam. The dismantle of honours did not end the fight for possession of such privileged land grants. Those who possessed the Inam gained both the opportunities of less land rent and the source of investment in other arenas. However, this illusion did not last for a long time. Gradually, the Government took over the privileged land grants and in many cases converted them into fully assessed land tenures. In the course of time, the extent of Inam lands shrinked as the authority of the colonial Government penetrated into the interiors of the Madras Presidency.

The central question concerned in this study is the way in which the new arrangements of economic and political power affected the indigenous institutions. The present study is a contribution to the question above posed. The findings should be compared to the pre-British economic, social and political structures for the answers. The colonial conditions did not accord the cultural importance to the Inam as the earlier regimes did. This lag, which was the outcome of both deliberate and inadvertent colonial policies, of planned and unplanned interactions of the rulers with the ruled resulted in the diminishing importance of Inam.

The colonial Government after its initial land tenurial settlements were completed, has done much to change the provincial political and economic system to the one which its found in 1801. It had established a new level of state authority all over the Madras Presidency and dismantled the earlier local regional levels of power. Even where the Inamdars had not been removed but transformed into mere landholder with nominal rent to be paid to the Government, the right to utilize his privileges, was steadily albeit slowly, undermined. The Inamdars' privileges to interfere in the regional political and economic affairs was replaced by the centralized bureaucratic machinery. The British considered that they had brought a strong civil Government, a rule of law, private property, the economic growth and social development within the framework of a new, larger and more unified state.

The study reveals that by 1871 the British brought only few changes. By liquidating many Inams, they had removed the old social institutions upon which political society were organized. The new institutions that were developed in nineteenth century were developed very much on the volume and intensity of the political relationships which they could establish with the social elements freed by the dismantlement of the old institutions. The Government in nineteenth century developed a revenue administration which could not be compared to the earlier regimes. But the extraction of revenue only was not the meter to measure the capabilities of the British, but it was the redistribution and redeployment which actually analyses the activities of the Government. Here, the British Government particularly failed to show much concern of it when compared to the earlier Governments which spent all the revenue on the developmental activities. This redistribution and redeployment

was made through the relationships of the higher authorities with that of the lower, that included Inamdars. These connections were snapped under the colonial rule.

The changes which began in 1801 by the British Government culminated in 1871 and laid the foundations for the settlements of Inam in Madras Presidency. The old ways of dealing with the Inam was slowly dying, honour as a part of Inam was disappearing. Instead the Inam tenure, was beginning to gain a similar treatment as that of the other tenures. The enfranchisement of Inam and the resumption of it attested to these profound changes. The study is sought to explain the detail discussion of the British policy towards Inam and the social context in which it arose. Ideas similar to those of enfranchisement and resumption of Inam could be found in the beginning of the British rule, but it was taken a concrete shape only in the latter half of nineteenth century. But what was so crucial about this activity in the latter period was not the ideas alone but the way in which those ideas set to move according to the tunes of commercial policy as well as the new emerging economic relations of the rulers with the ruled. The enfranchisement and resumption of Inam were the first manifestations of the gradual disappearance of Inam under the colonial rule. Such measure was a conscious attempt of the provincial Government, of centralized bureaucracy, of new land systems, the financial urges, of discontinuance of the grant of Inam. The role of Inam was thoroughly undermined by the Government by 1947. Independent India inherited such a legacy from the British that it had to oblige to work for the abolishment of Inam. The way in which this abolition was accomplished can as well become the subject matter for a separate study by itself.

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# APPENDIX

*A descriptive list of Inam Tenures of the Madras Presidency*

| **Name of the tenure** | **Description** |
|---|---|
| | A |
| Achandrakam.. .. | This term is applied to villages in which the lands are permanently apportioned among the different sharers. |
| Acharyapurusha .. | For the service of head priest in a pagoda. |
| Adaiyoli manyam.. | For clearing away jungle and bringing the land under cultivation. |
| Adhyayanam .. | Forthe serviceofrecitingthe vedasin pagodas. |
| Adirvedi .. | For the service of discharging rockets during religious festivals. |
| Agnipuman .. | For dancing before the village goddess with a pot containing fire. |
| Agraharam .. | A village, or a part of one occupied by brahmans and held either rent-free or at a favourable rate of assessment. |
| Alavan .. | Held by the village officer who measures the grain where the assessment is paid in kind. |
| Alotti .. | Held for the service of collecting ryots for the performance of customary labour. |
| Amanat .. | Certain Inams in the Bellary and Cuddapah districts which were not allowed to be enjoyed without the holders furnishing annual security. These claims were not registered at the time of the Inam enquiry in fasli 1220 owing to the absence of the parties or other causes; but on the subsequent representation of the holders, they were allowed to enjoy the produce of the lands on security pending an investigation , which however never took place.Amaniya..Endowments ofpagodas and other religious institutions are known by this name in the Oriya speaking |

areas of Ganjam district.

Amaram .. A grant of land by a zamindar or palegar on condition of service; such grants being resumable when the amarakar, or grantee failed to perform the stipulated service.

Ambalam or Ambalakaran .. Held by the headmen of villages, particularly villages inhabited by Sudras.

Ambali .. For supplying to the poor"ambali" or thick conjee or gruel.

Ambigar .. For ferryman's service.

Anaikkaran .. Held for the service of preserving anicuts or dams in good order and for keeping off cattle, etc., from destroying the reeds growing thereon.

Ankala .. Held by kattubadi peons whose duty it was to carry provisions to village and taluk officials.

