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**Memorandum by the Officiating Chief Commissioner,
Central Provinces, on the Nimar Settlement Report.**

This very full and interesting report commences with a geographical sketch of the district of Nimar, which, from its position as a sort of link or half-way house between Northern and Southern India, and from the important part which it has played in the history of the country, fully merits the careful description which has been given to it. It should, however, be premised that the present district does not correspond with the old division of "Prant Nimar." In consequence of numerous transfers and exchanges of territory, it happens that of the seventy-six mahals, into which Prant Nimar was divided by the Mahomedans, nine only belong to the modern district of Nimar. The divergence detracts little from the historical interest of Nimar, which centres in that famous pass of the Satpooras, commanded by the hill fortress of Aseergurh, which was the highroad for the northern invasions of the Deccan; but it affects most seriously the territorial value of the district, which is now for the most part an undulating hilly tract, containing only the mere entrances of those magnificent river basins, which form the wealth of Holkar's Nimar and the Bombay district of Khandeish. There is some rich land on the banks of the Taptee near Boorhanpore, and one of the basins of the Nerbudda commences in the north-western corner of the district; but excepting these, and some fairly good land in the basin of the Abna and Sookta round Khundwa, the district generally is described by the Settlement officer as "presenting the appearance of a long series of denuded and barren ridges, alternating with narrow ravine-like valleys, radiating in all directions from the main streams already described." Captain Forsyth estimates that more than one-half of the whole area is quite incapable of any cultivation.

2. The second chapter treats of the history of the district, which is described as having "been throughout, as it still is, a border land" not only between Northern and Southern India, but in some sense between Eastern and Western India,

the aboriginal tribes of both of which are found largely represented, though in opposite quarters, in the hill country of Nimar. It will not be necessary here to follow Captain Forsyth through his sketch of the ancient history of the district, beyond remarking that, though he has devoted to his task considerable research and ingenuity, he has perhaps relied a little too much on the legendary histories of the Rajpoots, as given by Tod. The position of the so-called Scythian Takshaks or Taks in Indian history is very undefined, and the story of so commanding and so coveted a position as Aseergurh has naturally been subject to numerous bardic interpolations and additions ; but Captain Forsyth is probably right in his general deduction, that for three or four centuries previous to the Mahomedan conquest Nimar " was divided among numerous Chiefs of Rajpoot extraction, ruling over tribes of aborigines, and probably paying a nominal allegiance to the powerful kings of Malwa and Deogurh to the north and south." His account of Mandhatta and the other antiquities of the district is very interesting, and will be found given at fuller length in the forthcoming edition of the *Central Provinces' Gazetteer*.

3. Coming to more historical times we find that northern Nimar was subjugated by the Ghoree kings of Malwa in the beginning of the 15th century ; while southern Nimar formed the nucleus of the Mahomedan kingdom of Khandeish, established by the Farookee dynasty about half a century earlier. Their history will be found at length in the pages of Ferishta. Their sovereignty, if it may be so called,—for they seem rarely to have been able to dispense with the support of the more powerful kings of Gujerat or Malwa,—lasted a little more than two centuries, and succumbed about 1600 A. D. to the great Akbar. Northern Nimar was then incorporated with the government of Malwa, while Khandeish was included in the newly formed province of " Dandesh," named after its first Viceroy, the prince Daniel, who had his Court at Boorhanpore, and the country was for the first time thoroughly subjugated and reduced to order. In the decadence of the Moghul empire Nimar became a bone of contention between the Nizam and the Peshwa, but was eventually taken possession of by the latter, who again divided it between Scindia and Holkar and the Powar of Dhar, reserving to himself certain

limited tracts only. Both in what he gave and what he kept the Peshwa seems to have been actuated by the policy of balancing the power of his chief followers, and of concentrating his own, for the country granted away was so sub-divided and intermixed, that the grantees gained no compact, easily defended accessions of territory, while the command of the main roads and ferries was retained by the Peshwa himself. In the wars between Scindia and Holkar in the commencement of the 19th century, and in the Pindharee raids, for which an opening was thus given, the country suffered terribly, and the first eighteen years of the century are still known as the "time of trouble."

4. We obtained our first lodgement in Nimar after the Pindharee war of 1817-18. Notwithstanding the share which Scindia had taken in opposing the British arms, he was allowed to retain all his territories except the fortress of Aseergurh and a small tract comprising seventeen villages around it. This and the pergunnahs belonging to the Peshwa made up all our acquisitions. In 1823 and 1825, however, owing to the failure of Scindia to pay an annual assignment which had been guaranteed by the British to certain of the predatory Chiefs, who had thus been tempted to settle down to a peaceable life, the whole of Scindia's Nimar was taken over by the British for management, and in 1844 this sequestration was confirmed by the treaty of Maharajpooor, for the payment of the Gwalior Contingent.

5. The earlier years of British administration were marked by the common mistake—common at least at the commencement of our rule in these provinces—of attempting to obtain too high a revenue from the conquered country. The history of this, like that of many other districts, shows that under our system, partly because we return less to the country in expenditure on local establishment, but mainly because what we ask we expect to get, good years and bad, our nominal revenue roll cannot be fixed so high as that of the Native Government which we succeed. As elsewhere, so in Nimar it took many years to find out this truth; but while the first period of our rule is justly styled by Captain Forsyth "twenty years of mis-government" he is also able to record

that these were followed by "twenty years of atonement," which a liberal government was ably supported by such officers as Captains Evans and Keatinge. The marks of their labours were so evident when Sir Richard Temple visited the district on its annexation to the Central Provinces in 1864, that he wrote:—"I have never yet seen any district in which so much has been done by the Civil authorities alone for public works as in Nimar."

6. The third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of the report are devoted to an elaborate examination of the tenures of Nimar from their rise in the pre-Mahomedan period and their gradual growth and development under the Moghul and Mahrattas, to the condition in which we found them on the annexation of the district, and the shape which our successive land revenue Settlements gave them. Space would not here admit of following Captain Forsyth very closely through this valuable contribution to the internal history of the country, but in order to attain to a full understanding of the difficulties and complications which have beset the attempt now made to methodise a series of inharmonious dispositions, it will be necessary to state briefly the heads of the financial history of the district.

7. It is probable that Captain Forsyth has correctly described the original form of tenure prevalent in Nimar as consisting mainly of Rajpoot Chiefships tenanted by aboriginal cultivators. To these followed the Patelee tenures, the growth probably of circumstances, but fostered and upheld by the Mahomedans. The Patel, though not according to the English sense of the word a proprietor, was more than a mere paid collecting agent. The cultivators were in theory protected against possible encroachments from him, or perhaps it might be more correct to say with Captain Forsyth that "there is nothing to show that the Patels had any direct power over the cultivators at all." Practically, however, their position was one of considerable emolument and authority; not only was the collection of the revenue effected mainly through them, but it is probable that their responsibility as village headmen was thoroughly recognised and enforced. Their remuneration for the fulfilment of these duties was

high, amounting in some cases to a third of the gross rental, and, if Captain Forsyth is correct, the limited "proprietary right" granted to old Patels at the present Settlement is not considered equal in value by the people of the district to the Wuttundaree form of property which they enjoyed under the Mahomedans. The latter is indeed shown (para. 142) to be almost the only beneficial interest in the land which is calculated to survive through change and disorganisation, while the former is liable to deteriorate under imperfect administration, and to collapse altogether under grasping and unscrupulous rulers. Time will no doubt engender in the Nimar peasantry the confidence in our intentions which their financial history shows to have been thus far imperfectly deserved by us, and then they will learn to prefer a system, which leaves so wide a scope to individual enterprise, to one which, if it secured their rights, at any rate confined them within very narrow and inflexible limits.

8. To the Mahomedans succeeded, as has been seen, the Mahrattas. They commenced by retaining the system of their predecessors, but financial exigencies, consequent on the general disorganisation of their rule at the commencement of the present century, soon led them to disregard vested rights and true policy, and their revenue management became a mere struggle to squeeze out of the country all that could be extracted from it. To this end they farmed away their territories in large parcels, exacting from the farmer the largest sum that he would bid, and leaving him to recoup himself from the peasantry. Thenceforward system, law, and order were at an end, and the country was handed over to us in a condition of distress and denudation, which led to the pithy saying (regarding two pergunnahs) that "there is not a *crow* in Kacapore Beria."

9. After the first few years of disorder the revenue history of Nimar under British government is taken up with one protracted battle of rival systems. The North Western Government was in favour of introducing the village tenures, which had been found so suitable to the cultivating communities of Upper India; and the District officers, where they had decided views at all, seem to have been in favour of the *ryot*.

waree system of Bombay, where some of them at any rate had gained their experience. The Government very judiciously refrained from forcing its views on the local authorities, contenting itself with laying down for their guidance a groundwork of general principles, which only needed good local information to become an admirable basis of Settlement. Unfortunately the data conveyed to the Lieutenant-Governor by the District officer (Captain French) seem to have been absolutely incorrect, and the orders founded upon them were therefore in some respects inappropriate. Captain French, who appears to have been a warm advocate of the Bombay ryotwaree system, denied the rights of the Nimar Patel. The Government of the North Western Provinces, misled by his assurances, went with him so far as to conclude that the village communities were encumbered by no burden of superior rights, and that the State was free to engage direct with the tillers of the soil. But, drawing their experience from a different source, they were inclined to introduce the village proprietary system, with all its scope for individual initiative and enterprise, in preference to the more restrictive and levelling ryotwaree form of Settlement proposed by Captain French. This is not the place to discuss the rival merits of the revenue systems of Bombay and Northern India; but it should at once be said that neither of them exactly suit the circumstances of Nimar, and it will be shown further on that the compromise adopted at the present Settlement, while preserving, it is hoped, much of the incentive to industry and self-reliance, which springs from the comparative independence of the proprietary system, and while obtaining direct financial results little inferior to those which would have been gained by the closest ryotwaree system, has made full allowance for the rights and interests of all classes connected with the soil.

10. To proceed, however, with the instructions of the Lieutenant-Governor. These seem to have erred in two points, in both cases owing to imperfect information. Firstly, in ignoring the position of the Patels; secondly, in proposing to introduce a system so foreign to the habits and so unsuited to the circumstances of the people as that of joint responsibility. The Government was however quite willing to give way to the teachings of experience, and when the Lieutenant-

Governor learned that the people of Nímar were disinclined to close partnership in land tenures, he gave it as his opinion that "the repugnance of the people to any joint responsibility was conclusive against that mode of uniting several small holdings." A growing inclination too (para. 207) was shown to give Patels their due in the proprietary scheme. Permission was granted to settle the villages of five pergunnahs in the wilder parts of the district with their Patels, on condition of full definition and recognition of subordinate rights (para. 205); and, to a proposal of the District officer to farm villages to wealthy bankers in cases where the Patel appeared to be without sufficient means, the Lieutenant-Governor replied that the Settlement was not to be made altogether on grounds of expediency, but with due regard to existing rights; and that if the Patels were poor, it might be expected that they would "grow richer and more thrifty under a more hopeful state of things" (para. 210). In short nothing could have been more liberal and wise than the spirit in which the instructions of the Government were framed; but Agra was so remote from Nímar, not only in actual distance but in experience, that it seems to have been impossible to establish a thorough sympathy between them, and the orders issued from head-quarters fell dead on their way. Founded as they were on incorrect data and foreign experience, they failed to come home to the minds of the District officers, and the Government perhaps could not, certainly did not, make itself so strongly felt in this far outlying district as it certainly would have done nearer home. The result was that the elaborate code of instructions framed by successive Lieutenant-Governors became almost a dead letter.

11. Practically the district seems to have been allowed to settle itself in the shortest and most convenient way that occurred. The idea of proprietary right never having been thoroughly taken in by the District officers themselves it clearly could not be explained, much less offered to the cultivators. Joint leases seem to have been proposed to the cultivators, regardless of their standing, but these were generally declined. "Then," says Captain Forsyth, "the village was offered to the head Patel, and if refused by him, to the hereditary pergunnah officials, and if refused by them, to a stranger.

There was no enquiry into the *rights* of the several members of a family to share in the profits. When the cultivators did not engage for the revenue, their status was left entirely undefined in the Settlement papers" (paras. 218-220). In short the instructions of the Government seem to have been disregarded in almost every point; nor was there even uniformity of practice in the Settlement of the various parts of the district. To these difficulties were added, when the Settlement came to be taken up by the Administration of the Central Provinces, the absence, in many cases, of the records, which had been destroyed at the burning of the District office by Tantia Topce, and the imperfection of those that still existed. "Out of 396 settled villages, the original Settlement papers of 121 only were available" (para. 238). In the papers which were found there were no field maps, no field lists, no boundary lists, and no records of the status, nor indeed, in some cases, of the holdings of the cultivators. Although then about half the district had been regularly settled for periods of 20 years, commencing from different pergunnahs from dates ranging from 1852-53 to 1857-58, it was found necessary to re-settle the whole district, including the so-called settled pergunnahs, with regard to which it was arranged that the unexpired portion of the current engagements should be deducted from the fresh lease.

12. The failure on the part of the local officers to understand, much more to carry out the orders of the Government of the North Western Provinces, had left the tenures of the district in so confused a condition that it became necessary to reorganise them, and in doing so the main point kept in view was original status, where that had survived so complicated a series of changes and revolutions, though due regard was paid to modifications introduced by competent authority, which seemed to have become acceptable to the people. Captain Forsyth's elaborate investigation of the financial history of the district shows very clearly that from the first introduction of a settled government into the district until the "time of trouble," when all system ended, the old Patels had been the corner-stone of the village system, enjoying large perquisites and entrusted with a good deal of power, in consideration of holding together the village communities, and making them-

selves responsible for the Government demand. Thus, though not proprietors in the English sense of the word, they had undoubtedly an interest in their villages far beyond that of mere collecting agents; and, admitting the correctness of the principle on which the Settlements of Upper India have been founded, that a degree of independent interest in the soil is the surest guarantee both for the prosperity of the land and for the facility of the collections, the Patels had obviously the first claim to selection as representatives of the village communities. Around them had grown up cultivating bodies, who whether theoretically entitled, in the first instance, or not to fixity of tenure, that is to some share, however limited, in the proprietorship of the soil, had practically acquired by length of residence and by the feeling of the people a very valid claim to consideration, which claim had been explicitly recognized by the North Western Provinces' Government, and had only escaped more complete ratification by the *lâches* of the local authorities. On these premises it was decided, after a minute and protracted discussion, to confer the superior proprietary right on the old Patels, where they had retained a proprietary interest, and to give to the "Joonardars" or old cultivators the rights of retaining their holdings at fixed rates, on a transferable and heritable tenure. The superior proprietor under this arrangement is held directly responsible for the revenue, and has the right of collecting full proprietary rents from all land not held by proprietary tenants. From the latter class he receives a small percentage on their quota of revenue, sufficient to cover the risk and cost of collection. The interest of the subordinate proprietors in the cultivated land of the village is limited to their own holdings, but they have certain rights, proportionate to their property in the village, in the waste lands. Thus the village communities have been organised on a system which, while based on the custom of the country, has secured to all customary right-holders a secure hold of their rights, and has simplified and cheapened district administration by confining the relations of the authorities to one responsible and influential head in each village.

13. The weak point in the system, as probably in all systems under which the whole of the soil is not owned by the actual cultivators, is that the margin of superior proprietary

Judging by the test of language, however, Nimar is more closely connected with the Hindi districts of Central India than with the Mahratta country to the south.

18. The last two chapters (XV. and XVI.) contain a full account of the processes observed in the assessment of the district and in the preparation of the record. On these heads it will be sufficient to say that each step of Captain Forsyth's proceedings was carefully and patiently considered both by himself and by me as Settlement Commissioner, and that the smoothness with which the Settlement has worked is a sufficient proof that the demand is moderate. The financial history of the district will show sufficiently why it was unprepared to sustain such an enhancement as that which it was found possible to impose without risk in the adjoining Nerbudda valley districts ; but the general rise of prices has admitted of an increase from Rs. 1,52,466 to Rs. 1,68,793, or at the rate of 10·7 per cent,—no inconsiderable advance in a district which had passed through half a century of suffering, not yet remedied by the more enlightened administration of later years. The rate of 10 annas per acre of cultivation may seem low compared with that of other parts of India, but, as Captain Forsyth justly remarks, a comparison of this kind should not be applied solely to the acre rate, but should also take into account the quota of population and stock by means of which a given revenue rate is varied.

19. It now only remains for me to notice the services of Captain Forsyth in carrying out a very difficult, and, as I have every reason to believe, a really good Settlement. Though entirely new to Settlement work, Captain Forsyth on assuming charge applied himself to the discharge of his arduous duties with a degree of energy, perseverance, and ability, highly creditable to him. He by no means over-states the facts in saying "that there is scarcely a single point in the Settlement which has not been the subject of special reference and of special ruling," and I have been much struck by the ability and impartiality with which every point of difficulty has been brought forward and discussed by him. Nearly all the work of this complicated Settlement has been done by him single-handed, and there is not a single detail of the business

which he has not carefully supervised. He has also submitted a very full and interesting report, in fact one of the best furnished by any Settlement officer of the Central Province notwithstanding the existence in it of certain remarks and statements in which I am not prepared to concur, and which had better perhaps been omitted from a narrative of Settlement operations. It affords me great pleasure to commend the favourable notice of Government Captain Forsyth's veritable and valuable services.

20. In conclusion, I would recommend the confirmation of this Settlement for a term of 20 years from the dates borne in the engagements which have been severally taken from the proprietors. I regard this Settlement as one well calculated to secure the best interests both of the Government and the people, and as such I confidently recommend its confirmation.

J. H. MORRIS,

Officiating Chief Commissioner,

Central Provinces.

The 16th February 1870.

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CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY AND PHYSICAL CHARACTER.

The old Hindoo geographical sub-division of *Prant Nimar** is said by tradition to have comprehended the whole of that section of the Nerbudda valley lying between two points where the Vindhya and Sautpoora hill ranges closely approach the river; on the east near its junction with the Ganjal river in longitude 77° 30' east, and on the west at the *Hirn-Phal* (Deer's leap) near Chikulda, in longitude 74° 0' east. Prant Nimar thus comprised a basin of the Nerbudda valley extending some 223 miles in length east and west, and averaging about 40 miles wide north and south, that is an area of about 9,000 square miles. The Hindoo division of *Malwa*† bounded it on the north, and that of *Rath* to the west. The country to the east was called, in the open Nerbudda valley, *Bohana*, and in the Sautpoora hills *Gondwana*. That to the south was, I believe, part of *Talnere*, a name early superseded by *Khandeish*, the kingdom of the Farookee *Khans* of Boorhanpore.

2. All Prant Nimar was included in the kingdom of the Ghorree kings of Malwa. In Akber's nomenclature it was divided into two complete Sirkars, Mahomedan sub-divisions. Handia and Beejagurh, and a portion of a third, Mandoo, all comprised in the Souba of Malwa. In the reign of Shah Jehan the portions of those Sirkars lying to the south of the Nerbudda, were attached to Souba Khandeish, those to the north remaining in Souba Malwa (*vide* para. 63). Hence probably the idea adopted by Sir John Malcolm, that the Nerbudda was the southern boundary of old Hindoo Malwa, whereas in reality the Ghat range of the Vindhya hills was its limit in this direction.

* I have seen somewhere a plausible attempt to give a Mahomedan derivation to the name of the district, from the Persian *نیم* and *اردن* either as being situated midway in the course of the Nerbudda river (which it is not), or as having long been a sort of half-way house between Hindoostan and the Deccan. But I think there is no doubt of its being a Hindoo term. It has always been talked of as a *Prant*, and never gave a name to any Mahomedan territorial division. The town now called in our maps Nimawur is doubtless identical in name with the district, and is mentioned by an Arabian Geographer (*vide* para. 32), before the Mahomedans had arrived in this part of India. For its extent see also note to Appendix C.

† *Mâl* is a term commonly used in Nimar for a somewhat elevated flat plateau, (*vide* para. 304); and the table-land of Malwa, about 1,600 feet above the level of Nimar probably derived its name from the same root.

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ties on that side are more precipitous.* The valleys are flanked by eminences having generally flat tops, with limited areas of culturable soil, and a series of the same runs along the line of watershed. A few of the hills more nearly approach the nature of peaks. The general elevation of these eminences is about 2,000 feet above the sea level, or 1,200 above the plains. A few peaks on the extreme east reach the height of about 3,000 feet above the sea. The elevation of the range lessens regularly towards the west, and at last it dies away altogether near the Taptee, where the Nimar district and the Khandeish Collectorate meet in the valley of that river. The chief feeders of the Taptee from this range are the Mona, Ootaolee, and Oomraotee streams, which flow for some distance rapidly through the hill valleys, and when they reach the open plain cut deep channels through the sandy alluvial sub-soil, and run at the level of the rock to the Taptee. None of them contain any body of water in this part of their course during the hot season, though pools remain at intervals throughout the hilly portion of their course. The main range of the Sautpooras* must,

however, be held to be that which passes through the centre of the district, linking together the hill masses of Kalebeet on the east, and of Khandeish on the west†, and forming the watershed between the Nerbudda river on the north and the Taptee on the south. It is however in Nimar greatly broken up into isolated hills, the highest of which (Aseergurh) is only 2,315 feet above the sea; and the general level of the range is only a few hundred feet above the plain. A further idea of this configuration will be obtained from the following description of the valleys of the Nerbudda and Taptee rivers.

7. The drainage from this central range to the north is diverted from its direct course by another low and irregular ridge, which runs diagonally across this section of the district from its south-west to the north-east corner. The streams flowing from the Sautpooras into the Nerbudda, the chief of which are the Abna, Sookta, and Woonna, are thus caused to pursue, at first, an easterly course, till, as the diagonal range trends northward, to the

* This formation appears to be characteristic of all the chief trap ranges, or steps, in Central India. The Sautpooras proper and the Vindhyan range north of the Nerbudda are both striking instances.

† Though I have traversed every portion of the extensive hill tract set down in the Central Provinces' Maps as the Sautpooras, I never heard the name applied by the common people to any portion of it but this Central range in Nimar (on which stands the Fort of Aseergurh), and its continuation westwards into Holkar's country. In the cosmogony of the *Narmada Khanda* (*vide* para 29,) these hills are called the seven sons (*Sautputra*) of the Vindhya mountain; whence I believe their name, through the derivative from *Furya* (a boy or child) of the Deccan.

Nerbudda, they are enabled to reach that river, united into a considerable stream called the Chota Towa. From the south-eastern face of the diagonal range I have mentioned, several streams, the chief of which are the Buldee and Peprar, fall into the Chota Towa before it reaches the Nerbudda. The rest flow nearly north directly into the latter river. The principal of these are the Ajnal, Kaveree, and Bakoor.

The Nerbudda river has here run out some 430 miles of its course, and has about 270 more to run to the sea. It has received many large streams, and is here a mighty river indeed. Entering the district at its junction with the Chota Towa, it flows for about forty miles through a wild and broken country. On its right bank are high cliffs of basalt, alternating with almost equally precipitous wooded hills, and intersected by numerous deep and dark ravines, the favourite retreats of the tiger in the hot season. On the southern bank it first passes a sandstone hill about 500 feet in height, forming the angle between it and the Chota Towa, and is thereafter skirted by a network of ravines running down to it from the tablelands of Moondee and Poonassa, which are here some 200 feet above the level of the river bed. Throughout this distance the bed of the stream is much contracted, and the river forms in the dry season a chain of pools, alternating with rapid shallows. Opposite a place called Pemgurh, a few miles after it enters the district, is a curious backwater called the *Kootrakooond*, formed by a diagonal ledge of hard basalt, and filled only when the river is in flood. Every sort of waif brought down by the river at such times is whirled into this basin, and seldom gets out again, being stranded on a sloping sandbank at its head. Teak logs and sleepers, and even large ferry boats, &c., are thus brought to land; and in 1865, when exploring the forests of Nimar, I found an old fellow comfortably located here and driving a roaring trade in these spoils with the people of the villages lower down on the river banks. At Dhairee, opposite Poonassa, the river tumbles, partly through, and partly over, a broken ledge of hard basalt about 40 feet high; and then boils deep and sullen through a gorge of the same rock not more than fifty feet in breadth. Down to this point much timber and other jungle produce is floated from the forests of Chandgurh; but here a portage of about 1,500 yards is necessary. Below the falls again, down to the island of Mandhatta (12 miles), the channel is again tolerably open, with a minimum of 4 feet of water at the deepest part in the hot weather. Immediately above the island of Mandhatta it is joined by the Kaveree, a small stream from the south or Nimar side. Mandhatta being the seat of a very sacred shrine of Omkar (a form of Siva), a fable has been invented to the effect that the waters of the Kaveree (which so conveniently starts up all over India when wanted for a sacred purpose) pass through those of the Nerbudda without intermingling with them, and flow round the north side of the island, joining the Nerbudda again below it—thus lending a double sanctity to the shrine.

The island of Mandhatta and the southern bank of the river are boldly scarped out of a greenish tinted rock (said to be hornstone slate), and between them the Nerbudda forms an exceedingly deep and still pool, swarming with enormous sacred fish. Below Mandhatta the bed of the river presents a character almost equally unfavourable to navigation on a large scale, throughout the Nimar district. But the hills and rugged ground that have up to this point environed it now recede, and an open alluvial basin begins, upwards of a hundred miles long, which formed the kernel of old Prant Nimar, but of which, alas! only a small portion of the upper end now belongs to the district. The banks in this part are formed of a sandy alluvium, and are about 60 or 70 feet high.

From this description it will be understood that, except for purely local navigation, the Nerbudda is quite useless at this part of its course. Persevering efforts have been made, but in vain, to devise schemes for rendering it navigable to the sea, full details of which will be found in a printed compilation of correspondence forming No. XIV, new series, Bombay Government Records. The general conclusion come to is that of complete hopelessness of any success. "The large reaches and beautiful sheets of water scattered over different spots at Jubbulpore, Hoshungabad, and Mhysir, and the slight fall in the basins of the river near them, never fail to excite in every beholder a general feeling and exclamation of pity that partial attempts have not been made to render limited portions of the river improvable; but the great objection is the perpetual recurrence of the expense, as far as refers to the removal of rocks and debris. The decline of the bed is so great, and the material of it so devoid of softness, that any decisive deepening could only be effected by the expensive process of blasting; and when accomplished, and gaps literally cut in the rocky barriers, the effect would be to drain the pools completely, and to establish a greater velocity, which the little elevated ridges now equalize. Artificial bunds and dams would thus be required, in place of the natural ones, to prevent the entire exhaustion of the water of the river." While thus useless itself as a means of communication, the river forms a formidable barrier to the accessibility of the district from the north. During the monsoon it is filled from bank to bank by a raging torrent, often defying the passage of boats, and rising at Mundlaisur, where it measures about 1,000 yards across, to a height of some 55 feet above its ordinary level; while, in the dry season even, its upper portion possesses not a single safe ford, and even in the open basin they are anything but first-rate, and very far between.

8. The drainage from the southern face of the Sautpooras runs in numerous small streams directly into the river Taptee. This river, rising a few miles from Mooltye, in Baitool, flows through that district, in a comparatively open country. On leaving it, however, it enters as it

were a cleft in the Sautpoora hills, which form on one side the Chikulda block of Berar, and on the other the Kaleebet range of Hoshungabad. These run nearly parallel to each other at a little distance from the river, till it enters the Nimar district at about 120 miles from its source. Between them is enclosed a narrow, but exceedingly fertile strip of land, which here widens out into a considerable basin; part of which forms the Gangra tract of Berar, and the rest the Manjrode and part of the Peplode pergunnahs of Nimar. The Manjrode pergunnah, once highly cultivated and possessing several important towns (para. 161), is now a rank and malarious wilderness, inhabited only by bison and tigers, and by a few almost as wild Korkoo aborigines. Lower down an isolated hill, called Samurdeo, almost blocks up the valley, and quite mars what would otherwise have been a splendid level culturable tract. This block turns the river northwards, the northern limb of the Sautpooras opportunely receding and almost dying away for a space to give it passage. A little more and the Taptee would have gone north altogether at this point and joined the Nerbudda; but almost immediately the northern branch of the range again rises and repels the river, turning it again in a south-westerly direction. The southern limb of the range now in turn recedes, and soon dies away altogether, leaving the river to flow through an open and level basin of deep alluvial deposit, in the centre of which stands the city of Boorhanpore. The Mona and Ootaolee rivers here join it from the south-east and numerous minor streams from the north. This plain continues into Khondeish, through which, and Goojerat, the Taptee finds its way, by a course almost parallel to the Nerbudda, to the sea. The Taptee is wholly unnavigable in this part of its course, and is subject to floods no less sudden and violent than those of the Nerbudda.

9. It is this natural configuration that has caused in Nimar a gap through the long unbroken barrier of the Sautpoora range, which has for ages made it the natural highway, and now the railway line, between Hindoostan and the Deccan; and has given it the eventful history to be related in a succeeding chapter. Right in the gap too, stands the fortress of Aseergurb, on a scarped inaccessible rock, commanding the pass below, a spot marked out by nature as one of the centres of events.

10. The district is very much broken up by these several hill ranges and their off-shoots; so that in few places do there exist those wide river basins in which alluvial soils are formed. The Taptee basin round Boorhanpore, the Nerbudda basin in the north-west corner of the district, and, in a less degree, the basin of the Abna and Sookta round Khundwa, are the only small portions that at all assume

this character. The Taptee basin is the commencement of the fine alluvial plain that forms the rich Collectorate of Kandeish, and in the same way the small portion of the open Nerbudda valley, now left to the district, is but the neck, as it were, of the magnificent basin that formed the heart of old Prant Nimar, but which is now held entirely by Native States. It is most tantalizing to the Settlement Officer thus to see his district stop short in both valleys just where the rich wheat-bearing plains commence, while itself presents so generally the appearance of a long series of denuded and barren ridges, alternating with narrow ravine-like valleys, radiating in all directions from the main streams already described.

11. Throughout the district, excepting in a few spots near the Nerbudda, the geological formation is the trap rock of the Deccan, which appears to be here of enormous thickness. Near the Nerbudda, sandstones, limestones, and other metalliferous strata appear in some places, but generally the trap is everywhere the surface rock. In the neighbourhood of the Nerbudda it sometimes assumes the form of columnar basalt, forming regular polygonal pillars, which I found extremely useful for my boundary marks. On the surface the trap is usually more or less decomposed into what is called *moorum*; and from this state it passes, by further exposure to the air, into soil. The process may be seen actually going on in many a newly broken up field, in the sides of railway cuttings, or, more strikingly because aided by mechanical attrition, on the roads metalled with trap rock or *moorum*.

12. Decayed vegetable matter has doubtless assisted in the formation of the soil, but its basis and main ingredient must be the disintegrated trap. The gradient of the surface slope being generally so steep, it is not surprising that the greater portion of the soil thus formed has been swept down from the higher parts into the valleys, and is accumulated in considerable depth and richness in narrow bands along the numerous streams, while the intermediate ridges are bare and poor; being in fact left with only the soil which is not yet sufficiently converted from the rock or *moorum* to be taken down by the drainage. Thus the depth of soil varies by degrees according to the situation of the land, being generally 3 to 4 feet in the bottoms of the valleys, and only as many inches near the tops of the ridges. In a few spots in the larger valleys it attains a depth of 10 feet or more. The higher parts of these ridges are generally strewn with round trap boulders, sometimes having a core of quartz or pebble. They are supposed to be, I believe, the plums in the basalt pudding,—hard nodules that have remained after their softer surrounding matrix has been decomposed and washed away. The soils themselves are also much intermixed with small trap pebbles and *Kunkur* (nodular limestone), beds of which useful material also occur in places, though not very commonly.

13. Over the greater part of the district there is no sub-soil, that is, the black culturable soil rests directly on the trap moorum or rock from which it has been formed; but, in the more open portions of the valleys above particularised, a yellow sandy alluvium has been at some remote period brought down from distant tracts of different geological formation, and now intervenes between the rock and the surface soils. The natural inequalities of the rock basis are thus covered and levelled, and the culturable surface soil, afterwards deposited by the disintegrated trap and decomposed vegetable matter of the surrounding hills, is here more level and uniform in thickness than where the yellow sub-soil is not found. This sub-soil varies in depth from 40 or 50 feet in the central part of the main valleys to a few feet or inches at the foot of the hills. In the smaller valleys it is not found at all. It is also sometimes itself the surface soil, particularly in the immediate neighbourhood of the large rivers, which run through deep channels cut through the alluvium to the rock. In such places a saline efflorescence is generally seen to exude from the yellow soil, which I believe to be carbonate of soda, but of which no use is ever made in this district.

14. The immediate neighbourhood of all the larger rivers is invariably cut up by a network of ravines. The breadth occupied by these ravines varies from a few hundred yards along the minor streams to five or six miles in the neighbourhood of the Nerbudda and Taptee; and the total area rendered unculturable from this cause is very large. Taking all these causes of barrenness into consideration, hill ranges and their ramifications, exposure of rock or moorum on summits of ridges, denudation of the cold yellow earth, and stream margins of ravines, I am certain that more than half the whole area of the district is quite incapable of any cultivation. The culturable residue is also, from the same causes, much scattered and hidden away in hollows among the more prominent naked ridges; and thus Nimar presents anything but a rich appearance to the superficial observer. Here are no vast black soil plains, no "seas of golden wheat;" and, as the main lines of road and railway have naturally been taken along the highest and driest parts of the district, a casual traveller must inevitably carry away the impression that Nimar is one of the most incapable districts in India.

15. On the other hand, this conformation is not without some counterbalancing advantages. The hill ranges which surround the district on all sides, and intersect its centre, covered as they are with vegetation, and forming part of the second great barrier to the advance from the coast of the south-western monsoon, a barrier which it has not well

passed before the returning eddy brings back the clouds of the north-eastern monsoon, ensure a tolerably regular, if not very copious, rain-fall. I have given in Appendix A the ascertainable facts on this head, from which the average monsoon fall is shown to be about 28 inches, and for the whole year 35 inches, varying, however, from 23 to 53 as extremes. In a flat open valley like that of the Nerdudda in the Hoshungabad district, or like the small alluvial tracts in Nimar above mentioned, the rain-fall on the surface is nearly all absorbed by the rich deep top soil, which during the rainy season is pure mud, and unfit to grow any crop till the cold weather, when of course it forms the finest possible rubber soil. On the other hand, the much more copious supply of water from the drainage of the outer hills either percolates through the sub-soil along the surface of the underlying rock, or rushes in deep channels cut down to the same rock surface through the soils of the open valley. In either case, the water-bearing stratum is deep below the surface of the culturable land, and unavailable for irrigation by any means short of obtaining command of it by expensive works before it leaves the hills. In a country like Nimar, however, the case is reversed. The direct monsoon fall rapidly drains off the cultivated land and allows a crop to be grown at that season, while the extensive unculturable elevated hills and ridges of partially disintegrated trap-rock, covered as they are by vegetation, retain much of the rain-fall to be afterwards carried off by slow percolation towards the central streams; and, as this water-carrying stratum everywhere (excepting in the alluvial basins) underlies at little depth the culturable soil in the valleys, it results that water can generally be obtained in plenty by sinking wells through the surface soil to tap the underlying moorum. This can generally be effected at a depth of 15 to 25 feet only; and, as the moorum will stand at a small slope for a considerable time until it decomposes away, *kucha* (unlined) wells are generally sufficient. For the same reason the numerous small streams usually contain running water well into the hot season, and their rapid slope enables it to be led off into the culturable lands by a dam and channel with great facility. A mixed system of agriculture, little less profitable than the more eye-taking "seas of wheat" thus becomes possible, and such a variety of crops might be grown that there should be much less chance of a general failure than where the people are dependent on those of one harvest only. This system of agriculture will be fully described further on (Chapter XI); and it is only needful to state here that these natural advantages have as yet been but little developed, and that, owing to the neglect of the plentiful water-supply of the district, it is still almost as unfertile as it looks.

16. In general elevation above the level of the sea Nimar varies from about 850 feet at the lowest points of the main valleys to 1,200 feet on the central plateau drained by the Abna and
- Elevation above the sea.

Sookta,* and reaching 3,100 feet on the *Gunga-Deo* peak of Jeetgurh, south of the Taptee, which would appear to be the highest point in the district. The fort of Aseergurh is 2,315 feet above the sea. The low hill ranges above mentioned rise a few hundred feet only above the general level of the country.

17. The climate of Nimar must be called, on the whole, pleasant, considering its elevation and geographical position. The Statements in Appendix A show the average temperature at the ordinary level and on the Aseergurh hill. The lower portions of the Nerbudda and Taptee valleys are of course much hotter than the higher plateau of central Nimar, on which the Civil Station of Khundwa is situated. From the extensive tracts of forest lying to the westwards in the course of the prevailing winds, the atmosphere is kept cool and clear in the lulls of the monsoon, which are usually so unpleasantly stifling in other districts of such small elevation. The cold season, though not so bracing as that experienced at our higher stations, is extremely pleasant, and lasts from about 1st November to 15th March. The hot winds seldom begin till the middle of April, and blow steadily till the rains, from the north and north-west, varying round to west. At one time I believe that almost the whole of the culturable land was under the plough, but much of it has now relapsed into jungle; and, as usual in such cases, the climate of these tracts is even more malarious than that of the extensive unculturable waste lands. Fever of a most deadly sort is certain to be incurred in these tracts at all but the safest season, in the extreme hot weather, and the more open parts even are by no means free from this scourge of India. Cholera has made some frightful visitations to the district, but has been much less common since the stoppage of the great religious gatherings held in the Nerbudda valley during the hot season.

18. The mineral resources of Nimar have frequently been explored; Messrs. Jacob and Blackwell, and more recently Mr. W. H. Blanford of the Geological Survey, having thoroughly examined them. None have, I believe, been found by any of these gentlemen, except in the neighbourhood of the Nerbudda, and chiefly in Chandgurh. The following extracts from the reports of Mr. Jacob, Geologist to the Baroda Railway, and

* Railway levels give—

Rails at Boorhanpore Station	854·06	above sea,
Do. Chandnee	do.	839·35 ,,
Do. Dongurgaon	do.	1214·53 ,,
Do. Khundwa	do.	1007·11 ,,
Do. Bere	do.	951·99 ,,

Mr. Blackwell, Mineral viewer to the Bombay Government, will best describe their value. Mr. Jacob says :—

“As I consider the Poonassa and the Chandgurh districts of by far the greatest commercial importance, I will not say more of the intervening country.

19. “I arrived at Poonassa on the 12th of December and examined
Lithographic limestone. a large deposit of dolomite (carbonate of lime and magnesia), which exists there about two miles west of the town.

“The deposit is, practically speaking, quite inexhaustible, the out-crop being four miles in length; the stone, for a flux, is superior to pure limestone, magnesia being a much more powerful base than lime; it is also well adapted to lithographic purposes.

20. “From Poonassa I went to Chandgurh, where the red hematite ore of iron abounds. It is of surpassing richness, yielding 63·4 per cent, the theoretically pure ore giving only 69·34 per cent.

“At one of the mines (that marked as Upper Chandgurh on plan) the ore lies in rounded nodules on the surface, the depth varying from six inches to ten feet. It is dug out by the people with the greatest facility.

“This friable deposit is the result of the disintegration of the metalliferous rock beneath. I have verified this by direct observation, having laid bare several veins by cutting trenches down on them.

“In addition to the above loose ore, the ground for hundreds of acres is strewn with it, and every stream runs down quantities of the purest kind, the debris from the various veins intersected in their course.

“The river Nerbudda cuts four great veins within the short space of one mile, one of them having a breadth of 122 feet. The veins run almost vertically into either bank.