Andi-samadhi .. For the support of the tomb of an "Andi" or religious mendicant of the Siva sect.

Angazala .. For performing the service of "Angazala" kattubadi peons, whose duties consist in distributing water to the fields, and in collecting ryots for the performance of customary labour.

Annakavadi .. For collecting boiled rice from door to door and feeding beggars.

Anna Shrotriyam.. Inam villages in which the interest of the Inamdar is defined to be so many annas out of each rupee of revenue, the rest going to the Government. For further particulars see "Hissa Shrotriyam".

Arai .. For the service of store keeper in a pagoda.

Arasukaval .. For performing general police duties. The term is used in contradistinction to "Grama Kaval" or village police.

Arachanabhagam .. For the service of "Pujari" in a pagoda-See "Pujari".

Ardhamanyam .. Land half rent-free.

Asadi .. For beating a drum before the village deity.

Asalminha gardens A description of service Inam tenures prevailing in the Godavari and Krishna districts. They were landsexempted from assessment, but not included under the head of Inams in the public accounts.They were usually granted for the

purpose of forming topes or gardens, and were sometimes allowed to be cultivated with ordinary crops free of assessment, but were often assessed to revenue when so cultivated. They have been now treated as Inams and enfranchised under the special sanction of Government.

**Ashur-khana** .. For the maintenance of building in which the bier, banners, and insignia used at the eeremonies of the Moharram are set up.

**Atur** .. For supplying perfumes to the palegar.

**Atsu-kavali** .. For guarding a village or tract of country with the obligation of making good the value of any property stolen.

B

**Bad** .. Fixed payments of grain out of the gross produce of a village.

**Badai** .. For the service of village carpenter.

**Badi-bad** .. Lands held on a favourable assessment generally by persons of the "Ratsavar" caste in the Godavari and Krishna districts

**Bagh-mari** .. Granted as a reward for killing tigers.

**Baja-wala** .. For the service of musicians in pagodas.

**Bali** .. For making sacrifices to the village deities to avert calamities and to promote the common welfare of the village.

**Bangar** .. For making fireworks for pagodas or zamindars.

**Bandela** .. Held by inferior village servants for preventing cattle from straying into the fields and injuring the crops.

**Bantumana** .. For doing service as a peon.

**Bariki** .. The same as "Toti," q.v.

**Barut-goli** .. For supplying the palegar with gunpowder and ball.

**Basivi** .. Held by prostitutes who have been married or dedicated to Siva, and who attend upon the idol.

**Bayinidi** .. For singning before the village deity.

**Bediga** .. Quit-rent on Inams. The word is synonymous with "Jodi."

**Begari** .. The same as "Vetti," q.v.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Beldar | .. | Held for the service of performing bricklayer's work. |
| Bhale-log | .. | A term used to denote persons of rank who were admitted into the Courts of zamindars by virtue of their position. They enjoyed rent-free lands to enable them to support their dignity. |
| Bharati | .. | For the service of reading the "Mahabharata" in pagodas. |
| Bhatraz | .. | Held by bards for the service of singing the praises of the zamindar or palegar. |
| Bhatta-vritti | .. | For the support of Brahmans. |
| bhuta-bali | .. | For making offerings to malignant spirits during the festivals of the village deities. |
| Bilmukta | .. | Lands held at a fixed rent below the usual standards. |
| Bilvarchana | .. | For the service of performing "Puja" with the leaves of the "Bilva " tree (Eagle marmelos). |
| Bissoi | .. | A class of hill chieftains in Ganjamwho held their lands on the tenure of performing military or police service.Boi..For service as a palanquin bearer. |
| Bommalata | .. | For the service of exhibiting puppet shows during festivals |
| Brahmadaya | .. | A general term denoting Inams held by Brahmans for their personal benefit. |
| Burki | .. | The same as " Toti," q.v. |
| Buruj | .. | Granted as a reward for building a tower or bastion for the protection of a village |

C

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chak-bandi | .. | An Inam with defined boundaries as distinguished from one without any fixed locality,such as an "Ivu" or "Dittam" Inam. |
| Chamar | .. | The holder of this description of Inam is a man of low caste who works in hides and leather, and makes the leather bags for drawing water and any other leather articles required by the villagers. |
| Chattram | .. | For the support of a "Chattram" or halting place for the accommodation of travellers. |

Chatur bhagam .. Inams consisting of one-fourth share of the Government revenue.

Chaudhari .. 1. For the service of performing revenue duties as the headman of a Pargana or of a group of villages.

2. Granted to a band of musicians consisting of a trade of pros session for settling caste disputes.

Chinna melam .. Granted to a band of musicians consisting of a dancing girl and her accompanists who keep time, play on the flute and beat the "murudangam," a kind of drum. There may be one or more dancing girls in the band who sing as well as dance. The term "Chinna melam" is used in contradistinction to "Melam" or "Peria melam " which is a band playing louder music.

Choultry .. See "Chattram."

D

Daftar gardens .. A term applied to certain Inam gardens entered in the early " Dafters " or records in the district of South Arcot and enjoyed as private property without being subject to the ordinary lapse rules.

Dahkala Inam .. A term used to donote Inams which were entered in the "Inamati" register of fasli 1242 prepared under the administration of the of theNawab of Kurnool.

Dandasi .. For the service of village wateher.

Dandiya .. Held by the headman of the Kattubadi peons.

Danduga .. Granted by the Native Governments as a compensation to persons who had suffered from heavy and undue exactions being levied on them for the emergencies of the State.