21. “At Makeraban, on the river Towa, two miles from its junction with the Nerbudda, is another friable
Iron ore of Makeraban. deposit, but its quality is not so good as that on the north side of the river. It is needless to dwell on the many places in the district where iron ore abounds; the deposit may be looked upon as inexhaustible.

22. "Since I left Poonassa Mr. Keatinge wished to find a mine close to the town, in order to employ the prisoners in the manufacture of iron,* and, having offered a reward of Rs. 25, he was shown two mines, which I have since examined. One of them is of much value.

"Your Superintendent, when he would be stationed in the district, would have no difficulty in laying bare deposits in addition to the very numerous ones which are at present known.

"The loose ore, which ought to be the first used, would be collected by the people of the neighbourhood. Allowing the liberal price of 4 pies per tokree, the ore would be placed at the depôts at the low price of 1s. 3½d. per ton. My camp was four miles from the mine, and yet the villagers offered to bring any quantity to it for that price.

"The district for miles round is dense jungle; the timber is of the highest specific gravity, including unjun and stunted teak; it is admirably suited to the manufacture of charcoal, and the supply will last for very many years.

"Yet it is well to know that a cheap communication can be opened with the inexhaustible coal-measures of Hoshungabad and Nursingpore (to be hereafter described), and that a line joining the coal with the iron mines would pass through a district of the most extraordinary fertility (*vide* Supplementary Report). I consider that, with proper coalings, charcoal cannot possibly cost more than 4s. per ton.

"I would furnish you with an approximate estimate of the expense of manufacturing iron at Poonassa with proper apparatus; but I consider that the fact that the inhabitants of Tendookheira manufacture malleable iron for £4 16s. per ton, under much less favourable circumstances, consuming more than four times the requisite quantity of fuel, to be much more valuable than any estimate I could give.

"Poonassa I would recommend as the proper site for an iron manufactory; it possesses the following advantages :—

"1st.—It is in British territory.

"2nd.—The soil about it is most fertile, the place healthy, and abundantly supplied with water at all seasons.

"3rd.—It is most conveniently situated with regard to trade; the country around it flat; and should a line from the Taptee valley branch to Jubbulpore be deemed advisable, it would pass in the vicinity, and the dolomite basin is close by.

"The north bank of the river is foreign territory† and very barren; besides, the dense jungle would render it most unhealthy.

* This scheme was afterwards started, but was abandoned after a short trial in favour of the Burwee Iron Works.

† It is now British, half of it, however, in Jageer.

"Your ore banks and mines would be ten miles distant from your works; but a proper road to them would enable you to draw the ore very cheaply, and the road being through jungle, your coalings would be along it.

"One circumstance vastly in favour of these mines is, that no shaft or pumps would at any time be required, as the great veins can all be worked and drained by adits."

23. Mr. Blackwell reports:—

"The principal workings are about 1½ mile from Chandgurh. The ore worked being a deposit or bed of iron gravel, extending over a considerable area, but in most places not more than a few feet thick. No vein is to be seen, but the deposit has probably been formed from the disintegration of the crop of a large mineral vein in its immediate neighbourhood, it being composed not of water-worn rounded pebbles, but of sharp angular fragments that have not the appearance of having been brought from a distance. A vein would probably be found in connection with this deposit if it were worked under European superintendence.

"Several small similar deposits of iron ore are found in the neighbourhood, and upon the road from the principal mines to Chandgurh a large mineral vein is most distinctly seen. It has been worked to a small extent by the natives, but abandoned, from the excessive hardness of the quartz rock with which the ore is associated.

"Near Bamber another deposit of iron gravel is worked, and here the vein is distinctly seen, and has been followed to a depth of some 20 feet; and, as at Chandgurh, smaller workings exist in the neighbourhood.

"All these ores are similar in character, they are compact red hematite; some of the ore is very rich, but the greater part is decidedly silicious in character. A piece of ore can scarcely be found in which strings or particles of quartz cannot be seen. The ore will not average more than from 50 to 55 per cent of iron, and being so decidedly silicious in character will be a rather refractory and difficult ore to smelt. The quantity of ore here is very large, and it is much richer and of better quality than any of the ore met with lower down the valley, with the exception of the hematite at Korundia.

24. "No limestone has been found in the immediate vicinity of the ore; the nearest at present known being the Poonassa dolomite, but as this contains, according to the analysis made in Bombay,—

Silica clay and peroxide of iron	... ..	29	per cent.
Carbonate of lime	... ..	44½	do.
Do. do. magnesia	... ..	26½	do.

100

it is a most unfit stone for a flux for a silicious iron ore.

“The country is entirely covered with a thin jungle, of a similar character to that at Burwe, which would yield a supply of fuel for small works; but the unpracticable nature of the country, the absence of roads, and the difficulty of crossing the Nerbudda, render this district unsuitable for commencement of the manufacture.”*

25. The natural vegetable products of Nimar are almost identical with those of the Central Provinces generally. In the Forest department I submitted a full report on the forests of the district in 1865, and drew up a list of the useful trees I had met with, which I attach to this report for facility of reference in an Appendix (B). Some observations on the forests as they now are will be given further on (Chapter XII).

26. The wild animals are also similar to those found throughout the districts of the Central Provinces. Bison (*Bos Gaurus*) and Sambur deer are very numerous in the hills which form the southern boundary of the district, particularly round the sources of the Mona and Ootaolee rivers. Tigers are also plentiful, and do enormous mischief to the numerous cattle. But the number of the latter, and the abundance of jungle game, are such, that I have never heard of a tiger becoming a regular man-eater in Nimar. They are very easily shot in the hot weather, the country being in many parts extremely favourable. Wolves are common in the north of the district, but do little mischief. Bears, perhaps, are answerable for more assaults on the human inhabitants than any other animal. Antelope are very scarce, from the prevalence of jungle and khureef cultivation. On the other hand, the painted partridge (*Francolinus pictus*) is extremely common in the partially cultivated tracts, and is an excellent bird both for the gun and for the table. The want of lakes or swampy tanks leads to an almost complete absence of water-fowl, snipe, &c.

Having thus attempted shortly to describe the physical configuration and natural resources of the district, I shall reserve the statistics relating to its social and economic aspects till I have glanced at its past history.

* I do not here describe the iron ores of Burwe, to utilize which so noble an attempt was made by Colonel Keatinge, as that tract has now been transferred to the Maharajah Holkar.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY.

27. From what has been said of the geographical position of Nimar it is not surprising to find it standing out in the light of history and enjoying a considerable degree of civilization at a period when the rest of the Central Provinces were consigned by remoteness and impenetrability to obscurity and barbarism. In everything it has been throughout, as it still is, a "border land."

28. In the first place it forms the junction point of the aboriginal tribes of Eastern and Western India. West of a line drawn north and south through the centre of the district we find Bheels and Kolees thickly occupying the hills, as they may also at one time have done the plains; while to the east are the Korkoos, a branch of the Kolarian stock which embraces the Sonthals of Bengal, spreads from the table-land of Chota Nagpore through Bijragoghurh as Kolees, appears in Chindwara as Buryas, in the Puchmuree hills as Mowassees, and in the Gawilghurh hills of Berar as Kauras. These are the two chief aboriginal races of Prant Nimar, a few Dravidian Gonds in the north-east corner marking the district also as the extreme western limit of that race. Nothing of the origin or advent of these tribes can be learnt except by the slow and uncertain progress of ethnological and linguistic research; and for the present they must be looked on as the aborigines of the land.

29. Of the earliest advent of the Aryan races in the Nerbudda valley the first accounts, mythical and unreliable at best, are to be found in the religious literature of the Hindoos. Mahesvatee, the modern Mahesir, a city in Holkar's Nimar on the north bank of the Nerbudda, is related to have been the capital of a race called Hy-hyas or Aswas, a branch of the great Scythian tribe of Takshacs or Taks, who overran Western India about five or six centuries before the Christian era*. They appear to have been Buddhists, and are related to have been in a state of chronic warfare with the worshippers of the true gods of the Hindoo Pantheon, by whom their king Sehesra Bahu was

* Tod's Rajasthan, Volume I., pp. 28 to 38, and II., p. 442.

eventually expelled with great slaughter under the leadership of the redoubtable Pursram, a version of whose well known exploits has been localized for the purpose in the gospel of the Sivites called the *Narmada Khanda**. It is said that Mahesir was turned upside down on this occasion, and that all old remains now dug out are found to be in that position! A hoard of silver coins was found here in A. D. 1838, which may have belonged to this ancient dynasty, and was recently described by the Reverend Dr. Wilson, before the Central Provinces' Antiquarian Society.† The *Narmada Khanda* says that Mandhatta was originally called *Vaiduria Munnee Purbut* (the diamond hill), and obtained its present name as a boon granted by Siva to Raja Mandhatree, seventeenth of the Solar race, who performed here a wonderful sacrifice in his honor. The *Vaiduria* hill is mentioned in the *Mahabharat* as one of the halting places of the Pandoo brothers after bathing in the *Payoshnee* river (? *Taptee*); and, as Raja Mandhatree is related to have been long antecedent to these heroes, this account of the origin of the name is something more than doubtful. Little less mythical are the earliest notices of southern Nimar, which centre round *Aseergurh* as those of the north do round *Mandhatta*. It is mentioned in Hindoo religious literature as a seat of the demi-god *Aswathama* (*vide* para. 41). In the Rajpoot poetry it is said to have been an early stronghold of the *Chohan Rajpoots*, the earliest date of whose power in this part of the country is placed by *Tod* at about 600, B. C.

30. The whole of Nimar must have subsequently belonged to the great Buddhist kingdom of the *Malwa Pramaras* (modernised into *Ponwars*), whose rule extended over all Central and Western India in the early centuries of the Christian era. Their capital was also at first *Mahesir*, but was transferred successively to *Dhar*, *Oojein*, and *Cheetore*. A curious written legend in Persian, in the possession of the *Kazee* of *Kurgond*, unauthenticated but apparently taken from an old source, ascribes the building of the forts on *Mandhatta*, *Mandoo*, and *Torunmal* (in *Kandeish*), to one *Tejoo Pramara* in *Sumbut* 372 (A. D. 315), by the aid of the *Philosopher's stone*, which he had obtained from one *Mandun Lohar*, after whom he called both *Mandoo* and *Mandhatta*. The old fortifications of *Mandhatta* embrace both the island, a precipitous block of green hornstone slate about one square mile in area, and several hills of similar formation on both sides of the river. They are built of huge hewn stones without cement, in the most ancient Hindoo style, and there are traces of a considerable popu-

* This *Khanda* professes to be a portion of the *Skanda Purana*, and is devoted to the glorification of the shrines of *Siva* along the *Nerbudda*, chiefly that of *Omkar* on the island of *Mandhatta* in the *Nerbudda* of the *Nimar* district. It would seem to be different from the *Khanda* of the *Vayu Purana*, mentioned by *Mr. Elliott* in his *Hoshungabad Settlement Report*, which is much more voluminous, and is known here as the "*Rewa Mahatmya*."

† *Vide Journal No. I, p. 2.*

lation having at one time occupied the spaces they enclose. There are also some temples in a similar kind of architecture, and probably as ancient as the walls. Both are, however, intermixed with many more recent additions, and the whole form a most interesting group of remains. Scattered allusions to them will appear further on, but a detailed description of them would be out of place here, and I must refer to the article "Mandhatta" in the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, (2nd Edition), where I have described them more fully. Though, on every side, at Bhilsa, Ajunta, and in Malwa itself, Buddhist remains are numerous; whether from the hardness of the rock having been unsuitable for their peculiar architecture, or from the country having then been desolate, or from the subsequent long presence of the Mahomedans, no trace of genuine Buddhist remains has ever been found in Nimar. I incline to believe that, till the revival of Brahmanism took place, and Buddhism had degenerated into Jainism, that is, in the 9th or 10th century of our era, Nimar was populated only by aboriginal tribes, with, perhaps, a few Rajpoot Chiefs and their attendant Brahmins, occupying here and there the strong places of the land.

31. From the beginning of the 9th century we begin to tread on firmer historical ground. Aseergurh appears to have been from this time held alternately by Pramara and Chohan Chiefs. The clan of Pramaras who occupied it bore the name of Tāk, which was also the generic name of the Scythian stock from which the Pramaras are related to have sprung. The poet Chand mentions the "Tāk from Aser" as one of the Chiefs who opposed an invasion of the Mahomedans* at Chestore early in the 9th century. In A. D. 1025 it was recovered by Ishtpal Chohan. In A. D. 1191 "the standard bearer, Tāk of Aser," is again related by Chand to have been one of the most distinguished leaders in the army collected by Pirthee Raj to oppose the advancing tide of Mahomedan conquest; and at the battle of Canouj he is mentioned by name "Chatto the Tāk" as among the wounded.†

32. The Pramaras of Nimar like those of Malwa, of whom they were a branch, appear to have professed the Jainism in Nimar. Jain faith. Remains of Jain temples still exist at Hursood, Woon, and Burwanee, of old Prant Nimar, now belonging to Hoshungabad District, to Holkar, and to the Burwanee State respectively. I also found Jain remains at Khundwa and Koladeet, in Central Nimar, and a tolerably perfect group of temples on the northern bank of the Neroudda opposite Mandhatta. A description of those at Burwanee will be found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*,

* This invasion by the Mahomedans rests only, I believe, on the evidence of the Rajpoot poetry.

† The name of Tāk has since disappeared from history. Seharan Tāk apostatised to Mahomedanism, and his son Zuffar Khan was the first independent King of Goojrat. *Ibid.*, Tod's Rajasthan Vol. I. p. 105.

No. XXXIII, for September 1849, and of those in the present district of Nimar in the articles "Khundwa" and "Mandhatta" in the *Central Provinces' Gazetteer* (2nd Edition). A few inscriptions dating from A.D. 1132 to 1263 mark the period at which this religion was probably in its glory in Nimar; and, excepting on the island of Mandhatta itself, where no worship but that of Siva and his mythological companions has ever intruded, all Nimar appears to have been at this time in the hands of the Jains. There are still a good many professors of the faith

among the mercantile classes, Khundwa Antiquity of Khundwa. is probably the place mentioned by Al Birunie, the Arabic Geographer, who wrote about the beginning of the 11th century, in the following passage:—"From Dhar going south you come to Malm-mahra at the distance of 20 parasangs, thence to Kundaki (or Kondonhon according to one version) 20, thence to Nama-wur on the banks of the Nerbudda 10,"* These distances correspond with those of the modern Dhar, Mahesir, Khundwa, and Nimawur, all of which we know from other evidence to be ancient, as well as those given in his itineraries usually do with the facts. Two enormous earth-work bunds, east and west of Khundwa, which must at one time have formed extensive lakes, are attributed to an ancient Raja and Ranee, probably the Pramaras of Nimar. An ancient signet is described in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V., p. 482, as having been found at Aseergurh. It is inscribed with the names of five "Maharajahs" in lineal descent, in the character of the 10th and 11th centuries, and states them to have been allied by marriage to the Gupta dynasty, probably of Malwa.

33. After the Mahomedan conquest of Upper India the Chohans The Chohans of Aser. appear to have again recovered Aseergurh, and held it till A. D. 1295, when Sultan Alla-oo-deen, returning from his bold raid on Deogurh in the Deccan, stormed the place and put Raohund Chohan and his whole family, except one son, to the sword. This youth, named Rainsee Chohan, escaped to Cheetore, and one of his descendants became Raja of Harontee†.

34. Others are said by tradition to have returned to the Aser Their modern representatives, hills, and to have founded the family of which Rana Nahur Singh, Zemindar of Peplode pergunnah, is now the representative. They have a tradition of an earlier tenure of Aseergurh, where also to this day they regularly resort to pay their devotions to *Ashapooree* (Fulfiller of hope), the tutelary goddess of their race, to whom is dedicated a small shrine in the fort. They possess a genealogical tree of 24 generations,

* Translated in Sir H. Elliott's *History of the Mahomedan period*, Vol. I., p. 60. In the oldest orthography of the name I have found Khundwa is spelt without an *h* after the *k*, though it is now always used.

† Tod's *Rajasthan*.

which might go back, without much stretching, to within 50 years of the slaughter of the Chohans of Aser. The Rana's family were originally established at a place called Busseegurh, higher up the Taptee valley, on the present eastern border of the Nimar district. This place is related to have been strongly fortified and of considerable extent and importance, but it is now hardly traceable in the jungle. It was attacked by the Gond Raja of Deogurh,* and after several years' fighting, the Chohans were driven down the valley to Sajnee, where they established a new seat of the family power. This was probably some time about the middle of the 14th century. Their family traditions say that their power extended at this time over the whole of what was afterwards known as the Sajnee (now Peplode) pergunnah, as well as the hill tracts of Berar south of the Taptee. The latter tracts are now held by several petty Chiefs, who trace their descent from the Sajnee Chohans by intermarriage with the aboriginal Korkoos of the Gawilgurh hills. They are superior in feature, &c., to the pure Korkoos, with whom they do not now intermarry, but still bear evident traces of their mixed descent. Their genealogies go back for about 13 generations, which would place the period of their separation from the pure Chohan stock at not more than 230 years ago.

35. In the meantime northern Nimar had fallen into the hands of other Chiefs of Rajpoot descent, who, as usual obtained the ascendant over the aboriginal tribes who held the country by intermarriage with their daughters. Another Chohan named Bharut Singh established himself originally at Bilora on the Nerbudda river, but in A. D. 1165, if we may trust the bardic genealogy of his descendants, transferred himself to the island of Mandhatta, and founded the family now represented by Raja Sirdar Singh of that place.

36. His genealogical history says that he took the place by force at the invitation of one Duriaonath, the solitary worshipper of the deserted shrine of Omkar, killing Nathoo Bheel, the aboriginal Chief who held the island, and did reverence to two terrible deities, Kal Bhairon and Kalee Devee, whose regular food was human beings. The austerities of the Gossein at the same time prevailed to shut up Kalee Devee in a cavern (the mouth of which is still shown), while Kal Bhairon was pacified by the promise that frequent human victims should precipitate themselves over the precipice below which was his favourite retreat. From this time the Rajas have been the hereditary custodians of the shrine of Omkar, and Kal Bhairon was regularly propitiated with human sacrifices till A. D. 1824, in which year a British officer witnessed the death of the

* A Gond Raja of Deogurh is mentioned by Chand towards the close of the 12th century.

last victim to the bloody god. The number of generations (28) in the Raja's family is not very inconsistent with the above legend; and the descendants of Duriaonath still officiate in the temple. The story probably points to the aboriginal origin of the worship of Siva, and to its revival as a fashionable faith, which we know to have taken place about the 10th or 11th century. The incorporation of aboriginal deities in the modern mythology of Hindooism is also strikingly illustrated by the adoption of the gods of the Bheel Chief of Mandhatta, as Kalce and Bhairava,—the consort and son of Siva. The worship of Siva must, however, have existed at Mandhatta before it came into possession of the present Raja's family. Omkar and Amreshwur, the former on the island and the latter on the southern bank of the Nerbudda, are two of the twelve great *lings* (still preeminent among Sivites) at which the worship of Siva was performed when Mahmood of Ghiznee destroyed that of Somnath (A. D. 1024*). I believe that, instead of killing Nathoo Bheel, Bharut Chohan only married his daughter. The Rajas are now Bhilalas, and admit their descent from such an intermarriage. Nathoo's descendants, pure Bheels, are still the custodians of all the oldest temples, all of which are now deserted, while the Raja holds only those which are obviously of comparatively modern construction. The traditions of the aboriginal custodians of the older shrines on the north-eastern face of the island and opposite bank of the Nerbudda, point to a more recent transfer of these two sacred shrines to their present situations, probably in order to give the Rajas a more complete control over the profitable pilgrimage to them, which set in on the revival of Hindooism, by bringing them within the fortifications of Mandhatta, and the corresponding rocky eminences on the south of the island. Indeed the present temple of Amreshwur was built only in the Peshwa's time, and is admitted by the Mandhatta Brahmins not to be on the site of the original shrine. At this period too the *Narmada Khanda* was doubtless written to exalt these shrines; the modern allusions in it at all events preclude the idea of its being of much greater age. The finest temple to Siva on the island is that of Sideshwur, now in ruins. It had four open pillared porticoes, covered with the most elaborate and skilful carving; and the face of the extensive plinth was decorated with a frieze of sculptured elephants, about one-third the size of nature, exquisitely rendered in full relief in a sandstone material, the attitudes in particular being singularly correct and characteristic. This frieze appears to have been left unfinished, ten or twelve of the slabs being still lying in a separate enclosure, which seems to have been the sculptor's workshop; and, like every other old figure on the hill, and in fact throughout Nimar, have been sadly mutilated by the iconoclastic Mahomedan. Only two great crescentades against Hindoo idolatry are known to have occurred in Nimar, the first by Alla-oo-deen in A. D. 1295,

* Vide Professor Wilson's essays on the religion of the Hindus, Vol. I., p. 223. For the meaning of the mystic monosyllable *Om*, which is the root of the name Omkar, see the same author's translations of the Vishnu Purana, Vol. I. p. 1.

and the second by Aurungzeeb in the 17th century. It is most improbable that such a pretentious temple or such exquisite architecture could have been in progress at the later date; and therefore it is most likely that the temple was still unfinished when ruthlessly demolished by Sultan Alla-oo-deen, though there is no actual record of his having taken Mandhatta when he sacked Aseergurh in A. D. 1295.

37. Another Rajpoot of the Baghel clan allied himself with the Bheels of the hills bordering the Nerbudda, it is said about the same time as Bharut Chohan, and founded the Bhilala family of Selance, subsequently distinguished as *grassia* robbers during the early part of the present century. They also acquired an interest in the temple revenues of Mandhatta by intermarriage with the Chohan Bhilalas, and are now represented by the impoverished Chiefs of Salanee and Bukutgurh.

38. In this general occupation of Nimar by Rajpoots from the north, central Nimar, comprising Khundwa and Bamgurh, fell to the lot of a Rahtore, who also soon intermarried with the Bheels, and fell into the ranks of the Bhilalaa. A younger branch of this family is still represented by Rao Dowlut Singh, Zemindar of Bamgurh; the elder, which long held Khundwa, having been displaced on the advent of the Mahomedans, and having now as its representative only the hereditary Patel of one Turuf (Mankur) in the village of Khundwa.

39. A family of Tuar Rajpoots also appears to have obtained a footing in western Nimar about the same time, its present representatives being Rana Keerut Singh of Burwe (recently made over to Holkar), and the Raja of Metawul in Holkar's Nimar. The poverty-stricken Rana of Poonassa is their only representative in the modern district. They do not appear to have connected themselves, like the other Chiefs, with the aboriginal tribes.

40. Thus it appears that for three or four centuries previous to the Mahomedan conquest of Nimar towards the middle of the 14th century, it was divided among numerous Chiefs of Rajpoot extraction, ruling over tribes of aborigines, and probably paying a nominal allegiance to the powerful Kings of Malwa and Deogurh to the north and south. That any considerable numbers of pure blooded Aryans had then settled in the district is highly improbable.

41. I have ventured to reject altogether Ferishta's legend of a shepherd Chief, called Asa Abeer, holding and giving his name to Aseergurh, and ruling all southern Nimar and Gondwana at the time of the conquest. His account is wholly irreconcilable with

the fact of the mention of Aser in the far earlier Rajpoot literature, as well as with what we know of the actual state of the country above described. Abul Fuzl also, who wrote about the same time as Ferishta, states that on the arrival of the Farookees in the Taptee valley it was altogether desolate, excepting that a few people inhabited Aseergurh, which was their place of worship, and called Aswathama (Gladwin's Ayeen Akberee, Vol. II., p. 60). The seat of the Saint Aswathama is still shown on the brink of the eastern tank in the fort (*vide* para. 39). Nor does the name of the place require the ingenious etymology of Ferishta. It may have been called from Aswathama, or from Asa, the goddess of the Chohans, or from the Aswa or Asi Scythians who held this country at the dawn of history. Many other places derive their names from the same root; as the other Aseergurh in the Chindwara district, that in the Konkan, Asigurh in Hansi of Northern India, which was also a seat of the Chohans, an Asagurh near Mahesir, and others which might be mentioned; the word Asia itself even being conjectured to be so derived. The truth may be that Ferishta was greatly ignorant of Hindoo history, and hearing the common tales of the ancient pastoral rulers and builders of forts, and the more particular legend, current throughout Western India, of an Asa Gowlee coeval with the Pandoo brothers, thought no harm in advancing him a few thousand years, and assigning him to the comparatively modern pastoral tribe of Aheer, in order to account ingeniously for the name of the place! I shall therefore omit Ferishta's account of the fabulous Asa, which may be found in Vol. IV., p. 287 of Briggs' translation of his history.

42. Malwa was first subdued by the Mahomedans in A. D. 1310, and in A. D. 1387 its Governor under the Mahomedan period, Delhi empire, Dilawurkhan Ghoree, assumed independence on the collapse of the empire. The Ghoree Kings of Malwa, in the reign of Mahomed Toghluq. The sway of the Ghoree princes, who established their capital at Mandoo, on the crest of the Vindhya range overlooking the Nimar basin, was doubtless at once extended over the northern part of this district. In A. D. 1420 the second of the dynasty, Sultan Hoshung, took the Gond fort of Kherla, and must have previously occupied the intermediate district of Nimar. Modern Nimar, however, formed but an insignificant portion of the territory of the Ghoree sovereigns, and would appear to have been even then scantily populated except by aboriginal tribes. Nor have I been able to supplement the already published histories* of the dynasty by any local information of importance. The few noteworthy passages in their connection with the district may therefore be advantageously incorporated with a notice of the Farookee dynasty of southern Nimar.

* For a detailed history of the Ghorees I would refer to Ferishta, and Sir J. Malcolm's Central India; and for a description of their once splendid, but now desolate, capital of Mandoo, to Fergusson's architecture, and a volume of excellent sketches, with descriptive letter press, published in 1860 by Captain Claudius Hays of the Madras Army.

43. One matter, however, deserves separate mention. During their rule in Nimar a second influx of Rajpoots appears to have occurred; all the chief families in the district, except the Chohans, Tuars, and Bhilalas, tracing back the establishment of their "Wuttuns" or Zemindarees for 18 or 20 generations, to the time of the "Ghoree Shah Badshah." All the country not already held by the Chohan, Tuar, and Bhilala Chiefs, appears to have been then parcelled out into *Tuppas* among the leaders of the immigrant clans. But they occupied an inferior position to that of the earlier established Chiefs, contenting themselves with the title of Thakoor, while the Chohans and Tuars were called Rana, and the Bhilalas Rao and Raja. The principal representatives of these Thakoors now left in the district are Hurree Singh of Jamlee Tuppa, a Moree Rajpoot claiming direct descent from the old Morees of Chetore, and Humeer Singh of Tuppa Ghotee, a Gour Rajpoot. Tuppas Desgaon, Dhumbaon, Kharwa, and Dewal, are also still held in great part by the descendants of their former Thakoors; but most of the others have been more or less completely broken up by the revenue farming system of the Mahratta, and our own early maladministration.

44. About the same time as the conquest of northern Nimar from Delhi, the portion of the modern district lying in the Taptee valley also became the seat of a Mahomedan power. After the raid of Alla-oo-deen in A. D. 1295, the Mahomedan does not appear in this part of the district for seventy-five years, till in A. D. 1370 Mulik Raja Farookee*, a soldier of fortune in the service of the Emperor Feroze Toghluks†, having rendered the King a service, received as reward the yet unconquered districts of Kuronde and Talnere, which latter appears to have comprised the portion of the Taptee valley now in the Nimar district. These districts he subdued without trouble, and, having sent a magnificent present from his plunder to the King, was invested with the title of *Sipah Salar* of Khandeish. His first stronghold was the fort of Talnere in the Taptee valley; and thence, having acquired in a few years a force of 12,000 horse, he is stated by Ferishta to have levied tribute from the Gond Chiefs of the Sautpoora hills as far as Gurra Mundla in the upper Nerbudda valley. He also strengthened his position by a marriage between his son and the daughter of the first of the Ghoree sovereigns of Malwa, and after narrowly escaping extinction at the hands of the independent King of Goojrat whom he had wantonly provoked, left to his son Mulik Nusseer a province ripe for independence in A. D. 1399.

* The following account of the Farookee kings of Boorhanpore is chiefly condensed from the history of Ferishta, our only authority, who collected the materials when he visited Boorhanpore in A. D. 1604, only 5 years after the deposition by Akber of the last of the dynasty:

† When he had risen to distinction, a descent from a noble family, and even (by a round about route) from the Caliph Omar, was as usual, invented for him.

45. Mulik Nusseer accordingly assumed the insignia of royalty, and was invested with the title of *Khan* by Nusseer Khan Farookee, the King of Goojrat, a title ever afterwards borne by the Farookees, except during the short intervals when they mistakenly thought themselves sufficiently powerful to exchange it for the more regal "Shah." From this time, according to Abul Fuzl, his kingdom was called Khandeish, the etymology of which is obvious. Nusseer Khan made himself master of the fortified hill of Aseergurh, which has already been mentioned as the hold of various Rajpoot Chiefs. Ferishta's legend of the shepherd Chief Asa Aheer is appropriately followed up by a detailed account of the capture of his fort by Nusseer Khan, and the extermination of the Chief's family through an act of the meanest treachery. But Abul Fuzl's statement as to its then state of abandonment is so greatly more consonant with our other knowledge, that it seems more probable that Nusseer Khan, on extending his authority from Talnere up the then almost uninhabited Taptee valley, took possession of the hill amongst other places without opposition.

46. The story of the founding by Nusseer Khan of the twin towns of Boorhanpore and Zeinabad, on either bank of the Taptee, is thus related by Ferishta. "The moment that this news* reached Sheikh Zein-ood-deen of Dowlutabad, the tutelary saint of the family, he proceeded towards Khandeish to congratulate Mulik Nusseer on his success against the infidels; and the latter with all his family, marched to meet the holy personage, and encamped on the western bank of the river Taptee. Sheikh Zein-ood-deen arrived with a number of his disciples, and they pitched their tents on the eastern bank, Mulik Nusseer went over the river, and endeavoured to persuade the Sheikh to return with him to Aser, but he declined doing so, as he said he had not permission to cross the Taptee. After remaining some time in their respective encampments on the western and eastern banks, the Sheikh desired to take his leave, but Mulik Nusseer begged that he would condescend to accept of an estate in Khandeish. The Sheikh answered, that dervishes had no occasion for estates; but begged of Mulik Nusseer to build a town on the eastern bank of the river, and call it, after himself, Zeinabad,† and a city on the western, where he was himself encamped, to be called Boorhanpore, in honor of the famous Sheikh Boorhan-ood-deen‡ of Dowlutabad; and he recommended also that he should make the latter his capital, both of which towns were accordingly built, and Boorhanpore afterwards became the capital of the Farookee dynasty." I am told, however, that the accepted date of the great Sheikh Boorhan's life is inconsistent with this

* The capture of Aseergurh.

† "Jehanabad of the maps."

‡ "These two holy personages are buried at the town of Roza, near Dowlutabad, and their names are still held in great veneration in the Deccan."

story; and certainly the tomb of the Shekh Boorhan, after whom the city is said to be called, is still shown at Boorhanpore, while he was as certainly buried at Roza in the Deccan, so that this too may not possibly be only another invention of Ferishta's!

47. Nusseer Khan still further strengthened himself by marrying his daughter* to the son of the Bahmancee king of the Deccan, but afterwards quarrelled with that prince, and, in conjunction with the independent Prince of Gondwana (?), invaded his province of Berar. He was, however, quickly dislodged, and, retreating on Boorhanpore, was disastrously routed at the pass of Rohunkhera, about twenty miles south of that place. He then fled to the hill fort of Telung (Aseergurh was then probably indefensible), and Boorhanpore was sacked by the conqueror, Nusseer Khan's palace even being destroyed to its foundations. Among the plunder were 70 elephants and some pieces of artillery—then scarce and valuable articles. Nusseer Khan reigned 40 years and died in A. D. 1473.

48. The 3rd and 4th Farookees appear to have passed uneventful reigns, which together lasted 20 years.

Adil Khan Farookee I. The fifth of the race, Adil Khan I, was a prince of great energy of character. Under him the province of Khandeish is said by Ferishta to have attained a degree of prosperity which it had never known under any of its former rulers. He made vassals of all the Chiefs of Gondwana as far as Gurra Mundla, and repressed the Bheel robbers of the mountains. He strengthened greatly the fortifications of Aseergurh;† adding to it the lower fort called Mallygurh, and is re-

* The Beebee Musjid, probably the eldest monument in Boorhanpore, is said to have been built by this Princess.

† The following account of the Fortress of Aseergurh by Colonel Blacker will be useful in explaining this and subsequent allusions to it. I believe that the earliest positions of the present fortifications date from this period. "The upper fort, in its greatest length from east to west, is about eleven hundred yards, and in its extreme breadth from north to south about six hundred; but owing to the irregularity of its shape, the area will not be found to be more than three hundred thousand square yards. It crowns the top of a detached hill seven hundred and fifty feet in height, and round the foot of the wall enclosing the area is a bluff precipice, from eighty to one hundred and twenty feet in perpendicular depth, so well scarped as to leave no avenues of ascent except two places. To fortify these has therefore been the principal care in constructing the upper fort, for the wall which skirts the precipice is no more than a low curtain, except where the guns are placed in battery. This is one of the few hill forts possessing an abundant supply of water which is not commanded within common range; but it fully participates in the common disadvantage attending similar places of strength, by affording cover in every direction to the approaches of an enemy through the numerous ravines by which its inferior ramifications are separated. In one of these, which terminates the upper fort, is the northern avenue, where the hill is highest; and to bar access to the place at that point, an outer rampart, containing four casemates with embrasures eighteen feet high, as many thick, and one hundred and ninety feet long, crosses it from one part of the interior wall to another, where a re-entering angle is formed by the works. A sally-port of extraordinary construction descends through the rock at the south-eastern extremity, and

ported to have built many fine palaces and a citadel in Boorhanpore, of which however there are now no remains that can be recognized among the more recent and extensive works of Shah Jehan and Aurungzeeb, excepting two minarets of rough masonry standing in the north-western angle of the fort, a massively built musjid, with a remarkably tall cupola, now used as a dispensary (Peer Bunna Musjid), and the old Eedgah outside the walls of the present city. Thus prepared he assumed the title of Shah-i-Jharkund (king of the forests), and withheld the tribute which the Farookees had till then paid to the king of Goojrat. The latter proceeded to exact it by force; and the ruler of Khandeish retreated to Aseergurb, from which he was compelled to agree to the demands of his lord paramount. According to another account given by Ferishta in his history of the Nizam-Shahee kings, the Goojrat prince was defeated before Aser by the united forces of the kings of Berar and Khandeish, aided by Ahmud Nizam Shah, but afterwards returned and exacted the tribute as related.

49. His successor Daood Khan was rash enough to attack the Bheiry king of Ahmednuggur, and had again to retire to Aser, whence he sought aid from the king of Malwa. The invading army on this retired, but Daood Khan was compelled to acknowledge himself the vassal of the Mandoo Prince. He died in A. D. 1510, and was the first of his race buried at Boorhanpore, his ancestors having all been entombed at their old capital, Talnere.

50. His only son was poisoned a few days after, and an attempt was made by some of the officers of State to give the succession to Ahun Khan, a distant connection of the family, resident at Ahmednuggur. But Mahomed Shah, king of Goojrat, interfered in favour of Adil Khan, grandson of Nusseer Khan, the second Farookee, and also a grandson of his own on the mother's side; and, coming to Boorhanpore with an army, placed him on the throne as Adil Khan II, giving him, moreover, his own half-sister, the daughter of Moozaffer Shah II, of Goojrat, in marriage. The principal events recorded of his reign are attempts on the part of the same Ahun Khan to oust him by the aid of the princes of the Deccan,

is easily blocked on necessity by dropping down materials at certain stages which are open to the top. The principal avenue to the fort is on the south-west side, where there is consequently a double line of works above; the lower of which, twenty-five feet in height, runs along the bluff precipice, and the entrance passes through five gateways by a steep ascent of stone steps. The masonry here is uncommonly fine, as the natural impediments are on this side least difficult; and on this account a third line of works, called the lower fort, embraces an inferior branch of the hill immediately above the pettah. The wall is about thirty feet in height with towers; and at its northern and southern extremities it ascends to connect itself with the upper works. The pettah, which is by no means large, has a partial wall on the southern side, where there is a gate; but in other quarters it is open, and surrounded by ravines and deep hollows extending far in every direction.

which were always baffled by the interference of the Goojrat king. Adil Khar also joined the latter in an invasion of Malwa, undertaken for the expulsion of the Rajpoot soldiery of that kingdom, who had seized the Government from the Mahomedan ruler. On this occasion the hitherto impregnable stronghold of Mandoo was taken by assault, and 19,000 of the Rajpoots were put to the sword.

51. He was succeeded in 1520 by his son Meeran Mahomed Khan, who was destined to occupy for a short time a higher position than any other of the Farookees. In concert with his brother-in-law, Bahadur Shah of Goojrat, he invaded and occupied the kingdom of Malwa; and was ruling at Mandoo when Bahadur Shah died without an heir, and he was also (by virtue of his marriage with the king's sister) crowned king of Goojrat; unfortunately however he died immediately afterwards on his way to the Goojrat capital.

52. His brother Meeran Moobarik Khan succeeded him in the kingdom of Khandeish, and assumed the royal title of Shah. He attempted also to seize the throne of Goojrat, but the Goojratee nobles preferred a nephew of their late Prince Bahadur Shah, and repelled the Farookee, compelling him to take refuge in Aseergurh, and exacting from him a heavy tribute. During the reign of this prince the first indication occurred of the approaching absorption of the petty kingdoms of the Deccan by the Moghul empire of Delhi. In A. D. 1572 the Malwa king, Baz Bahadur, was driven from his kingdom and took refuge at Boorhaapore; but the Moghul army followed him up and took and sacked the city. On their retreat, however, laden with plunder, they were overtaken by a force got together by the rulers of Malwa, Khandeish, and Berar, and cut to pieces on the banks of the Nerbudda.

53. The reign of his son and successor, Meeran Mahomed Khan, was one continued disaster. In an attempt to assert his claim to the throne of Goojrat he was defeated and lost the whole of his elephants, artillery, and camp equipage, while Khandeish was invaded and plundered. Shortly after, the Bheiry sovereign of Ahmedunggur attacked him, sacked Boorhaapore again, and drove the Farookee to his usual retreat at Aseergurh, which he besieged, compelling Meeran Mahomed Shah to purchase peace by a payment of four lakhs of rupees.

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53. The reign of his son and successor, Meeran Mahomed Khan, was one continued disaster. In an attempt to assert his claim to the throne of Goojrat he was defeated and lost the whole of his elephants, artillery, and camp equipage, while Khandeish was invaded and plundered. Shortly after, the Bheiry sovereign of Ahmednuggur attacked him, sacked Boorhanpore again, and drove the Farookee to his usual retreat at Aseergurb, which he besieged, compelling Meeran Mahomed Shah to purchase peace by a payment of four lakhs of rupees.

54. He died in 1576, and was succeeded by his brother Raja Alee Khan Farookee, who dropped the title of Shah, and acknowledged himself a vassal of the great Akber, who had already annexed the territories of the kings of Malwa and Goojrat. Khandeish narrowly escaped the same fate. On

Syud Mortuza, Governor of Berar, having sacked unfortunate Boorhanpore again in his retreat from a civil war in the Deccan, Raja Alee Khan pursued and defeated him on the banks of the Nerbudda, capturing among other things 100 elephants. On this Syud Mortuza fled to Akber and invited him to invade Khandeish, which he was only too ready to do. But Raja Alee Khan diverted him from this purpose for the time, by presenting him with all the elephants he had captured and a quantity of money besides. He afterwards joined the Emperor's son, Prince Moorad Mirza, in his invasion of the Deccan, and was killed there by the explosion of a powder tumbril. The fine Jama Musjid in Boorhanpore was built by Raja Alee Khan, and is, in my opinion, superior to any work of the contemporaneous dynasty at Mandoo. It is curious that all the Mandoo mosques of this period have cupolas but no minarets, while those of Boorhanpore are just the reverse, having fully developed minars but, except in one instance, no cupolas. The tombs too of the Farookees are of a light spire-like form, while all those at Mandoo are heavy domed edifices. The only written relics of the Farookees that I have found belong to the reign of this prince, and are in the shape of inscriptions on three long iron one-pounder guns taken from Aseergurh, and now lying in the Khundwa public garden. The inscriptions merely state that they were constructed and placed in Aser by *Alee Shah* (this does not agree with Ferishta's statement that he had dropped the royal title) in 998 H. (A. D., 1589). One of these guns is a breech-loader, on the usual system of mechanism found in the most ancient breech-loading cannon, namely, a removeable chamber containing the charge (now missing) wedged into an open slot in the breech of the gun. The earliest breech-loading cannon known in Europe date from the middle of the 15th century, and are constructed precisely on this principle. All these guns are of superior construction to the rude pieces to be seen at Mandoo.

55. His son Bahadur Khan, who succeeded him, appears to have inherited little of the wisdom of his father. *The last of the Farookees.* On the arrival of Akber at Mandoo, on his way to the conquest of the Deccan, he defied him, and prepared to hold against him the fortress of Aser. "To this end," says Ferishta, "when Akber Padshah arrived at Mandoo with the avowed intention of invading the Deccan, Bahadur Khan, instead of adopting the policy of his father, in relying on the honour of Akber, and going with an army to co-operate with him, shut himself up in the fort of Aser, and commenced preparations to withstand a siege. To this end he invited fifteen thousand persons, including labourers, artisans, and shop-keepers, into the place, and filled it with horses and cattle, in order that they might serve for work, and eventually for food and other purposes. When Akber Padshah heard of these proceedings, he sent orders to Khan Khanan, and to the Prince Daniel Mirza, to continue the siege of Ahmednuggur, while he himself marched to the south and occupied

Boothanpore, leaving one of his generals to besiege Aser. The blockade of this fortress continued for a length of time, till the air from filth became fetid and an epidemic disease raged, caused by the number of cattle which daily died. At this period a prevalent report was spread and generally believed in the garrison, that Akber had the power of reducing forts by the art of necromancy and that magicians accompanied him for that purpose. Bahadur Khan, believing that his misfortunes arose from the above-mentioned cause, took no means to counteract the evils by which he was surrounded. He neither gave orders for the removal of the dead cattle, for the establishment of hospitals, nor for sending out useless persons, till at length the soldiers, worn out, became quite careless on duty; and the Moghuls stormed and carried the lower fort called Mallygur. Nothing could exceed the infatuation of Bahadur Khan, who, although he had ten years' grain, and money to an enormous amount, still kept the troops in arrears; and they, seeing that no redress was to be expected, resolved to seize him, and to deliver him over to Akber Padshah. Before this project was carried into effect Bahadur Khan discovered the plot, and consulted his officers, who all agreed it was too late to think of a remedy. The pestilence raged with great fury, the troops were completely exhausted, and nothing remained but to open negotiations for the surrender of the fort, on condition that the lives of the garrison should be spared, and that they should march out with their property. The terms were acceded to, with the exception of the last proposition regarding the Khan's private property, all of which fell into the king's hands; and Bahadur Khan, the last of the Farookee dynasty, humbled himself before the throne of Akber Padshah in the year 1008,* while the impregnable fortress of Aser, with ten years' provisions and countless treasures, fell into the hands of the conqueror." Tradition adds that Bahadur Khan was taken by Akber along with him to Lahore, where he died. The only memorial now left of him is the town of Bahadur-poor, which he founded, about three miles south-west of the city. Thus ended the dynasty of the Farookees, which had ruled Khandeish for 208 years. Their independence, it has been seen, was after all of a very modified nature. They were throughout under the Suzerainty of the kings either of Goojrat or Malwa; and on the few occasions when they ventured to throw it off, were quickly brought to their senses by an attack which they in no case successfully resisted. Their sole strength lay in the fortress of Aser, to which they invariably retired when pressed from without.

Nimar attached to the Delhi empire.

56. Nimar and Khandeish were now incorporated with the Delhi empire.

* This date does not exactly agree with that of a Persian inscription, commemorative of the event, cut in the rock at the main gateway of the fort, namely the 45th of Akber's reign, 1009 H., = A. D., 1600. But in his general history of Akber's reign, Ferishta gives the date correctly in the beginning of A. D., 1600.

57. Of the circumstances of the district at this time something is to be learnt from the writings of Abul Fuzl ; but, as that author was killed only two years after the conquest, it may be concluded that his information regarding this part of the empire is neither very full nor reliable. Prant Nimar was incorporated with the Souba or governorship of Malwa, and was divided into Sirkars Handia and Beejagurh and a portion of Sirkar Mandoo. The two former comprised 55 mehals, many of which are still recognizable. Of the latter, only Choollee Mahesir, Dhurgaon, and Mandhatta, are now recognizable in the Ayeen Akbaree. Khandeish, including the southern part of the present Nimar District, and also it seems the Jamode pergunnah of modern Berar, was constituted a separate Souba. Having been so recently annexed to the empire, it is not sub-divided into Sirkars in the Ayeen Akbaree ; but the names of its 32 mehals are given, among which are included Aser and Manjrode of the present district. Its inhabitants are divided into Koonbees, Bheels, and Gonds,* the latter of whom "tamed lions so as to make them do anything they please, and many wonderful stories are told about them,"—from which we may conclude that very little was known about them. The country is stated to be well cultivated ; but at the same time wild elephants abounded, and were captured in both Handia and Beejagurh.† Khandeish was even then celebrated for its cloth manufactures. In Boorhanpore "were people of all nations ; and it abounded in handicraftsmen." The city is described as "covered with dust in summer, and in the rains its streets were covered with mud and slime" (which they continued to be until recently paved with stone). The country to the east, though included in the Souba of Berar, is said to have been still held by powerful independent Chiefs with Rajpoot names, and many independent Chiefs are also named as holding the hilly country to the west and south-west of Nimar.

58. Khandeish and the subsequent conquests of Akber in Berar and Ahmednuggur were formed into a vice-royalty under the government of the Prince Daniel,‡ who shortly afterwards (A. D. 1605) drank himself to death at Boorhanpore.

* Vide para. 413.

† This is probably the most western point where the existence of the Indian elephant in a wild state has been recorded. They have long since been driven eastward to the forests of Chuteesgurh.

‡ (Ferishta). This fact is also commemorated by an inscription on the rock of Aseer-gurh, in which Khandeish is termed Dandes, a change which Abul Fuzl says was made in compliment to the Prince Daniel. Like many other innovations, however, of the great monarch, the new nomenclature proved powerless against the force of usage, and the country always continued to be termed Khandeish even in Mahomedan literature.

59. From Akber's conquest are doubtless to be dated most of the measures which brought about a regular Settlement of the country, till then administered by a number of feudal barons under the military domination of the Ghorees and Farookees. Most of these semi-independent Chiefs were then reduced to the position of Jageerdars or Zemindars (assignees of the whole or a portion of the revenues). The presence of a brilliant Court and numerous troops at Boorhanpore must have caused an increased demand for food, and led to the agricultural occupation of the district by the regular cultivating classes, large bodies of whom are known to have immigrated at this time from Hindoostan, the Deccan, and Goojrat. The principal Bheel and Rajpoot Chiefs of the hill country on the borders of the district were subsidized, and constituted the repressers of the hill robbers.* The worst of these plunderers seem to have been the *Nahals*. "Nahal, Bheel, Kolea" is the phrase used generally in old documents for hill plunderers, who are also all included in the term "Mowassee." The Raja of Jeetgurb and Mokkot has a long account in his genealogy of a treacherous massacre by his ancestor, in the time of Akber, of a whole tribe of these Nahals, in reward for which he got Jeetgurb in Jageer. Indeed they seem to have been inveterate caterans, whom nothing but extermination could put down. They do not now exist as a tribe, but only in scattered families, who are mostly in the position of hereditary village watchmen. The principal Rajpoot Chiefs appear to have been left with much of their old power by Akber, and even to have been treated with high honors and trust by him. The Chohans of Sajnee (para : 34) do not appear to have lost their feudatory position till about the time of Aurungzeeb; and an inscription on the rock of Aseergurb relates the investiture of Raja Gopal of Mandhatta with the title of "Alea Vihar," and a Munsub of 5,000 horse (the fourth rank in the empire after His Majesty), and of his laying the foundation of the main gateway of the present fort when Governor of Aseergurb in the year 1,602, two years after its capture by Akber.

60. In 1614 Sir T. Roe, ambassador from James I. of England to the Emperor Jehangeer "commonly called the great Moghul," arrived at Boorhanpore, then governed by the Emperor's son, Prince Purvez. According to his account the city had not then attained to any great architectural splendour:—"14th November, fifteen miles east from Surat. The country miserable and barren, the towns and villages built with mud. At Bahadurpoor, a village two miles short of Boorhanpore, I saw some of the ordnance, which is most too short, and too open, in the bore. The Cutwall, an officer of the King's so called,

* *File No. CLXX.*—Aitcheson's Treaties. The Chiefs there mentioned are only a few of the number whom tradition and family genealogies state to have been thus subsidized in the time of Akber.

met me, well attended with sixteen colours carried before him, and conducted me to the seraglio, where I was appointed to lodge. He took his leave at the gate, which made a handsome front of stone, but when in I had four chambers allotted me like ovens, and no bigger, round at the top, made of brick in the side of a wall, so that I lay in my tent; the Cutwall making his excuse, that it was the best lodging in the town, as I found it was; all the place being only mud cottages except the Prince's house, the Chan's, and some few others. I was conducted by the Cutwall to visit the Prince, in whose outward court I found about a hundred gentlemen a horseback, waiting to salute him at his coming out. He sat high in a gallery that went round, with a canopy over him, and a carpet before him. An officer told me as I approached I must touch the ground with my head bare, which I refused, and went on to a place right under him railed in, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body: so I went within, where were all the great men of the town with their hands before them like slaves. The place was covered over head with a rich canopy and under foot all with carpets: it was like a great stage, and the Prince sat at the upper end of it. Having no place assigned, I stood right before him, he refusing to admit me to come up the steps, or to allow me a chair. Having received my presents he offered to go into another room, where I should be allowed to sit; but, by the way, he made himself drunk out of a case of bottles I gave him, and so the visit ended."

61. Boorhanpore had now become one of the principal cities in the empire. Being the capital of the frontier province during the succeeding century of threefold contention between the central power at Delhi, the rebellious nobles of the Deccan, and the rising Mahratta power. Its governorship was always considered one of the most important posts under the empire. The local history of this period is extremely obscure, though many of the most prominent events of the time took place on the soil of Nimar. Scattered references to it are however not unfrequent among the Mahomedan writers on the affairs of the Deccan; and a few memorials of the time still remain in the district.

62. In the reign of Jehangeer, Khandeish was attacked 'by the king of Beejapoor, and the Seubadar* was besieged in Boorhanpore, until Prince Kur- rum, afterwards Shah Jehan, advanced to his relief, and defeated the Deccanees in a bloody battle fought near the city.† The Prince Shah Jehan, after assassinating his elder brother,

* Abdool Ruheem Khan Khanan. His son, Shah Nurvaz, became famous as a Moghul leader and married his daughter to the Emperor Shah Jehan. His tomb near Boorhanpore, built by himself during his lifetime, is the finest specimen of Mahomedan architecture now remaining.

† Lub-al Tawarikh, quoted by Scott.

and rebelling against his father Jehangeer, was defeated near Boorhanpore by an army of the latter under the Rajpoot Rao Ruttun of Haroutee. This prince was the 17th in descent from the Rainsee Chohan, who escaped from Aseergurh when it was sacked by Alla-oo-deen (para 33). For his services on this occasion he was rewarded by the governorship of the city of Boorhanpore, near which he was afterwards killed in action. His cenotaph and the remains of a handsome palace in the suburbs still remain as memorials of his rule.

63. In the reign of Shah Jehan (A. D., 1635) the conquests of the empire in the Deccan were re-divided into two provinces, of one of which, including the Soubas of Khandeish and Berar, Boorhanpore remained the capital. At the same time the whole of Sirkars Handia and Beejagurh, south of the Nerbudda (which included the whole of the modern district of Nimar), were transferred from Souba Malwa to Souba Khandeish.* The seat of the vice-royalty of the Deccan was, however, transferred from Boorhanpore to Aurungabad.

64. The reign of Shah Jehan was also marked by a complete re-organization of the revenue system of the conquests of the Deccan, some account of which will be given further on. At this time also (1637-38 A. D.) the Fuslee era of Hindostan was introduced.†

65. The district and the capital of Boorhanpore attained the height of their prosperity during the reign of Shah Jehan. The following passage from the work of Tavernier, who visited the city in 1641 and 1658, will convey some idea of the extent and variety of its manufactures at this period, though at the latter date when he wrote it was already beginning to decay :--“ It is a great city, very much ruined, the houses being for the most part thatched with straw. There is also a great castle in the midst of the city, where the Governor lives. The government of this province is a very considerable command, only conferred upon the son and uncle of the king. There is a great trade in this city, and as well in Brampore as over all the province; there is made a prodigious quantity of Calicuts, very clear and white, which are transported into Persia, Turkey, and Muscovia, Poland, Arabia, to Grand Cairo, and other places. There are some which are painted with several colours, with flowers, of which the women make veils and scarfs, — the same Calicuts serve for coverlets of beds and for handkerchiefs.

* Manuscript by one Thakoor Lal, a Kayut clerk in the office of the Souba of Khandeish.

† The commencement of the Fuslee era in the Deccan has somehow come to be reckoned 3 years earlier than in Hindostan. It is always so calculated in Mahrathi documents, though in purely Persian ones the Hindoostan date is preserved. The “border land” is of course unusually favoured in the way of a multiplicity of eras, Sumbut, Shaka, both Fuslees, Arabee, Soorsun, and Hijree, are all indiscriminately used. Both the Hindoostan and Deccan methods of reckoning the commencement of the Hindoo year are also used, which frequently gives rise to mistakes in calculating dates.

There is another sort of linen which they never dye, with a stripe or two of gold or silver quite through the piece, and at each end from the breadth one inch to twelve or fifteen, in some more, in some less, they fix a tissue of gold, silver, and silk intermixed with flowers, whereof there is no wrong side, both sides being as fair the one as the other. If these pieces, which they carry into Poland, where they have a vast utterance, want at each end three or four inches at the least of gold or silver; or if that gold or silver become tarnished in being carried by sea from Surat to Oormus, and from Trebizan to Mangala, or any other ports upon the Black Sea, the merchant shall have much ado to put them off without great loss. He must take care that his goods be packed up in good bales, that no wet may get in, which for so long a voyage requires great care and trouble. Some of these linens are made purposely for swath-bands or sashes, and those pieces are called Orris. They contain from fifteen to twenty ells, and cost from a hundred to a hundred and fifty rupees, the least not being under ten or twelve ells. Those that are not above two ells long, are worn by the ladies of quality for veils and scarfs, of which there is a vast quantity vended in Persia and Turkey. They make at Brampore also other sorts of cotton linen, for, indeed, there is no province in all the Indies which more abounds in cotton." At this time also were constructed the first of the eight systems of water-works, which at different times have supplied the city with water*. They must have been enormously expen-

* In consequence of the geological structure of the Taptee valley, Boorhanpore, which is situated in the centre of the basin, can only obtain water from wells at a great depth; and even then the well water is apt to prove brackish, from the soda and other salts existing in the sub-soil of these alluvial valleys. To provide a plentiful supply to this important city, these numerous series of works were constructed. Six of the eight are on one principle, viz., a number of wells connected by a subterranean gallery, so arranged as to catch the percolation of the water from the neighbouring hills towards the centre of the valley. When a sufficient supply has thus been obtained, it is led off in a masonry adit pipe to its destination in the city or its neighbourhood. Of the two sets above-mentioned, one (Phuta Bundara) supplies the city and palace, and the other (Tirkootee) the suburban garden called Lall Bagh. They were constructed about A. D. 1640 to 1650. Of the other four sets on this plan, three go to the town of Bahadurpoor, and were constructed between A. D. 1690 and 1710, and one to the palace erected by Rao Ruttun of Haroutee (*vide* para. 62). The two remaining sets were channels led off from dams run across the beds of two small streams, both called Ootaolee, on the north and south sides respectively of the Taptee. They ran partly underground, and partly on the surface. That on the north of the town is said by tradition to have been constructed by Jehangeer about A. D. 1618 to supply the fine serai he built in the town. It can still be traced a little beyond the village of Lodeepoora, now separate, but once a part of Boorhanpore. The set south of the river was constructed in A. D. 1709 by the Nawab Kalee Khan to supply the Ahookhana, a deer park enclosing a spacious masonry summer house, and was also used to some extent for irrigation. Wherever these water tunnels run underground they are generally furnished at short intervals with *bumbas*, or large hollow columns of masonry carried up to the highest level of the water at its source. They have been conjectured to have served more than one purpose; but, as each has at bottom a silt trap, the probability is that they were chiefly intended to facilitate the cleaning of the passages. Sir Thomas Roe mentions the fact of Europeans having been engaged in projecting similar water-works in India in the reign of Jehangeer; and it is not impossible that some of those at Boorhanpore were constructed by European skill. Several full reports have been written on these works by the district engineers and as they are available in the district office, I need not further dilate upon the subject.

rive, and the engineering skill displayed in their design is of no mean sort. Doubtless, the plentiful supply of the pure element thus secured tended greatly towards the extension of the city. It is difficult now to ascertain how far the really populous part of it extended. Thackoor Lal's manuscript states that it stretched from the Ootaolee to the Pandurala nala (still so named) north and south. The Taptee was always reckoned its eastern limit, but how far it extended westwards can only now be ascertained approximately from the mosques and other ruins that still remain. From these indications I have calculated that the area must have been about 5 square miles, with a circumference of about 10½ miles. But even beyond this there were many country residences and suburbs, reaching as far as Bahadurpoor along the north bank of the Taptee, and covering also a considerable area on the south bank of the river, which is now included in Mouzahs Zeinabad and Ahookhana. The old city does not appear to have been walled. The present brick wall was erected by the Nizam Asoph Jah in A. D. 1731 (according to Thackoor Lal's manuscript), when the city had greatly fallen off in prosperity. It has numerous bastions and nine massive gateways, but could never have been intended to resist artillery. Its circumference is now only 5½ miles, and area included one and one-fifth square mile; and even this comparatively limited space is unnecessarily large for its present population of 34,000.

66. Towards the close of the reign of Shah Jehan the Mahrattas were beginning to make themselves felt in the Deccan, and were rapidly pushing their plundering incursions from their original strongholds in the western ghats into the richest provinces of the Moghul. In 1664 the Mirzah Rajah Jye Singh of Jyepore (grandfather of the more famous Sewae Jye Singh), who, as Governor of the Deccan, had long successfully stemmed the rising tide, died at Boorhanpore,* poisoned (according to Tod, Annals of Amber, p. 355) by his own son at the instigation of the emperor.

67. The year A. D. 1670 saw the first appearance of the Mahrattas in Khandeish, when Sivajee, being pursued by Daood Khan, Governor of Boorhanpore, sent one of his officers named Pertab Rao Goojur, to create a diversion in his rear. This he did, and plundered the country as far as Bahadurpoor,† a suburb of Boorhanpore, exacting deeds from the village officers agreeing to pay the *chouth*, or fourth of the revenue to the Mahrattas, which they duly returned to realize during successive harvest seasons.‡

* His mausoleum on the banks of the Taptee, a few miles below the city, is still one of the most conspicuous objects in the valley.

† Scott's Deccan.

‡ Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

68. In 1684 the Emperor Aurungzeeb halted for some months at Boorhanpore to organize the expedition which was to finally put to rest the seething elements of commotion in the Deccan. The description of the magnificence of his camp and army on this occasion* reads like a chapter out of the Arabian Nights; but the secret of the destined crumbling of his stately power before the rough and ready Mahrattas may be read in the fact that no sooner had he left the city with this cumbersome following than these light and daring horsemen turned his flank, and plundered Boorhanpore for several days with impunity, leaving the country on their retreat to Nassik in a blaze.

69. By 1690 they had extended their plundering excursions into upper Nimar in the Nerbudda valley,† and during the next seven years they devastated Malwa almost unopposed. In 1699 Khandeish had been regularly subjected to the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee, Nimbajee Scindia being established there as collector for the Mahrattas.‡ In 1705 the suburbs of Boorhanpore were again plundered, and from this time a large Moghul force appears to have occupied the city under the most distinguished officers of the empire, in order to protect the convoys of grain and treasure, which Aurungzeeb now found it necessary to import from Hindostan for the support of his vast armies in the impoverished countries of the Deccan. The Governors of the Deccan after the death of Aurungzeeb, engaged as they were in constant rivalries and schemes for independence, appear to have purchased peace by generally conceding to the demands of the Mahrattas on the revenue.

70. In 1714 Boorhanpore was the scene of another bloody battle between Hossein Ali Khan, Ameer-ool-omrah, the rebellious Governor of the Deccan, and Daood Khan, Souba of Boorhanpore, in the interest of the Emperor Ferokhsere. The former was nearly being defeated, when the day was turned by the fall of Daood Khan, whose body was ignominiously dragged round the city at the tail of an elephant.

71. The Chouth and Surdeshmookhee of the Souba of the Deccan were now (1716) formally conceded to the Mahrattas by the viceroy, acting chiefly by the advice of Mahomed Anwur Khan,

Formal concession of revenue to Mahrattas.

* Grant Duff, Vol. I., page 339, (old edition.)

† Malcolm's Central India.

‡ Grant Duff.

Governor of Boorhanpore; and their agents for its collection began to reside in every district.* Four years afterwards this grant was confirmed by the Emperor Mahomed Shah.

72. In the same year (1720) Asoph Jah Nizam-ool-moolk seized the government of the Deccan; Aseergurh and Boorhanpore being acquired by bribing their Governors, Talib Khan and Mahomed Anwur Khan.† Being attacked near the latter city by the imperial army under Dilawur Khan, he defeated and slew that officer, and from this time Nimar formed a portion of his virtually independent kingdom, though called in the revenue papers at the time only his "Jageer." He appears to have shortly after withheld the Mahratta dues from Khandeish, for we hear of the Peshwa Bajee Rao, in 1723, several times defeating the Soubadar of Boorhanpore, and levying the Chouth by force.

73. The revenue papers of the time show that after this it was sometimes paid without demur and sometimes withheld, when a Mahratta raid or, as it is called in these papers, an "Afut Sooltance" was made for its recovery. This might be expected from the hostile relations which subsisted at this time between the Peshwa and Asoph Jah, and which culminated in the treaty of Mungey Peytum in 1740, by which, among other concessions, the Sirkars of Handia and Beejagurh (including all northern Nimar) were made over to the Peshwa in Jageer.‡

74. Bajee Rao did not, however, long enjoy these acquisitions in this direction, but died the same year at Ravere, a small village in Nimar overlooking the Nerbudda, which he was on the point of crossing once more to repeat his successful invasion of Hindostan.§

75. Eight years later his equally celebrated rival, the Nizam Asoph Jah, died at Boorhanpore, at the immense age (according to Scott quoting Mahomedan manuscript) of 104 years. A mausoleum was erected for him, and an assignment of two villages made for its support; but the body was actually interred at Aurungabad.||

* Scott's Deccan and Revenue records.

† The latter remained governor of the city under the Nizam, for nearly forty years after, when he was put to death by Nizam Ali son of Asoph Jah, in the process of levying a heavy money contribution from the city.

‡ Revenue papers.

§ His cenotaph of fine variegated sandstone, enclosed in a spacious Dhurmsala, and a stone ghat opposite the place of his incineration, still exist at Ravere, in Pergunnah Beria.

|| Briggs' History of the Nizam.

76. In the quarrel for succession that ensued between his sons, the Peshwa, with Anwur Khan and the Boorhanpore troops, took the side of Ghazeeoodeen, who was then at Delhi, in consideration of which he obtained a grant of large territories in Khandeish, including all southern Nimar, excepting the fort of Aseergurh, the city of Boorhanpore, and the lands attached to them (1755 A. D.). In 1760 these last fragments left to the Moghuls in the district fell also to the Peshwa, as part of the cessions extracted from the Nizam after the decisive battle at Oodgeer.

The Peshwa obtains southern Nimar.

77. Nimar was now all the Peshwa's, and enjoyed for a time an interval of peace. The Peshwa appointed one Ramchunder Bullal Bhoskooteh* over his new acquisitions in Nimar as Soubadar (*vide* para. 152), and the administration of the district appears at that time to have been good. There is no sign of revenue farming until later in the century.

The Peshwa's administration.

78. In A. D. 1778 the whole of Prant Nimar was bestowed by the Peshwa in Jageer on the Mahratta leaders, Scindia, Holkar, and the Powar, with the exception of three small tracts termed Khusrawud, Kanapore, and Beria, which were retained by the Peshwa, † partly in order that their revenues might be devoted to the support of Bajee Rao's tomb at Ravere, and partly no doubt with the view of retaining in the Peshwa's hands the command of certain roads and fords of the Nerbudda river attached to them. With the same thoroughly Mahratta view of dividing among the Peshwa and the other Chiefs the remaining fords of the Nerbudda, the old Moghul mehal of Sirkar Bijagurh, called Banswa, was split up into three pergunnahs, termed Beria, Sunawud, and Selanee; the former of which, as I have said, was retained by the Peshwa, while Sunawud became Holkar's and Selanee Scindia's. This is the origin of the extraordinary commixture of the villages of these pergunnahs, now held by Holkar and ourselves, as successors of the Peshwa and Scindia, which has given rise to the recent protracted negotiations for a rectification of the frontier of the district (*vide* para. 256). At a later period some complication appears to have arisen from this arrangement in connection with the several roads used by pilgrims to the shrine of Omkarjee at Mandhatta; and a transfer of a portion of Sunawud, called Tuppa Billora, was subsequently made from Holkar to Scindia. At the same time all that

* This word is spelt in English documents in dozens of different ways. Throughout this report, except in quotations, I have adhered as nearly, as possible to the phonetic spelling of names, the scientific system being neither usual in official papers nor intelligible to ordinary readers.

† Revenue papers.

portion of Souba Khandeish now included in the district was also bestowed on Mahdajee Scindia; and I, believe, other tracts in Malwa on Holkar and the Powar. In the case of Scindia's grant, at least, (and probably also in that of the others), the gift was doubtless, a part of the bribe by which the adhesion of that Chief was obtained to the party of Nana Furnavese and the ministers who held the minor Madho Rao Narain Peshwa, in their hands, against that headed by the ex-Peshwa, Rughnath Rao.*

79. With the exception of this transfer, Nimar was fortunate in having no political history for forty years, up to the commencement of the present century. The revenue accounts of this period show that it then recovered greatly from the state of prostration in which it had been left by the long warfare between the Moghul and the Mahratta.

80. The year 1800, A. D., however, saw the rise of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and the commencement of the rivalry between his house and that of Scindia, the source of the succeeding eighteen years of unheard of devastation in Nimar, which are still remembered as the "time of trouble."

81. Before Dowlut Rao Scindia could bring his army from the Deccan to protect his territories, Jeshwunt Rao had plundered his districts along the Nerbudda. At Kusrawud he engaged and defeated a detachment of regular troops under the Chevalier Duternaie, and thence, wheeling northwards, ravaged Scindia's territory in Malwa. Scindia long remained inactive at Boorhanpore, sending on small detachments under his European officers towards his capital at Oojein. These were beaten by Holkar, but he was in turn repulsed in an attack on Scindia's park of artillery at the Nerbudda, and retiring on Indore was defeated again and his capital was sacked. Holkar now became an avowed plunderer; and after ravaging Scindia's territory in Malwa, again (in 1802) fell on Nimar with his cavalry and laid it completely waste.† Khundwa, then an opulent town, was reduced to ashes, and Boorhanpore was only saved by the payment of a heavy fine. Jeswunt Rao now marched with all his force on Poona, and was tardily followed by Scindia. The troops of the latter mutinied at Boorhanpore for arrears of pay, and, before this difficulty could be adjusted, the Taptee had become so flooded that advance was impossible till the end of the monsoon.

* A document left by the father of the present Deshmookh of Zeinabad states that the amount of this bribe was altogether 65 lakhs of annual revenue. It certainly was a fixed amount, for of the revenue of Zeinabad pergunnah, the sum of Ra. 1 20 000 only was assigned, though it then yielded more, the excess being retained by the Peshwa. The revenue soon fell, however, much below this amount under Scindia's misgovernment.

† Malcolm's Central India.

82. In October, after his complete defeat by Holkar at Poona, Scindia retreated on Malwa; but returned to Boorhanpore in February 1803, where he collected an immense army preparatory to the war which the Mahratta confederacy was then meditating against the British. He was at this time partially reconciled to Holkar; and surrendered to him his daughter and nephew who had been confined in Aseergurb; but Holkar, after advancing with his army into Nimar to join in the war, changed his mind and returned to Malwa, where he resumed his plundering raids. Scindia remained on this occasion for four months encamped near Boorhanpore. His encamping ground was on the south of the city in Pergunnah Zeinabad, along the course of an artificial water channel constructed by the Mahomedan princes for the supply of water to their pleasure garden, the Ahoobagh. At that time the channel was perfect, and its course being fringed with fine trees for many miles, a better position for a large army to encamp could not be had.

83. The Zeinabad people however date the ruin that overtook the then flourishing pergunnah from this year. 60,000 artillery bullocks, and as many horses, grazed at large over the villages and ruined the rubber crops, while the lawless soldiery practised every sort of oppression. An anecdote is told of a trooper who wanted some plantains from a Patel's garden, and was refused, whereupon the trooper drew his sword and cut off the head of the Patel's son, an act which so enraged the people that they held a meeting and vowed to abandon all garden cultivation thenceforth, as it only led to their plunder,—a resolution they have stuck to ever since, there being hundreds of abandoned wells, and only a few acres of irrigated land in the tract. It is also said that Scindia's elephants trampled in the water channel where it runs underground near the Ootaolee river, and that the water has never flowed in it since*. The water-supply thus failing, Scindia is said to have dug and lined with masonry a huge *baolee* (well), still shown near the village of Sirseda, *in one day*, each of his troopers bringing a stone from the neighbouring hills, while the infantry made the well.

84. On the top of all this came a failure of the rains in the autumn of 1803, and a terrible famine was the result, in which numbers perished, and the fine pergunnahs in the Taptee valley were nearly desolated. This famine is spoken of as the "Maha Kal," when jowar sold for a rupee the chokee (about 6 lbs), and old men still date their age by it. It prevailed more or less throughout the Deccan; but there is little doubt that its cause was more war than drought.

* Another account says that Scindia amused himself by opening all the head sluices at once to see the effect, which was to destroy the underground channel through which the water flowed for the first few miles.

85. In May Dowlat Rao moved his great army southwards to join

Scindia joins the Mahratta confederation against the British.

Southern Nimar taken possession of by the British.

out trouble. Two months

Immediately restored to Scindia.

he entered into a defensive alliance with the British, which was almost immediately broken by an attack on the British Resident, with his camp, on the march from Boorhanpore, and his subsequent junction with Holkar, but finally renewed without further fighting in 1805.‡

86. Although all the principal powers were now at peace with

Nimar ravaged by the Pindarees and other plunderers.

each other, unhappy Nimar was allowed no rest. The Pindarees, who had during the war attached themselves to one or other of the contending sides, now established themselves on their own account; and the main body of them, under the famous Chetoo, took up their head-quarters in the forest tract lying to the north of the Nerbudda, between the river and the Vindhya hills. This tract comprises pergunahs Nimawur, Leemunpore Mukrar, and Chandgurrh, of which only the latter now belongs to this district; and it is still one of the most desolate and inaccessible places in all India. Though professing to be a "Scindia Shahee," or follower of Scindia (in contradistinction to the Holkar Slahee Pindarees), he distributed his favours with great impartiality over the territories of Scindia as well as others; and, until the extinction of these bands in 1818, Nimar may be said from this time to have never had one day's immunity from plunder and devastation. The more regular followers of Scindia and Holkar, who from the poverty of those States were always in arrears of pay and were quartered on the country, also frequently made inroads on each other's territory, though there was no political warfare between them;—and the evil was aggravated by the destitution produced among the originally peaceable inhabitants, which led them to form plundering bands of their own. Thus the Bhilala Chiefs of Bukhutgurrh and Selanee on the Nerbudda, whose lands had been devastated by the Pindarees, put themselves at the head of their retainers, and being joined by numbers in similar case, became even more dreaded plunderers in Nimar than the worst of the Pindarees. The tribes of Bheels and Korkoos too who inhabited the surrounding hills sallied forth from their fastnesses, and added to the long catalogue

* No. LXIV. of Aitcheson's Treaties.

† No. LXV. of do. do.

‡ No. LXVI. of do. do.

of robbers. At this time, if not before, every inhabited village was furnished with a masonry or earth-work fort, and many with a complete wall round them besides. The villages held by the descendants of the old Rajpoot feudal Chiefs were those which seem to have best ridden out this stormy period. Most of them had already substantial forts, and had originally been located on the most defensible spots, while their inhabitants had by nature more stomach for fighting than the quiet Goojurs and Koonbees. All the cultivators crowded into these fortified villages, cultivating only their lands and those of adjoining villages. Minor inroads were often beaten off, and there are few of these villages which are not the subject of a number of yarns of Pindaree and Mowassee fights. When a force too strong to be resisted made its appearance, the pergunnah officers usually made terms, to save the villages from destruction by the payment of black-mail, which was levied rateably from all the cultivators, the zemindars sometimes, if report speaks the truth, sharing the plunder themselves (*vide* para. 155)! Fourteen times in the 10 years before the pacification in A. D. 1819 was black-mail thus levied in the Khundwa pergunnah, chiefly by Holkar's officers, though not then openly at war with Scindia. The total sum thus levied was Rs. 1,33,576, the average annual land revenue being only Rs. 34,330 (*vide* Appendix D). Another disturber of the peace of Nimar at this time was the Kiladar of Aseergurh, one Jeswunt Rao Lar. He became Kiladar in 1803, and appears to have thrown off all but nominal allegiance to Scindia, and to have allied himself with the Pindarees to commit every sort of atrocity. Aser pergunnah had always been devoted to meet the expenses of the fort, but this proving insufficient, the Lar appropriated also pergunnahs Bamgurh and Moondee. The Surmundloe of the district also (the Bhoskootch, *vide* para. 77), who had long been jealous of the ancient Rajpoot hereditary zemindars (para. 120), thought this period of general anarchy a favourable opportunity to render his own the sole zemindaree *Wuttun* in the district, and incited Jeswunt Rao Lar to attack them in their forts. The principal of these, including the Rao of Bamgurh, the Rana of Poonassa, and the Thakoors of Jamlee and Ghatee Kheree, were accordingly burnt out of their forts by the Aser troops, though not without hard fighting and considerable slaughter. Madho Rao, father of the present Thakoor of Jamlee, was thus killed in A. D. 1806.

87. In 1814 Scindia sent a force against the Pindarees of Nimar and defeated them. A treaty was then made, by which Scindia ceded to them five of the pergunnahs they had occupied north of the Nerbudda, on their engaging to refrain from plundering in his districts. Their audacity was, of course, only increased thereby, and now the weight of their incursions fell chiefly on the territory of the British and their allies. In 1817 their depredations had become so serious that the British Government determined to extirpate them. Scindia, Holkar, and the

The Pindaree war.

Peshwa, engaged to assist us in the work,* but had in reality already entered into a compact among themselves to levy another war against us. Scindia had agreed to give us possession for the time of the forts of Handia and Aseergurh as a basis of operations. The former was accordingly given up, but the Lar refused to surrender the latter.

88. Our columns were closing on the Pindaree *Durras* (camp), north of the Nerbudda, when they received the news of the outbreak of the Mahrattas at Poona and Nagpore, and their force was much reduced by the reinforcements necessarily sent off to those places. Sir John Malcolm and Colonel Adams, however, pressed on with small columns towards their head-quarters, and on their approach the cowardly robbers broke and fled in all directions.

89. They were all accounted for by the troops, or by the exasperated people whom they had oppressed so long; but our concern is chiefly with Chetoo, *par excellence* the Nimar Pindaree. After this "Nawab Mostakirn Jung," as he grandiloquently termed himself, had abandoned his strong hold without a blow, he fled as far as the borders of Mewar, then doubled back, and returned to the jungles of Leemunpore Mukrar. Here he was attacked by a detachment from the Handia fort, and escaped with but a few of his followers. For a time he found shelter among the Korkoos of Eirwass in Leemunpore; but was soon again compelled to take to flight. At length, after many wanderings, early in 1818, he took refuge with the recusant Kiladar of Aseergurh,

Chetoo Pindaree takes refuge in Aseergurh.

Jeswunt Rao Lar. In June of the same year, however, he left the fort to join the fugitive Rajah of Nagpore, Appa Sahib, in the Puchmurree hills. Being driven thence in October by the British troops, they made their way to Aseergurh, so hotly pursued that they would certainly have been captured but for a sally made by the garrison of Aser to their assistance.

90. In the meantime the last of the Peshwas, Bajee Rao, beaten in every quarter, had also taken refuge in Nimar, depositing his valuables in Aser, and himself encamping at Dhoolkote, a fortified village in the strong tract called Sutrabustee, west of that fort (*vide* paras. 93 and 373). Here he entered into negotiations for surrender, and was gradually surrounded by the British detachments. General Doveton was at Boorhanpore, Colonel Russel at Borgaon, and Sir John Malcolm at Metawul (of Holkar's territory), on the western border of Nimar, and on the 3rd of June he surrendered to the latter officer.

91. It was now necessary to reduce the fortress of Aseergurh. Chetoo had again left it, and taken to his old haunts north of the Nerbudda, where, being tracked up like a hunted beast by the print of his horse's hoofs,

* No. LXVII. of Aitchison's Treatise.

he met a suitable fate—all his pursuers found of him being a few rags and bones in the lair of a man-eating tiger in the Seetabun jungle, a place now well known to English sportsmen.

92. But Appa Sabib, the ex-Raja of Nagpore, was still protected in the fort, and the Lar, acting under instructions from Scindia (as was subsequently discovered by the seizure of a paper in his own handwriting*), refused to obey the ostensible order of that Chief for its surrender. Besides this the Lar had insulted us by firing on a detachment passing in pursuit of the Peshwa Bajee Rao. Scindia pressed hard to save the fort from assault, under the plea that he was unwilling that the popular belief in its impregnability should be exploded; but the siege was nevertheless determined on, and Scindia was made to furnish a contingent to assist, which he did in the useless shape of a small body of cavalry. Brigadier General Doveton commanded the besieging force, composed of Europeans and Madras Native Infantry, and Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, of the Royal Scots, the column of attack. On the 18th March 1819, the "Petta," or partially fortified village at the foot of the hill, was first taken by assault from the south, and batteries erected in it against the lower fort called Mallygurh. On the 19th the garrison made a sally, which was repulsed. The fort was bombarded during the whole of the succeeding day; and in the evening another sally nearly proved successful, its repulse being purchased by the loss of Colonel Fraser. On the 21st an accidental explosion in one of the British batteries killed upwards of a hundred men. Additional batteries were erected, particularly to silence the fire of a large gun† on the north-eastern bastion, which was creating heavy loss in the eastern attack. The bombardment continued till the 25th, when the enemy abandoned the lower fort, and the batteries which had been attacking it were transferred to

* Thornton's History of India.