Dargah .. For performing service at the tomb or shrine of a Muhammadan saint.

Darzi .. For the service of tailor to a zamindar or to a village community.

Dasabhandam .. An allowance of land (Khanda Dasabhandam) or of revenue (Shamilat Dasabhandam) given as a compensation for the

construction of a tank, well, or channel. The grant generally, though not invariably, carries with it the condition of keeping the work in repair.

Dasi .. For the service of a dancing girl in a pagoda.

Davandai .. Held for the servicebeating inpagodas adrum called "Davandai."

Dega .. Held by falconers in the service of zamindars or palegars.

Dehat .. A whole village held as Inam.

Desai .. For performing the services of the headman of a taluk or pargana under the Native Government.

Desa Kaval .. The same as " Menkaval," q.v.

Deshmukh .. For performing the service of " Desmukh" a hereditary native officer under the former Governments, exercising chief police and revenue authority over a district containing a certain number of villages, and responsible for the revenue.

Despandya .. For performing the service of "Despandya," the hereditary revenue accountant of a district or certain number of villages.

Devadayam .. Inams granted for the support of temples.

Devastanam .. A term applied to Inams held by pagodas.

Devata .. A term applied to Inams granted for the support of the worship of village deities.

Deyvamadi .. Held for the service of dancing before the idol as if under the influence of inspiration.

Dharmadayam .. A general term used to denote Inams granted for charitable purposes.

Dharmasanam .. A village held by Brahmans for personal benefit.

Dhobi .. For the service of village washerman.

Dhurya .. The same as " Tandal," q.v.

Dikshatar .. For the support of a Brahman who has performed the "Yagnam" sacrifice of a goat.

Dittam .. An Inam having no locality but consisting of a deduction of a fixed extent of land from the annual cultivation of the village, the proportionate revenue demand on which is paid to the Inamdar.

Dolabehara .. For the support of the headman of a village.

Dommara .. Granted to persons of the "Dommara" caste who gain their livelihood by performing as tumblers and rope-dancers.

Doratanam .. Enjoyed by "Doras " or Sirdars in the district of Ganjam for maintaining the security of the country and preventing the incursions of hill tribes.

Dumbala .. An Inam held free of quit-rent.

Dwadasi kattalai For feeding Brahmans on the twelfth day of each lunar fortnight.

Dwitiya chokada.. The same as "Paitari," q.v.

Dzamilika .. For playing on a drum called "Dzamilika" during the festivals of the village deity.

E

Ella .. Granted toaperson who settlesboundary disputes by treading the boundary line in a solemn manner with a pot of fire on his head, a wet cloth round his waist, and a garland of followers round his neck.

Erukala .. Granted to persons of the "Erukala" tribe for collecting medicinal drugs or plants for the use of the zamindar.

Eruvaka .. Granted to the person who first ploughed the lands of a village.

G

Gadaba .. For the service of repairing irrigation channels.

Gadabalu .. For the services of palanquin-bearers in zamindar's.

Gaddatiru .. Lands which were originally on a high level,and which were granted on a favorable assessment in consideration of the difficulty of bringing them under wet cultivation.

Ganachari .. For the support of a servant of the "Ghaudhari," q.v . His duty is to convene meetings for the settlement of caste disputes, and to report to the "Chaudhari" all violations of caste.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Garadi | .. | Granted to persons skilled in legerdemain. |
| Garige | .. | For dancing before the village deity bearing onthe head a number of pots, filled some with water and some with fire. |
| Garudakkal | .. | For the service of making "Puja" to the post with bells on the top which is erected before temples. This post also goes by the name of "Garuda stambham." For the service of headman of a village. |
| Gauda manda | .. | Held by a shepherd for the service of supplying milk to the zamindar and for manuring the fields of the village with his sheep. |
| Gava | .. | For the service of offering a sacrifice of a goat or fowl at the festivals of the village goddess. |
| Ghair Dakhala | .. | A term used to denote Inams which were not entered in the "Inamati". Register of fasli1242 prepared under the administration of the Nawab of kurnool. |
| Godugu | .. | For holding an umbrella over the zamindar. |
| Golla | .. | For supplying milk or sheep to the zamindar. |
| Gor | .. | For the support of a tomb. |
| Gramabhagam | .. | Granted to the mirasidars of a village in consideration of their having given up their mirasi right to such lands as were granted as Inam in their villages. |
| Gramagarbha | .. | A term used to denote a large section of land khandrika...granted as Inam on which a hamlet has been built, but which is not recorded in the revenue accounts separately from the village within the limits of which it is situated. |
| Grama kattubadi | .. | See "Kattubadi." |
| Grama kaval | .. | Granted for the service of a village watchman. |
| Grama-manyam | .. | A term used to denote an Inam enjoyed by the whole community of mirasidars in a village. This tenure is peculiar to the Madras district. |
| Grama Piada | .. | The same as "Grama-Kattubadi," q.v. |
| Gunari | .. | The same as "Ganachari," q.v. |
| Gurrapu | .. | (1) For superintending and breaking in the horses of the zamindar. (2) For the maintenance of a horse given as a |

present.

Gurukkal .. For officiating as a priest in a Siva temple.

H

Hajjam .. For the service of village barber.

Hakim .. For the service of physician.

Halalkhor .. For the service of village sweeper.

Hangami Jodi .. A quit-rent on an Inam fluctuating from year to year according to the produce or extent of cultivation.

Har-sal-makta .. Lands held on a perpetual and invariable rent, generally below the full rent.

Hissa Shortiyam.. A term given to villages the revenue of which is shared between the Inamdar and the Government, or the Inamdar and the Zamindar, as the case may be.

Huggi manyam .. The same as "Ella Inam," q.v.

I

Idige .. Granted for having planted date-trees for the production of toddy.

Iraikudi .. The same as "Pedda Kapu Inam," q.v.

Irumbukatti .. Granted as an encouragement to manufacture iron.

Ivu .. An Inam consisting of a deduction of a percentage from the extent of the annual cultivation of a village, the proportionate revenue demand on which is paid to the Inamdar.

J

Jagir .. A tenure common under the Muhammadan Government, by which the revenues of a certain tract of land were made over to a servant of the State, either unconditionally, or on the condition of performing some public service, as the levy and maintenance of troops or other specified duty. During the

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| | | early period of British rule it was also the practice to confer jagirs as rewards for meritorious services to the state. |
| Jetti | .. | Held by wrestlers in the service of zamindars or palegars. |
| Jirar | .. | The same as "Tambala," q.v. |
| Jitavritti | .. | Held by a class of kattubadi peons known by this name who formerly used to draw pay without rendering any service. Service began to be demanded of them from fasli 1255. |
| Jitotra | .. | The same as "Jitavritti," q.v. |
| Jivitam | .. | These tenures are peculiar to the Madura district. They are of the same nature as the mukhasas in the Northern zamindaris:, and were granted by the zamindars to their relatives or dependents either for subsistence or on the condition of performing feudal service. |
| Jodi | .. | An Inam subject to a quit-rent. |
| Josi | .. | For the service of astrologer and astronomer to the village community. |
| Julah hatkar | .. | Granted to weavers to encourage them to settle in a village. |
| Jumla | .. | The same as "Paitari," q.v. |

K

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kadaiyan | .. | Held for the service of supplying fish and cadjan leaves to the zamindar. |
| Kalinga manyam | .. | Granted for having constructed a sluice or outlet for carrying off the surplus water of a tank. |
| Kalvay Pannadi | .. | For the service of opening and closing irrigation channels. |
| Kal-velai | .. | For service as a sculptor in stone in a pagoda. |
| Kamati | .. | For the support of a bricklayer attached to a pagoda. |
| Kambakkaran | .. | The same as "Nirganti," q.v. |
| Kambamkatti | .. | The same as "Niraganti," q.v. |
| Kambharti | .. | Inams granted to the village officers in the Ceded districts to make up their Inams to the standard scale of emolument adopted by Colonel Munro. |
| Kammara | .. | For the service of village blacksmith. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kammayi vettu | .. | The same as " Kulam vettu," q.v. |
| Kamsala | .. | For the service of village goldsmith. |
| Kanchani | .. | Inams held by dancing girls. |
| Kandachar | .. | Held by kattubadi peons employed in the western taluks of Bellary who are remunerated by fixed remissions from the assessment of the lands held by them. |
| Kangani | .. | Held for the service of watching the crops. |
| Kani manyam | .. | The same as "Grama manyam," q.v. |
| Kapu | .. | The same as "Pedda Kapu Inam," q.v. |
| Karai manyam | .. | The same as "Kulam vettu," q.v. |
| Karai-yidi | .. | A tenure under which the lands of a village are exchanged amongst the co-parceners periodically. |
| Karnam | .. | For the service of village accountant. |
| Karpura-dipam | .. | For the service of burning camphor in pagodas. |
| Karzi | .. | For the service of headman of a village. |
| Kasai | .. | For the support of a butcher. |
| Kattiyam | .. | For the service of proclaiming the praises of an idol when carried in procession. |
| Kattubadi | .. | (1) An Inam subject to a quit-rent (2) Lands granted by zamindars or palegars to peons or militia men on condition of military service. These Inams were continued by the British Government, and their holders are now required to perform ordinary police and revenue duties. They are divided into "Grama Kattubadis" and "Jangi Kattubadis." The former are strictly village servants or peons, and are required to perform service throughout the year. The latter are only called out for service on emergent occasions. |
| Kattugutta | .. | Lands held on a fixed rent less than the full assessment. They have been treated as jodi Inams. |
| Kattu kodige | .. | The same as "Dasabhandam." q.v. |
| Kavalgar | .. | For the service of a village watchman. |
| Kavirayan | .. | Held by Tamil poets, generally in the service zamindars or palegars. |
| Kavitai Pattan | .. | Held by a Brahman Poet attached to the Court of a Palegar. |
| Kayam Jodi | .. | An Inam held on a fixed quit-rent not subject to variation |

with reference to cultivation or produce.

Kazi .. For service as "Kazi," a Muhammadan judicial officer who administered both Civil and Criminal law, chilly in towns, according to the principles of the Koran. At present their duties are confined to the general superintendence and legalization of the ceremonies of marriage, funerals, and other domestic occurrences among the Muhammadans.

Khairati .. A charitable endowment. The term is applied to Inams held for personal benefit by Muhammadans and others not being Brahmans.

Khandrika .. A large block of land granted as Inam, less than a village but much larger than an ordinary Inam.

Khasa .. For domestic service in the household of a zamindar in the Northern Circars.

Khatib .. For the service of reading the Koran in a mosque.

Khulga .. The same as "Potula," q.v.

Koda vritti .. For the service of helding an umbrella over the village deity during festivals.

Kolam Payko .. For the maintenance of armed retainers in zamindars in the district of Ganjam.