† This gun is said to have been cast at Boorhanpore, and to have been thrown over the battlements after the siege and sold as old metal. A stone shot said to have belonged to it measures 31 inches in diameter, and must weigh about 450 lbs. The gun would therefore be, with reference to iron shot, a 1,300 pounder. This is still only half the size of the great gun of Beejapore cast in A. D. 1667. Another gun still remains on the bastion overlooking the Petta. This piece is a magnificent specimen of native gun-casting, and was made at Boorhanpore in the year 1668. It is made of a kind of gun metal, containing a very large proportion of copper (probably the "Husht dath," which was composed of eight metals, including silver and gold). The casting has been made on a hollow core of iron welded in ribbands, which now forms the bore of the piece. Its principal dimensions are the following:—

	<i>ft.</i>	<i>ins.</i>		<i>ft.</i>	<i>ins.</i>
Length, muzzle to breech ..	12	9	Do. in front of trunnion ..	6	6
Do. do. trunnion ..	7	3	Do. at muzzle ..	5	7
Girth at breech ..	8	½	Diameter of bore ..	0	8½

The calibre is therefore somewhat larger, while the length is considerably greater, than those of the 68 pounders of the British service. Its weight cannot be less than 7 tons. It is elaborately ornamented in relief with Persian inscriptions and scroll-work.

This magnificent old gun is lying uncared for on the ground in the south-west bastion. It has now been ordered to be taken to the Museum of Artillery at Woolwich. The French traveller Bernier states that Aurungzeeb had French Artillerists in his army about the time these guns were cast, so that they may not be wholly the product of indigeneous skill.

its parapets, and directed against the upper works. On the 5th April Jeswunt Rao Lar opened negotiations for surrender, but the siege proceeded, and on the 9th April the fortress surrendered at discretion*. Appa Sahib was then found to have escaped to Boorhanpore in the disguise of a religious mendicant, and he eventually fled to the Punjab.

93. The last Mahratta war was now over, and the much vexed country might rest. Sir John Malcolm was appointed Governor General's Agent for its re-settlement; and under his firm and judicious treatment this was soon effected. Though Scindia had plainly shown his hostility to us during the campaign, none of his territory in Nimar was retained, except the fort of Aseergurh, and a small tract of 17 hill-villages depending on it (known as Tuppa Sutrabustee); and this, with the Peshwa's pergunnahs of Kusrawud, Kanapore, and Beria, was all the territory in Nimar that we acquired in sovereignty in consequence of the war. We also, however, succeeded to a share of the revenue in pergunnah Aser, known as the *Mokassa* (*vide* para. 147), which had been reserved by the Peshwa, when giving it in Jageer to Scindia. Sutrabustee was put in charge of the Khandeish authorities, and afterwards of the commandant of Aser, and did not come over to the Nimar agency till 1825.

94. Pergunnahs Kusrawud, Kanapore, and Beria, fell to us as successors of the Peshwa. The former does not now belong to the district. The two latter were found to be totally desolated, the distant Peshwas' Jageer having probably been considered fair game for every class of robbers (*vide* para. 163).

95. Measures for their re-settlement were at once taken, the results of which were soon successful; a force of Police being placed under the Pergunnah Zemindars, the plundering Bheels being entertained on various kinds of duty, and measures for restoring the cultivation and population being adopted which will be described further on under the head of fiscal history. The *grassia* Chiefs of Selanee and Bukhutgurh on the Nerbudda were induced to refrain from outrage by being entertained in the local Sebundee force, and receiving assignments by engagement with Scindia and Holkar in lieu of the *Tanka* (black-mail), amounting annually to upwards of Ra. 13,000, which they had till then levied from the surrounding districts. The amount of the *Tanka* assigned by Scindia was Ra. 4,038.

96. In 1823 the amount of this assignment, for which the British were guarantee, not having been paid by Scindia for upwards of four years, and it being found that Scindia's pergunnahs in

* For a fuller description of the fort and siege *vide* the article "*Aseergurh*" in the *Central Provinces' Gazetteer*, 2nd Edition.

Nimar, which adjoined the British districts were still desolate and in great disorder, and that inconvenience in the management of the latter

Dhurgaon, Burwaye, Selanee,
Poonassa, Khundwa.

was thereby occasioned, the five pergunnahs noted in the margin were made over by Scindia to British management.* The established charitable payments and expenses of management were to be deducted, and the net balance of revenue paid into Scindia's treasury. In the succeeding year (1825) the remaining pergunnahs of Scindia's Nimar were transferred in the same manner.† Their names are terribly

Aser (except three villages attached to the City of Boorhanpore.)

Bangurh, Moondee, Bilora, Attode, Peplode.

maltreated in the printed translation of the treaty, but are meant for the pergunnahs noted in the margin. Certain expenses of management, not very intelligibly set forth in the treaty, were to be deducted, and the net balance credited to Scindia. Ultimately the yearly deduction for cost of management of all Scindia's Nimar was fixed at Rs. 30,000 per annum, an arrangement which proved a losing one for us (*vide* para. 167). In 1844, according to the treaty exacted from Scindia's ministers after the battle of Maharajpore,‡ we began to hold Nimar on another footing, viz, as security for the payment of the Gwalior contingent, and its surplus revenue went towards that object instead of into Scindia's treasury.

97. From the time of cession up to 1st May 1864, A.D., when it was incorporated with the Central Provinces, British administration of Nimar. Nimar was managed under the Governor

No.	Name of Officer.	Date of taking charge.	Date of being relieved.
1	Col. Wellesly	...	...
2	Col. Smith	...	...
3	Capt. Elves	...	...
4	" Douglas	...	...
5	Col. J. Dalmain	...	30th Jan'y. 1839.
6	Major Sandys	30th Jan'y. 1830...	26th Decr. 1841.
7	Capt. Abbott	9th Feby. 1842...	8th Jan'y. 1843.
8	Dr. Wilkinson	8th Jan'y. 1843...	14th April 1843.
9	Capt. Abbott	14th April 1843...	10th March 1844.
10	Col. J. Outram	10th March 1844...	15th Sept'r. 1844.
11	Capt. H. L. Evans	15th Sept'r. 1844...	17th Feby. 1845.
12	" P. T. French	17th Feby. 1845...	30th Sept'r. 1847.
13	" H. L. Evans	1st Oct'r. 1847...	10th Feby. 1852.
14	Lieut. R. H. Keatinge	10th Feby. 1852...	5th Decr. 1857.
15	Capt. W. G. Cumming	5th Decr. 1857...	21st July 1859.
16	" B. Hawes	21st July 1859...	22nd Aug. 1859.
17	Mr. S. J. Naher, in charge	22nd Aug. 1859...	3rd Oct'r. 1859.
18	Capt. E. Thompson	3rd Oct'r. 1859...	18th Sept'r. 1860.
19	Major R. H. Keatinge	18th Sept'r. 1860...	25th March 1862.
20	Capt. J. C. Wood	25th March 1862...	...

General's Agent at Indore by a succession of officers all belonging to the Military service. Their names and periods of incumbency are noted in the margin. The Sudder station was fixed at Mundlesir, in the Nerbudda basin, a place convenient enough for British Nimar, but much isolated from the tracts managed for Scindia.

* No. LXX. of Aitcheson's Treaties.

† Supplement to No. LXX. of Aitcheson's Treaties.

‡ No. LXXI. of Aitcheson's Treaties.

98. The history of the district for the first 20 years of that period is unfortunately chiefly that of its mismanagement, a fact observed even by the Hon'ble Court of East India Directors, who in a despatch, No. 3 of 16th April 1845, remark that "powerful evidence of the depressed state of the country is to be found in the constant demands for advances of tucavee, and for remission of balances, which constitute the principal portion of the revenue correspondence of the Assistant in charge of the district." It would be unfair to conclude, however, that the local officers were to blame for this state of affairs. There is ample evidence that a more energetic and devoted body of officers than they were never had charge of a district; and that they spared no pains to advance the prosperity of the people under their charge, according to their lights. The evil lay higher up the scale, with the rulers who pressed them for increase of revenue and even refused to allow the reductions they recommended, who totally failed in fact to appreciate the duties of a government towards a country desolated by years of monstrous anarchy and oppression.

99. The second 20 years of our rule may be broadly described as the re-action from the first, a period of liberal rule in which all that could be done was done to atone for the preceding years of misgovernment. The coming of the district under the government of the Lieutenant Governor, North-Western Provinces, and the fortunate incumbency in immediate charge of two such officers as Captains Evans and Keatinge are the causes to which this improvement is due. If not always successful in carrying out the views of the Lieutenant-Governor regarding revenue management, their exertions towards the material improvement of their district, as testified by their roads, iron-works, bridges, schools, serais, and other public buildings, (of which some account will be given elsewhere) are beyond all praise, leading Sir R. Temple, when reporting on Nimar in 1864, to say,—"I have never yet seen any district in which so much has been done by the Civil authorities alone for public works as Nimar." Thus devoted to the prosecution of visible improvements, and, as we shall see, almost superstitiously reverent of the ingrained customs (good or bad) of the people, while their rule itself was of a more personal and patriarchal character than can ever be the case under a more centralized system, it is little wonder if their names should have become as household words in the district, and that comparisons should be drawn from them not greatly to the advantage of their more law and procedure trammelled successors. But this side of the history of the district, all important as it is in explaining the steps now taken at Settlement, I have reserved for a separate chapter, and will confine myself here to a short statement of the chief events of a political character during British rule.

100. Though the Pindarees were as a body extinguished in 1819, one of their leaders, named Shek Dullah, Pindarees still give trouble. Shek Dullah, continued for the next eight years an Ish-maelitish existence in Nimar and the neighbouring districts to their very considerable annoyance. His name is still remembered by the people, as well as Chetoo's, and some of the tales they tell of him are of an almost romantic nature. He is popularly supposed never to have dismounted from his black mare, even at night, and to have had the power of changing himself and mare into a samber or neilgae when necessary. His stronghold lay in the wild hills of the upper Taptee valley, Jeetgurb, Peplode, and Gangra, and his contributions were levied throughout the upper Taptee and Nerbudda valleys. His followers were generally few and all mounted; and on any symptom of attack at once dispersed to unite again at some distant point. On one occasion with only four sowars he forced one of the gates of Boorhanpore and plundered a portion of the city. His depredations at length became serious, and he was reported to have collected a force of some 600 men in the Peplode jungles, with the political object of raising a movement in favour of Appa Sahib, ex-Rajah of Nagpore. Accordingly, after the rains of 1824, the troops from Aseergurb, Indore, and Baitool, took the field against him. After a number of vain attempts to surprise him, and one petty skirmish, his force melted away, and he himself disappearing for a time among the hills towards the sources of the Godavery, returned with a few horsemen, and in March 1825 made a daring raid through the district by Moondee, Attode, and the skirts of the Khundwa pergunnah, and plunged again into the fastnesses of the upper Taptee, whence he issued at intervals and plundered with much impunity, until he was killed towards the end of 1828, in Gangra (of Berar) by the treachery of a follower.

101. The Bheels of the Aser hills also gave a great deal of trouble in the early part of our rule, until the chief of their Naiks were captured, and employment was found for many of them in the Nimar Bheel corps.* It will be seen from the list of Civil Officers before given, that one whose name will ever be associated with the reclamation of this race (Captain Outram), was for a short time in charge of the district.

102. In 1854 the small pergunnah of Poornee, with Tuppas, Jubgaon, and Dholea, lying to the west or Nimar side of the Chota Tawa river, were transferred from the Hoshungabad district of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories to Nimar, in order to consolidate the

* This corps was raised in A. D. 1819. It consisted of 100 sowars, 50 matchlockmen, and 250 bowmen, with officers in proportion. Though called a Bheel corps, many other castes were admitted into it; but it was entirely recruited at first from the plunderers thrown out of employment by the restoration of order in the country, to which result it greatly contributed.

boundary of the agency in that direction. They were part of the country ceded to us by Scindia for the pay of the Gwalior contingent in 1844.*

103. Of the occurrences in the district during the rebellion of 1857, I cannot give a better account than in the following words of Captain Keatinge†:—

“ 3. The year 1857 opened in Nimar by a general distribution of small cakes, which were passed on from village to village. The same I am aware has occurred all over Northern India, and has been spoken of as having been a signal for the disturbances which took place later in the year. At the time they appeared in Nimar they were everywhere brought from the direction of Indore. That city was at the time subjected to a severe visitation of cholera, and numbers of inhabitants died daily. It was at that time understood by the people in Nimar, and is still believed, that the cakes of wheat were despatched from Indore after the performance over them of incantations that would ensure the pestilence accompanying them. The cakes did not come straight from north to south, for they were received at Bujenggurh, more than half way between Indore and Gwalior, on the 9th February, but had been distributed at Mundlaiser on the 12th January. This habit of passing on certain holy and unholy things is not unknown in Nimar. When small-pox breaks out in a village, a goat is procured, a cocoanut tied to its neck, and it is taken by the chowkeedar to the first village on the road to Mundbatta; it is not allowed to enter the town, but is taken by a villager to the next hamlet, and so passed on without rest to its destination.”

“ 4. During April and May the cultivators of pergunnahs Burwai and Dhurgaon combined together not to cultivate their land unless Government rescinded certain rules of forest conservancy which had been enforced with a view to stopping the reckless waste of timber which has existed for years, and to a great extent still takes place. They would not listen to reason with me, they were equally impracticable with Colonel Durand at Indore, where they proceeded in a body of some four hundred persons.”

“ 5. When the events at Meerut and Delhi became known, Colonel Durand wrote to me to make some arrangement by which we might have no local quarrels on our hands to add to the general difficulties. I commissioned my Serishtadar to meet some of the Patels, and an arrangement was come to for one year, and the question has so rested since, though it will have to be discussed at some future time.”

* No. LXXI of Aitchison's Treaties.

† No. 157 of 25th May 1858, to Agent Governor General for Central India, Indore.

" 6. There were some dangerous men amongst the people concerned in this combination, and I do not now know how far a knowledge of what was coming may have influenced the movement; certainly no such spirit of opposition has been shown for several years before by the cultivators of Burwye or Dhurgaon."

" 7. When the mutinies commenced, hopes were still cherished that this part of India might escape; but the mutinies at Nusserabad and Neemuch convinced all that we must take our share of the evil, and what few preparations we could make were undertaken. The Jail (which is an old native fort) was put in some state of defence. The treasure was removed to it, and it was appointed a general place of rendezvous. A detachment of Bheel corps, and police horse and foot, was told off for service in the neighbourhood in case of disturbance, and was kept with carriage complete, ready to move at a moment's notice."

" 8. Matters continued thus, the district remaining perfectly quiet, until news arrived of the mutiny of the 1st Hyderabad cavalry at Aurungabad, accompanied by a report that they were marching north, *via* Boorhanpore."

" 9. On the morning of 21st of June, I marched from Mundlaiser with about 30 mounted policemen, with orders to raise what force I could, and oppose the passage of the 1st Hyderabad cavalry and the Gwalior contingent troops at Aser and Boorhanpore, if they attempted to pass through Nimar to the north."

" 10. The project seemed almost hopeless; by that time news of the disasters in the north-west had spread throughout the country, and though none of the Nimarees seemed anxious to take advantage of the times to create any disturbance, none, on the other hand, were willing to take service under a Government in difficulties."

" 11. I determined to proceed at once to the pass of the Catee Ghatee, a spot where the highroad from the Deccan to Indore and Hoshungabad defiles through the Satpoora mountains. The pass was so narrow that I found no difficulty in putting a gateway in it; and terraces, giving cover to musketry defenders, were carried along the hill side, so as to make the post a most difficult one to force. An old gun, which lay in the fort of Khundwa, was brought up and mounted on cart wheels."

" 12. Whilst these preparations were going on, every exertion was made to collect men; the regular Police from all the neighbouring Thanahs were called to the pass, and the Thanahdars were instructed to collect villagers to carry on the duty as a temporary measure."

" 13. By great exertions 400 men were brought together by the sixth day of my occupation of the post, and we continued until the end of June to watch the detachments of the Gwalior contingent, who, from my information, I knew had an understanding with Scindia's troops at Boorhanpore, and only waited an opportunity to break into open rebellion."

" 14. In the meantime all had gone on quietly at Mundlaiser, where I had left Mr. S. Naher, the Deputy Collector, in charge. But on the 2nd, news came in of the mutiny at Mhow, and the retreat of those Europeans from Indore who escaped the massacre at that place. I shall not attempt to narrate what occurred at Mundlaiser, but shall content myself with submitting Mr. Naher's report, and as it has already been forwarded to Government, the reply shall be annexed."

" 15. I was most anxious not to leave my post at the Cattede Ghatee, but on the 4th I received letters from Mundlaiser, saying that if I did not rejoin the rest of the Europeans they would all be sacrificed, as my authority alone kept the Police to their duty."

" 16. The universal opinion then throughout the country was that Holkar had ordered the attack on the Indore Residency, and the Police at Mundlaiser were all under the impression that they would be immediately attacked by Holkar's troops from Maheswer, situated only five miles from Mundlaiser."

" 17. Most reluctantly then, I made over the post at Cattede Ghatee to the Deputy Collector, Mahomed Lall Khan, and proceeded by forced marches to look after the European families and the headquarters station."

" 18. The families I met near Dhurgaon marching to meet me, and I immediately determined to place them in the fort of Poonassa, a small complete fort in the jungle, and on no road likely to be traversed by detachments of mutinous troops. At Dhurgaon I had learned that the treasure was all safe, and had made arrangements for its transport to Poonassa."

" 19. I remained at Poonassa until the 10th July, receiving satisfactory reports from the whole district. On that date I had the pleasure of seeing the last of the treasure arrive in safety, and by that time the place was put in a position of defence."

" 20. The mutineers from Mhow had in the meantime marched north, but the danger from Aseergurh continued the same. On the 10th I marched to Khundwa, *en route* to my post at the Cattede Gha-

tee, and there received the good news that a Detachment of Bombay Infantry and Hyderabad Cavalry had arrived at Aseergurh, and were about to disarm the mutinous troops at that place. A few hours after information was received of the successful result of the undertaking."

" 21. Aseergurh was then occupied by troops on whom reliance could be placed, so I took immediate measures to place the families and treasure in that fortress, and I myself proceeded south to give aid in bringing up the column of Bombay troops, which was moving from Aurungabad under Brigadier Stuart."

" 22. I must not omit to mention that, on making the families over to my care, Mr. S. Naher, the Deputy Collector, returned to Mundlaiser, and continued at his post throughout the rains."

" 23. It was the 17th of July when Brigadier Stuart's column entered the southern limits of Nimar, it was a difficult matter to find provision and fodder at that season of the year; but from Brigadier Stuart's letter and the reply of Government, copies of which I annexed, you will perceive that arrangements made by the Civil authorities gave full satisfaction."

" 24. Whilst passing through the Nimar district from Boorhanpore to Simrole, the column was never on any occasion detained by difficulties on the roads, and, in fact, the halting ground was usually reached by 8 A. M.; but from Simrole into Mhow, a distance of about 11 miles, took the Artillery (aided by 60 fresh horses from the Bengal Battery) 12 hours to accomplish."

" 25. This fact will, I trust, be borne in mind, when the Government of India have again time to bestow attention to the means of internal communication in Central India."

" 26. The Bombay column reached Mhow on the 2nd August, and from that time all immediate danger of disturbance in Nimar ceased, and we congratulated ourselves on the province having escaped from the disasters which have overtaken nearly the whole of the North-Western Provinces, and almost all the detached districts in Central India. No Government treasure has been lost in Nimar, and no injury whatsoever has befallen public or private property."

" 27. Nimar was protected by a detachment of the Malwa Bheel corps, and by the Nimar Police corps, horse and foot; the conduct of these troops has been very similar. They have on no occasion shown any spirit or bravery which would permit me to bring their services to your notice for reward; but, on the other hand, they have never for a moment shown any signs of treachery or mutiny, and have throughout the disturbances behaved in an orderly and obedient manner."

104. In November 1858 the rebel leader Tantia Topoe, hunted from Central India and foiled in his desperate attempt to raise the Deccan, suddenly arrived in Nimar by the route of the Taptée valley. His army, starving and footsore, though with plenty of plunder, and marching at an astonishing rate, amounted to some 10,000 or 12,000 men. There were no troops to oppose him, and in his progress through the district he burnt the Police posts and other Government buildings at Sendwall, Peplode, Khundwa, and Mokulgaon, escaping again to Central India by Kurgone and the Chikulda ford of the Nerbudda. A good deal of damage to life and property was done on his route; but no sign of sympathy with him was shown in the district.

105. By the treaty of 12th December 1860,* all the pergunnahs of Nimar, which we had been managing for Scindia since 1824-25, were transferred to us in full sovereignty, and, in addition, the city of Boorhanpore with pergunnahs Zeinabad and Maujrode in the Taptée valley, till then held by Scindia, were also transferred and added to the district.

106. Another tract ceded to us by the same treaty, pergunnah Chandgurh, adjoining the district to the north of the Nerbudda, was received over from the Bhopal Agency in 1862. Half of it had been conferred in Jageer in 1821 on a Raj-Korkoo family, and the whole tract is almost wholly waste, and valuable only for its timber and minerals, which have been described in a former chapter.

107. In May 1864 the present district of Nimar was transferred to the Central Provinces, narrowly escaping annexation to the Bombay Presidency instead, in which event it is probable that the whole of its subsequent treatment would have been widely different from what it has been. The head-quarters of the district were immediately transferred from Mundlaiser to Khundwa, a central place on the line of Railway.

108. The only other event of political importance has been the transfer to the Holkar State of three pergunnahs, Kusrawud, Dhurgaon, and Burwye, in exchange for certain lands held by His Highness as Jageerdar in the Deccan. From a letter written on the 20th March 1822, by the Secretary to the Government of India to Sir David Ochterloney, Resident in Malwa, I learn that this exchange

* LXXII. of Aitcheson's Treaties.

was negotiated as early as the close of the second Mahratta war. But at that time Holkar declined a bargain, which in the then backward state of Nimar seemed likely to prove a loss. Now, however, after prolonged negotiations, His Highness has got these Nimar tracts on the most advantageous terms. The most fertile part of Nimar, they are full of wealth accumulated during a long and easy Revenue Settlement, most of which will doubtless find its way into His Highness's treasury under his very different system of Revenue management. He has also acquired sovereign rights in the new tracts, which he had not in his Deccan estates, and has already used them to levy transit dues and other taxes, I believe, to a greater amount than the land revenue valuation at which they were given over. One pergunnah, Burwye, though not required to make up the amount of revenue, was ceded at the same time to the Maharaja, who made it a *sine qua non*, towards his consenting to take off the transit dues levied by him on the Khundwa and Indore road. Thus some 8,000 or 9,000 rupees of annual revenue have to be returned by Holkar in territory to Nimar. There was a hope that in these exchanges the very awkward boundary between Nimar and Holkar on the north-west of the district might have been rectified, by abolishing the extraordinary intermixture of villages contrived by the Peshwa (*vide* para. 78); but I regret to say that the negotiations appear to be drawing to a close without this having been effected. The obstacles thrown by His Highness in the way of such an arrangement have apparently been found insurmountable, though on other points important concessions, to which he had no just claim, were made with the object of effecting so desirable an end. Much has been written of late regarding the sentiments of the masses of the people on the comparative merits of British and Native rule. One has only to visit the Nimar pergunnahs thus transferred to Holkar to learn in a most unmistakeable manner what is there thought on the subject. The cry is universal "what have we done that we should thus be sold by the British Government." It is to be feared, indeed, that they have only too much reason to dread the change, and it may be hoped that such effort as is possible will be made to avert from them the full consequences of Holkar's idea of revenue management on the expiry of the current Settlement.

CHAPTER III.

FISCAL HISTORY AND GROWTH OF LANDED TENURES.

Early Hindoo and Mahomedan periods.

109. The history of the growth of landed tenures is, in India, so intimately interwoven with that of the fiscal administration by the State that it is necessary to treat these subjects together. Unusual interest attaches to them in this district, inasmuch as Ninar is perhaps the only tract where the system of Settlement built up in the North-Western Provinces by the genius of Thomason,—a system which boasted, with truth, that it was adaptable to every variety of circumstance in India,—has come fairly into comparison with the rival system of the Bombay school, on the latter's own ground, while yet the landmarks of the original, and of all supervening institutions are unobliterated. Already has the determination of the various interests connected with the land at the present Settlement been the subject of difference of opinion among high authorities; and it is thus perhaps of unusual importance to trace the origin and history of these interests under the Governments which preceded us, as well as their previous treatment under our own; and to endeavour to show that the final adjustment of them at the present Settlement, though perhaps not wholly in accordance with the theories of this or that extreme school of politicians, has yet been the natural outcome of the facts and requirements of the case. This subject will therefore unavoidably occupy here a larger share than usual of a Settlement report.

110. In the preceding chapter an attempt has been made to trace out historically the successive occupation of the district by the various races which now form its very mixed population. It has been seen that at a very early period the aboriginal tribes of the district were more or less subjected to the domination of various clans of Rajpoots; successive immigrations of them subdividing the country into numerous petty chiefships. In the more central and open parts of the district these clans appear to have kept themselves distinct from the aborigines they subdued, and, as their own numbers increased, to have gradually passed from the condition of mere military lords of the soil, exacting the means of livelihood from the toil of the indigenous races, to the actual cultivation of it with their own hands. The more remote, but

still accessible tracts became the portion of Chiefs of mixed descent, who had obtained the allegiance of the aborigines by marrying among them, the mixture of blood probably enabling them also to resist the malaria so fatal in such tracts to the pure Aryan constitution. * Still deeper in the forest covered hills the aborigines retained their unalloyed savagedom, unassailable in their pestiferous climate, and either waging a predatory warfare on the richer occupants of the plains, or rendering a nominal allegiance to the Rajpoot Chiefs. The natural tendencies of the aboriginal tribes seem to be inimical to fixed attachment to the soil. It is not difficult to account for the origin of this habit, which they have retained after its cause has lost most of its force. Savage man is destitute of the superior implements of husbandry and of the agricultural stock, which would enable him to overcome the obstacles offered by nature to a successful reclamation of the land. He cannot convert the fat soils of the plains, choked as they are with heavy timber, dense tropical vegetation, and superabundant moisture, into manageable and fertile corn-fields, which, from the labour he had expended on them, would naturally be looked on in the light of a property not to be deserted. His deficient means compel him to settle on the lighter soils of the uplands, which, if they yield less to unlimited means and labour, yet yield something with the labour and means he can command. But they are soon exhausted, and after two or three harvests, have to be abandoned for a fresh clearance, which is done with little regret, since but little labour was expended on them. I believe that this is the true explanation of the distribution of the population we see in India, and of the essential difference observable in the habits of the aboriginal inhabitants of the hills, and of the Aryans of the plains. The former are generally described as having been driven to the hills by the latter. I believe, on the other hand, that they never occupied the plains, unless as hunting grounds, which were in fact first cleared by means of the superior energy and appliances brought to the work by the Aryan invaders; though doubtless they compelled the aborigines to assist them in the task. There is still evidence that the early Aryan settlers in Nimar retained the services of some of the indigenous tribes, even where they became cultivators themselves. Every village has one or more families of aborigines attached to it as village watchmen.* In many cases these are very numerous, and hold large areas of the poorer land within the village boundaries on a nominal rent, but subject to the performance of all the duties of watch and ward, and to the more laborious offices connected with the service as porters, &c., long held to be demandable by the officers of the State from the rural population. The

* The village watchman when a Bheel, is called *Turwee*, which is the ancient title of their Chiefs; when a Korkoo or Nabal, his title is *Mankur*, which would also seem to be a term implying dignity and respectability. The Mahratta nobles were called *Man-kurees*. These village watchmen do no dirty work; and since Mahomedan times have got the title of 'Zemindar'—implying their original interest in the soil. They are not village drudges, which is the occupation of the outcast Bulahee (the Dher of the Deccan).

Rajpoot cultivators of course appropriated the best soils of the valleys for themselves, and in their centre established the generally fortified village site. On the outlying uplands the poorer soils were left to the Bheels and Korkōos. Everywhere a Rajpoot was the headman of the village.

111. The Rajpoots brought with them the institutions of their race. Each Chief remained independent, if he could, or became the feudal vassal of a stronger—still the lord and master of his domain, but rendering military service for his fief. The succession to the *gades* (throne) was by primogeniture, but all descendants or cadets of the house were provided for by assignments from the productive lands of the Chiefship, to be held also on tenure of military service; and so the subinfeudation proceeded, until the Rajpoots themselves began to till the land. Then personal military service became impossible except on rare occasions, and a rent in kind took its place as the condition of tenure. Still the land held by each cultivator was his property, subject to the payment of this rent.* This is also shown by the terms of all early grants of arable lands made by the Rajpoot princes as religious endowments, in which the *rents* only are assigned, and the Crown tenants are enjoined to pay the same to the assignees.†

112. The institution of a Patel or headman in each village is of the earliest date. Copper plates conveying grants of land of the abovementioned nature have been dug up at Oojein, the ancient seat of the Pramaras, addressed to the *patalica* and cultivators of villages;‡ It is also certain that this term did not originate with the Moghuls, as I have seen conjectured, and seems to have been unknown in Upper India. For the author of the institutes of Akber considers it worthy of notice that in Souba Berar “the Mocuddum is called Puttiel.”† It may have been originally an elective office, or the natural result of superior ability; but, like everything Hindoo, it soon became hereditary. The Patel was formally installed by the ruler by investment with a headdress and silver bracelet,—a custom as regards the former article at least still observed in Native States. There is no reason to believe that in Hindoo times the Patel was anything more than the representative of the cultivators, and the manager of cultivation and collector of rents for the State. What his emoluments were, we have no means of ascertaining, all the items that we now know him to have possessed bearing names which would indicate their origin in later Mahomedan times.

* The rent of land theoretically amounted to one-sixth of the produce, according to the Code of Menu. According to the same great lawgiver “cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it.”—(44th Text, Haughton's Edition).

† Tod's Rajasthan, pp. 551, 552.

‡ Gladwin's Ayn Akberee II, 63.

113. Of Hindoo origin also, though more pertaining to the institutions of the non-military cultivating tribes that immigrated from the south and west, is the Deshmookh, or "front of the country," who is aptly described by Grant Duff as being in the pergunnah, or circle of the villages, what the Patel is in the individual village. In northern Nimar the Rajpoot Chiefs performed all such functions. Till the influx in force of other agricultural classes in the times of the Moghuls, there could be no other "front" to the country but them. In southern Nimar the Deshmook is probably an institution dating from the settlement of the cultivating tribes of the Deccan in the Taptee valley, under the Farookee dynasty.

114. The establishment of a member of the writing class of Brahmmins in each considerable village to keep its accounts probably dates from the conversion of military service into land rent. The village and pergunnah accountants. In northern Nimar, peopled from the north, this functionary is now called by the northern name Putwaree, which was probably introduced by the Mahomedans; in southern Nimar by the Deccan terms Pandeh and Kulkurnee. So also in each fiscal sub-division was located an accountant of the whole circle of villages. The Deshpandeh was to the Deshmookh what the Pandeh was to the Patel. And as in northern Nimar there was no Deshmookh but the Rajpoot Chief, neither was there any Deshpandeh but the family Brahmin, who has always been as much a necessity to the warlike but unlettered Rajpoot as the domestic-priest was to the rough knight of the middle ages.

115. The supremacy of the Mahomedan Princes of Mandoo in northern Nimar would seem to have been more a military domination than an actual appropriation of the soil of the country. Mahomedan supremacy in northern Nimar. Towards the close of the dynasty we read in Ferishta of a Mahomedan governor residing at Khundwa, and of expeditions made to different parts of the kingdom to exact tribute from the Rajpoot Chiefs. There is no trace of the presence at this time of any other Aryans in northern Nimar but the Rajpoots. It is probable, therefore, that to the close of their rule the feudal system was maintained intact in this part of the district.

116. The Chohans in the upper Taptee valley were probably in a similar position with respect to the Farookees of Boorhanpore; though being nearer to the seat of Government were more open perhaps to exaction of tribute and service. The Mahomedan rule in southern Nimar. But in the lower Taptee valley, which the Farookees had populated with industrious immigrants from the Deccan, a regular revenue was doubtless realised from the land. But one revenue document, appertaining to the time of the Farookees, is still extant. This is a copy, under the Cazee's seal, of a Persian *Mowazna*, or statement of the land and its revenue of Mouzah Duriapoor, in

pergunnah Zeinabad, purporting to be for the year H. 917 (A. D. 1500), that is in the reign of the 5th Farookee, Adilkhān I.* It states that, according to an old sunnud, two cousins, Pitun and Tookajee, Gowlees, are the hereditary Patels. That they have zealously maintained in cultivation the whole of the village lands, and also kept the ryots satisfied, and that they had regularly each year paid the revenue to the State. Then follows a statement of the land and revenues, the former in *purtuns* and the latter in rupees. The *purtun* measure is still used in Zeinabad, and now measures about 1.14 acres:—

STATEMENT OF LAND.

Total land ...		750	purtuns.
<i>Deduct,—</i>			
Waste, &c. ...	..	50	purtuns
Inam (illegible, probably the Pandeh's)	..	20	"
Do. to Deshmookh	..	10	"
Do. to Deshpandeh	..	5	"
Do. to Patels ..	..	40	"
Do. Charitable	...	2	"
Total ...		127	purtuns.
Balance Khalsa ..		623	purtuns.

STATEMENT OF REVENUE.

Jumma of the Mouzah ..		Rs. 1,000
<i>Deductions,—</i>		
Deshmookh's Russum	...	Rs. 90
Deshpandeh's (illegible)	..	...
Patel's huc ..	...	120
Dungaree Shah and Mahomed Shah	...	33
(? Charitable assignments).		
Village expenses	...	31
Dusserah	..	10
Mocuddume	..	10
Watchmen	...	10
Artizans	..	1
Total deductions ..		Rs. 361
Balance (illegible?) ..		Rs. 639

* The authenticity of the date of this paper is open to some doubt. It mentions "Souba" Khandeish, and adds to the Hijree date the equivalent Fuslee year, both terms introduced by the Moghuls. These incongruities seem to have before attracted attention, as a remark is written across it in another hand that it belongs to the reign of Shah Jehan. But on scrutiny it appears that from their position in the document both these phrases may have been subsequent additions to the original; and from other circumstances, such as the absence of mention of *beyhas* or *dams*, the land measure and coinage invariably used by the Moghuls, I incline to think that the document may really be correctly dated. Even if not referrible so far back as the time of Farookee rule, it is certainly the oldest fiscal record of Mahomedan times extant, and anterior to the introduction of the Moghul land measurement and "tunkah" assessment, and therefore curious and worth quoting.

and the *hacs* and lands attaching to their offices, were deprived of all fiscal functions, which were henceforth exercised by the Brahmin family only. In the less cultivated parts of the district this step was never taken. Then the immigrant cultivators were much less numerous, and land being abundant, the necessity for protecting them was less. The Rajpoot Zemindars have therefore in such parts retained the functions of hereditary fiscal officer, and till comparatively recent times were the sole *hacdars*. That this is the true history of the establishment of these duplicate hereditary offices in a portion of Nimar is, I think, certain. I have gathered it from tradition, and from the indications presented by the genealogies of the different families. That of the chief Brahmin Mundloee of Khundwa shows 12 generations as having held the headship of the house since their appointment to the Mundloee's *wuttun*; which, according to the reckoning of chronologists of about 22 years to a generation, would make the date of their appointment A. D. 1604, just four years after Akber's conquest. That they were not, like the Rajpoots, the deposed feudal lords of the country, is also shown by the fact that they were never until lately allowed the title of *Zemindar*, which was properly confined to those who, like the Rajpoot Chiefs and the aboriginal Turvees and Mankurs, are really the descendants of persons who once exercised rights of property over the soil.

122. Canoongoes (pergunnah accountants) were also appointed in northern Nimar about this time, and as usual of the Kayut caste. The office was made a hereditary Wuttun, and was remunerated in a similar manner to that of the Mundlooes. It exactly corresponds to that of the Dsh-pandeh of the Deccan.

123. Southern Nimar being a part of the Souba of Khandeish, while the northern part at first belonged to that of Malwa, there appears to have been some difference in their early revenue administration. A measurement of the land in the Taptee valley seems to have been made at an early period, probably before the reign of Shah Jehan, as the unit of measurement was different from the Ilahee beegah introduced by that monarch into the Deccan. The unit was the *maamoolie* begah measured by a chain 70 haths long. It would thus be about $111\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, or $\cdot 285$ of an acre. The land measure adopted was:—

20 Pauds	=	1 Beegah.
4 Beegahs	=	1 Purtun.*
20 Purtuns	=	1 Out (plough).

* (Vide ante para 116).—*Purtun* is probably from *Pulutna* (*l* passing often into *r*), to turn, meaning a field the length or breadth of which (223 feet) bullocks could plough without the rest they get when turning. Compare the *gumao*, a similar measure known in Upper India.

124. The *tunkha* system of fixed assessment, devised by the famous Todur Mul, was introduced throughout Nimar during the reign of Shah Jehan. The number of Outs and Purtuns in Zeinpoor mehal (Zeinabad), and the amount of its *tunkha*, have come down to us in the Deshmookh's office; and I find that by this calculation the standard assessment must have been at the average rate of Rs. 1-14-5 per acre.

125. In upper Nimar no general land measurement appears to have been made, but only of land growing the more valuable crops (sugar-cane, &c.), which were measured by the standard *Ilahee beegah* (*vide* para. 227). For the rest a Kunkoot or appraisalment of crops appears to have been made. Akber's rules of assessment professed to fix the State demand at one-third of the gross produce, but I have found a *Dustoor-ool-umul* of assessment in the Khundwa Canoongoe's office, which, though dated in the early Mahratta times, uses purely Persian revenue terms, and states itself to have been in use "from of old," and in this a more liberal scale is laid down. The proportion of the net produce, after deducting cost of labour, seed, and grain contributions to *hucdars*, to be claimed as rent, where Kunkoot assessments are in vogue, is stated to be :—

Of rice and irrigated wheat	..	‡
Of all other crops	..	‡

The rate per beegah ($\frac{1}{2}$ acre) for crops so assessed was—

Black sugar-cane	..	..	12½ Rupees
White "	...	..	10 "
Ginger	..	...	7½ "
Tobacco	..	..	6½ "
Onions, garlic, pepper, and vegetables			3½ "
Indian-corn and hemp	...	..	1½ "

126. The *tunkha* of the whole territory ruled by the Viceroy of the Deccan is given in a Persian MS. written by one Thakoor Lal, a Kayut clerk in the office of the Souba of Khandeish at Boorhanpore, which I have

been fortunate enough to obtain. The pergunnahs which are now included in the Nimar district are stated to have been assessed as follows:—

Old name.		Present name.	Moghul <i>Tunkha</i> assessment, rupees.
Sirkar.	Pergunnah.		
Aser	Havelee ...	Aser ..	1,56,588
"	Zeinpoor ...	Zeinabad ..	1,71,865
"	Mahomedpoor ...	Manjrode ..	22,178
Handia	Khundwa ...	Khundwa ..	1,13,851
"	Bamgurh ...	Bamgurh ..	9,264
"	Sajnee ...	Peplode ..	24,023
"	Poornee ...	Poornee ..	4,300
"	Moondee ...	Moondee ..	24,571
"	Atoda ...	Atode ..	10,391
"	Poonassa ...	Poonassa ..	3,000
Beejagurh	Kanapoor ...	Kanapoor ..	17,276
Total ..			4,57,307

Pergunnah Beria is not mentioned in this MS. as a separate mehal. It was then part of the Banswa pergunnah of Sirkar Beejagurh, which also included the modern pergunnahs Selanee of Nimar, and Sunawud belonging to Holkar, and perhaps some other tracts not now exactly ascertainable—(vide para. 78). The tunkha of Banswa was Rs. 43,446. The tunkha was assessed in detail on the whole culturable land in each village, and the total of the village assessments formed the tunkha of the pergunnah.