Kollan .. For the service of village blacksmith

Kommu .. For the service of blowing a hern before the Tahsildar.

Kon .. For the service of supplying milk, ghee, etc, to the zamindar or his servants when they halt in the village.

Konda-Kavali .. For watching hills and jungles.

Kondikar .. Held by a servant of the "Sri-Vaishnava" priest of Sudars. He carries a " Kondi" or stick as a badge of office.

Kota .. The same as "Buruj Inam," q.v.

Kota kodige .. Granted as a reward for building a fort.

Kottan .. The same as "Kamati," q.v.

Kotwal .. Held for the service of "Kotwal" who was the chief police officer of a town.

Kovilakam .. A term applied to the place of residence of a Raja or of Brahmans. The sites on ancient places and agraharams which are exempt from assessment by long prescription and are

consequently Inams are known by this name in the district of Malabar.

Kovil kanakku .. For the service of keeping the accounts in a pagoda.

Kudukuduppai .. Held by fortune-tellers who beat a kind of clapper called "Kadukuduppai."

Kudumban .. Held by a village servant, whose duty it is to measure the grain previous to its division between the zamindar and the cultivator.

Kulam vettu .. Held for the service of collecting work-people to repair tanks.

Kumbharti .. Held by dancing girls for the service of carrying a light placed at the top of a water-jar, round the principal idol during the performance of "puja" in a pagoda.

Kummara .. For the service of village potter.

Kuruba .. For providing sheep for the sacrifices to the village deities.

Kushavan .. The same as "Kummara," q.v.

Kuttadi .. Held for the service of dancing before the village deity.

## L

Langarkhana .. For the support of an alms-house, a place where food and alms were distributed to the poor under the Muhammadan Government.

Lohar .. The same as "Kammara Inam," q.v.

## M

Madaivetti .. For the service of opening and shutting the sluices of a tank and distributing water to the fields.

Madam .. The same as " Chattram Inam,"q.v.

Madavadiyal .. For the service of sweeper in a temple.

Madiga .. The same as "Chamar Inam," q.v.

Mahsuldar .. For the service of preventing the clandestine removal of the produce of a field before the revenue has been paid.

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| Majumdar | .. | For the service of district revenue accountant under the Native Governments. |
| Malai-yidu | .. | Held for the service of keeping in good order burial or burning places. |
| Malavadu | .. | The same as "Vetti Inam," q.v. |
| Manikkattal | .. | Granted to a dancing girl for attending as a mourner in the funeral processions of persons of the Mudaliyar caste in the Madras district. |
| Manotti | .. | For the service of driving away deer from the crops. |
| Masjid | .. | For the support of a mosque. |
| Matapati | .. | For the service of supplying butter-milk to public officers and cooking food for the reddis when they leve the village on public duty. |
| Matham | .. | For the support of a building where Hindu religious mendicants reside under a superior, or where they halt when travelling. The term is also applied to the spiritual headships of the three leading sects of Brahamans. |
| Melakaran | .. | Granted for the service of performing music in a pagoda- See "Chinua melam". |
| Melam | .. | For the support of a musical band employed in pagodas. |
| Menkaval | .. | For the service of the superior or district watcher under the old Native police system. |
| Meti | .. | Granted to the head ryot for encouraging the settlement of ryots in the village. |
| Mey-kaval | .. | For the service of guarding the idol in a temple. |
| Mohtad | .. | For performing the service of village revenue peon. |
| Mohtasib | .. | For the service of inspector of weights and measures. |
| Moliko | .. | The same as "Dolabehara," q.v. |
| Monigar | .. | Corruption for maniyakaran. For the service of headman of a village. |
| Mudam | .. | The same as "Mohtad," q.v. |
| Mudavan | .. | Granted for the support of a cripple. |
| Mudde | .. | For the service of carrying balls of rice while treading the boundary line of a village during the festivals of the village goddess and depositing the balls at different points |

of the line

**Mukhasa** .. A term uded in the Northern Circars to denote those grants of land which were made by the zamindars for the support of their relatives, followers and dependants, or for military service.

**Muppatika-badi** .. Lands held on three-fourth assessment.

**Mutalikan** .. For the support of the defendants and servants of a great man.

**Muttaratsa** .. Granted to a man of the "Muttaratsa" caste for service as a kattubadi peon.

## N

**Nad Talari** .. For the service of a district watchman under the Native police system.

**Nagasaram** .. For the service of playing in pagodas on a musical instrument called "Nagasaram," a kind of clarionet.

**Nakara** .. For the service of beating a drum at mosque or at the gates of a Nawabs or men of rank.

**Nambi** .. Held for the service of planting "Puja" in Vishnu pagodas.

**Nanal** .. Held for the service of planting reeds for the protection of anicuts and irrigation channels.

**Nandavanam** .. For the maintenance of a garden, the flowers of which are appropriated to the use of a pagoda or of the village community.

**Nari-vetti** .. Granted as a reward for having killed a fox during a chase.

**Nat Ambalam** .. For the service of head ryot of more than one village.

**Nattamai** .. For the service of headman of a village.

**Nattar** .. For the service of a district revenue officer whose duty it was under the Native administration to superintend cultivation.

**Navidan** .. For the service of village barber.

**Nayadu** .. For the service of head ryot of a village.

**Nayak-wadi** .. The same as "Mohtad," q.v.

**Nelgutta** .. Villages held on Inam tenure on payment of a certain

quantity of grain per annum.

Netti-velai .. For the service of making artificial birds, flowers and toys in pith work for the use of pagodas.

Netturu-kattu .. Granted to the family of a person killed in battle, or as a compensation to a person who has been wounded in the public service.

Netturu-vettu .. Corruption for "Netturottu," which is the same as "Natturukattu," q.v.

Nimme badi .. Lands held on half assessment.

Nirganti .. For superintending the distuibution of water for irrigation.

Nirmunaka .. For the service of diving into the water and opening or shutting the sluice of a tank.

Nir sarihadd .. An Inam granted to the ryots of a village as a compensation for allowing a channel to be dug through their lands for the benefit of another village.

Nirvana manyam .. For the support of a Hindu ascetic who goes about naked.

Nokkan .. Granted to persons of the "Nokkan" caste in the south, who correspond to the "Dommaras" in the Ceded districts-See "Dommara".

Nottam .. For the service of village shroff, whose duty it is to examine the coin received in payment of the Government revenue.

O

Odukkam .. The same as "Chatram Inam," q.v.

Oduvan .. For the support of a sudra attached to saiva pagodas, whose duty it is to recite "Tevaram" or Tamil divine hymns during the performance of "Puja."

Ottakaran .. For the service of tappal runner.

P

Padikkaval manyam The same as "Grama kaval," q.v.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Paik | .. | Held by military peons in the district of Ganjam on condition of service. |
| Paitari | .. | Inams seattered through several villages granted as supplementary to a whole village Inam, all the Inams, including the whole village being subject to a lump jodi. |
| Palapatti | .. | Granted for the service of performing the ceremony of pouring milk at particular places on the boundary line of a village on the last day of the procession on the village deity. |
| Palaveli | .. | For performing all the minor duties in a pagoda. |
| Palayam or palem | | Villages held by palegars. |
| Palegar | .. | A class of petty chieftains who occupied cheifly the most remote and inaccessible parts of the districts and subsisted in a great measure by plunder. On the subjugation of the country by the British most of the palegars were dispossessed and Inams alloted to them for their support. |
| Palkalaykkundu | .. | Held by shepherds for the service of supplying milk to the zamindar. |
| Pallakavadi | .. | For carrying milk to the pagoda at Pulney. |
| pallan | .. | For the service of measuring lands and the "Melvaram" grain. |
| Palle kattu | .. | Granted for founding a village. |
| Pallevadi | .. | For the service of ferryman. |
| Pallivasal | .. | For the maintenance of mosques and tombs of Muhammadans. |
| Pambakaram | .. | For the service of beating a drum called "Pambam" at the festivals of the village deity. |
| Pambala | .. | For the service of beating a drum during the festivals of the village deity. |
| Pambatti Pambu | .. | Inams held by snake charmers. |
| pamula | .. | |
| Panchangi | .. | For the service of calendar Brahman, whose duty it is to announce to the villagers lucky days for commencing to plough or reap, for celebrating marriages or festivals, or engaging in any business. He is also the village priest and as such performs certain ceremonies connected with births, marriages and deaths. |

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| Panguvali | .. | Granted for the encouragement of cultivation to a body of coparcners holding a village in common. |
| Panipan | .. | For the performance in a pagoda of "Kumbharti" service , q.v. |
| Panisavan | .. | The same as "Toti" q.v. |
| Panji karnam | .. | Held by certain servants of the "Karnam" class who do duty in the Huzur office of the zamindars in the district of Ganjam. |
| Pantoji or Pantulu | .. | For the service of village school-master. |
| Paricharaka | .. | Granted for the support of the servants of a pagoda with the exception of the " Archake" or chief priest. |
| Parihari | .. | The same as "Vaid," q.v. |
| Parutti | .. | For the service of weighing cotton when the "melvaram" of the zamindar on this crop used to be received in kind. |
| Patam | .. | Wet lands held on a favourable assessment paid in gram. |
| Patasala | .. | For the support of schools where the vadas are taught. |
| Patel | .. | For the service of headman of a village. |
| Patika-badi | .. | Lands held on one-fourth assessment. |
| Patiperadu | .. | A term used to denote a piece of ground within or on the outskirts of the village site and hold free of assessment. The term is also sometimes applied to large tracts of land granted by zamindars subsequently to the permanent settlement. |
| Patna setti | .. | For settling caste disputes among the Linguist in the Bellary district. |
| Patti | .. | Held for the service of preventing cattle from trespassing and destroying the crops. |
| Pattivali | .. | The same as "Panguvali," q.v. |
| Pazhikkani | .. | The same as "Netiuru kattu," q.v. |
| Pedda kapu | .. | For the service of the headman of a village. |
| Pellettu | .. | Granted to the person who dug the first cold of earth in constructing a new tank. |
| Periya aramanai | .. | For watching the zamindar's palace. |
| Perukuli | .. | (1) For the benefit of persons who gave to their children |

the name of the reigning Zamindar in Sivaganga. (2) Granted for giving names to the children of the zamindar.

Peta Gadu .. Granted to the headman of a"Peta" or suburb of a town for encouraging the settlement of weavers.

Pidara Vaidiyan.. For the support of a native doctor who cures the bites of snakes

Pillai .. Granted for the support of the headman of a village in some part of the salem district. No service is attached to the office in the present day.

Pirlu .. For the maintenance of the "Panjas" or insignia used during the celebration of the Muhorram.

Pohal shrotriyam The same as " Khandrika," q.v.

Polimera .. The same as "Ella," Inam, q.v.

Porrupu .. Wet or dry lands held on a favourable assessment paid in money,.