127. The object of this fixed assessment must, I think, be found in the fact that almost the whole of the Mahomedan territory in the Deccan was from the first assigned in jageer and *Surinjam* grants to military leaders and others. The constant warfare in which they were involved probably rendered inconvenient the payment of the troops, which they had to maintain in order to hold the country, by establishing regular treasuries in which the revenue might be lodged, and from which it might be regularly disbursed. It was far easier to

assign the tunkha of a tract for the support of a body of troops, leaving to their leader the trouble of collecting it. Such assignments were always of the full tunkha of the tract assigned, whether the whole of the land was cultivated or not.

128. In the case of some of the tuppas and pergunnahs in upper Nimar, which had been held on feudal tenure by the Rajpoot Zemindars, a light tunkha is said to have been assessed in lump, and the management of the tract to have been then left very much to the Zemindar, subject to its payment. This may account for the very light assessments shown above to have been levied from the Ranas of Sajnee (Peplode) and Poonassa, and the Rao of Bamgurh. But if this were the case at first, later arrangements must have completely broken up these talooquas, as we find nothing of the sort existing in the Maharratta period.

129. In other more settled tracts the hereditary pergunnah officers are said to have been at first held responsible for the collection of the whole tunkha of the pergunnah, and the Patels for the tunkha of their villages, excepting what had been assigned from it in rent-free tenure; but it is scarcely creditable that with such high assessments such a system could long have worked; and doubtless their real responsibility was merely for the collection of the tunkha of the land actually under the plough, though they were no doubt pressed to keep the revenue as nearly up to the tunkha as possible. The earliest revenue accounts that can be found show in fact that a regular *jumabundee*, or as it was called *tunkhabundee*, was prepared at the commencement of each year, by the agency of a Mahomedan official called the *Ameen*, in which the tunkha was taken as the standard, and every item of deduction was specifically accounted for, the balance being the *mal-wajib*, or sum for which the hereditary officials and Patels were held responsible for that year. For the payment of this, written agreements appear to have been exacted, sometimes from the Patels and sometimes from the pergunnah officials. In other cases the collections appear to have been held *Kham*, in which latter event a bailiff (called *Mirdah* or *Havildar*), with a body of *Shenaks* (peons), were appointed to watch the crops until the assessment was realized. At the close of the year another document was prepared called the *wasilat mal-wajib*, in which the *mal-wajib* assessed at the beginning of the year is made the standard; all remissions or alterations made by authority during the year are allowed for; and a balance is brought out by deducting from the amount then left due the collections actually made. The amount due, but uncollected, is then stated to be payable either by the pergunnah officers or by the Patels, and sometimes by the ryots, as the case might be, and a written acquittance was passed to them when the whole had been collected.

This balance, if still uncollected, is brought over into the next year's *Wasilat*, but not into the *tunkhabundee*, which referred to one year's revenue only. Translated specimens of these documents are given below. The assessments having been made in *Tuccas* and *Dams* (copper coinage), and converted in the accounts into rupees at the exchange of the day, which is often not given, it is difficult to trace the correspondence of the accounts in many cases:—

(1). *Tunkhabundee* of Pergunnah Zeinpoor for 1131 Fules (A. D. 1724).

STATEMENT OF AREA.

				<i>Outs. Partuns. Beegahs. Biswas.</i>					
				Total area	..	3 939	18	3	18
<i>Deduct—</i>									
Waste ..	1 591	14	1	2					
AIMA (charitable or religious endowments.)	431	18	2	9					
Total				..	2 023	12	3	11	
Balance cultivated				..	1 916	6	0	7	
Deduct Enams				..	201	13	3	11	

[Here follows detail of all the service enam lands.]

Balance, Khalsa	..	1 714	12	0	16
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STATEMENT OF TUNKHA.

				Rs.	A.	P.
Total tunkha	1 71 758	1	6
Deduct as below	94 961	7	9
namely—						
From the Jageerdar's (Nizam's) share	71 221	2	0		
From the Shao Rajah's chouth	23 740	5	9		

Balance mal-wajib	76 796	9	9
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(2) *Wasilat mal-wajib* of Pergunnah Khundwa for the year 1136 Fules (A. D. 1729).

				Rs.	A.	P.	
Mal-wajib ..	..	..	..	20 001	0	0
Deduct as below ..	..	..	..	1 261	0	0
Remissions authorized ..	..	1 000	0	0		
Enam given to Mocuiddum of Sirsode ..	..	200	0	0		
Remission to Roostumpoor as per Perwana ..	..	61	0	0		
Balance				..	18 740	0	0
Collected by Amils				..	17 630	14	3
Balance due, Rupees				..	1 109	1	9

Memo—

				Rs.	A.	P.
By the Pergunnah officials ..	..	..	..	400	0	0
Mocuiddums ..	..	..	..	709	1	9*

*In other similar documents a portion of the balance is stated to remain against the ryots:

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130. One thing seems clear, that the assessment on cultivating holdings was fixed, and that no extra cesses were levied on them by the State, if so they did not pass through the accounts. Of the actual position of the cultivators at this time little more is to be learnt than this : Akber's revenue code repeatedly enjoins their protection and encouragement; and perhaps the flourishing state of the country may be accepted as a proof that his injunctions were in the main carried out. I have found no trace of the peculiar class of proprietary cultivators known in the Deccan as *Meerasdars*, the only classes distinguished in the oldest village papers being *Wuttundars* or relatives of the Patels (*vide* para. 136) and *Mahajuns*. The latter do not seem to have been at all favoured in the matter of assessment, but rather the reverse. They had, however, much consideration in the village, were called into council by the Patels, and so on. The distinction seems therefore chiefly a social one.

131. It is evident that such responsibilities for revenue collection as have been described would not be undertaken by the pergunnah and village officials for nothing; and accordingly, during the Mahomedan rule the emoluments of these *Wuttuns* were of considerable value. The amount of those of the hereditary pergunnah officials it is impossible to ascertain now with exactness. Many of their Jageers and *Ziraut* lands have passed out of their possession, and the *hucs* of many of the Rajpoot Zemindars have also been disallowed by subsequent governments. The percentages, as I have said, appear to have varied in inverse ratio of the state of advancement of the tract. In Khundwa, Zeinabad, and the more open parts, they amounted during Mahomedan rule to from 4 to 8 per cent, while in Poonassa, Bamgurh, &c. (for Tuppahatee *vide* ante para. 119), where the country was very backward, the percentages amounted to a fourth or sometimes even a third of all revenue. The percentages were payable from Sewae (miscellaneous) as well as land revenue, and fell at a higher rate on the former. They had also Jageer villages, and assignments of the revenue of smaller plots in most villages of their circles. At the late Zemindaree Settlement the total value of their emoluments, after great curtailment in subsequent times, was found to be 12 per cent of the whole revenue (*vide* para 241).

132. The Patels had considerable rent-free lands (*Zirauts*), and besides an allowance called *Sadil Khurch* for contingent village expenses—an item of a very elastic nature. They had also assigned them, or gradually acquired prescriptively, a right to levy numerous dues in kind from the cultivators and tradesmen residing in their villages, as well as duties in cash or kind on sale and transit.

of goods and animals. A detail of these, containing many that were doubtless levied in Mahomedan times, will be found in para. 187; and it is clear that, though individually of a petty nature, in the aggregate they must have amounted to a considerable income.

133. All these items of emolument were in both cases termed "hucs," the origin and meaning of which word show both that they were regarded as a right, and that they first came to be so regarded in Mahomedan times. The office itself was called a *Wuttun*, an Arabic word, which indicates that though these rights may have been formally acknowledged only at this period, yet they were considered to be *rights* by virtue of the ancient interest in the soil possessed by their holders. The *Wuttun* was heritable, and, in the case of the Patels at all events, transferable also with the consent of the Government. Shares were sometimes sold, generally on account of inability to pay the *tunkha*, but seldom the whole of the *Wuttun*. These *Wuttuns* soon became property of very high value and estimation, which they retained under the subsequent Mahratta rule. The highest Mahratta Chiefs prized those they had inherited or obtained by purchase more apparently than much more highly sounding titles. We read of the Rajah of Satara clinging to the *Wuttuns* he had inherited from Sivajee after he had lost his crown in all but the name; Sindia was always termed "Patel" in the revenue accounts of the territory he acquired in Nimar; while Holkar and the Powar of Dhar fought obstinately I believe after the British conquest to recover the Patelships of Deccan villages which were their *Wuttun*.

134. *Wuttun* was frequently created by the State by letters patent, and was never, as far as I have heard, resumed, excepting in the case of proved misdemeanour. In making assignments of land free of revenue demand, the State appears to have always, both now and in the Mahratta times, reserved the rights of the *hucdars*. They did not give away what was already private property. Heirless *Wuttuns* did not revert to the State; but the Deshmookh, Zemindar, and Mundloee, had the reversion of Patel's *Wuttuns*, and the Deshpandeh or Canoon-goe of Putwarees.*

135. There is one circumstance to be noted regarding these *Wuttuns*. Though heritable and quasi-transferable property, provision was made against the efficiency of the service on condition of

* Revenue papers. Many *Wuttuns* have been thus acquired by them.

which they were held becoming impaired by a too minute sub-division of the income among heirs. Both in the case of pergunnah officers and of Patels the Hindoo law of inheritance was superseded by a custom. The Zemindars, Mudloees, and Deshmookhs, and Rajpoot Thackoors of Tuppas, as well as the Canoongoes and Deshpandehs, had in each family a *Guddee*, the succession to which was regulated by primogeniture, and to which were attached the bulk of the lands and other income of the Wuttun, collaterals being provided only with a moderate maintenance. This custom regulated not only the succession to the Zemindaree, but also to the Patelships of villages held by these classes. In the same way, from among the Patels of other villages, one was selected as headman, and called "*Mocuddum Patel*," and he alone enjoyed the Puchotra and most of the other items of income; only a small share of the Zirant land, or some other of the hucs, often only one or two fruit trees, being left to the collaterals, more as a token that they were also Wuttundars than as a maintenance. The succession to the Mocuddumee was also hereditary, subject only to the condition of capacity to perform the work. If the eldest son was unfit another succeeded, all others going to swell the number of Wuttundar cultivators. If there was no direct heir a member of a collateral branch would succeed. With the consent of Government, however, even the Mocuddumee could be divided; but this would seem to have been done only when a village had become so large as to furnish work and support to more than one headman. The partition was either complete or partial, that is they might share the Wuttun and income but remain jointly responsible for the whole tunkha; or the village was frequently also divided into *Puttees* or *Turufs*, and a separate tunkha was assessed on each. Maintenance allowances to collaterals of all Wuttundaree families reverted in default of direct heirs to the head of the house—the *Gadi-nasheen* or Mocuddum—and this provision, together with the arbitrary resumption or withholding of the shares of uninfluential Wuttundars by the more powerful head of the house, seems to have sufficed to keep the portion of the emoluments of the Wuttun assigned to collaterals at a uniform and very low figure. In British times the sub-division of the enam lands and hucs came to correspond more nearly with ancestral shares than I believe it ever previously did. Our rigid system of law does not possess the adaptability that would enable it thus to preserve the valued titles and privileges of an ancient interest to numerous sharers, without at the same time impairing the efficiency of the service, and endangering the public revenue through frittering away the income by enforced sub-division.*

* We might perhaps have been expected to understand such a system better than we did, seeing how closely it corresponds to our own principles of inheritance to landed property.

136. It must not however be supposed that the collaterals thus excluded from the management and headship of the village derived no benefit from their being Wuttundars. They usually held as cultivators the best lands in the village on a thoroughly secure tenure. The idea of ousting a Wuttundar has always, I believe, been looked on with a sort of religious horror. He might go away for years and let his fields be tilled by others, but he was entitled to recover them should he ever return. The *tunkhabundee* was a fixed and equal assessment on all the lands of the village, but means were nevertheless found to give the Wuttundars an advantage over common cultivators. The *tunkha* was so much a *beegah*, but the Patel could easily arrange that a Wuttundar's *beegah* should be larger than a common cultivator's; and such in fact was found to be the case when the land in Zeinabad came to be measured the other day for the first time since the days of Mahomedan rule*. Another advantage enjoyed by the Wuttundars was exemption from the numerous dues which the Patels sometimes succeeded in imposing as their *huc* (right) on the other cultivators over and above the Government *tunkha* or revenue.

137. It is somewhat remarkable that the system of equal inheritance prevalent in Upper India, which has given rise to proprietary communities, self-governing and jointly undertaking all the responsibilities of revenue payment, &c., should have been so completely supplanted here by that of undivisible heritable headship, carrying with it the right of management and of revenue collection and responsibility, all others of the proprietary stock being interested in and responsible for only the land they till. It may however be capable of explanation. I believe it is only in the case of a few tribes, such as the Rajpoots and Jats, that the democratic element which leads to the system of Northern India has any great force, and of these races the Rajpoot only is found in Nimar in any numbers. But the conditions necessary for the development of such communities have not been present here. The settlement of an undivided family as cultivators in a previously unoccupied spot, their peaceful possession, unpressed by competition for land or excessive taxation, for a period long enough to lay securely the foundation of the fabric, enabling them, when times of pressure come, by the increase in their numbers and the clannish spirit born of their common descent, to keep out all strangers, and the absence of severe exactions on the revenue farming system (which must always

* This method of varying the incidence of the uniform *tunkha* seems also to have in time been applied to the lands of others than Wuttundars, in order to allow for difference in the quality of soils. In fact the *beegah* came to mean a piece of land worth a certain rent, irrespective of its size.

be fatal to the preservation of such an order of things), these are probably the conditions necessary to the growth and maintenance of proprietary communities such as those of Upper India. They were all absent in Nimar. There the Rajpoots, whose natural tendencies might have led to the institution, were at first mere military lords of tribes of subject aborigines who were the tillers of the soil. They required a feudal organization, which led to the subordination of the majority of them to Chiefs of tracts and villages. As they increased and became cultivators themselves they doubtless began to subdivide the land by equal inheritance, but they had not had time to form strong proprietary cultivating communities when the conquest by Akber suddenly introduced a flood of new cultivators of all classes, who settled on the unoccupied lands, both in the Rajpoot villages and in the waste. Land acquired a value, and a considerable revenue assessment was imposed. The organization of a joint responsibility where there was no community of blood or feeling was obviously impossible; and thus it resulted that the Rajpoot village Chiefs became the heads of miscellaneous bodies of Koonbee, Goojar, Mussulman, and aboriginal cultivators, or the new comers settled in separate bodies, a number together for mutual defence, and each family naturally worked independently of the others in clearing and appropriating a location. A headman was required in such circumstances, and either the cleverest of them was elected, or the government appointed a Patel and made him responsible for the *tunkha* of the whole, resulting naturally in the system we find. Even had such communities at one time existed they would certainly have been dislocated by the subsequent warfare, and by the revenue farming system of the Mahrattas; but I repeat that there is no reason to suppose this was ever the case.

138. There were many other Wuttuns besides those described established in the Mahomedan time. In
 The Chowdree's Wuttun. some of the villages of the Taptee valley (Khandeish) section of the district a sort of assistant Patel was appointed with the title of *Chowdree* (Chowgleh in the Deccan according to Grant Duff). The occasion for this appears to have been either the necessity for associating with the Patel a new man of greater wealth or energy in order to promote cultivation (one of the chief duties of the Patel being to making advances to needy cultivators or to become security for them with the Mahajun), or to provide a representative for a new body of cultivators of a different caste coming to settle in the village. Thus we often find different castes in the two offices; and the Chowdree is not unfrequently of a non-agricultural caste, which is never the case with the original Patel. It was supported by fresh grants of land, but the cash and grain hucs and the Puchotra were not increased, the Chowdree dividing them in some settled proportion with the Patel. The Chowdree's Wuttun was originally considered inferior to the Patels,

but in later times the distinction vanished, and now they both stand on precisely the same footing in the villages where both exist. There are no Chowdrees in northern Nimar (Nimar proper).

139. The Putwaree or Koolkurnee was also a Wuttundar. He had ziraut lands, sometimes a percentage on the revenue, and sometimes direct contributions of cash or grain from the cultivators. He was totally independent of, and even in some ways superior to, the Patel. He was the government representative, whose duty it was to keep an eye on the revenue collected by the Patel, and their interests were probably designedly at variance with each other. In villages which had been divided into Turufs each had a Putwaree, and one called the *Muj-mooehdar* (now corrupted to *Mojudar*) was head Putwaree of the whole. The same rule of inheritance applied to the Putwaree's Wuttun. The acting headship, carrying with it the bulk of the income, could not be sub-divided by inheritance, and the maintenance allowances were usually even smaller than the Patel's. The necessity for a knowledge of writing in order to perform the service of the Wuttun, would probably be an additional aid to the principle of succession by selection or primogeniture. As with the Patels, where a village required or could support more accountants than one, more were allowed to succeed. In more modern times also a fashion has arisen of a number of sharers doing the work and enjoying the income, either simultaneously or year and year about. But this, I am certain, from the small number of such shareholders and their close relationship, is quite a recent infraction of the rule (*vide* para. 245). Heirless Putwaree's Wuttuns reverted to the Deshpandia of the pergunnah, in the same way as Patelships to the Deshmookh.

140. The Minor Wuttundars are as follows, — all of them do not exist in every village, and the list here given is that of mouzah Shalopore, the largest village of pergunnah Zeinabad, where the ancient form of village constitution has been apparently less impaired than anywhere else. It has never, as far as I can learn, been let in revenue farm even in Marhatta times, but its chief Patels being also Deshmookh and Deshpandeh of the pergunnah, the Wuttundars have been powerful enough to keep it always in their own hands, the system of management being throughout the *Kuchee wehvat* by tunkhabundee, which has been already described. The whole of the *Bara Bulowtee* and *Bara alowtee* mentioned by Grant Duff do not, it will be seen, occur here; and it would seem indeed that the occurrence of the whole is very rare in any part of the Deccan. The class of hereditary official artizans (alowtee) is wholly absent. I have found traces of them in a few villages in Upper Nimar, but none strong enough to give them now any claim to recognition. The village is divided into ten Turufs or Puttees, the lands of which are quite separate

Name of Officer.	Number of separate heads of families.	Duties.	Emoluments.		
			Enam land.	Cash.	Other perquisites.
Kalee	Two	Watching the village and threshing floors.	100 acres	None	½ Seer grain per beegah from each cultivator and 1 goat from each herdsmen, 1 pice from each cart halting in village and 1 anna on occasion of each marriage.
Tural	One	To sweep the chowree and other public places and attend to camps and lighting travellers through.	20 acres	None	Small contributions of grain not specified and 1 anna at each marriage.
Mirdhe	One	Appraisalment of crops and measurement of land.	5½ acres	None	Two handfuls of grain from each threshing floor.
Talubdeh	Four	Calling cultivators to pay their rents, &c., and to do service as porters or furnish their carts for carriage.	40½ acres	None	½ Seer teor per beegah cultivated and 2 pice at each marriage.
Bulabee	Twelve	General drudge, messenger, and traveller's guide from village to village.	89 acres	None	½ Seer jowar per beegah, skins of all dead cattle except those of Wuttundars, and 2 pice at each marriage.
Georas	One	Patrolling the village at night.	11 acres	None	An undefined contribution of grain.
Pursee	One	Village priest and astrologer.	None	None	A basket of jawar heads from each cultivator.

excepting the village site and some waste land about it called the Shamilut Putee. Each putee has its own Patels or Chowdrees and Putwarees, but the inferior Wuttundars act in the whole.

141. I will not attempt the now impossible task of estimating accurately the total share of the rental of the land thus shown to have been enjoyed by the Wuttundars. It could not certainly have fallen short of one-third, and more probably were all dues and contributions reckoned would approach to one-half of the whole payments of the cultivators. This was all distinct from the emoluments of the salaried revenue officials of the State, and, as I have shown, was enjoyed on a tenure, which made it as absolutely their *property* as anything whatever can be.

142. It must, I think, be admitted that this Wuttundaree system of the Mahomedan period was admirably adapted to secure a private proprietary interest in the land at a period when the art of government and legal safeguards were still imperfect: though such as believe that the English type of landed property is the only possible one, may perhaps fail to see that the Wuttundars were proprietors at all. It is true that they were not landlords, in the sense of receiving the rents of tenant cultivators for their own uses, paying only a rent-tax to the State. There is nothing in fact to show that they had any direct power over the actual cultivators at all. The germ of a system of landlord and tenant was not developed till the revenue farming period of the Mahrattas. Nevertheless such a permanent interest as that of the Patel in the land and its produce, carrying with it such valued emoluments, and personal dignity and influence, must I conceive be held to be strictly of a proprietary nature. Like the "proprietary right" we are now "conferring," it involved the duties of collecting the State revenues, and promoting the agricultural prosperity of the village; and the main difference between them lies in the fact that the share of the Wuttundars in the rental of the land consisted of a fixed percentage of the rents collected by them from the cultivators for the State and of the whole rent of a portion of the land assigned to the Wuttundars themselves. We have seen that in some cases this share amounted to a third of the gross rental of the village. On the other hand, our "proprietors," while they also collect the rents of the cultivators, pay to the State a percentage of them and of the rent value of their own lands, and retain whatever margin there may be as their own share. It is obvious that the latter system depends for its security on the protection of a strong government and well administered laws; and that it could not exist at a time when a needy government, served by rapacious revenue collectors, might at any time annihilate the value of the property by assuming, as the rental of the land, a larger sum than could be realized, so that the fluctuating margin forming the measure of the private property should disappear. The Wuttundar's interests were sharply and permanently defined, and no over-assessment of the cultivators could affect them. Nothing but deliberate resumption of the Wuttundar could destroy its value. It was protected from the

exactions of a hard pressed government no less than from the rapacity of its officials; and it will be seen that during the subsequent period of Mahratta and early British maladministration, when every ill-defined interest in the land was swept away, the Wuttundars were able to ride out the storm,—a storm in which, should it ever again occur, our “proprietors” would infallibly be swamped. Notwithstanding the existence of revenue farming in Nimar for nearly a century and a half, and of a quasi-proprietary right, in our sense of the word, for the last fifteen years, opinion is still strongly in favour of the ancient Wuttundaree system. It will be seen that revenue farming never obliterated the Wuttundars, though it greatly curtailed their influence and emoluments. We have so far improved the revenue farming system, by moderation of assessment for long periods, and by promises of renewing such engagements with the farmers or their legal successors, at a still moderate, if enhanced, assessment, that we think it proper to regard the farmer as a proprietor. But still the Wuttundars, who have generally obtained this position, would rather revert to the old system. They know that the value of their property still depends on the Settlement officer and the revenue collector; and that there is no appeal except to higher revenue officials from their decisions. Their property is not protected, as other property is, by the Civil courts of the land; and complete faith in the permanence of our rule, and in the continued justness of our assessments, is necessary to the idea of security in the description of proprietary rights we recognize. It may be said that neither of these conditions is as yet present to their minds. Such events as the transfer of long settled British pergunnahs to the sovereignty of such a rapacious revenue collector as Holkar (*vide* para. 108) must be forgotten before our rule can be looked on by the “proprietors” as permanent. Neither have they faith as yet in the continued justice of our assessments. We profess to leave half the rental to the proprietors; but one has only to read the numerous reports of Settlements to learn how seldom this is really done. This is doubtless unavoidable at present, if our landlord and tenant system is to be fully developed, but meantime it cannot be expected that the proprietors should believe that what has not been done now will be done at future Settlements. A permanent settlement of the Government demand would doubtless accomplish our object, and is the logical result of our system. Short of that, nothing but a legal security to the proprietors against the exaction by the revenue officer of more than half the real existing rental, will ever give them fully the idea of a permanent proprietary interest. Therefore I think that it is not surprising that the Wuttundaree system of the Mahomedans should still find many advocates in Nimar.

143. There is considerable evidence that besides thus fostering rights of property connected with the land, the Mahomedan rulers of Nimar paid attention to the duties of a government in the promotion of agricultural improvements. The geological forma-

Mahomedan works of improvement.

tion of the country is unfavourable to the formation of tanks, but in several places such works were undertaken on a considerable scale. The numerous streams were also utilized by masonry dams, of which one (at Mahalgoraree in Zemabad) is still extant; and others, as on the Ootaolee river in Aser, and on the Sookta and Abna in Khundwa, are traceable by their remains.

144. The ancient fruit trees on village sites, and remains of mosques and temples, show that many tracts attained under their rule a high prosperity, which are now dismal and malarious wildernesses. Nimar must have then produced the greater part if not all the food consumed by its population, then probably larger than now; while now, after 44 years of British Yule, its richest lands are still lying waste, and nearly half its food is imported. Whether or not the whole tunkha assessment of Nimar was ever collected in the palmy days of the Moghuls is now unascertainable excepting in one pergunnah. We have no accounts until the country had come under the rule of the Nizam, and had begun to suffer from the inroads of the Mahrattas. Of pergunnah Kanapoor, however, I have obtained an account of the revenue from A. D. 1677 to 1705, which shows a gross collection in the years 1700 and 1701 of Rs. 2,236 more than the tunkha of Rs. 17,276. This return appears to include Sewae revenue, which I learn from other documents amounted to about Rs. 3,000. So that the tunkha assessment appears to have been almost or quite realized in those years.

145. By the commencement of the 18th century the revenues had greatly fallen off, and the country gone back in cultivation. The vice-regal court and attendant armies of food consumers were no longer at Boorhanpore, and the remoter tracts had begun to relapse into jungle.

146. As we have seen, Mahratta incursions began as early as A. D. 1684; and early in the succeeding century some 35 per cent of the revenues had been regularly ceded to the Shao Raja, viz. 10 per cent as hereditary Sirdesh-mookh, and the *Chouth* or fourth of all revenue, nominally as a *Sirenjam* for the support of troops, but really as tribute. Both these dues were thereafter realized by special agents of the Raja, appointed under sunnud.

147. The *Sir-deshmookhee* formed an item in excess of the regular revenue demand, and thus fell primarily on the ryot, though doubtless it reacted on the Government revenue in the end. The *Chouth* again was a portion of the regular revenue, and involved no new collection. It is said to have been always calculated on the tunkha or standard assessment, but such

* Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, Volume I, page 253 (old edition).

was not the case in Nimar, it being an exact fourth in all cases of the net revenue collections. In the earlier accounts it is called the *Chouth*, but later the term used was *Mokassa*, which properly applied only to three-fourths of the *Chouth*, the remaining fourth being the *Raja's Babtee*. But there is nothing to show that this distinction was preserved in Nimar, the net fourth being termed *Mokassa*. Nor is there any trace, excepting in pergunnah Aser, of the sub-division of the *Mokassa* into *Ain Mokassa*, which was 69 per cent of the *Chouth*, and *Sehotra* which was 6 per cent of it (the remaining 25 per cent being the *Raja's Babtee*). But we have only Mahomedan accounts of the years before Nimar became the Peshwa's Jageer, and it is probable that these sub-divisions, even if they existed, were not recorded in them, the whole hated contribution being lumped under the name *Mokassa*, which was probably the only one of the terms that had a civilized sound to their ears.

148. The *Mokassa* was assigned to different persons at different times. The Bhonslas of Arkulkote had it for a long time, and shares were given by them to numerous dependents. They were succeeded by members of the Kudum family of Bhosawul, and finally, with the exception of pergunnah Aser, by the Peshwa, on his acquiring Nimar in Jageer in 1740. Certain shares of *Mokassa* in Aser however appear to have remained with the Selar, Gargil, and Powar families up to the conquest by the British. The *Sehotra* (6 per cent of the *Chouth*, or here of the *Mokassa*) of that pergunnah was also retained till then by Rughnath Rao Chimnaje, Punt Suchew, who had at one time possessed the *Sehotra* of the whole of the districts in which the Mahratta claims were admitted.

149. Prior to the acquisition of Nimar by the Peshwa the Moghul revenue system had greatly degenerated. The country was a part of what was nominally the Jageer, but really the kingdom of the Nizam. Under him it was partly assigned in petty Jageers, and partly managed by Amils of small sub-divisions, and it seems to have been left very much to the Jageerdars and Amils how the revenue should be collected. It was however generally *khām* through the pergunnah officers and Mocuddums, and only in the few years immediately preceding the transfer do we find that any part of it was let out in farm (*Ijara*), and probably this involved no displacement of the hereditary officers. The confusion of interests that must have existed at this time among the pergunnah Zemindars, revenue farmers, Fojlars, Amils, Sirdeshmookhs, and Kamavisdars, residing in the interests of the assignees of the *Mokassa* and *Sehotra*, all claiming fractional shares in the revenue, can be imagined better than described. The hereditary pergunnah officers appear to have been held responsible to each and all for their due payment; all orders of

assignment and appointment being addressed, and receipts passed, to them. They must have been uncommonly glad when the year's accounts had been closed to the satisfaction of all. In truth, these latter years of Mahomedan rule, in the period of their universal decrepitude as a ruling power, furnish no reliable basis for a true estimate of their administration in its palmy days. The authority of the central government had become nominal; and the local officials, Amils, Ameens, and Foudars, all obtained their offices by open purchase, and defended them at times from resumption by open force.* The Statement given in Appendix D. of the annual revenue of the Khundwa pergunnah, reaching, with a few gaps, over upwards of a century previous to the advent of British rule, will show the steady decline it underwent at this time, from the misgovernment of the Moghuls and incursions of the Mahrattas. In 1739 the first portion of Nimar was ceded to the Peshwa in personal Jageer (which meant sovereignty in those times), and by 1760 he had obtained the whole district on the same tenure.

* Original report by the Kases of Kurgone on an engagement between Mahomed Jahai, Foudar and Ameen of that pergunnah, and Koolce Khan sent to relieve him.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MAHRATTA PERIOD.

150. There is considerable evidence that the well consolidated system of fiscal administration of the Mahomedans had at the first much influence on that of their successors, the Mahrattas, in those parts of the country in which it had been introduced. What the Mahratta system was, pure and simple, may be seen in the Nagpore country, where the Mahomedans never ruled. There the hereditary Pergunnah and village chiefs, if they existed at all before their advent, which I have not seen demonstrated, had acquired little of the strong feeling of Wuttun (or in other words property) in the land, which the Mahomedans had fostered. Nor do the cultivators seem to have acquired the corresponding sense of attachment to, and security in the possession of, their lands arising from the permanent *tunkia* assessment. The consequence was that most of the private interests in the land which now form the basis of a proprietary title, passed into the hands of the scheming Mahratta officials and their relatives, a result which has been in great measure avoided in Nimar.

151. I have obtained many of the annual Mahratta assessment papers and accounts of collection (*tomar wasilat*) of different sub-divisions of the district at all periods of the Mahratta rule; though a complete statement of their collections, as might be expected from their complicated system of record and account, cannot be compiled.

152. Although there are traces of farming out the revenues having been occasionally resorted to even during the first years of their management (as also, I have already stated, during the last few years of the Moghuls), it would seem that throughout the Peshwa's period of possession (i. e. till A. D. 1778) the revenue was usually collected by means of Amuldars or Maamlutdars, dealing direct with the pergunnah and village officers, in the same way as had been done by the Mahomedan Amils.* As the Emperor Akber had thought it necessary to protect the interests of the new classes of cultivators he had introduced by the establishment

* The Amuldar differed from the Mahomedan Amil chiefly in the fact that he exercised the executive powers of the Foujdar as well. He was Magistrate and Collector instead of Collector only.

of new hereditary *pergunnah* officers called *Mundloees*, so also the Peshwa provided for the protection of the Mahrattas, who now began to crowd into the district, by the appointment of a *Concanee Brahmin*, named *Ramchunder Bhoskoteh*, as *Sir-Mundloe* in *Sircars Handia* and *Beejagurh*. He was also *Sir-Cancoogoe* in the former *Sircar*. This person had aided greatly in the re-population of these *pergunnahs* on their first being acquired by the Peshwa, and the *Wuttun* created in his favour in A. D. 1751 was a reward for this. His perquisites were fixed at precisely the same as was enjoyed by the *pergunnah Mundloees*, namely 4 per cent on all revenues after deducting *Sir-Deshmookhee* and *Wuttundar's hucs*, and certain *Jageer* villages and parcels of *enam* land. He was moreover constituted the *Souba*, or governor of these tracts, which he retained throughout the Peshwa's rule. The *sumnad* for *Beejagurh Sircar* will be found translated at page 10, Volume II., of *Sir John Malcolm's Central India*. That for *Handia* I have given in an *Appendix (C)* as a curious example of the establishment of a *Wuttun*.

152. The land revenue continued to be assessed by a regular *tunkhabundee*, annually prepared, the *Moghul* rates apparently remaining unchanged. Indeed, throughout the period of *Mahratta* rule, wherever I have been able to make a comparison, I find that the *Ain mal Kalee*, or land revenue proper, was the same as the *Moghul tunkha*. The only addition made to this assessment during the early years of the *Mahrattas* was the 10 per cent *Sir-Deshmookhee*, which had also long been exacted, even in *Mahomedan* times, and the *hucs* of the *Sir-Mundloe*. As the country began to recover itself, and waste lands were taken up again, these latter were assessed and added to the *tunkha* of those which had remained in cultivation. On what principle the assessment was made does not appear. It is always stated as an addition to the *tunkha* of the preceding year, and carried on to the *tunkha* of the next. Probably where the *tunkha* assessment of the new land was ascertainable it was made the standard, and where not, the *juma* was fixed at whatever could be realized. At this time some change in the form of the annual *tunkhabundee* also took place. In addition to the regular form of statement in use under the *Moghuls* (para 129), a reckoning of deductions and additions from and to the *Malwajib* of the preceding year was made, the new demand resulting being identical with that obtained by calculation of the *tunkha*. This would also point to the probability that the *tunkha* assessment remained at this time the standard for all land. In fact it is almost certain that, looking to the condition of the country when acquired by the Peshwa, the *tunkha* with these additions was quite as much as could be got out of it in the way of revenue. A considerable period of comparative peace, however, (from 1740 to 1800) greatly restored the district, and the requirements of the *Mahratta* leaders for the prosecution of the incessant schemes against the *Moghul*, and rivalries amongst themselves, now led to an

urgent demand for more revenue, (the Peshwa is said to have been bankrupt when he ceded Nimar to Scindia). Gradually therefore we find added on to the *Ain Mal Kalee*, or *tunkha*, various excess items called *Pattors*, which were, equally with the former, a direct demand from the cultivator.

But it is not till Scindia's time that we find the list swelling to the formidable dimensions that rendered the Moghul assessment a mere name, swamped among the multiplicity of additional cesses that formed the total of the land revenue demand. As the land revenue proper diminished through misgovernment, the extra cesses were piled on thicker and thicker, in the struggle to keep the total receipts up to the old standard, and to the requirements of the ruler. The appended Statement (Appendix D.) will show the fluctuations of the land revenue in the principal pergunnah of northern Nimar during the latter years of the Mahomedans and the Mahratta rule. A reference to the historical events recorded in the former chapter will be found to account for these fluctuations in a remarkable manner. I have also compiled an account (Appendix D.) of the details of the whole revenue of the same pergunnah, inclusive of occasional imposts, for the ten years preceding the pacification of the country in A.D. 1819, when not only had the grinding taxation of its government and the corruption of its officials reached their highest point, but contributions were also being levied by rival Chiefs and by robbers of all sorts. This of course only represents what passed through the revenue accounts, and does not include the extortions of officials or the direct plunder of robbers. In many cases a cess once levied for the most trivial and temporary object seems never to have been taken off again, as witness the contribution to Scindia of nose ropes for his artillery bullocks, which thereafter became a regular item of taxation!

154. I have said that during the early years of Mahratta rule the Amuldar merely took up the functions of the Mahomedan Amils, making an annual *tunkhabundee*, collecting the revenue through the regular hereditary officers, and rendering accounts of expenditure and balances at the close of the year. Distance from head-quarters and Mahratta acquisitiveness doubtless rendered this an unsatisfactory system; and it was soon replaced by the *amount* lease to the Amuldar (who now began to be called *Kamavisdar*) of his pergunnah. On this system the *Kamavisdar* was allowed a specific sum for management expenses, and had to remit the whole of the rest of the revenue assessed on *tunkhabundee* and estimate for the year to the State treasury. The sum allowed for expenditure was called *Bakerah Khurch*, and sometimes, as where large military forces had to be maintained, included a large portion of the whole of the assessed revenue. Thus, in A.D. 1822, when the total revenue of the *Khundwa* pergunnah was Rs. 45,728, the

The system of revenue farming.

Bahera Khurch allowed to the Bhoskoteh, who was then Kamavisdar, was Rs. 22,158, the details of which are entered in the margin. The

*Bahera Khurch of Pergunnah Khundwa
for A.D. 1822.*

Kamavisdar's pay ..	Rs.	1,000
„ Palkee allowance ..	„	700
„ Office allowance ..	„	350
24 Sowars ..	„	3,600
250 Sebundee foot ..	„	9,430
Karkoon Establishment.		
Dufturdar ..	Rs.	200
(Record-keeper)		
Mojumdar ..	„	300
(Accountant)		
Furnavees ..	„	300
(Revenue officer)		
Ameen ..	„	300
(Measurer and Assessor)		
Bukhshee ..	„	100
(Treasurer) ..	Rs.	1,200
Table expenses ..	„	1,000
Sir-o-Paon ..	„	300
(Presents made to hereditary officials at tax-gathering time)		
Durbar expenses ..	„	3,500
For religious ceremonies ..	„	613
„ support of Brahmins ..	„	285
„ charitable expenditure ..	„	180
	Total Rs.	22,158

Kamavisdar under the amount system was not supposed to collect more from the pergunnah than the revenue previously assessed, according to the tunkhabundee for land revenue, and estimates for Sewae items and puttees; but, as he was under contract for the payment to the State of the whole of this, less his Bahera Khurch, he was allowed to make it up in case of deficiency in any way he could. This was generally effected by the levy of a *Sad-nook Puttee* from everyone who could pay it, which meant in plain words the extortion of his balance wherever it could be got. In some cases a pergunnah was made over bodily to the Kamavisdar to meet particular expenses, as, for instance, pergunnah Aser to Jeswunt Rao Lar for the payment of the garrison of Aseergurh (*vide* para. 86). In other cases—rare in Nimar and only in small unimportant tracts—the

revenue was farmed in *Ijara*, pure and simple, where the Kamavisdar contracted to pay a certain sum for the year, and was allowed to make as much more out of it as he could for himself. In all cases the Kamavisdaree or revenue collectorship carried with it the executive administration of the tract, in subordination to the Souba or governor. This system doubtless gave rise to every facility for extortion and oppression; but it was the inevitable outcome of the state of anarchy and confusion into which these unhappy Provinces had fallen during the last years of Mahratta rule; and probably any other system would have been equally liable to abuse under such circumstances. It would have been of little avail to attempt good administration and moderate taxation when countries were changing hands every day, according to the fortune of war, and anything that escaped the tax-gatherer only increased the share of the Pindaree and the Bheel. The country was stripped of the whole of its resources, and everyone was living from hand to mouth, so that it mattered little who had the largest share of the spoil.

155. The following epitomized translation of a petition sent to Scindia from the Khundwa pergunnah will throw some light on the state of the district towards the close of the Mahratta rule. It

Anarchy of the later Mahratta period.

bears no date, but is proved by internal evidence to belong to the period between 1803 and 1814:—

“ During the time of the first Amuldar under the Peshwa* the land revenue of this pergunnah amounted to Rs. 1,80,000, or, with sewae, to 2 lakhs. It was reduced by Ra. 27,000 under the next, and has been steadily declining ever since. The Hakim (Kamavisdar), Zemindars, Patels, Putwarees, Karkoons, Havildars, and all other officials, are pleased and thriving, but the ryots are plundered. Robbers and Pindarees oppress the district and levy blackmail, which the Zemindars share with them. The Patels bribe the Kamavisdar and Zemindars to let them appropriate the ryots' fields, and cultivate much land without paying rent for it. Many of the ryots have deserted the pergunnah, and the rest are preparing to follow. The Zemindars, Thakors, Patels, and others have bribed the Kamavisdars to give them enams out of the revenue paying lands. For the last 24 years the Zemindars have taken cash hucs and *bhent* greatly beyond their dues. They connive at the levy of blackmail by plunderers, and take bribes from both plunderers and plundered. Last year Holkar's army came, and the Kamavisdar arranged with the ryots that they should abscond for a few days and return after their departure. This they were ready to do, but the Zemindars prevented them. Then the Mowassees (robbers) from the Aser hills looted two villages, and Holkar's troops came and surrounded the Kusba (Khundwa) and exacted a contribution of Ra. 30,000. The last Kamavisdar levied a third instalment of revenue from the pergunnah after the two regular ones had been collected. The Zemindars have been the real rulers (Hakims) for the last 24 years, and the Kamavisdar is nobody. The ryots are looted before their eyes. The hill robbers have desolated villages that had been flourishing for 100 years. Even fortified ones they take. The pergunnah is ruined, and has been reduced to half its former revenue.”

This petition is anonymous, but is certainly genuine, as I found it in the Canoongoe's office along with a *Wurat* (warrant) from Scindia, to the effect that he considered the charges against the Zemindars proved, and ordering the levy from them of fines amounting in all to Rs. 1,35,000, which went into the public treasury! I would not, however, accept this as evidence that the misdeeds of which they are accused were actually done by the Zemindars. The petition was evidently written by some rival claimant to the Kamavisdarship, or perhaps by one of the Zemindars themselves, who were always quarrelling. There were two hereditary Canoongoes in the pergunnah, and as one of them is mentioned by name in the *Wurat* as the chief of those on whom the fine was levied, the other, in whose office I found the paper, was very likely the writer of it. But where such a petition could be written and acted on, things of the sort must have been looked on as of no very extraordinary occurrence.

* Sudasee Bajee, who managed the district for 31 years.

156. It is worth while to note the effect of all this on the landed tenures. The Wuttundars, both pergunnah and village, seem to have generally maintained, if they did not even improve, their position. Though the Kamavisdar usually supplanted the hereditary Zemindar as revenue collector, and often appointed others than the hereditary Patels as village farmers to carry out his detailed extortions, yet both Zemindars and Patels generally continued in the enjoyment of their hereditary perquisites and enams without interruption. The interests of the hereditary officers were naturally in most respects opposed to those of the revenue farmers, for their cash hucs rose with the government juma, which it was therefore their interest, against that of the farmers, to increase; though, if the above quoted document may be trusted, they sometimes united with them to plunder the ryots. Thus it was probably policy as much as a respect for justice that led to their preservation by the ruling power. In the meantime the Patels in particular found other means of indemnifying themselves for anything they may have lost. Some were driven to plunder; but most of them stuck to their ruined villages, and cultivated their *Ghur Kher* (home farm) lands, which they held in enam or at fixed low rates. They also, with the hereditary village servants, appropriated the produce of the numerous fruit trees (mango and mohwa) of their villages,—a valuable acquisition when a general conversion of ploughshares into swords had greatly reduced the breadth of grain cultivation. These they did not give up when the lands were again taken up for cultivation; and thus they still have possession of the majority of the fruit trees growing even in cultivated land, the property of other persons (*vide* para. 187). Regarding the rights of the cultivators of the soil at this time it would be vain to speculate. Such rights are all obliterated when a government places no limits to its extortionate taxation, and shares, under colour of a fine, in the plunder of its own officials. The essence of a cultivating proprietary right is the security of reaping the return due to the labour and capital applied to the land, subject only to the payment of the natural rent (*vide* para. 431). This being exceeded in the State demand, and a bare subsistence being left to the tillers of the ground, private property in the land has for the time ceased to exist. But it may be safely said that many of the evil effects that resulted from such anarchy in some parts of India were avoided in Nimar. There was no permanent transfer of the natural rights of the cultivator to a landlord class, the State moderating its demand from the latter, while allowing them to treat the ryot as they pleased. The hereditary Patels, though allowed to retain their own proprietary rights, were mostly set aside as responsible managers in favour of revenue farmers, while the latter were generally too ephemeral to acquire anything of the position of a landlord. That any power of ouster the Patels may have at any time violently or corruptly assumed was contrary to the avowed policy of the government, is shown by its forming matter of complaint in the above petition. It is classed

as an affliction along with Pindarees and hill robbers. In estimating the position of the ryot in such times it should also be remembered that food must be produced, and, as the cultivators abandon their land to join armies or plundering hordes, those who remain obtain exemption from further oppression through the growing scarcity of food. The laws which regulate values operate even in times of anarchy; and I find that during the ten last years of Mahratta rule the price of grain in the Pundhana bazar (which was then the chief mart) ranged some 75 to 80 per cent higher than during the succeeding ten years of our rule, and higher also than it ever has since, until the recent occurrence of the cotton famine. This must have recompensed the ryot for much of the extra taxation imposed on him.

157. I have obtained accurate lists of the Kamavisdars during the Mahratta period, but they possess no sort of interest. At first they held office for long periods, but latterly were constantly changing, and were appointed solely from court influence, combined with readiness to accept the full assessment, however unlikely to be collected, and to pay in a large proportion or the whole of it in advance. The Bhoskoteh family before mentioned managed to keep some of the pergunnahs pretty steadily in their own hands. Aser was held from 1803 to 1819 by Jeswunt Rao Lar, the Castellan of Aseergurh; who also annexed several other pergunnahs in northern Nimar on the same excuse during his quasi-rebellion against Scindia (*vide* para. 86). Rughnath Anund Rao, who succeeded the Bhoskoteh as Subadar, and one Chintamun Rao, are among the other names most frequently occurring in the revenue papers.

158. The system of dividing the revenues after collection into sub-division of the revenue. Mokassa, Sehotra, &c., before alluded to (para. 147 *et sequitur*) was maintained throughout the Mahratta period, wherever (as in Aser pergunnah) such sub-division was necessary on account of the items being enjoyed separately by different assignees. But where the whole revenue went into one treasury these useless details gradually disappeared from the accounts. As has been well explained by Mr. Grant Duff, this elaborate system formed an important element in the success of the Mahratta confederation, but became useless when this occasion for it had passed away.

159. The whole of the present district came under British management between 1819 and 1824, except pergunnahs Zeinabad and Manjrode in the Taptee valley, which were retained by Scindia until 1860. These pergunnahs therefore, for this reason, as well as their exceptional treatment throughout, require some remarks to themselves.

160. On its acquirement by the Peshwa, Zeinabad was held for a few years *Khalsa*, and was then bestowed in Jageer on one of his adherents named Worekur Sirdar. When it was transferred to Scindia in 1778, the Jageer assigned from its revenues to that Chief amounted to Rs. 1,20,000, and the balance was to be paid back to the Peshwa. An agent was appointed by the Peshwa to look after his interests, with an assignment of 1 or 2 rupees *bhent* on villages, according to their size, and Rs. 130 per annum payable out of transit duties. Presently, however, the total revenue of the pergunnah fell below the assignment of Rs. 1,20,000, so that there was no margin left for the Peshwa, and his agent was removed. But, with that strange genius for complication of account displayed by the Mahrattas, his *bhent* and pay remained a permanent charge on the revenues of the pergunnah, and were yearly paid to the Peshwa, and, after his extinction, to the British government as his successors up to the time the pergunnah was transferred to us in A. D. 1860. Up to A. D. 1808 it was administered by Scindia according to the *Kuchee Wehwat*, or collection by tunkhabundee through the hereditary officers, as under the Moghuls. In that year it was bestowed in Jageer on Hindoo Rao Baba, brother-in-law of Dowlut Rao Scindia, who let it in revenue farm on the *amount* system for a few years at a time to the Bhoskooteh and others up to A. D. 1833. During this period it was twice afflicted by partial famines, in A. D. 1803 and 1824 (*vide* para. 84), and fell greatly out of cultivation, so that its revenue declined to 50,000 or 60,000 rupees. In A. D. 1833 the Jageer was transferred to Krishnajee Rao Kudum, the "Mama Sahib" or maternal uncle of Scindia (afterwards Regent), who farmed it for three years to Kishen Rao Souba of Boorhanpore, and afterwards kept it under his own management on the *Kuchee Wehwat* system, his resident manager being one Dajee Ba Salunkeh. In A. D. 1843, on the expulsion of the Mama Sahib from the regency, his Jageer was resumed, and the pergunnah was thereafter administered by Scindia himself. For the first year it was kept *Khalsa*, then farmed for six years to Kesho Rao Rughnath, Souba of Boorhanpore at Rs. 50,000, and again to one Bapoo Prelath for A. D. 1849 and 1850 at Rs. 45,000. From that year, till its transfer to us in 1860, it was kept *Khalsa*, and managed according to the *Kuchee Wehwat*, under Kishen Rao, Souba of Boorhanpore. During this period about Rs. 35,000 a year only were realized, and it was made over to us at Rs. 32,094. The assignment of pergunnah Zeinabad in Jageer to Scindia's relatives secured it from all the evils of the "time of trouble" excepting those occasioned by the ravages of war. Few or none of its villages have passed into the hands of strangers, and the cultivators were invariably protected in their tenure of the land. The assessments also appear to have been systematically kept moderate, in order to induce cultivators to resort to it from other worse managed tracts. In two villages only were assessments raised to an inordinate height, and this was owing to their having been held in *Turufdaree* (as revenue farming was here called) by the Souba

of Boorhanpore. His method of enhancement, while preserving the semblance of adherence to the *tunkha* standard, was ingenious enough. The revenue when he got the villages was payable by the ryots in copper *tuccas*, of which 24 usually went to the rupee. He seized an opportunity, however, when the rate was only 18 *tuccas* per rupee and fixed the assessment in rupees, thus raising it by 25 per cent. I mention this to show that such farmers had not the power to openly exact what they chose from the cultivators. But generally, whether the mahal as a whole was held by Jageerdars or in farm, the ultimate management of each village continued to be, with little alteration, the *Kuchee Wehwat* of the Mahomedans. Sometimes, however, the villages were leased to their Patels, but under such conditions that the engagement was merely nominal, the margin of profit being little more than the management allowance enjoyed by the Patels whether under lease or not, and the leases being generally cancelled long before the expiry of the engagement in order to return to direct administration. The result of this exceptional good luck of Zeinabad has been the preservation, in an extraordinary degree, of the ancient Moghul institutions in the pergunnah. The establishment of hereditary pergunnah and village officers is nearly complete, the ryots have a firm and undisputed proprietary title in their own holdings, and the pergunnah has prospered under an assessment which, till the recent rise in prices, was undoubtedly a heavy one. It is a most favourable specimen of a good Native rule, apart of course from the injuries it has suffered, in common with the whole country, from political disturbances.

161. The political history of pergunnah Manjrode is identical with that of Zeinabad. The famine of 1803
 Manjrode. totally consigned this tract to desolation, from which it has never recovered. It was given free of revenue demand to its hereditary Zemindar, Mukoond Rao, in A. D. 1813, in order to be re-populated. In 1836 it had recovered a little, and was assessed at Rs. 5,000, when it again began to decline. In 1849, it was farmed to Kesho Rao, son of Mukoond Rao, on a juma rising from 50 to 200 rupees, and under his management a few Korkoos have been induced to settle on its extraordinarily fertile soil. It was made over to us at a juma of Rs. 200.

162. I have thus, I hope, at not too great length, endeavoured to set forth the degree of consideration which private interests in the land enjoyed under the rule of the Native governments which preceded us. It should never be forgotten, however, that all rights, not abstract but practical rights I mean, are dependent on the existence and execution of a strong law; and that where the administration of the law is weak the actual practice may greatly fall away from the ideal standard set up by the ruler. In the times I have been describing there was

Weakness of the Native Governments which preceded us.

in this part of the country neither the strength of government nor the administrative machinery to secure the complete realization of the ideal arrived at. But I think it must be admitted that, considering the circumstances of the time, neither the ends sought for, nor indeed the practical results attained, are worthy of such wholesale condemnation as is generally awarded to them. War repeals all laws and cuts all bonds. Therefore we must not judge by the corruption of times of "anarchy," but rather by the standard of periods of civil repose. Let us see whether we were ourselves more successful, in piping times of peace, before we had attained the state of "light" which it is to be hoped illuminates our doings now.

CHAPTER V.

BRITISH MANAGEMENT.

The farming period.

163. When the three pergunnahs of Kusrawud (including Mundlaiser), Kanapore, and Beria, became British in A. D. 1818, at the close of the last Marhatta war, they were taken over by Colonel Smith, and held in Civil charge by him for two years till May 1820. Kusrawud no longer belongs to the district, so that much remark on its affairs is not required. It had been for a long time in Jageer to a family of Shastrees, and, on becoming British, was at once leased out by villages to their Patels. Being a Jageer it had probably escaped the evils of the revenue farming system. Of the two latter pergunnahs it was forcibly reported that "there is not a *crow* in Kanapore Beria," or more exactly "they exhibited nothing but one continued scene of desolation and ruin. All traces of former cultivation had ceased to be perceptible, and extensive tracts were observed overgrown with jungle, and, with the exception of Kanapore, not a dwelling or an inhabitant was to be seen in any part of the country."* They had been since A. D. 1740 a private estate of the Peshwa's, devoted to the support of the tomb of the Peshwa Bajee Rao, who died at Ravere, of pergunnah Beria. Thus in the latter years of the war the Peshwa's power being entirely confined to the Deccan, these tracts, appertaining to no one on the spot with an interest in their protection, had suffered more complete devastation at the hands of the Pindarees and Bheels than almost any other part of the country. There was thus a complete *tabula rasa* as regards vested "rights" in these pergunnahs, and whatever such have since grown up must owe their origin entirely to our own measures. Active steps were at once taken for their resuscitation. The hereditary pergunnah officials and Canoogoes were reinstated with fixed salaries (afterwards commuted into Jageers and "hucs" as in other parts of Nimar); a small Police force was established to repel the incursions of Bheels from the Satpoora hills; the hereditary village Patels were, as far as possible, sought out and re-established; and, says Colonel Smith, "by promises and encouragement they were prevailed on to set about collecting the ryots and old inhabitants."† He also gave them sunnuds declaring them the Wuttundars, and entitled to remission of $\frac{1}{4}$ the rent of their own *Ghurkher* (seer) lands, besides other *hucs* from inhabitants of their villages. *Tuccavee* advances to cultivators starting ploughs

* Letter to Sir John Malcolm, dated 26th June 1819.

† Letter to Sir John Malcolm, dated 30th August 1818.

were also freely made at the rate of Rs. 25 for each plough. By these means in the first year 400 ploughs had been set working, and the pergunnahs again contained a population amounting to 4,330 souls. From this time up to 1827 they were generally retained under direct (Kham) management, some being let on annual leases.

164. The Resident at Indore, in his "Note on the province of Nimar up to 1850-51," states (para. 8, page 16, of the printed volume of Nimar reports) that these pergunnahs were leased out on a 5 years' Settlement from 1820 to 1824, on a jumma rising from Rs. 2,829 to Rs. 51,850! This Settlement was, I believe, actually made, though it appears from a memorandum on Colonel Smith's report, made by his successor Major Wilson, that the Puttas given were subsequently withdrawn. The extreme assessment is nearly four times what the tract can pay, even now after close on 50 years of peace; and the circumstance is only mentioned to show the extraordinary confidence with which our officers regarded the prospects of our early acquisitions in this quarter.

165. During this period a sort of running account of advances, rent due, receipts, and balances, appears to have been kept with each cultivator. The assessments were by *Kunkoot*, or appraisement of the standing crop. The basis of assessment at first adopted was to demand for the Government a clear half of the gross produce of ordinary crops after deducting seed grain, a somewhat less share being taken of such produce as sugarcane, garden stuffs, &c. Such was the inefficiency of this method of assessment, however, that Colonel Delamain found on investigation that some had "paid much more to the Sirkar than the whole of their receipts from the produce of their Khets."* It is not to be wondered then that during the five years up to 1823, balances to the amount of Rs. 6,306 had accrued, the nominal revenue having risen to Rs. 4,900. Yearly accounts for the separate pergunnahs comprised in British Nimar are not now procurable, but it would appear that the same over-exaction continued up to 1827. In that year a system of leases, at first yearly, afterwards for periods of five years, was introduced, in which a margin of profit to the "renters," as they were called, amounting to no more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was allowed. By this time the proportion of the produce to be exacted from the cultivator as rent had been reduced in theory from one half the produce, after deducting seed, to one-third of the gross produce; but from the remaining two-thirds the cultivator had "to sustain the deduction of expenses of seed, Zemindaree and village dues, and the renter's profit," and moreover it was subsequently discovered that the ryots, destitute of capital, and living from hand to mouth, "almost always, sell at lower rates than the bazaar *nerricks*, by which the *Kunkoot* is valued."

* Letter of 23rd July 1823.

166. I have obtained the records of the *Kunkoot* of the year 1826, which was the most carefully executed of all, and was accompanied for the first time by a measurement of the land. An analysis of these documents shows that the average revenue rates assessed on the cultivated lands on these systems were,—

	Rs. A. P.
On Colonel Smith's principle of half produce, deducting seed .. ..	.. 2 0 8 per acre.
On Colonel Delamain's principle of one-third gross produce .. ..	.. 1 7 8 „

while the revenue rate assessed on the same villages at the 20 years' Settlement, 25 years later, was only Rs. 1-0-3. It was of course impossible that such an assessment could be realized. In addition to this the withdrawal of the numerous troops that had previously caused a demand for produce, and the breaking up of new lands throughout the Deccan, had caused about A. D. 1827 a considerable fall in the price of grain, namely from Rs. 20-2-0 per *manee* (of 1,152 lbs.), which it had averaged for four years, to Rs. 10 per *manee*. For the next seven years the average price was Rs. 9-6-0 per *manee*, till in 1833 deficient rain caused a scarcity and several dear seasons. Soon, on every hand complaints of the hopeless poverty of the cultivators, and recommendations by the *Kumashdars* of a reduction in the assessment, began to pour in. The District officer does not, however, appear to have yet acknowledged the heaviness of the assessment, and, indeed, would seem to have deliberately adopted the policy of exacting all that was to be had, remitting the rest. He thought he had effected "an equable and moderate assessment on the real value of the land, and if from any calamity the cultivators should be reduced, so that they are not likely to recover themselves, all that is the deficit must be excused."*

167. British Nimar was let on five years farming leases from 1829 to 1833, *pergunnahs* Kanapore and Beria being each farmed in lump to certain persons who had no sort of title to such an engagement. But, as a similar measure was adopted in the same year in Scindia's Nimar, it may be well to bring the history of that part of the district up to the same point, before proceeding to describe the Settlement.

168. The circumstances under which Scindia's *pergunnahs* came under British management have already been mentioned (para 96). As regards the disposal of their revenues, the arrangement come to, after much difference of opinion, was that Rs. 30,000 per annum should be deducted by the British Government for the ex-

* Letter to Resident, dated 29th September 1828.

penses of management, and the balance, whatever it was, be credited to Scindia's treasury. In fact we took an "amanut" lease with Rs. 30,000 for "Bahera Khurch." The result may as well be stated here. The engagement was a losing one for us, as the Rs. 30,000 was found to be inadequate for the administration of the district. The Political Assistant reports in 1837:—"For years past the actual cost of administration has far exceeded this sum. It will never again be brought within it, and if His Highness Scindia were charged a fair amount, calculated on the gross revenue and expenditure of the agency, his share would amount to Rs. 83,805."

"There has been a continued effort so to arrange accounts, that it might appear that the management of this part of the province was effected at a cost of Rs. 30,000." Yet Scindia repeatedly complained of the loss he incurred by our managing the province, and it was several times in contemplation to restore it to him. From 1844 the surplus revenue went towards the payment of the Gwalior Contingent instead of into Scindia's treasury, under the treaty executed after the battle of Maharajpore. In 1860 we terminated the losing contract by obtaining the district in full sovereignty.

169. I have already described the reckless system of farming out the revenue and government of Scindia's State of his districts: territory in this part of the country that prevailed during the latter years of the war. Thus our officers found the newly ceded tracts in a state of almost complete prostration—enormous balances hanging over every village, and nearly half of the preceding year's demand even uncollected. The accounts of that year for the 8 pergunnahs still belonging to the district, as furnished by the ex-farmers, are available, though probably only approximately accurate, for, as was then reported, the confusion was such that "retrospect would be unavailing." Nor can I verify them from the records, except in the case of Khundwa pergunnah :—

Name of Pergunnah.	Name of Revenue Farmer.	Land Revenue of year preceding transfer, including regular cesses.		
		Demands.	Collections.	Balances.
Khundwa	The Bhoskootch	Rs. 68 000	Rs. *48 000	Rs. 20 000
Aser	Do.	16 503	6 524	9 979
Bamgurh	Do.	2 714	1 765	949
Moondee	Do.	1 235	564	671
Peplode	Vithoba Feelkhana-wala... ..	3 251	2 456	795
Selance	Azim Khan	3 322	355	2 967
Poonassa	Do.	5 312	166	5 146
Atode	None	Waste.	Waste.	Waste.
Total of 8 pergunnahs still attached to the district ...		1,02,632	60 086	42 546

* This nearly corresponds with the collections given in Appendix D. from the Revenue papers.

How much the district had deteriorated since the times of the Moghul's, or even of the Peahwa's administration, will be seen from a comparison of this Table with those given in Appendix D.

170. At first little change was made in the existing system of management. The hereditary pergunnah officials were generally confirmed in the enjoyment of such *hucs* and *enams* as after careful enquiry they were found to be really entitled to, and the villages were farmed out on yearly leases. The records of this early period of our management are very defective; but I have hit on the assessment Statement of Scindia's Nimar for one year (1826), from which it appears that 44 per cent of the villages were held in farm by their own Patels, 34 per cent by the hereditary pergunnah officials, 8 per cent were "Khalsa" (Kham), and 14 per cent only were farmed to complete strangers; and this may probably be taken to be the state of things handed over to us by the Mahratta Government.

171. The principle of assessment is also shown to have been the following, stated in the form of percentages for simplicity:—

	Gross rental ...	100
Allowance for village expenses	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Zemindars' hucs	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Farmers' profits	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Total ..	21
Balance Government Jumma..	...	79

How the *Kucha Jumabundee*, or rent roll, was obtained, is not so certain. There was no attempt at *Kunkoot* in Scindia's Nimar, nor were any land measurements made at this time; and reliance seems to have been placed chiefly on old Mahratta assessments, including regular cesses, as ascertained from the village papers and estimates by the pergunnah officials. The revenue first assessed rose rapidly for a time, the collections being as follows:—

YEAR.				Revenue in Scindia's Nimar.		
				Demand.	Collections.	Balance.
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1824-25	..	..	..	88 987	23 004	5 983
1825-26	..	..	..	1 02 361	1 02 329	40
1826-27	..	..	..	1 05 332	1 05 064	268
1827-28	..	..	..	1 03 768	1 03 674	94
1828-29	..	..	..	1 04 124	1 03 192	932
Average.				1 00 914	99 452	1 462

The demand for the last four years was thus higher than that of the last year of Mahratta rule. During the same period the average collections of Sewae revenue were Rs. 51,607, or 52 per cent on land revenue;—while we have seen that during the time of utmost Mahratta exaction it averaged only 42 per cent on the land revenue. This improvement gained for the District officer much *kudos* from his superiors; and is reported to have been attained “merely by attention in rectifying gradually the partial and disorganized assessments made by the former renters from Scindia.”* Doubtless, this had something to do with it; but it is also certain that a dearth of grain causing high prices prevailed at this time in the Deccan, which had so long been the scene of a devastating war, and that the restoration of tranquillity and disbandment of armies gave an impetus to agriculture, which for a time caused a competition for good culturable land, of which there was then abundance in Nimar. Towards the end of this period prices had again fallen, and the District officer began to report difficulty in realizing his assessments, which he attributed to cheapness of grain, blight, loss of cattle, and “general diminution of resources.” It was, in fact, the same reaction which took place at this time throughout the Saugor and Nerbudda districts and our other newly acquired territory. Still there was no thought of reducing the demand, which was heavier than that of our Mahratta predecessors.

172. The idea of a five years' Settlement with “renters of sufficient substance” was entertained instead. In 1829
 The first five years' Settlement. this was generally effected (though without the “substance”) throughout Nimar, including the 17 British villages of Aser pergunnah, called the *Sutrabustee*, which had been up to 1826 attached to the fortress of Aseergurh, and under the Civil Administration of its Commandant. The principle on which this five years' Settlement was made was a mere redistribution of the existing gross demand. The over-assessment of some villages as compared with others was admitted; but it was thought that the latter could afford to make up, by an increase, for the decrease allowed to the former. The leases appear to have been very much put up to auction, whoever offered to be content with the lowest margin of remission from the rent-roll getting them. In many cases the Wuttundar Patels took the lease, but a larger proportion of total strangers (38 per cent) was admitted at this Settlement than we have seen to be the case in preceding years (para. 170). I cannot describe the process better than by giving the following extract from the correspondence of the time:—
 “The percentage to Ijardars is the most unfixed payment possible, depending on a variety of circumstances, and liable with every new renter to a change. Thus in a very poor village the renter would be bribed (!) by higher percentage to take it, whilst in very good ones the competition for them would naturally lead to their being got off (!) cheap.

* Letter of 30th October 1826,

Also where one renter takes several villages he would get less per cent than if he had only one, and again, where renters have Zeerāt (rent-free) lands and other huca, they on renting their villages get less than any others. The percentage thus varies from 2 to 12. In Poonassa and Selanee, which are almost deserted, 11 and 12 are given; whilst in Kanapoor and Beria it is only 2 and 3. In the rest of the districts the amount varies from 4 to 10 per cent”
 * * * * * “There are a few instances in which no percentage is given, but very rare, and only in cases of Patels and persons having good huca of their own renting. The percentage is only calculated on the Sirkaree or pucca Kalee Jumabundee.”*

173. The actual assessment of the first year of this Settlement, was for the pergunnahs of British and Scindia's Nimar still attached to the district, Rs. 1,19,739, against Rs. 1,18,985, the demand for the preceding year. I have shown that during this Settlement a fall in the price of agricultural produce, amounting to some 50 per cent, took place, and that the Government demand was now a grievous burthen indeed, there can be no doubt. Though the population and resources of the district have increased since then by 50 per cent (*vide* para. 404), the assessment of 1833 was within a few rupees as high as that I have now imposed. In the second year of the Settlement a remission of Rs. 30,000 was applied for, of which however Rs. 5,000 only were eventually allowed. The assessment was admitted to be heavier than that of the neighbouring districts belonging to Holkar and Scindia; and arrangements now began to be made with these States and the neighbouring British districts (which appear to have been equally over-assessed) for the mutual extradition of all cultivators or farmers leaving the land of one district to settle in another.

174. In fact, although the Settlement was nominally made with these farmers, the heavy rents fixed on the lands, the abundance of waste land, and the insufficient margin left to the farmers, naturally caused it ere long to lapse into a virtually ryotwar system of management. Writing in 1831, the District officer says:—“The Sirkar is constantly expected to assist the renter in keeping his villagers at their posts and aiding him in the recovery of his rents. If the ryots here were allowed to go where they pleased, they would only pay what amount of rent they pleased for their fields, and if not agreed to would walk off to another village and could not be replaced. When thus in a measure compelled to continue their cultivation they must, if they become distressed from bad seasons or otherwise, appeal to the Sirkar; they have no other means of a chance for redress: the renter would not

* Letter to Resident, dated 31st August 1830.

of course let them off anything unless he could increase the jumma payable by others, and this would very rarely be feasible, and in the end, when he is not able to recover his rent, *he* comes to the Sirkar for assistance, and if anything is let off the Sirkar loses it. In populous countries a place once rented should give no more trouble except, perhaps, on extraordinary occasions, nor does it I believe. But here, where the population is so exceedingly scanty, and the renter has not the means of keeping his ryots without the assistance of the Sirkar, and consequently *cannot turn them out without sanction*, every individual business has to be attended to, and reduces the system virtually to an Assameewar one.* And again:—"For a long time past it has been quite a ryotwar system, in spite of villages being rented, and whether rented to their own Patels or strangers."†

175. It is impossible now to ascertain the actual demand and collections for each year of the Settlement, the accounts of land revenue being inextricably mixed up with Sewae items, advances, &c., of all sorts. But the irrecoverable balances written off during the Settlement amounted to Rs. 33,080 in British, and Rs. 73,838 in Scindia's, Nimar, or altogether to Rs. 1,06,918.

176. Rs. 76,824 of this sum, however, pertained to the demand for the last year of the Settlement alone, in which a serious failure in the annual rainfall gave rise to a dearth almost amounting to famine. Great distress prevailed at this time, though I cannot learn that any loss of life occurred from want of food. The District officer, indeed, took timely measures to obviate the extremity of famine by the import of food from Khandeish, where the harvest was good. There can, however, be little doubt that the grievous revenue exactions during the preceding years of our management, following on a long period of anarchy and spoliation, by preventing the acquisition of any agricultural capital, must have predisposed the country to extreme suffering from a partial drought, which under a better system would have been but a temporary inconvenience. That such was the case is shown by the fact that during this scarcity the price of grain never rose as high as it has ranged for the last six years, without in any way pressing hardly on the people.

177. The first five years' Settlement was followed by another for a similar period in both British and Scindia's Nimar from 1835 to 1839. The system pursued was very similar to the former arrangements. No general re-assessment of the cultivators' lands took place, only in cases where complaint was made either of over or under assess-

* Letter to Resident, dated 10th June 1831.

† Letter of 28th June 1831.

ment, a beegah measurement was made, and "the necessary remedy applied." A clear third of the gross produce was still supposed to be the Government share. In British Nimar the speculators already mentioned (para. 167) retained their pergunnah farms, and in Scindia's Nimar the Settlement seems to have been generally made with the same persons as before (*vide* para. 172).

178. The cultivators were still fully protected against ouster or enhancement by the farmers:—"no renter has the power of increasing the rent on any field beyond the value assigned to it on his renting, he gives to the ryot a putta for each field or fields held under him by individuals, naming the amount so fixed."* Some apology seems to have then been thought necessary for this procedure:—"It is not usual to deprive any man of his field, providing he gives the fair rent for it, even should another offer an increase, unless he does not properly cultivate it, or there be other cogent reason for ejecting him. In a country so thinly inhabited, although improving and increasing in population, competition of the kind rarely occurs, and cultivators have an affection for the fields they and their ancestors have held. Besides, no one would endeavour to improve his land, if always subject to removal from it."* Here is a true right of occupancy, if that be looked for in those times; but indeed, it would even seem that the cultivators were held bound by engagements for the period of the Settlement. The old plan of dealing with each individual cultivator was in fact pursued. In applying for the extradition of some cultivators who had gone into the neighbouring Charwa pergunnah, the District officer writes,—"I ask a fair settlement of sums owing to the Sirkar," * * * "with arrangements for making over to others the fields to cultivate, or the dues on them for the years of their engagements yet to run in case my renters cannot procure other cultivators. Even with such arrangements there is a certain loss to the Sirkar, as their fields lying fallow for a few years have to be counted as new ground, or given out to whoever may subsequently agree to till them as *pugrus* or rent-free tracts."†

179. This Settlement seems, on the whole, to have worked better than the preceding one. The assessment for the first year was Rs. 1,23,596 against Rs. 1,22,499 of the preceding year. The irrecoverable balances actually recorded as accruing during this Settlement amounted only to Rs. 11,878. But some of the original assessments must have been reduced, as the demand for the last year was only Rs. 1,13,903. The rise in the price of grain from an average during the preceding Settle-

* Letter to Resident, dated 12th December 1838,

† Letter of 11th April 1836.

ment of Rs. 9-6-0 per manee to an average during this of Rs. 22-8 0,* would of itself sufficiently account for this improvement. But in addition to this, the country had undoubtedly advanced since the introduction of British rule; the old cultivators who had been driven from the district had returned in numbers, 100 villages having been re-settled; the people had been relieved of heavy transit duties, and much petty taxation. Rent rates had also doubtless reduced themselves, though no regular readjustment of them had taken place, for where there are no exact measurements, such reduction would appear to invariably accompany extension of cultivation. Besides, the village assessments were not fixed by any sanction but that of the District officer, who, on failure to pay and change of renters, or even on the desertion of a cultivator or two, frequently reduced the demand; and we find the District officer reporting in 1836 that "any cultivator showing clearly that his field is over-assessed is at once freed from the additional burthen."

180. In 1839 a fifteen years' Settlement was effected for Scindia's Nimar from 1839-40 to 1853-54 by Major Sandys, then in charge of the district. British Nimar was again settled with the speculating farmers for only five years. On the whole, 31 per cent of the villages were at this Settlement let to strangers, a slight improvement on the two preceding ones. A considerable reduction of the demand was proposed by Major Sandys (I cannot now ascertain of how much); but, on remonstrance being made by Scindia, to whom the surplus revenue was payable, this proposal was disallowed by Government, and eventually the assessment of the previous Settlement was raised by Rs. 6,442 in Scindia's Nimar, amounting to Rs. 1,19,645 for the first year of the Settlement. There was no readjustment of cultivator's rents, and the enhancement was chiefly obtained by placing an immediate assessment on the culturable waste; most of the villages being, moreover, saddled with a prospective rise of assessment in anticipation of extended cultivation. In some villages an arrangement was made that, of the rents of new land brought under the plough during the lease, 20 per cent only should be allowed to the farmer, the balance forming an increase on the assessed jumma. A regular Jumabundee was prepared for each village, and the farmers were debarred from any enhancement of the cultivator's rents therein entered. Nor had they the power of ouster, except in the event of defalcation, and then only with the sanction of Government. The clear Government demand formed about 80 per cent of this rent-roll. Of the remainder, about 8 per cent consisted of the cash hucs of the hereditary pergunnah officials, 5 per cent was devoted to the payment of village expenses, and only some 7 per cent went to the farmer himself, who was supposed to become responsible for the collection and payment of the whole!

* There was great general scarcity of food in the neighbouring districts in the years 1835 and 1837. Nimar suffered in a less degree, and the agriculturists had the benefit of this great rise in prices.

181. From the very beginning of this Settlement the price of the staple crop, jowar, again fell to Rs. 8-15-0, or 65 per cent below the average of the former Working of the Settlement. Cholera also ravaged the district repeatedly during the next few years. Thus continual large remissions, averaging Rs. 30,500 during the six years the Settlement continued, had to be made from an assessment which could be realised only in an exceptionally favourable year. This system entailed such constant inspections of the damage done to crops that a considerable increase to the revenue establishments was made—*Mahalkurees*, or Naib Tehseeldars, being at this time appointed to each pergunnah. For some time the Settlement was bolstered up by the usual means of large remissions, reduction of demand when cultivators threw up land, and reclamation of all cultivators who went from one village to another, or even into foreign territory. It reads like a satire on later discussions about cultivator's rights of occupancy to hear that at this time written leases were exacted by the ryots, not to secure them the occupancy of their holdings, but *that they should be at liberty to give them up when they pleased!* At last the inevitable collapse came. The district came under the management of another officer (Captain French), who disapproved of the institution of serfdom, and refused to allow the reclamation of cultivators against whom there was no balance, in which course he was supported by the then Resident at Indore. A proclamation was accordingly issued to this effect.* It was now found that the surrounding Native States were far more moderate in their taxation than Nimar, and many of the cultivators left the latter for the former. Universal complaints of over-assessment, and of the impossibility of realising the revenue, were heard.

182. To crown all, the rains of 1844 were very scanty, and they almost wholly failed in 1845. Up to the middle of August only a few inches fell, and not a drop afterwards. The crops were almost entirely lost. Great distress ensued, and the District officer (Captain French) at once took measures for its relief by starting such public works as repairs to old, and construction of new tanks, dams, and wells,—thus aiming at permanent as well as temporary relief from troubles rising from a want of water. Close on Rs. 70,000 were thus expended during this and the succeeding year, besides nearly 18,000 rupees on such works as serais and dhurumsalas. A considerable permanent improvement was thus effected in the water-supply of the district, and the people were enabled to tide over, without loss of life from famine, a period of great privation and danger, till an abundant harvest in 1846 again furnished abundant food.

183. This misfortune proved a death blow to the Settlement, already shaken by the fall in prices and other matters before mentioned. In 1845 the Settlement breaks down.

* Letter No. 49 of 18th March, to the Resident.

leases of British Nimar fell in, and could not be renewed; and the farming system, as hitherto in vogue, was pronounced a total failure. The average yearly collections during the Settlement amounted to only Rs. 87,000 for the pergunnahs above mentioned. From subsequent returns I learn that in point of fact the average rent rate of the last year of the Settlement was for the whole district Rs. 1-4-4, and the average incidence of the Government demand Rs. 1-0-3, per cultivated acre, which will sufficiently account for its failure, seeing that the incidence of the revised assessment is now only 10 annas an acre.

184. The District officer and the Resident differed as to the remedy to be applied. The former proposed to do away with leases altogether, and introduce *Kham* (direct) management (or as it was called, reviving an old Mahomedan expression for the same thing, the "Khalsa" system) which was then in force in the neighbouring province of Khandeish. This was simply yearly Settlements made direct with each ryot for the land in his occupancy, the Patel being employed, as under the Mahomedans, in the capacity of Government agent or manager. The Resident considered, on the other hand, that the system described by Mr. Jenkins, as adopted in the Nagpore districts, where the farmer is given full power over the ryots, would provide the required remedy,—“I am of opinion that the course to be pursued on the expiry of the leases is to grant a lease to the Patel, Mundloee, or Zemindar, of each village, where there is such a person in possession or acknowledged, at such a rate of assessment as from enquiries you have made you are satisfied would be a fair jumma, requiring the party who may engage to give you security for the payment of the revenue which you may fix, and *leaving him to make such Sub-settlement with the ryots and cultivators as he may think proper.*”

* * * “In villages where there is no Patel, Zemindar, Mundloee, or person having a claim to be admitted to engage, you shall select the best person you can find who may be willing to engage, and give him a lease for one year or until revision of Settlement, under security; and if there is no person who will take a lease, then the village must be held Khas and managed by the Tehseeldar.”*

185. But the District officer had made up his mind to have the whole district “Khalsa”; and, on the leases of British Nimar falling in, reported that, “as I anticipated, no offers for leases of villages worth accepting have been made” and “the opinion of the country is in favour of a “Khas” rule for a time.”† In Scindia’s Nimar, too, the leaseholders, who were dissatisfied with the proclamation regarding non-reclamation of absconding cultivators mentioned above, were invited to throw up their leases, and by this means two hundred leases

* Letter from Resident, No. 442 of 30th March 1846.