Potaraz .. For performing "puja" to a village deity named "Potaraz,"

Potula .. Granted to tank-diggers for the service of executing petty repairs to tanks and channels.

Pujari .. For the service of the priest in a pagoda who conducts public worship.

Pulavar .. For composing verses in honour of the zamindar.

Pulikattu .. Granted under the Native Government to persons for stopping tigers' mouths by enchantinment and rendering them harmless.

Puntottam .. The same as "Nandavanam," q.v.

Puppotti .. Held for the service of supplying the zamindar with flowers.

Purana .. For the service of reading the "Puranas" in pagodas.

Purohit .. The same as "Panchangi," q.v.

Putla Kattubadi.. Inams held subject toaquit-rent payableat a certain rate per "Putti" of produce.

R

Rajabandhu .. Inams held by the relatives of Rajas or Zamindars.

Raktakanikai .. For the support of the heirs of persons who were killed while treading boundaries on oath.

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| Rakta kodige | .. | The same as "Netturu kattu,"q.v. |
| Ranuva Kattubadi | | The same as "Jangi kattubadi"- See kattubadi. |
| Reddi | .. | The same as "Pedda kapu,: q.v. |
| Riya Mukhasa | .. | "Mukhasa" villages held on a favourable assessment fluctuating with the cultivation of each year-see "Mukhasa". |
| Rokka gutta | .. | Villages held on a fixed money -rent the amount of which is some what lower than the standard assessment of Government lands. |

S

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| Sadavritti | .. | For the daily distribution of uncooked rice to poor travellers. |
| Sagubadi | .. | Granted to head ryots with a view to their encouraging the cultivation of Government lands. |
| Saikalgar | .. | For the service of polishing arms for a zamindar. |
| Samastanam peons | | For the service of revenue peons in zamindaris. |
| Samayakar | .. | Held by a servant under the "sri-vaishnava" priest of Sudras. His duty is to report to the people the movement of the priest. |
| Samba-kattalai | .. | For making an oblation in a pagoda with a kind of rice called "Samba," |
| Samprati | .. | For the service as the accountant of a taluk in a palem or zamindari, or of the whole east when of small extent. |
| Sangitam | .. | For the serviceof singinginpagodas orin zamindars' palaces. |
| Sang tarash | .. | For the service as a stone mason. |
| Sangu-kulikaran | .. | Held for the service of diving for chank shells. |
| Sankhanadam | .. | For the service of blowing a conch shell in a pagoda. |
| Santa basivi | .. | Held by a female servant of the "Setti" castewho is employed in sweeping, lighting lamps, etc. She is also required to perform similar services for travellers when they halt in the village. |
| Sappani | .. | Granted for the support of a cripple. |
| Sarraf(corruptly-Shroff) | | The same as "Nottam," q.v. |

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| Sarva manyam | .. | An Inam held free of quit-rent. |
| Semman | .. | Held for the service of supplying the zamindar with chumnam. |
| Sendi | .. | Held by toddy drawers for service as bearers, etc. |
| Servaikkaran | .. | Held for the service of village peon. |
| Setti | .. | The same as "Patna Setti," q.v. |
| Shanan | .. | For supplying cadjan leaves to the zamindar and the village accounts. |
| Shava | .. | Granted for permitting the dead bodies of persons dying in a village to be burnt within the limits of the village. |
| Shrotriyam | .. | A general term for all favourably assessed villages held by Brahamans. |
| Sidi | .. | For performing the swinging festival in honour of the village goddess. |
| Sippashari | .. | For the service of architec to a pagoda. |
| Siyahiwala | .. | Granted for the service of supplying ink to public offices. |
| Sthala | .. | In the district of North Arcot it is synonymous with a "Pallekattu" Inam, q.v. In Trichinopoly and some other southern districts a certain proportion of the cultivated lands of a village was set apart as "Sthala Inam" for the villagers, who appropriated it to various purposes common to the village. |
| Sthala Gaud | .. | For the service of headman of a village. He differs from the ordinary "Gaud" by always remaining in the village while the other leaves the village on public duty, when required. |
| Sthalam kaval | .. | Held by the village "Kavalgar" who performs general duties, such as collecting revenue, watching produce, etc. |
| Sthanapati | .. | Held by an officer who acts as the general "Vakil" or agent of a pagoda. |
| Sthanikam | .. | Held by the director of the ceremonies in a pagoda. |
| Suddula | .. | For singing hymns in praise of the village deity. |
| Swayampakam | .. | For the service of cooking in a pagoda. |

T

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| Tabela | .. | For superintending the stables of a zamindar. |

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| Ta'tifawali | .. | Held by dancing girls. |
| Taiyalkaran | .. | The same as "Darzi," q.v. |
| Takia | .. | For the support of a fakir, whose duty it is to supply Muhammadan pilgrims with water and shelter. |
| Talab-diwani | .. | This term is applied to a class of villages in the Vizagapatam district granted on quit-rent for general service to the zamindar. |
| Talaiyari | .. | For the service of village watchman. |
| Tamalapakula | .. | For supplying betel-leaf to the zamindar. |
| Tambala | .. | For the service of providing leaves, flowers, etc., for the ceremonies in honour of the village goddess. |
| Tandal | .. | Held by a servant employed under the monigar of a village in collecting Government revenue. |
| Tannir pandal | .. | For the service of maintaining a water-pandal where water and buttermilk are distributed to travellers during the hot season. |
| Tarapadi | .. | Inams granted at the original formation of a village for village purposes, comprising grama manyams, the Inams enjoyed by the village revenue, police, and private servants, and the village pagodas. The term "Tarapadi Inam" is used in contradistinction to a "Sanad Inam," or an Inam held under a grant. |
| Tatan | .. | Held for the service of singing and beating a drum during matrimonial or funeral ceremonies in a village. |
| Tatchan | .. | The same as "Badal," q.v. |
| Teppa | .. | For supplying rafts to cross a river. |
| Teru velai | .. | For the service of repairing and decorating a car belonging to a pagoda. |
| Tevadiyal | .. | The same as "Dasi," q.v. |
| Tirast | .. | Held by a description of armed peons maintained by the hill zamindars of the Vizagapatam district for preserving the peace of the country. |
| Tirumalai | .. | For the service of supplying garlands of flowers in a pagoda. |
| Tirumal manda- | .. | Granted for the celebration of a feast in a |