† 30th March 1846.

were at once cancelled, the villages coming on the Khalsa roll. The majority of the rest subsequently gave in, and eventually only 73 of the farmers succeeded in working through the 15 years' Settlement. Finally the resort to "Kham" (direct) management received the sanction of the Resident at Indore, and Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western-Provinces, under whose administration Nimar had now come.*

186. Before proceeding to describe the Khalsa episode a short review of the farming system may be useful. It seems evident that the main cause of its failure was excessive over-assessment; the Mahratta rates being equalled or exceeded, without the high prices which enabled them to be paid. The fact that the average annual remissions from the demand for the whole period amounted to nearly 10 per cent, shows how excessive the assessment was. In the above quoted letter the Lieutenant-Governor prefers to attribute it to "the shortness of the leases, and the absence on the part of the lessees of any permanent interest in the soil." This grievous treatment was applied to a district utterly prostrated by years of anarchy and oppression, but possessing all the elements necessary for a rapid revival under better treatment. It had still in almost complete preservation the ancient village institutions indigenous to the country and fostered by Akber and his successors, for despite the Mahratta farming system there were few villages that had not a hereditary Patel and other village officers. Its cultivators had only temporarily been driven from the district by the "times of trouble," and were ready to return with their Patels at their head,—often, as Sir J. Malcolm says, carrying the infant son of the Patel who had fled years before,—and relight the lamp in villages which has long been *be-chirag*.† But officers relied too much on the traditions of former prosperity in the district. They were evidently pressed from above for plenty of revenue, and set to work trying how much they could get out of the district. All the old records of high collections, in the days when Nimar was a flourishing seat of government, were dragged forth; and I have even come on statements prepared on our first acquiring the province in which the highest revenue ever realised from each individual village in any year is entered, and the "total of the whole" set down as the jumma of the pergunnah, up to which it should be made to rise if possible. While the rents demanded from the cultivators were such as could not be realised in any but the most favourable seasons, and then only by absorbing all but a bare subsistence, the margin left to the farmer by the Government demand was insufficient to enable him to meet these seasons of failure. When the farmer was a stranger, and in the enjoyment of no *kuc*s, he seldom got more than 7 per cent on the revenue, often not so much. Thus, as we have seen, the system shortly became virtually a

* Nos. 569 of 6th April from Resident, and 3771 of 3rd September 1840, from Secretary to Government, North-West Provinces.

† "Lampless," an expressive term still applied to deserted villages.

ryotwar one, the Government dealing with each ryot just as if there had been no farmer at all. This gave rise to all the evils of the system of annual ryotwar assessment, without any of its advantages. A large staff of Government officials were maintained for the purpose of continually estimating damage to the crops, and doubtless used their position a good deal to their own advantage at the Government expense.

187. When the hereditary Patel took the lease he had a better margin of profit, consisting of his old *ziraut* (free) or low rented lands, of which he had never been deprived in Scindia's Nimar, and of the *Purbara* (direct) *hucs* which have been already mentioned (para 132). The following statement of Captain Sandys gives the best possible idea of the position of the hereditary Patel, when not the revenue farmer of his village:—"The village officers are in almost all instances complete, some few are occasionally wanting, from families becoming extinct, or having left the country in unsettled times." * * * "Should there by chance be no Patel, the renter for the time being acts as such; but a legitimate descendant of the original family at any time presenting himself is entitled to the situation, the Patelship being hereditary throughout Nimar." * * * "The perquisites received by the respective village officers are various and intricate, some fixed, others depending on the circumstances of the cultivators. The Patel is entitled in some places to a yearly payment of one rupee on each plough in his village; others to a portion of the principal crops in sheaf, according to the means of the cultivator and extent of cultivation, which is well understood and settled accordingly; a share on every marriage, varying according to the circumstances of the parties; oil, one or two chittacks daily, as the village may be more or less substantial; a due of two pice on each head of horned cattle sold, called Singotee; on horses in some places four annas; five seers yearly of Goor, where such is made, in some places one seer on each boiling of it; one (and in some places two) pair of shoes yearly, and in some a *Chursa* also where Chumars are. In the town of Kusrawud, and in two other villages in that district, one *Moth* each yearly. Some have a trifling due from the Customs and Kulalee (in Kusrawud in kind being ten bottles of liquor yearly). In some villages the Patel has a trifling Pandur of a few annas yearly on trades; perhaps a small sum on each 600th at a fair of about half a pice; occasionally a small bundle of tobacco, where such is grown; in others from seven to fourteen chittacks of salt from each bullock laden with that commodity; 500 tiles yearly from some villages, and from one in the Kusrawud district 1,000. Those whose villages are on the borders of pergunnahs where transit duties are taken have also a trifling perquisite, called *Koont*, on each bullock-load, varying from a quarter of a pice to a whole one in different places; in large droves this is taken on the hundred, and there also varies from one to two rupees; a camel-load is counted as two, and a hackery as four bullock-loads when full laden, if

not, calculated accordingly. Such is also one of the perquisites of the Patel of the Kusba, or principal town in the pergunnah. They are entitled to a share of service from the lower village officers and trades. Some Patels have portions of hereditary land, either *Ziraut*, wholly free from assessment, or *Moond*, a field bearing a very light one, as well as mango and mohwa trees which may have been planted by their ancestors, or otherwise come into their possession,* and which, although they be on land belonging to the Sirkar, they nevertheless are entitled to the produce of. The duties of the Patel are to attend to the general good order of his village, settle any trifling disputes, report crimes and disorders, deaths, births, and accidents, &c., to the district authorities, to furnish goor and oil presses,† and assist in the collection of rents in conjunction with the Sirkaree servants.‡ Thus everything was here in favour of the preservation of the ancient hereditary Patels, through a time of misgovernment, which has generally resulted in other places in the deprivation of this class of all interest in their villages in favour of speculating farmers. They could better afford to take the village lease than could strangers, and even if they did not take it they were still the Wuttundar Patels, retaining the insignia of their rights, and enjoying the greater part of their income free from all demands on it on account of revenue. When a village was over-assessed, it was clearly the Patel's interest to refuse the lease. Another class who could afford to take the leases were the hereditary pergunnah officials. They also had rent-free lands, and large assignments of the revenue as cash hucs. The following Statement, which I have compiled from the records of my investigations into proprietary rights, will show the proportion in which these classes held the leases in the several Settlements :—

			Number of vil- lages held by Wuttundar Patels.	Number held by pergunnah officials.	Number held by total stran- gers.	Total.
1st Farming Settlement.	.. ..	155	54	156	365
2nd Do. do.	.. ..	155	58	156	369
3rd Do. do.	.. ..	168	64	140	372

183. As regards the proposed remedies for the evils of the farming system, there can be little doubt that the proposal of the Resident to remodel the farming system by selecting as farmers those who possessed the best *title* to engage, giving them entire power over

* Vide para 156.

† The existence of these was frequently adduced during my proprietary right inquiries as proof of old possession of the Patelship.

‡ Letter to Resident, dated 5th September 1832.

the ryots, and withdrawing all compulsion to cultivate from the latter, accompanied as it was to be by a reduction of assessment to a fair demand, would soon have restored the district to a healthy state. There being abundant waste land, and the ryots not being yet generally wedded to their holdings by long occupancy on equitable terms, free competition between the different farmers and with the adjoining Native States would soon have reduced the cultivator's rents to a fair standard. For the same reason the occupancy rights which had long been carefully secured to them would not practically have been endangered then, though such a Settlement might have been fatal to the recognition in their favour of such rights now, when the increase of population and moderation of Government have rendered the tenure of land a thing of value. This was the turning point that virtually determined all subsequent rights of property in Nimar. The Khalsa or ryotwar system, which was then preferred, naturally resulted in the retirement into the back ground of the Patels and Zemindars, who would under the Resident's plan have thus become the absolute proprietors of the land, in favour of the ryots who became from that time virtually the proprietors of their fields. It cannot be often (though in Nimar it has once again occurred) that a crisis like this happens in the history of a district, when the award of absolute proprietary right in the land to its actual tillers, or to others whose tenants-at-will the tillers shall be, turns on the prevalence of one or the other of two different official opinions.

CHAPTER VI.

BRITISH MANAGEMENT.

The Khalsa period.

189. From the time of the introduction of the "Khalsa" system in 1846 up to the accomplishment of the 20 years' Settlement, the first reported portion of which was effected in 1851, the revenue history of Nimar may be read in detail in a "volume of Reports on the province of Nimar up to the close of 1855," printed at Roorkee in 1856. But the correspondence thus collected is so badly arranged, and the purely revenue matter is so much mixed up with other subjects, that a *precis* of the volume, supplemented from other sources of information, is needed, in order to show clearly the results of the system, and the steps which led to the Settlement of a portion of the district for 20 years.

190. The first step taken was to establish the Patelship as nearly as possible on the footing it held in Khandeish, where, as well as in our Aser pergunnah, and in Scindia's Zeinalad pergunnah more recently attached to Nimar, its original features were still in a great measure preserved.*

191. I think that about this time some misapprehension took place regarding the real position of the hereditary Patels in Nimar, which subsequently led to a treatment of them by the Government, North-Western-Provinces, which I cannot think would have been considered just, had the facts been properly represented. Captain French reported that, "through some strange misapprehension, all lands held rent-free by the Patels, or claimed by them, were on our advent resumed or rather confiscated, on the perhaps true impression, that they held more than was their due. Rules and principles strange and unsuited to the genius of the people were introduced, and the hereditary Patel, instead of acting as chief of his village on behalf of ruler and ruled, was put aside, deprived of authority and income, to be replaced by a leaseholder without the prestige of birth and its countless accompaniments in most countries among the ignorant, while his profits were not regulated by any regard for the place or people."† And he proposed in reviving the office to "grant the Patelgee to a deserving man where

* The Khalsa scheme was altogether much based on the model of the Bombay Ryotwar system, in which Presidency Captain French had previously served. Officials acquainted with it were even procured from there to assist in working it.

† No. 60 of 10th July 1847, para. 22.

the original proprietor* cannot be found" by sunnud bearing the Resident's seal, and to grant "to each such new Patel and to existing ones who have no enams, &c., land (now waste) to the value of Rs. 25 in enam and 5 per cent on the Sirkar's receipts."† It is not to be wondered at if language like this should have misled the Lieutenant-Governor regarding the true position of the Patel, and caused him to suppose that he had lost, in a much greater degree than was really the case, his ancient hereditary position and the consideration attached to the office in Western India. In reply to the above proposals therefore, the Resident was directed to "refrain from pledging Government to the recognition of any rights without first referring the proposal for the approval of the Government; and regarding the general proposal for rehabilitating the Patelship, His Honor remarked:—"In theory there are strong objections to the hereditary nature of the office. Wherever, as in the Deccan, its hereditary character rests upon long usage, and established customs, respect must be shown to this feature of the office. But the same can scarcely be the case in Nimar, where, if the office ever existed, it has been for 30 years in abeyance. Captain French is striving to create it, and to invest it with the privileges it elsewhere possesses, because it is convenient in the working of the Khalsa system. For this very reason the Lieutenant-Governor views the measure with apprehension, and deprecates the use of such a word as *huc*, which implies an inherent right in the recipient. It undoubtedly is wise to give to the person of most influence in the village a percentage on the collections, so long as it is held Khalsa; and to this there is no objection, provided he is not invested with right which shall stand in the way of other preferable arrangements which may be hereafter made." I think, however, that it can be easily shown that this estimate of the standing of the Patels was a very inaccurate one. In fact it was only in pergunnahs Kanapore, Beria, and other utterly wasted tracts, that the Patels lost their rent-free lands on our assuming charge of the country. Having no sunnuds to show (as none were usually granted for Patels' hucs or enams), they could not in these cases recover possession of the waste land that represented their *ziraut* fields. But we have seen that even there Colonel Smith bought out and reinstated the hereditary Patels, and used them in repopulating the British pergunnahs, giving them moreover patents of office, and certain hucs and privileges. Throughout the rest of Nimar I cannot learn that any such resumption of their hucs and lands ever took place, and in point of fact my investigations have shown that a large amount of rent-free and quit-rent land has been held by the hereditary Patels up till now, from a time certainly antecedent to our possession of the country. I have also shown that even during the farm-

* This is the first use of the word "proprietor" I can find in the District records.

† Letter to Resident No. 49 of 18th March 1846.

‡ No. 3771 of 3rd September 1846, from Secretary to Government North-Western Provinces.

ing period no such general dispossession of the hereditary Patels by strangers took place, as was represented by Captain French; while in cases where the Malgoozaree was given to a stranger, the Patel was usually left in the enjoyment of his ancient Wuttundaree lands and huca. The statement of Captain Sandys to this effect has been already quoted (para. 187), and a similar expression of his opinion will be found further on, which differs in almost every important particular from that offered at the same time by Captain French (para. 202). I should incline to lend much more weight to the definition of the hereditary Patels' rights and functions thus given by an officer long in charge of the district, but who had left it before the original idea of the Patelgee had become modified by the necessities of the "Khalsa" system, than to that furnished by Captain French, who had been only a year or two in the district, and who appears not only to have been imperfectly informed on the subject, but also to have endeavoured to paint the loss of their rights by the Patels in the blackest colours, with a view to inducing the Government to consent to his proposals for conferring on them new huca; and in so doing we have seen that he overshot his mark. My own enquiries lead me to believe that the statement of Captain Sandys was a remarkably accurate exposition of the position of the hereditary Patel under the farming system of management; and, considering the rights he is thus shown to have then possessed on a heritable and quasi-transferable tenure, in compensation for the regular village profits when our over-exaction threw the eugagenient into the hands of a stranger, or in addition thereto in the numerous instances, where he was himself the farmer, I think it must be admitted that, at the time Captain French reported him to have been deprived of all position and income, he was really in possession of the only beneficial interest in the land which could in any way be looked on in the light of property in those times. We have seen that from the earliest times the income of the Patelship (and indeed of all Wuttuns) has consisted principally of rent-free lands, and huca on the cultivators and other persons connected with the production and distribution of the produce of the earth, rather than of shares in the actual rental of revenue-paying lands; and I have endeavoured to show that such vested interests are really the only description of private property in land, which is at all safe under a system where no law limits the demand of the State, or its agents, on the land that is subject to taxation.

192. But although the Government, North-Western Provinces, acting on the conception of the Patelship which naturally arose from Captain French's descriptions, threw cold water on the project of resuscitating the office on a permanent footing, nevertheless much was done by the local officers to increase its importance. The best entitled of the Patel families were selected as Mocuddums of the Khalsa villages, and secured in a new huc of 5 per cent on the amount of revenue,

Selection of Mocuddum Patels.

collected. In Aser pergunnah, indeed, the Patels had never ceased to enjoy this huc, which was the *Pachotra* of the Mahomedan times. Where they did not already possess 25 beegahs (15·6 acres) of enam land it was made up to that amount from the culturable waste. Their old *Purbarahucs* (described at para. 187 from Captain Sandys' report) were continued to them; they were allowed a sum for village expenses; and altogether they were placed in probably as good a position, as far as emolument went, as the Mocudlums of Nimar had ever held. More than this, in 137 cases, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Lieutenant-Governor, sunnuds were issued to the Patels declaring them the Wuttundars, and confirming as a *huc* the abovementioned items of emolument. This was afterwards confessed to have been done inadvertently; and by an order of Government the grants were declared to be "personal to the present holders and open to revision on succession."*

193. I shall now proceed to notice shortly the principles of assessment during the period of Khalsa management, and in so doing will use the words of the District officers, than which nothing can better show the paternal attitude they now began to assume towards the ryots:—"The fields were, each in presence of the cultivator, measured by a Karkoon and assessed by a Punchayet of the neighbouring Patels, &c., &c. They fought and talked, of course, much in the usual noisy but harmless manner, and in the great majority of cases settled the rate per beegah amicably. Any non-contents laid their cases before the Amil, and if he could not settle the differences they were referred to me, when the whole village came to me at the Roojwat or final Settlement time. This began in November. I had a roll in English of the ryots, the various sorts of land, with extent and rates, each held in cultivation. This was gone over, man by man, in presence of his Patel and Putwaree, as well as the Punch that fixed his rent. All complaints were then heard, and if of over-assessment, the Punch was referred to, and a fresh investigation was ordered when it appeared on reference to the Patel and fellow villagers of the complainant, that it was called for. If of over-measurement, the land was remeasured, and every encouragement was given to the ryots to look well to their own interests. Many of them in person by paces tested the Karkoon's measurement; but the great majority forgot how many beegahs they held in rent. Some too, from a strange perverseness would say,— "ask the Putwaree," although they well knew the number of their beegahs and biswas. While the Roojwat was being made, each man told how much he had received in tuccavee, the amount and the portion of his rent paid; they produced their little powtees or receipts; and were, over and over, told to ascertain that the full sum was entered."

* No. 5085 of 16th October 1868, from Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces. None of the percentages thus conferred now continue to be paid.

"This being over, an hour's conversation with the community generally followed, as to the capabilities, &c., &c., of the village; what could be done for its improvement in regard to future assessments; tanks, wells, &c., &c. An entry was made in the Jumabundee book of the number of wells working and the reverse in the lands of the village, the amount of waste land, &c., &c.; while care was taken by attention to the Patel, to restore him to the place and consideration lost through an Ijara system, with the very many points which such an interview naturally suggests."

"This process having been gone through with each village, a day was fixed on for all the Patels and Putwarees, with such of their respective villagers as they chose to bring, assembling in my tent, in presence of the Amil and Zemindars (Murdlooes and Canoongoe) of the pergunnah. This day was devoted to conversation. All that Government had done in the past year in the remission of outstanding balances; the construction of tanks, wells, roads, weirs, and serais; the abolition of transit duties and many vexatious taxes, &c., &c.; were duly and often brought before the assembly. The Patels were told that if the lands they held free when we came were attached, they now enjoyed 5 per cent on the Sirkar's huqs, with waste land to the value of Rs. 25, and that very much would be expected of them as Police officers in apprehending thieves, as revenue officers in increasing cultivation, and generally, as the head men of their localities, in keeping people in good humour, bringing to the notice of the Amil, the Zemindars, or myself, aught that would tend to the benefit of the subject. To prevent being not understood by all, some intelligent Patel was made to repeat what I said. The good deeds of Government having been thus made the most of, the assembly was invited to offer any suggestions it liked. That done and talked over, schemes for the future were expounded and advice sought. The day concluded by paun sooparee,* and all went home."

194. The immediate fiscal result of the change of management in the 315 villages held Khalsa in 1846-47, was a reduction in the demand of Rs. 8,770, though the actual receipts in the first year from the pergunnahs still belonging to the district, were Rs. 1,20,623, or Rs. 33,619 above the average collections of the preceding Settlement. The actual expenses of collecting the revenue from the Khalsa villages amounted to 6.5 per cent, and in the farmed villages to only 5.3 per cent (exclusive in both cases of Zemindars' huqs); the Patel's allowance thus actually exceeding the margin of profit allowed to the farmers on the old Ijara system, while other village expenses remained the same. Nor does this include the enam lands of the Patels', nor any of their Wuttundaree huqs, which,

* Serving round of prepared betel-nut, &c.

if considered as they should now be, as part of the remuneration for village management, would bring up the margin of profit of the Patels—though accurate estimate on this point is now impossible,—to probably 20 or 25 per cent on the revenue.

195. From this year (1847) began a system of partially Khalsa and partially farming management, that renders it difficult to follow out year by year the fiscal results of the former. More and more of the villages were again let in farm, and soon the 20 years' Settlement was commenced under the orders of the Government North-Western Provinces.

196. Before proceeding to detail these events, however, it will be well to summarize the results of the Khalsa system, and I cannot do better than again quote the words of the District officer used in the annual report for 1850-51 :—“As the Khalsa system will, in British Nimar at all events, in all likelihood come to an end this year, it is advisable to look back, and see the results it has produced during the five years it has been in operation. The revenue (Government demand) in British Nimar, exclusive of Chegaon and Nogaon, in 1903, the first year of Khalsa management, was Rs. 43,371. It is now Rs. 44,144. The increase has been Rs. 773,—an amount very small, when it is considered how much money has been expended by Government in various ways. Of the British districts, Kusrawud, the chief one, was already as well cultivated and inhabited as it could be, and in it there was little room for improvement. In Kanapore and Beria 11 villages have been resettled, and these two pergunnahs exhibit an increase of Rs. 1,025 to the yearly revenue. Only two villages remain now uninhabited. The Asseer 17 villages are as they were, indeed have somewhat retrograded. The increase then is very small on the whole, as regards Government.”

“Turning again to British Scindia, the result is not more satisfactory. Here also is a greater scope for improvement,—vast tracts lie desolate where the soil is most rich, wood and water abundant, every facility in short for re-settlement. The results are 100 villages re-settled, but no increase on the whole, of revenue. Here liberality of Government has been even greater than in British Nimar. Much money has been expended in works of public utility, tanks, weirs, roads, &c. Much consideration was shown the renters in relieving them of their burden,—those who complained, and made it apparent that they were heavily borne upon, tuccevee for several years was largely disbursed, to both old and new cultivators,—every measure in short adopted to improve the country; yet in the two largest and best pergunnahs, Khundwa and Asseer, there has been, as mentioned above, a decrease during the past year of Rs. 1,390-8-0.”

" I have stated before that the cause of this decrease is attributed to the cessation in a great measure of issuing tucavee to old cultivators for seed, food, and bullocks, and to the abolition of puggrus, or rent-free tenures, for a certain time to new settlers. That seed and food should be required will not seem odd, but the mention of bullocks might lead to the idea that these had been sold in default. Such is not the case, selling up is scarcely ever practised, and even when resorted to, of course the implements of husbandry, bullocks, &c., are sacred. But they buy cheap and inferior cattle, not having the means to pay for better, they feed them little and work them hard, so that they rarely last long."

" Under the Ijara system the village renter supplied these, and many renters have been ruined in consequence, having large claims, which even now they cannot realize. They had to pay interest for the money they borrowed to lend their Assamees, for to stand security in either case, the result was the same."

" As regards " Puggrus," the system seemed so objectionable in affording inducement to idle lazy cultivators to wander continually with a view of escaping payment of rent, that I abolished it almost entirely, substituting a very gradually increasing rate, commencing from the first year that seed was sown. It is not relished however, and the consequence is, that so much new land is not now taken up as formerly, *i. e.*, four and five years ago. Still I think my principle is right. These lands coming under assessment filled up the gaps in the revenue left by cultivators who had died or deserted or ceased to cultivate."

" Is the Khalsa system to be considered then as having entirely failed in being of any benefit to the country? I do not think it would be quite correct to say so. It has given all a breathing time; it has enabled us to acquire very much information; much money has been circulated; many cultivators assisted with loans free of interest; the solicitude shown for them has given heart to the good and industrious; many deserted villages have been resettled; many new wells have been dug and old ones cleared out; many tiled houses built; and upwards of 20,000 beegahs of land more than before brought under the plough. I think the question asked in the 2nd para. of Mr. Secretary Thornton's letter No. 3225, dated 16th October last, may be answered in the affirmative, that, generally speaking, the circumstances of the people have improved."

" It must be borne in mind, that large reductions in assessment have taken place, especially in British Scindia Nimar, where large sums assessed on the leases of villages, in which there chanced to be at the time of giving the lease much land uncultivated, and which the renter was charged the full tax for, whether it afterwards came under cultivation or not, have been taken off or reduced so as to leave the renter some

profit from bringing them under the plough. The rate on land watered from wells also has been reduced to a maximum of Rs. 3 per beegah. It ranged formerly as high as 8, 9, and 10, on many lands. New hucs also have been granted in Khalsa villages; that of the Patels amounting to Rs. 7,549 per annum. The rate on Moond lands has been reduced. Yet with all these reductions and deductions the Government demand has not decreased. New land has fallen under the plough, and so the deficiency has been made good. The same amount is distributed over a greater space, and more evenly, and consequently bears less heavily than before on those from whom it is levied."

This is no doubt an accurate account of the general effect on the district of the Khalsa episode.

197. The kernel of the matter probably lay in the fact that, though in the whole district the cultivated land increased from Ijara times by 20,000 beegahs, the land revenue demand had only risen by Rs. 788; and that the average rent rate had thus fallen from Rs. 1-4-4 to Rs. 1-0-8; and the revenue rate from Rs. 1-0-3 to 13 annas 10 pie per acre of cultivation; while at the same time the price of grain averaged Rs. 10 per manee, or about 12 per cent above the averages of the preceding farming Settlement. The burden of the agriculturist was thus really reduced by no less than 32 per cent during the Khalsa period, and the tax on agricultural profits which had till then depressed the cultivator, was for the first time removed, the remainder being little if any more than the true *rent* of the land.

198. The actual collections from the pergunnahs now attached to the district during the last year in which the majority of villages were held under direct management, were Rs. 1,18,945, the average being Rs. 1,15,789.

199. This period also saw the commencement of a course of just and liberal administration of the district, which has almost made amends for the ill treatment it had received from us during the preceding 20 years: when, as said by Captain French, we reaped without sowing, and in exacting the rights of property we forgot its duties.* During these five years Rs. 1,06,412 were expended in the district in the construction and repairs to tanks and bunds, and in erecting Dhurumsalas, many of which are still of the greatest benefit to travellers; a road fund of about Rs. 10,000 per annum was established, and the main road between Indore and Boorhanpore, which traverses the district, was almost reconstructed, several almost impassable ghats being rendered easy; numerous other district roads were also opened out and repaired. A bridge of boats

* Report of 7th August 1846.

was thrown across the Nerbudda at Khereeghat; the first Dispensary was built (at Khundwa); and attention was directed to the education of the people. The Government, being landlord, also freely acted the landlord's part in making advances,—*tuccavee* to the amount of Rs. 69,114 having been given out, of which Rupees 39,808 only were recovered, leaving a loss of some Rs. 30,000. Elaborate statistics of the district were collected during this term of direct management, to which I have been indebted for the data for many useful comparisons in the course of my work, many of which have also been given in this report. To the personal labours of Captains French and Evans, who held charge, is due the credit of the amelioration undoubtedly effected in the condition of the district during this period,—an amelioration which I need not say continued to increase under the vigorous and enlightened sway of their successor, Captain Keatinge.

200. As I shall not have occasion to refer again to the administrative aspect of the Khalsa system, I may add in this place that with the diminution of personal attention by the District officers to the details of its working, great laxity of procedure, and I fear many corrupt practices, inevitably supervened. In the pergunnahs which till now have remained Khalsa, though the annual Jumabundee (record of rents and holdings) was nominally prepared by one of the European officers, yet all real authority came into the hands of subordinates. The culturable waste was administered and assessed for cultivation entirely by them, and according to no distinct rule. They liked this; and I encountered the strongest opposition in these quarters to my first steps in settling these pergunnahs. Such a system can only be worked successfully on the Bombay plan of scientific survey and assessment, for a period of years, of all lands both cultivated and waste.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TWENTY YEARS' SETTLEMENT.

201. Having thus traced the results of Khalsa management up to 1851, when the 20 years' Settlement began to put an end to it, I shall proceed to an examination of the preliminary discussions which led to that Settlement, and the instructions issued by the Government, North-Western Provinces, regarding its principles. As these instructions, except where subsequently modified by equal authority, still have the force of law, and have formed the code under which the Settlement of the whole district has now been completed, it will be necessary to quote here as shortly as possible those parts of the correspondence which really bear on the case. Mere references to the pages of the printed volume before mentioned (para. 189) would, from its voluminous and ill-arranged character, inevitably lead to an imperfect view of the subject.

202. Although the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western-Provinces, in compliance with the urgent representations of the local officers, had sanctioned the introduction of the Khalsa system, he was by no means satisfied with it as a permanent arrangement; and soon after (1846) propounded a set of queries respecting the rights and functions of the Zemindars, Patels, and cultivators, on which to base a scheme of Settlement. These will be found, with the replies of Captains Sandys and French in full at p.p. 78 to 91 of the printed volume of Reports in Nimar. It may suffice here to point out that while Captain Sandys, with his long experience of Nimar, declared the Patel to possess a heritable and (with consent of Government) transferable right to the responsible headship of the village, and income of his Wuttun, and a primary claim to the offer of a lease of the village, if such were to be given; Captain French, on the other hand, who had not been two years in the district, and who appears to have thought the Patelship almost a creation of his own, described them as "having up to a late period had no hues," as "in many instances not discernible from the ordinary ryot," and as "having no particular right to the lease" it was proposed to grant. Both agreed that the ryots had a heritable and quasi-transferable right of occupancy in their lands.

Instructions of the Lieutenant-Governor for a Settlement on the basis of proprietary right.

203. On receipt of these replies the Lieutenant-Governor's instructions for a Settlement on the basis of proprietary right issued. They were as follows:—

*“ It seems to be undoubted that hitherto there has been no private property in the soil recognized by the Government, or claimed by individuals. All are agreed that the Government is the owner of the land, and that no sale or mortgage of the land can take place without the permission of Government. Old resident cultivators possess a right of occupancy so long as they pay their rents. The pergunnah officers, *i. e.*, the Mundloee and Canoongoe (here called Zemindars), have a right to certain dues; and the village officers, the Patel and Putwaree, to other dues; but none of these lay claim to more than their customary dues. The farmers, who have hitherto rented the villages, have not in that capacity any claim to proprietary right. Many of them have gladly availed themselves of permission to resign their leases; all admit the right of Government to make a new arrangement on the conclusion of their leases in such way as may seem best.”

* * * * *

“6. The Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that the persons best entitled to be recognized as proprietors are the old resident cultivators, *i. e.*, the Joonardars. These persons already possess a right of occupancy, a tenant right, and there is no person over them as landlord who can advance any superior right.”

“7. Captain French has therefore taken the first step aright, in removing the farmers and in collecting direct from these cultivators. He leaves these persons at liberty to cultivate or not, as they please, the land which they hold. He ascertains by measurement at the commencement of each year how much each man cultivates; he fixes upon the land so cultivated a moderate money rate, varying according to the nature of the soil and the estimation of the land; and he collects the sum thus fixed from each individual cultivator. By reducing the rate on the most improved land and by fixing a low maximum rate he will encourage cultivators to settle on the land.”

“8. It will then be possible to advance a step farther. By inducing the cultivators to bind themselves to pay a fixed sum for a term of years on account of the whole land which each man is entitled to cultivate, a property in the soil may be created, and this property should be at once declared to be heritable and transferable, at the will of the owner, and without reference to the Government.”

“9. But the properties thus created will be small in extent, they will be liable to much fluctuation in value, according to the industry or capacity or prosperity of the owner, and it will be difficult as well as expensive for the officers of Government to make the collections from

* Letter No. 2416 of 8th June 1847, from Secretary, Government, North-Western Provinces.

them. It remains, therefore, for consideration whether the Government may not, by some further sacrifice of immediate revenue, form a more valuable species of property, the returns from which shall be regular and certain, and the collections from which may be made without that constant and vexatious interference of the Government servants, which is necessary when many small sums have to be collected from numerous individuals."

"10. The Mouzahwar system which prevails in the North-Western Provinces would secure this object."

"11. Under that system the boundaries of every mouzah or village would be determined, a measurement would be made of the lands of the village, and a map compiled which would serve as a permanent record of the holdings of all the cultivators."

See Directions for Settlement officers, Sections II. and III.

"12. A jumma would then be fixed on the village, equal to two-thirds the present fair average annual rental, supposing the whole of the lands to be cultivated; or at more than that, supposing a portion of them to be waste and capable of cultivation."

See Directions for Settlement officers, para. 52.

"13. The village with this assessment should then be offered to the Joonardars, who would distribute the Government jumma upon their holdings and agree to become severally and jointly responsible to the Government for the payment of the whole revenue.* The particulars of this arrangement might be left to themselves, as well as the remuneration to be given to their representative, the Patel, and their accountant, the Putwaree. The lease would run for a term of 20 or 30 years, and be renewable on similar terms, upon the then assets of the village. If all the Joonardars are unwilling to accede to these terms, a certain number of them might accept them, and form themselves into a community, to whom the rest would pay as to Government under the Khalsa system."

"14. It may however be useful to point out the usual way of effecting this object. Let us suppose a village to yield Rs. 100 per annum as the fair average rental paid under the Khalsa system by three cultivators,—A paying 50, B 30, and C 20. The annual revenue of this village under the Mouzahwar system may be Rs. 70, which would be thus distributed :—35 on the holding of A, 21 on that of B, and 14 on that of C. The waste culturable land would be divided in similar proportions. Then A would be bound to pay one-half the village charges, B three-tenths, and C one-fifth, whatever they might be."†

* "The tenure would be of the nature contemplated in para. 95 of the Directions for Settlement officers."

† "This is a tenure of the nature mentioned in para. 95 of Directions for Settlement officers."

"15. Supposing, however, that the village under the Khalsa system paid Rs. 200, and that three only of the cultivators owning the fields, as above, agreed to take the lease for Rs. 140, the other cultivators preferring to remain as in the Khalsa system.* Then A would have to pay Rs. 70, B 42, and C 28, and each would collect proportionally from the non-proprietary cultivators, enjoying his share of the profit from that source, as well as from his own cultivation and from his portion of the waste land."

"16. The Government revenue would be regularly paid by instalments through the Patel, and all interference on the part of the Government officers prohibited, so long as the jumma was paid. But if a balance should accrue, it would then become the duty of the Collector to ascertain from whom it is due, and to demand it from him. If the defaulter is unable to pay, his land may be offered to the others, (a) on the condition of their paying the balance, or the whole village may be held Khalsa (b), or farmed (c), or sold (d). In these latter cases all the proprietors will have to pay according to the pergunnah rates, whatever they may be, as under the Khalsa system, and they will lose the absolute proprietary right which was conferred on them at the time of Settlement."

See paras. 34 and 35, Directions for Collectors.

See these several processes explained in Section II. of Directions for Collectors.

- (a) Paras. 81-83.
- (b) do. 71-77.
- (c) do. 84-89.
- (d) do. 90-100.

"17. Perhaps the Joonardars may decline to take the village on these terms, and may be content that the Patel or even some person unconnected with the village, be invested with the proprietary right on the same terms as were offered to themselves, they consenting to pay to him for their actual cultivation as under the Khalsa system. To this there would be no objection. It is only necessary that in each case the whole arrangement with all its particulars be placed on record, so as to form a complete and consistent rule for the regulation of all rights in the village."

"18. With regard to the Patels, it would appear that Captain French has lately allowed them 5 per cent on the collections from the village. This no doubt is politic under the Khalsa system. It interests the Patel in the prosperity of the village, and will be an inducement to exertion and industry. But it is a measure of policy, not of right. The Patel, so long as he efficiently performs his duties to the satisfaction of his employers, should receive his remuneration, but he has no abstract right of its enjoyment. If he fails in his duties he may be deprived of it. If under another system his services are not wanted, it may be discontinued. Under the Mouzahwar system the community of Joonardars

* "This is a tenure of the nature described in paras. 89 and 94 of the Directions for Settlement officers.

or the individual proprietors may propose some other mode of remuneration, or may wish to dispense with him altogether. They should be considered at liberty to do so. Under the Khalsa system it may be politic to allow the Patel 5 per cent on the collections, to secure his influence and assistance, but it cannot be politic to burden the lands with this payment as a due of the Patel, whether or not his services be required or efficiently rendered. Whatever may be elsewhere the rights of the Patel, it is certain that in Nimar, ever since the introduction of British rule, he has enjoyed no such right, and there is no necessity for now creating it."

"23. It may be useful, in conclusion, to point out the three kinds of tenures which it is proposed to introduce into Nimar:—

"1st.—The Assameewar,—where an individual cultivator undertakes to cultivate for a fixed sum a certain plot of ground having defined limits; so long as he pays his rent, no enquiry will be made into the mode in which he manages his land."

"2nd.—The Mouzahwar tenure by a community,—where all the community become severally and jointly responsible for the payment of the sum fixed on their village, the profits being distributed amongst them according to some recorded local rule."

"3rd.—The Mouzahwar tenure by an individual,—where the cultivators continued to cultivate and to pay their rents as in the Khalsa system, but to an individual proprietor, instead of to the Collector."

"24. It will be perceived that the first tenure may co-exist with the third and even with the second. The proprietor of a few fields in a village may hold under an individual or a community, in the same way as he would under the Government if the village were Khalsa."

"25. It will also be perceived that a tenure of the second description, when sold for arrears of revenue to an individual, will fall into the third class, the cultivators being no worse off than they were under the Khalsa system. The Government only sells that which itself created."

204. I think that a consideration of what has already been said in this report concerning the position of the hereditary Patels (para. 191) will show the treatment here proposed for them to have been most unjust, and wholly inconsistent with the position and privileges they had enjoyed for centuries under the Native governments, and even under our own.* The Lieutenant-Governor had probably no

This scheme of Settlement unjust to the Patels.

*A reference to the Settlement correspondence of the same period in the North-Western Provinces will show how completely the Lieutenant-Governor proposed to remodel the Nimar tenures on the pattern of the village communities of that part of India, confounding, as I think, the proprietary Patel of Western India with the elective *Mocudum* of Upper India.

experience of the Patelship, as it exists in Western India, and was grossly misled by the statements of Captain French,—an officer who had been little more than a year in the district, and had no experience and apparently little knowledge of what had preceded his own introduction of the Khalsa system. His reply to query 4, that the Patel had no bucs before then, and that “in many instances he is not discernible from the ordinary ryot;” and to question 10, regarding right to leases,—are clearly the grounds on which the Lieutenant-Governor concludes that “whatever his rights may be elsewhere, he had enjoyed none in Nimar since the introduction of British rule;” and proposes to treat him as the mere servant of the cultivators, who might “dispense with him altogether” if they pleased. I have shown that this conception of the Patelship is quite inconsistent with the facts of the case, as shown by documentary evidence still extant, and by the repeated reports of the most experienced officer in Nimar—Captain Sandys (para. 187). That a mistake had been made in thus ignoring the rights of the Patel, and his usefulness as head of the cultivators, soon began to be discovered.

205. In the less settled parts of the district, chiefly inhabited by wild races who have no attachment to the soil, the Khalsa system was found to be productive of much trouble, and to be expensive beyond all proportion to the revenue realised, and it was accordingly proposed to re-let the villages of five pergunnahs* to their Patels, who were mostly Rajpoots, for terms of 20 years; and the Lieutenant-Governor replied that he had no objection “if he only receives a satisfactory explanation of the extent and nature of the leases which it is proposed to grant. It will be necessary to show that the boundaries of the land included in each lease are known and recorded, and that the precise rights and liabilities, both of the leaseholders and other cultivators, are defined. If the proprietary right is already vested in the Patels, or can be conferred on them without prejudicing the just claims of others, the arrangement entirely coincides with the views detailed in my letter cited above.” I shall follow this branch of the subject out in this place, in order to show at once to what extent the Settlement on this basis of the villages in these comparatively wild tracts was effected, before returning to that part of the discussion which referred to the more populous parts of the district. Captain Evans furnished the information called for in the annual report for 1847-48, sending a specimen of the puttas granted, in the usual form of a lease for 20 years, and said that “the boundaries of most of these villages are known and acknowledged. In some few, in Poonassa and Peplode, they are doubtful. The precise rights and liabilities of both leaseholders and cultivators are in all cases clearly understood. The Patel is

Five pergunnahs partially settled with the Patels.