ghappadi"Mantapam" during the periodical festivals of a pagoda.

**Tirupani velai** .. For the service of keeping a pagoda in repair.

**Tiruvadirai** .. For the service of offering an oblation in a pagoda on the day called "Tiruvadirai."

**Tiruvanendal** .. For the service of performing the morning kattalaioblation in a pagoda.

Tope .. The term means a grove of trees, properly of trees that bear fruit, as mango, tamarind, coconut, etc. Lands occupied by such trees and held free of assessment have been treated as Inams.

Tope Inam .. For the service of preserving a tope planted bya zamindar.

Topukaram .. For the service of maintaining flower gardens and supplying flowers to temples.

Toranam katti .. For preparing festoons of leaves and tying them across the street during pagoda procession.

Toti .. For the service of village "Toti," a man of low caste who waits upon the village officers generally, assists in measuring land, carries letters to the Tahsildar, acts as a guide to officers travelling on public duty, etc.

Tribhagam .. Inam consisting of one third share of the Government revenue

Trishvekam .. Inam villages, two-thirds of the revenue of which is payable to Government, the remaining one-third being enjoyed by the Inamdars.

Tsakali .. The same as "Dhobi," q.v.

Tsavadi .. Held by an officer who acts under the orders of the "Setti," q.v. His principal duty is to assemble the merchants on public occasions.

Tsalivendra .. The same as "Tannir pandal," q.v.

Tsavadi .. For the support of a building used for the accommodation of travellers. Such a building generally consists of a single hall and is less extensive than a "Chattram."

Tudumu .. For beating a drum on public occasions, such as the publication of a notice, the arrival at the village of high officials, etc.

**Tukkiri** .. For service as head watchman of a village.

U

Uvvakavali .. Held for the service of head "Kavalgar" or watchman.

Udarapattu .. The same as "Raktakanikai," q.v.

Umliga .. The same as "Amaram," q.v.

Uppara .. The same as "Wadde," q.v.

Ur .. The same as "Grama manyan," q.v.

Urani .. For maintaining in repair the village ponds for supplying drinking water.

Ustad .. For the service of teaching the zamindar fencing and gymnastics.

V

Vada-kaval .. The same as "Grama-kaval," q.v."

Vaidya .. For the service of physician

Valayan .. Held for the service of catching fish for the zamindar.

Valluva .. For the service of "Valluvan" who is a paraiah, and is to lowcaste persons what the "Panchangi" is to the higher classes.

Vaniyan .. For the service of supplying oil to a pagoda.

Vannan .. The same as "Dhobi," q.v. He is also sometimes attached to a temple to wash the cloths of the idol and to supply rags for torches.

Vanpair ambalam.. For the service of collecting the assessment on garden lands.

Variyan .. Held for the service of watching the "Melvaram" produce in the village.

Vattiyar .. (1) For the support of the village schoolmaster. (2) For the support of a priest who conducts religious ceremonies in the houses of Brahmans.

Vayikkal .. Held for the service of preserving channels and other irrigation works in good order.

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| Veda-vritti | .. | For reading the Vedas and teaching them to Brahman boys. |
| Vedar | .. | Granted to a hunter as a reward for the display of skill in the chase. |
| Vetti | .. | For the performance of the lowest offices in a village, as those of a porter, grain wateher,scavenger,etc. |
| Vimana pratishta | | For the service of reparing the "Vimanam" or pinnacle of a temple |

## W

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| Wadde | .. | For the service of repairing tanks. |
| Wadla | .. | The same as "Badai," q.v. |
| Wararіayat | .. | Certain lands in the Tinnevelly district held on a vafourable assessment, the difference between the full and the favourable assessment being known by this term. |
| Yajaman | .. | The same as Grama-manyam. The Inam is called by this name when its holder is the sole mirasidar of the village. |
| Yalavarise | .. | A term applied in the district of Tinnevelly to dry lands held by Kavalgars on a favourable assessment. |
| Yadayan | .. | Held by cowherd for the service of taking out the cattle of the villagers to graze. |
| Yennai vangi | .. | For the service of carrying oil from the oil monger to the pagoda. |

## Z

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| Zamindari | .. | A general name given to a class of Inams comprising the Palegar Nad Gaud, Desai, Despandya, Desmukh, Kanungo, Sanad Samat Gaud, Nad Karnam, Majmudar, Sirdespandya and Samat Karnam Inams. On the extinction of these office and the resumption of the land and ready money emoluments attached to them, certain Inamswere granted for the support of the families of the holders. These Inams have been treated as |

personal.

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| Zingar | .. | For the support of a saddler in the service of a zamindar. |

Source: Blair's Report, in *CPRIS*, Pp.342-354.