* Selanee.
Poonassa.
Atode.
Moondee.
Eamgarh.

the person who has resettled the village in most cases, and brought the Aśamees. He is the old Wuttundar, and only one; and, as far as I can understand, has the proprietary right." On this the Lieutenant-Governor remarks:—"The sunnuds given by Captain French to the Gond settlers in Scindia's pergunnahs of Selanee, &c. (para. 16), confer in fact a proprietary right, or a zemindaree right; as it would be called here, only that this is not specified. There is no apparent reason why the village thus assigned to the Patel should not be at once declared his heritable and transferable property, liable to descend according to the usual law of succession to lands. At the expiration of the lease the Settlement would be open to renewal on equitable terms, or the proprietor entitled to Malikana if he did not agree to the terms. But there should be no doubts about the boundaries of any of the villages. Nor is it enough that the precise rights and liabilities of both leaseholders and cultivators should be 'clearly understood.' They should be known, specified, and recorded."* Such leases were given in 58 cases, the puttas being generally identical with that of which a translation was furnished. No steps were however taken to define or record the rights of the cultivators, as directed by the Lieutenant-Governor, nor to assure the lessees that their tenure was of a proprietary nature. With the exception of pergunnah Bamgurh, which afterwards came under regular Settlement, the remaining villages of these pergunnahs remained Khalsa till the present Settlement.

206. To return now to the further correspondence regarding the regular Settlement of the district. The first

Settlement proceedings in the rest of the district. Repugnance of cultivators to accept joint responsibility.

notice I find of the result of the proposal to introduce joint responsibility among the cultivators, to create in fact proprietary village communities like those of upper India, is in the annual report for 1847-48, where Captain Evans says:—"The Mouzahwar system, as laid down in Mr. Secretary Thornton's letter of 8th June 1847, would be all that could be desired, but the population here is so scanty, and land so abundant, while few of the villages possess old inhabitants (even such as may have passed two generations in one spot, not hesitating to shift their quarters on the least occasion), that I doubt the possibility of introducing it. Captain French had translations made, and himself, as well as through Mr. Deputy Collector Conlan, endeavoured to persuade the people to try it as an experiment. The answer invariably was that they would cultivate their own lands, and be severally responsible for them; but as to a joint and several responsibility, it was out of the question; each declining to answer for the other."

207. In his review of this report the Lieutenant-Governor still further explained the nature of the property in land which he desired to create :—" Let it be supposed that a cultivator occupies 20 beegahs, for which he is to pay this year Rs. 26, as follows :—

		R. A. P.	
2 beegahs	at 4 Rs. ..	..	8 0 0
2 do.	at 3 " ..	..	6 0 0
8 do.	at 1 " ..	..	8 0 0
8 do.	at $\frac{1}{2}$ " ..	..	4 0 0
<hr/>		<hr/>	
20 beegahs	.. ..	..	26 0 0

" It is evident that this man, knowing that the improvement of the 16 beegahs, which are assessed at a low rate, will lead to a higher assessment, may hesitate to improve them, and may even contemplate a move elsewhere, to land which he can get at lower rates. If, however, the whole 20 beegahs be given him on a fixed lease for 20 or 30 years for Rs. 26, more or less, according as the land is capable or otherwise of improvement; if, moreover, 5 beegahs of adjoining waste be given him without any additional demand, as a stimulus to exertion; and, if the whole be constituted a heritable and transferable property, he will now have the greatest possible inducement permanently to fix himself on the land, and improve it to the utmost."

" This is the foundation of the change which it seems most desirable to introduce into Nimar; and no reason for objecting to its introduction has yet been advanced. It involves the introduction of a system of survey and registration for the properties thus farmed, both of which can be completed without any difficulty."

* * * *

" Whether it may be possible to go beyond the step mentioned above, and introduce the Mouzahwar system, as set forth in the 9th and following paragraphs of Mr. Thornton's letter, may admit of doubt. Lieutenant Evans' evidence (para. 13), as to the repugnance of the people to any joint responsibility, is conclusive against that mode of uniting several small holdings."

208. In the same letter, referring to the inadvertent issue of sunnuds to the Patels creating new hucs (already mentioned, *vide* para. 192), the Lieutenant-Governor remarked :—

" It must be clearly understood that there is no objection to the amount of remuneration, so long as the Patel is employed as an officer of the Government, under the khalsa system. The sole objection is to

the creation of a right in perpetuity, to the maintenance of which the Government will be pledged under any system that may prevail."

"Nor is there any objection to the grant of this, or even a larger profit, if the Patel were made a proprietor, as is proposed in pergunnah Selanee, &c.; such an arrangement would not be inconsistent with the existence of subordinate proprietary right of the nature contemplated in para. 6. There is no apparent reason why such a scheme should not be carried into effect. Its operation would at once terminate all difficulties arising from the unauthorized pledge conveyed in Captain French's sunnuds."

209. In the next year's report the repugnance shown by the people to enter on a joint responsibility was again strongly represented, and the district officer proceeded to report that an offer he had made of individual leases of their holdings, on the plan proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor, to the cultivators of the fully tilled and highly assessed pergunnah of Kusrawud, had been met by a refusal to accept them, without a reduction of their present rents, which he did not feel justified in granting. He adds, however:—"I do not by any means despair of introducing leases, even in Kusrawud; elsewhere it will, I think, be easier. Everywhere the way has been paved by the last year's jumma-bundee having been upon holdings; I only fear to do harm by hurrying. It is to those pergunnahs, however, where there is much waste land that I conceive His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor meant chiefly to allude, where attachment to the soil has to be created. In the better peopled districts, of course, competition supplies in a measure the place of attachment, and the cultivators are less prone to wander."

210. Regarding the Lieutenant-Governor's proposal for investing the Patels with a superior proprietary right, or, as the District officer expresses it,—“granting them village leases,” he reports in the same letter their general willingness to accept such leases on a reduction of 25 or 30 per cent from the rent-roll “where the cultivators or a majority of them have accepted leases,” but anticipates loss to the State from such an arrangement, owing to the poverty of the Patels, who “would willingly accept the difference in good seasons, but most unwillingly pay it in bad seasons;” and thus, by rendering constant enquiry into losses of crops still necessary, make it impossible to effect any reduction of the large revenue establishments maintained under the khalsa system. He therefore proposes that “after the individual cultivators have been settled with leases of their several holdings for a fixed term of years, as before detailed, the village be farmed to the Patel (when willing), and a banker or Bunniah associated with him; or, when the Patel is unwilling, if the village be given to a respectable banker, the reduction of 25 or 30 per

rent may, I think, safely be made."* To which the following reply was made by the Lieutenant-Governor:—

"In para. 27 the selection of the person with whom the engagement is to be made is treated entirely as one of expediency, and not of right or superior claim. If the Patels are now a poor and improvident class, it may be expected they will, under a more hopeful state of things, grow richer and more thrifty; but the idea can never be countenanced of obviating the present defect by authoritative association with them of bankers.† Reduction in the existing payments was at the same time authorized, should it be necessary to the introduction of the proposed measures.

211. A Deputy Collector of Settlement was now appointed, and measurements were commenced in pergunnah Kusrawud. While arranging the Settlement of that pergunnah, the Deputy Collector propounded the distinct question—

Settlement of pergunnah
Kusrawud. Orders regarding
recusant rightholders.

"Should, however, in any case, the three modes of Settlement laid down by His Honor, viz., the Assameewar, the Mouzahwar tenure by a community, and the Mouzahwar tenure by an individual proprietor, fail through the recusancy of the Joonardars (old cultivators) to enter into engagements, I beg to know if I am to accept the tender of a farmer, or if the village so refusing is still to be held under kham management." On which the Lieutenant-Governor ruled that:—"If the Settlement cannot be made in either of the three stipulated methods, it may be either farmed or continued khalsa, as may seem best. In the former case, the cultivators must be secured against any augmentation, by the farmer, of the terms on which they are allowed to cultivate the land they hold."

212. An important ruling was given at this time regarding the Settlement of three villages in Kusrawud, then in farm to their Patels. The District officer asked—"are not the cultivators to have the option of engaging for the village themselves, as the inhabitants of all other villages have had, *i. e.*, as soon as the lease expired? Or is the present holder to be continued in his lease without reference to the cultivators?" And the ruling was that, "in these villages, the cultivators have no natural right to a Settlement. If the villages are flourishing under the management of the Patels, and a portion of their lease has yet to run, there is the strongest reason why they should be rewarded by the extension of the lease."‡

* No. 203 of 1849.

† No. 3318 of 1849.

‡ No. 3849 of 31st October 1851, para. 4.

213. The Settlement of pergunnah Kusrawud was reported in 1851, and, the record being found defective by the Lieutenant-Governor, it was ordered to be prepared on the model prescribed in the North-Western-Provinces' "Directions for Settlement Officers," particular care being taken to define "in what the property consists," and to state that the proprietors "have liberty to dispose of their property according to their free choice." The accurate definition of the liabilities of the proprietary body, of the position of the Sudder Malgoozar, and of the rights of the cultivators, was also enjoined, in a note on the specimens of administration papers submitted to him with the Settlement, (*vide* page 153, printed volume of Reports). Further discussion on these points was, however, discouraged; and it will be seen that no attention whatever was paid to these instructions!

214. The District officer was called on after this for a statement of his idea of the nature of the property created by the Settlement, which it is necessary to give here in full:—"The nature of the property vested in the cultivators by this Settlement, is, as I understand it, as follows:—
 1st.—When the Settlement has been made with the Joonardars, or, as it is called here, "Assameewar," as in Mundlairsir, for instance, every holder of land who has signed the "Wajib-ool-urz" is for the period of the Settlement 'de facto' the absolute proprietor of that land, which he can sub-let, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of for that period, provided always that he pays his quota of Government rent at the stated periods, and of the Mehnatana, &c., which the body have agreed to pay their Sudder Malgoozar, and that all who have contracted jointly with him do the same: whilst he enjoys this proprietary right he pays only his share of the reduced revenue demanded by Government. For instance, a village assessed under the khalsa system at Rs. 1,600 pays now, we will suppose, Rs. 1,200; a cultivator paying formerly Rs. 50 on his holding, or 1-32 of the whole amount, would under the Settlement pay 1-32 of the reduced quota or Rs. 37-8-0, the balance being all profit to him, from which he pays his quota of the Mehnatana. In the same proportion he has a claim to such uncultivated culturable lands as there may be."

"Should there be any cultivators who have not agreed to the Settlement, they pay the proprietors (*i. e.*, those who have signed the *Wajib-ool-urz*) the full amount assessed on their holdings, as under the khalsa system the proprietors pay to Government the sum calculated by the Settlement, retaining the rest as their own profit, which they share proportionally, according to their stakes in the village."

"Whilst enjoying the proprietary right they collect the revenue themselves, and after their own fashion; and, in fact, manage their village entirely themselves, Government having nothing to say to it fiscally

When they lose the proprietary right, either by their own voluntary act, or by forfeiture, or sale for default, they revert to their old position under the khalsa Settlement, paying the full, instead of reduced, quota of Government rent;—to quote the illustration above used, Rs. 50 instead of Rs. 37-8-0. They are then also liable to have any new land they may have broken up and brought under the plough assessed and charged to them. All these points are fully understood by the people; but on one point I confess my ignorance,—on the termination of the 20 years' Settlement, what permanent proprietary right have the Joonardars acquired, supposing they have held their own throughout?"

"Where the Settlement has been made with the Patels or Putwars (village Wuttundars, as in Balsamund), there the mass of cultivators are in precisely the same situation as under the khalsa system, except that they pay the full amount to the Patels instead of to the Government, and the Patel, paying Government Rs. 1,200 instead of Rs. 1,600 (as quoted above), retains the difference as his profit. To him also belongs waste land, which he rents out or cultivates himself, paying to Government no more than the sum fixed in his lease. Of course, a certain sum has been assessed on it, and is included in the amount for which the village is rented."

"He can demand no more from any cultivator than the sum fixed by Government, nor can he oust him from his fields on any pretence without instituting a suit against him, so that in this case also the cultivator has a certain proprietary right to his holding, as indeed he always has had in Nimar, both under the old lease, and present khalsa system."

"He collects the rent himself and pays it to Government, and is bound to aid the people, where necessary, with seed and food, either giving it himself or assisting them to get it. Any profits that would accrue to Government, under the khalsa system, from wells being dug, weirs formed, &c., do, during the duration of his lease, accrue to him, as proprietor,* but to no greater extent than to what Government is now entitled."

"Should he lose this proprietary right, either by relinquishing voluntarily, or by forfeiture, or sale for default, he reverts to his late position, cultivating as a mere Joonardar, though, of course, his old established hucs (not including the 5 per cent lately granted) are not affected one way or the other."

"Should he work out the full period of the Settlement, he is entitled, should he decline to renew, or Government makes other arrangements, to 5 per cent 'Malikana,' in perpetuity."

*Of course, supposing him to have borne the expense of constructing them.

"The same in all respects holds good where the village has been taken by the pergunnah Zemindars, the Mundloee or Canoongoe (though as to the Malikana I am doubtful)." This statement was accepted by the Lieutenant-Governor "as generally correct."*

215. In reporting on the Settlement of the two next pergunnahs, Kanapore and Beria, a question arose which requires mention. The District officer says:—

Position of new cultivators in settled villages.

"It is of course intended that each Assamee who takes land in a village should join the community on the same footing as his neighbours. His ground having been assessed and given over to him, he pays his jumma to the Sudder Malgoozar, and takes his share in the responsibility of village management with the rest of the community. Even since my report was made, a considerable number of people have settled in Kusba Beria; they are now proprietors of their own lands, on the same terms as those with whom the original Settlement was made, and the Sudder Malgoozar receives from them $7\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per cent on the assessment of the properties which have been granted to them; this arrangement, of course, in no way hinders original proprietors from obtaining additional grounds in their own village, and the fact that they will have to pay for them from the beginning at a proper assessment, will, I believe, be the best preventive of one evil the Lieutenant-Governor mentions as likely to occur, viz., a struggle for the first possession of waste land." And the Lieutenant-Governor rules:—"It is quite a mistake to suppose that every Assamee who takes land in a village should join the community on the same footing as his neighbour, and if the Superintendent has enforced such a state of things in Kusba Beria, he has acted contrary to the whole spirit of the Settlement. The person or persons who engaged for the villages, have been constituted proprietors, and if after Settlement any new cultivators wish to obtain land, it rests entirely with the proprietors to determine the conditions on which they shall have land assigned them."* Yet it will be seen that this very practice has generally continued in these villages up to the present time (*vide* para. 276)!

216. Regarding the position of the Sudder Malgoozar in villages settled with the cultivating body, the Lieutenant-Governor wrote in his "note on the administration papers" above referred to,—
 "The mode of succession to the office of Sudder Malgoozar is not stated. On the demise of one of the present men, who will succeed? Is the office hereditary or elective? Divisible or indivisible? The Patels have their Jageer, the Mehnatana, and their fees, which are no small sum. Are they aware that all this, as their personal property, is primarily liable for the whole revenue of the village, and that in case of default they are liable to be deprived of the whole? Such is the legal liability of the Sudder Malgoozar."

* No. 3849 of 31st October 1851, para. 5.

217. I have thus fully, and I hope fairly, stated the code of instructions for the creation of proprietary rights in Nimar at the 20 years' Settlement, because it has since become a question, on which high authorities have differed, whether in point of fact any proprietary right was created after all; and on the view taken on this point depends the legality of much of the action taken at this present Settlement. Though the instructions of the Government, North-Western Provinces, are not entirely consistent throughout, as might be expected, considering the long period over which they were spread, and the wearisome want of comprehension of the nature of proprietary right on the part of the local officers which they were meant to remove, yet I think it is clear that the following rights should have been created, had the orders been fully carried out:—

Review of instructions.

1. Each Joonardar (old cultivator) should first of all have been offered the proprietary right of his own holding, on condition of his consenting to pay the rental assessed on it for the term of Settlement, on the principle described in para. 207.*
2. The Joonardars, as a body, should further have been offered the proprietary right of the whole of the village, on their consenting to become jointly responsible for the jumma fixed, at a reduction of one-third from the gross assessments of the several holdings, and the rental of non-proprietary cultivators. The Patel or some one else would in this case be appointed Sudder Malgoozar, with a payment of about 10 per cent as *Mehnatana*. The instructions are not clear on this point, however. In one place it is directed that he is to be held responsible for the Government demand, and suggested that the office should be hereditary. In other places he is talked of as a mere servant of the community, whom they can turn off when they please.
3. In the case where the hereditary Patel held an unexpired lease, and had managed the village well, he was to have the superior proprietary right without offer of it to the cultivating body.
4. Should the cultivators have the offer, and refuse, then the superior proprietary right of the village might be conferred on the hereditary Patel, or, *if the cultivators consented*, on a stranger.
5. Where the Patel or a stranger thus received superior proprietary right, those of the cultivators who had bound themselves for the period of Settlement would be proprietors of their holdings, and those who had not would have, as they had before, a right of occupancy.

* This tenure would differ from that of the "Malik Muqbooza" of the Central Provinces, inasmuch as the latter is assessed with a share of the Government revenue, not with the full rental of his holding.

6. Where none of these methods of proprietary Settlement could be effected, a stranger might be admitted to the engagement as a temporary farmer, in which case those of the cultivators who bound themselves for the period of Settlement would be proprietors of their holdings, and those who did not were to be secured against enhancement or ouster.

218. The above, I believe, is what was ordered to be done regarding proprietary and other tenures in Nimar; what was done, however, was only this. The rent of each man's holding was assessed, and a rent-roll was thus obtained. In the earlier settled pergunnahs (British) it would appear that leases for 20 years were offered to the individual cultivators, and that they generally declined to "hang an anchor round their necks" by accepting them. In Scindia's Nimar I cannot learn that any such acceptance of individual engagements was invited from the cultivators; they were never specifically offered the description of peasant proprietorship which was to be the foundation of the remodelled revenue system of Nimar. The cultivators as a body (not only the Joonardars) were, however, offered a lease of their villages for 20 years, if they chose to become jointly responsible for the revenue. I cannot say that they were offered proprietary right in the village, for the idea of any right which should extend beyond the term of Settlement does not appear to have been present to the minds of either officers or people; and doubtless the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor (wearied into forgetfulness) to the memorandum of the rights created, which was submitted by Lieutenant Evans, in which the right is expressly limited to the period of Settlement, went far to confirm this idea. In some cases they accepted, very imperfectly comprehending either the advantages or risks of the situation; in most they refused, as was natural in Nimar,—where nothing of the sort had ever been heard of before, where the members of village communities were seldom united by any bond of brotherhood, being usually a heterogeneous body of diverse castes and creeds, and where there was as yet no confidence in the moderation or considerateness of our Government. Then the village was offered to the head Patel, and if refused by him, to the hereditary pergunnah officials, and if refused by them, to a stranger. In no case was any promise given, or exacted, excepting for the period of the lease; nor was anything entered in any of the Settlement papers recognizing a right extending beyond its termination. The number of villages settled in each manner was as follows:—

With the cultivators jointly.	With the hereditary Patels.	With the pergunnah officials.	With strangers.	TOTAL.
72	220	37	67	396*

* This is exclusive of villages whose revenue was alienated, no Settlement having been made of them.

219. Where the engagement was made with Patels, Zemindars, or strangers, no more shareholders were admitted than were considered necessary for the due performance of the duties of village manager. There was no enquiry into the *rights* of the several members of a family to share in the profits of management. Selection was made of those to be admitted on no very apparent principle. The wishes of the cultivators appear to have been a good deal consulted, and this sometimes gave rise to a sort of Dutch auction of the engagement,—each claimant trying to bribe the cultivators to consent by the offer of greater and greater remissions from their rent-roll as drawn up by the Settlement authorities. As this was done *sub rosa*, the latter were doubtless unaware of such an influence being at work, and the absence of any record of such transactions not unfrequently led to a repudiation of their promises by the elected parties after their position had been secured. Here again, however, the maintenance intact of the enam lands and other perquisites of the hereditary Patels tended to compensate many shareholders for their non-admission to share in the engagement; and, moreover, in many cases private agreements to share the risks and divide the profits were made without the sanction of the authorities, which certainly could not then have been obtained.

220. Where the cultivators did not engage for the revenue, their status was left entirely undefined in the Settlement papers. Some were entered as being *Wuttundars* or *Joonardars*; but by no rule apparently, and without any proper enquiry. Many cultivators were refused the title of Joonardar who have now been proved to have occupied hereditarily for a hundred years. But, in lieu of any such record of rights, a general prohibition against enhancement or ouster appears to have been made (*vide* para. 5 of Lieutenant Evans' memorandum, quoted in para. 214), and certainly has been acted on, though there is no mention of that either in the Settlement papers.

221. So determinedly, indeed, was all record avoided which might afterwards establish disputed rights, that, in the form of the *Muntukhub Assameewar* paper supplied from the North-Western Provinces, the column for "name of proprietor" was studiously left blank, excepting in the case of *Maafeedars*! Thus, as far as record goes, the 20 years' Settlement was made on the very same principles as the old farming Settlements, though with a more liberal margin of profit.

222. Still, it might be held that proprietary right had virtually been granted, notwithstanding the absence of the prescribed careful record of rights and liabilities, had it become a real existing entity in the settled villagea. But such was not the case,—I believe there is not an

Proprietary rights never realised.

instance of any of the Malgoozars having exercised any one of the functions usually appertaining to a landowner. As reported by the District officer, Captain Wood,—“I have repeatedly spoken to Malgoozars, Putwarees, and cultivators on the subject, and the general impression is that, after the expiration of the 20 years' Settlement, Government can settle the villages afresh with whomsoever it pleases. Since the first Settlement was made in 1851 not a single village has been alienated. Moreover, the admission of sharers at the request of a Malgoozar has not been recognised. The same remark applies to mortgages and sub-leases,” (No. 747 of 1864). Such a state of affairs is evidently quite inconsistent with the idea of a right of property vesting in the Malgoozars under the 20 years' Settlement.

223. In this connection it is also important to remember that, whether the hereditary Patel became the Malgoozar or not, he was still left in the enjoyment of the whole of his rent-free lands (including even the new grants made in 1846), and all his original hucs and perquisites, excepting only the 5 per cent *puchotra*, which had been created for him at the commencement of the khalsa period. Having thus a property unburdened by any responsibility, and often little less valuable than the interest of the Malgoozar, and seeing that the Settlement was not considered a disposal of the proprietary right in perpetuity, it is not to be wondered at if the Patel sometimes allowed a stranger to take the lease, with all its trouble and risk, which were all that was then thought likely to come out of it.

224. I am therefore most unhesitatingly of opinion that, notwithstanding the injunctions of Government, not only was nothing of the nature of proprietary right created in favour of the Malgoozars under the 20 years' Settlement, either by written or expressed promise, or by practical recognition after Settlement; but further, that the officers making the Settlement had not the idea of it even present to their own minds, and could not, therefore, have conveyed it to others. If, however, it be argued that, where the engagement for 20 years was made with the persons who under the Lieutenant-Governor's rules were entitled to it, there proprietary right must be held to have been given, still there are certain classes of cases where, even according to these rules, no proprietary right can be held to have been created which should prejudice the bestowal of it now in the quarter where the best title is found. These are,—first, where the engagement was made with strangers; that is, with others than the old cultivators or hereditary Patels. In this event the instructions seem clear, that, unless the consent of the cultivators were obtained, the stranger could only be considered a temporary farmer. Such consent can never be proved, for there is no record of it; and if

there were, as the idea of a *permanent* conferral of right was not then understood, it could not have been fairly presented to the cultivators as an alienation of their rights beyond the period of Settlement.

225. Again, as there is no proof that individual leases, carrying with them proprietary rights, were offered to the cultivators, and refused by them, any superior proprietary right recognised in favour of the village lessees must be accompanied by a reservation of the claim of the cultivators to be afterwards offered the right of property in their holdings, which the Lieutenant-Governor declared them to be entitled to in the first instance; and we have seen that virtually some such reservation was made by the very complete right of occupancy virtually, though not in set terms, secured to them under the Settlement,—a right which has even been in cases made the subject of transfer during Settlement, in the form of a consideration paid by incoming to outgoing tenants for their “labour” expended on the land.

226. I shall have to return to this part of my subject when describing the measures taken to define these rights at the present Settlement, and in the meantime will mention the only remaining circumstance of importance concerning the arrangements made at last Settlement. Where the cultivators did nominally accept the engagement with joint responsibility, the Patel was almost invariably appointed “Sudder Malgoozar,” with a *Meknatana* allowance of from 8 to 15 per cent on the jumma. He was also secured in all his enam lands and perquisites. As might be expected, he soon became practically, as he was all along naturally, the head of the village, in a wider sense than that of being its salaried representative, or servant at will. He arranged for new cultivation; he provided advances of seed and food, and became security for poor cultivators with the *Mahajans*; he found new cultivators to take up land abandoned by one of the “community;” and, if the truth were known, I believe that he generally appropriated the profits arising from new cultivation by others than the cultivators who signed the engagement. Despite the Lieutenant-Governor’s having disallowed Lieutenant Keatinge’s proposition, that new Assamees joining the village should take up land on the same terms as those who signed the agreements (para. 219), this course was in point of fact, generally followed throughout the Settlement; and, in all these villages, the whole of the cultivators, the *Joonardar* of a hundred years’ occupancy, and the *Pahikasht* cultivator of yesterday, are deemed to have precisely the same position as regards rights and responsibility. In fact it is impossible now to distinguish these villagers from others, except that the Patel has a smaller margin of profit than other lessees, though practically occupying the same position, and the

Assamees pay lower rents all round. Had the assessment been a heavy one, it is impossible that such an unnatural amalgamation of discordant elements, and upsetting of the natural constitution of the village, as was involved in the attempted creation of these communities, could have held together. In only one village can I learn that any difficulty was experienced by the cultivators in paying their assessments (which were about 28 per cent below rent rates it should be remembered); and in that village the cultivators gave a petition praying that the village might be farmed to the Sudder Malgoozar, which was done.

227. Having thus stated the effect which the arrangements made at the 20 years' Settlement had on the position of the various classes interested in the land, I shall shortly review its executive details and fiscal results. The rent-roll was, as I have said, first of all prepared for each village. The previous years of khalsa management, during which the land had been measured and valued at what it could fairly pay, had already much equalised rent-rates; but a remeasurement was now effected by the agency in British Nimar of a trained Surveyor from the Bombay Revenue Survey, and in Scindia's pergunnahs by "Karkoos" more or less imperfectly instructed in measurement. The beegah employed was one of 27,225 square feet, or exactly $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of an acre. It would seem to have been empirically arrived at as an average of the different existing beegah measurements. Tradition says that the old measurements were in the Ilahee beegah, and that the standard of measurement was a *jureeb* of 100 cubits, and the width of a thumb between each in length. The true Ilahee beegah, as we learn from the Ayeen Akberee, contained 3,600 square Ilahee guz. The Ilahee guz was 41-finger breadths long, and careful calculations of known measurements have determined its length to be 31.4 English inches. The Ilahee beegah was therefore $\frac{1}{566}$ of an acre, that is, 0.59 smaller than the beegah adopted at the last measurement. No demarcation of boundaries took place. The measurements were made merely by chain, and, as might be expected, had but small pretensions to accuracy, excepting perhaps in Pergunnah Kusrawud. There were no field maps (excepting fictitious ones in British Nimar), the areas being taken out from the measurements, and recorded in a field book called the *Jungte-kusrah*. A punchayat of Patels and pergunnah officers then revised the rates on each field, under the superintendence of the Komashdars and Native Deputy Collector. The khalsa rent was thus raised from an average of 13 annas 1 pie, to 13 annas 4 pies, or about 2 per cent.

228. Much discussion took place regarding the culturable waste land; the Lieutenant-Governor insisting that it should be included in the Settlement, and the District officer desiring that it should be

Treatment of the culturable waste land.

all retained in the hands of Government and, apparently, managed on the khalsa system. I need not quote any of the arguments used, which may be found at pp. 159 to 183 of the printed volume. The culturable waste was excluded in the first settled Pergunnahs (Kanapoor and Beria) by special provision in the Settlement papers; and they were never amended in this respect, even after the Lieutenant-Governor had silenced the opposition of the local officers. In practice, however, they were subsequently allowed to be taken up for cultivation without further payment. In the pergunnahs subsequently settled the papers were prepared on the same principle of excluding the culturable waste; but, eventually, a clause was added to the effect that "all the culturable waste is ours (the Malgoozars) to cultivate for the period of the Settlement. Whatever revenue is derived from it will not be taken by the Government." In no case was the culturable waste assessed with land revenue; though some known grazing lands, which had previously paid a *ranwa* tax to Government, were assessed with the same, as part of the village assets.

229. Of other *sewae* assets only such mango and other fruit trees as had previously paid revenue to Government were reckoned as part of the assessable assets.

Sewae Assets.

230. According to the instructions, one-third of the gross assets should have been left to the Malgoozars as profit, two-thirds constituting the Government demand. The Statement overleaf will show the actual practice in this respect in each settled pergunnah. I have also added the dates from which the Settlement of each tract received the sanction of Government. It will be observed that, in the two pergunnahs first settled, the principle of giving one-third of the assessable assets to the Malgoozars was strictly carried out; but that, in the later settled tracts, the profits left amounted nominally to no more than a fourth of the ascertained assessable assets. But there were considerable items in the shape of service *enam* lands, fruit trees, &c., which would now be reckoned as a portion of the assessable assets, which were not then assessed, though they probably formed the real reason for departing from the Lieutenant-Governor's instructions. I have added in the Statement an estimate of the value of these, in order to give the real profits left. I have also added a column showing the distribution among the Government, the *hucdars* (Mundloees, &c.), and the landholders, of the gross assets from land and *sewae*, from which it will be seen that the jumma formed 55½ per cent; the *hucdars* absorbed 7 per cent; and 37½ per cent was left as profit.

Pergunnah.	Date from which the 20 years' Settlement was sanctioned, —commencement of.	Gross assets recorded at Settlement.			Deductions from gross assets on account of Zemindars' huqs, &c.	Balance assessable assets.	Assessed jumma.	Profit left to Malgoozars according to Settlement papers.			Correction of preceding statement required to give the real profits left.				Distribution of gross assets percentage.			
		Gross rental of land in year preceding Settlement.	Rent-roll.	Sewae.				Total.	Amount.	Percentage of assessable assets.	Additional assets not reckoned assessable at 20 years Settlement.			Real profits left to Malgoozars.		Assigned to hucdars.	Absorbed by Government jumma.	Left as profit to landholders.
											Rent of land held enam by Patels and village servants.	Rent value of fruit trees held by the same.	Total.	Amount.	Percentage of assessable assets.			
Kanapoer ..	1852-53	Rs. 8,019	Rs. 7,769	Rs. 13	Rs. 7,772	Rs. 362	Rs. 7,410	Rs. 4,811	Rs. 2,599	35	Rs. 2,145	Rs. 161	Rs. 2,306	Rs. 4,905	50½	3½	47½	49
Beria ..	Do.	8,003	8,294	14	8,308	383	7,925	5,089	2,836	36	2,059	155	2,214	...	50	3½	50	46½
Khundwa ..	1854-55	78,780	80,307	328	80,635	6,645	73,990	54,447	19,543	26	5,054	11,674	16,728	36,371	41	7	55	38
Aser ..	1855-56	23,812	23,711	137	23,848	2,407	21,441	15,615	5,826	27	2,030	...	2,030	7,856	33	9	60	31
Peplode ..	1856-57	7,528	7,859	88	7,947	972	6,975	4,941	2,034	29	354	997	1,351	3,385	40	10	53	37
Bamgurh ..	1857-58	5,874	6,789	53	6,842	1,071	5,771	4,013	1,758	30	225	154	379	2,137	34	15	55	30
Total assessed area.	....	1,32,016	1,34,719	633	1,35,352	11,840	1,23,512	88,916	34,596	28	11,807	13,141	25,005	59,701	42	7	55½	37½

231. I have already dwelt on the studied omission from the Settlement record of any statement of proprietary or subordinate rights. The papers themselves were very voluminous in the British pergunnahs, but less so in Scindia's Nimar. In the former there were,—

Papers composing the Settlement Misl.

- 1.—A boundary Map, fictitious (generally square), and quite useless.
- 2.—Field Map, also fictitious, but giving numbers and relative positions of fields.
- 3.—Kusrah.
- 4.—Jummabundee.
- 5.—Muntukhub Assameewar.
- 6.—Terij. ditto.
- 7.—Doul (No 2 Statement of Directions to Settlement Officers).
- 8.—Statement showing principle of assessment.
- 9.—Durkbast.
10. Wajib-ool-urz.

Besides the jungle Kusrah, or field measurement book, which did not form part of the Settlement Misl.

In Scindia's Nimar there were only Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, and the jungle Kusrah.

The Wajib-ool-urz was signed by the persons who engaged for the revenue; but none of the other papers were authenticated by any signature, and they were all loosely strung together with a thread, so that there could be no difficulty in tampering with them to any extent.

232. Registers of all maafee, and quit-rent (*Tanku and Moond*) holdings were also prepared. Some verbal enquiry would also seem to have been made into the titles of the Maafeedars; and all not covered by sunnud, other than Wuttundaree Maafees (which were left untouched), were entered in the registers as released only for the lifetime of the holders. All others were entered in the registers without remark regarding their continuance or otherwise. None of the maafee cases were reported to higher authority.

233. Regarding the fiscal result of the Settlement, the loss of revenue amounted to Rs. 20,246, the average incidence of the revenue falling from 13 annas 10 pies, to 8 annas 9 pies. I append two Statements, from which it appears that the revenue had been realised from the Malgoozars with remarkable ease. They were certainly left in very easy circumstances. As respects the cultivating rents, however, I am not so certain. A good deal of remission from the Settlement rates was made by the Malgoozars. This was no doubt partly owing to the system of selecting the Malgoozars (para. 219), but was also in part due to the highness of rents. Though there have not been very many suits against the ryots for debt, yet common report declares them to have been generally deeply in debt at the time of Settlement, which means that the

Fiscal result and working of the Settlement.

agricultural stock and its profits belonged to the bankers, and the ryot was only an hired labourer. Rents are said to have fallen somewhat in arrears; but pressure was seldom put on to recover them, because the land was no security, and the stock was not the ryot's. This state of affairs did not, however, continue long. Prices rose 30 per cent almost immediately after the Settlement, and it is universally agreed that even before cotton prices began the ryot had greatly emerged from his state of indebtedness. I should, on the whole, incline to say that, considering the state of the country, rents were pitched rather too high at this Settlement.

Statement of collections, &c., of revenue under the 20 years' Settlement.

YEAR.	REVENUE.										
	Demand.		Collected with- out process.		Collected by process.				Irrecoverable ba- lance.		
					Dustuk.		Other pro- cess.				
Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Sumbut 1909 ..	9 900	0	0	9 900	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1910 ..	10 038	0	0	10 038	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1911 ..	61 564	4	0	61 564	4	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1912 ..	76 415	12	0	76 415	12	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1913 ..	80 080	8	0	80 080	8	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1914 ..	80 176	4	0	80 176	4	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1915 ..	80 604	0	0	80 604	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1916 ..	80 078	12	0	80 078	12	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1917 ..	79 912	12	6	79 912	12	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1918 ..	79 559	8	6	79 559	8	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1919 ..	79 328	4	6	79 328	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1920 ..	88 321	1	0	88 321	1	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1921 ..	90 056	4	0	90 056	4	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1922 ..	89 997	9	6	89 997	9	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
do. 1923 ..	90 066	3	0	86 968	9	6	3 097	9	6	.....	.....
do. 1924 ..	90 933	6	9	86 220	10	3	3 609	14	0	.....	202 14 6
Total ..	11 66 132	9	9	11 59 222	3	9	6 707	7	6	.....	202 14 6

Number of suits decided in settled pergunnaks concerning agriculturists for 13 years, from 1854 to 1867.

YEAR.	Number of suits by landlords against tenants.	Number of suits by Mahajuns for debt.	
		Against Malgoo- zars.	Against culti- vators.
For 13 years	370	569	2,591
Yearly average	28.5	43.7	199.3

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW SETTLEMENT.—PRELIMINARY MEASURES.

234. I have now detailed all the measures that were taken for the Settlement of the district under the orders of the Government, North-Western Provinces, and while it remained in charge of the Political Agency. The Settlement remained uneffected in pergunnahs Burwae, Selanee, Poonassa, Moondee and Atode, and in Tuppas Poornee, Jubgaon, and Sutrabustee of Aser. The reasons appear to have been the Mutiny from 1857 to 1859; the departure to England in 1860 of Major Keatinge, Political Agent; and from 1861 to 1864, though some chain measurements of Zeinabad were made, action was deferred by a discussion of the question of giving the remaining Khalsa villages to the Zemindars in freehold enam in lieu of their cash hucs (*vide* para. 241),—a question which was only settled by the discovery that there already existed rights in the soil of these villages incompatible with such a bestowal of them. In the meantime the pergunnahs of Zeinabad and Manjrode, and some villages attached to the city of Boorhanpore, had been added to the district by transfer from Scindia. These tracts were, like the unsettled portions of Nimar, generally held *Kham Tehseel*, and managed by annual Ryotwar Settlements, though a small number of the villages were on farming leases. On the transfer of the district in 1864 to the Central Provinces the incomplete state of the Settlement was one of the first things to attract attention. The District officer, Captain Wood, on being consulted, affirmed that there was no feeling on the part of the Malgoozars of a proprietary interest in the land under the Settlement (*vide* para. 222), though he had “tried to disabuse them of this idea, by telling them that their right of property in land remains for ever permanent, unless it is alienated or brought to sale for arrears of revenue, or by a decree of Court, and that it cannot be affected by any term of Settlement.”

235. A report was thereupon called for from the Commissioner of the Nerbudda Division. This report (Commissioner's No. 4316, to Secretary to Chief Commissioner) was submitted on 19th December 1864, and comprised an elaborate exposition of the existing state of affairs, and minute recommendations for the completion of the Settlement throughout the district. Stated as shortly as possible these recommendations were as follows:—

(1.) That the unsettled pergunnahs of the old district should be settled simply on the principles already laid down for Nimar by the

Government, North-Western Provinces, excepting that the Central Provinces' Waste Land rules should apply, and that half assets should form the basis of Settlement.

(2) That a summary Settlement of the nearly waste pergunnah of Manjrode be made.

(3) That Zeinabad be settled on the Bombay Ryotwar system.

The Commissioner also discovered that, as had been already suspected by the Chief Commissioner, no proprietary rights had really been secured by the Settlement, even in those pergunnahs in which it had long been in operation, and that there were other defects in the Settlement. He accordingly added to the above recommendations the following regarding the already settled pergunnahs:—

(4) In his own words:—"I would take up village by village and do in detail now whatever in the record of rights has been left undone. I would of course not re-open any questions as to who was best entitled to be recognised as a right-holder, if such questions might have been virtually, though not specifically, decided at the Settlement. So far as any decision of the Settlement officer might be traceable from the Settlement papers, I would respect it; these decisions would no doubt be traceable to a large extent. The cultivators and others are detailed in the Moontukhub Assameewar, under the various classes of 'Wuttundars,' 'Joonardars,' 'Pahikasht,' &c.,—as regards these a conversion of terms would probably in most instances be alone necessary. The operation would as far as possible be merely one of record, the thing would be finished which has been left half done, the qualities of the tenures which are now at best only implied would be specifically stated, and in most instances probably the way to do it would be simply to append a supplement to the village administration paper, specifying briefly, but exactly, the right of each class, the privileges and also the disabilities attaching to each kind of tenure-holder as entered in the Moontukhub Assameewar. In some cases further inquiry might be necessary. But generally this might suffice; the exact process would be determined after the work was fairly entered upon."

(5) Regarding proprietary rights, that re-inquiry should be made "in those cases whereby the granting of the lease for the Government demand, the proprietary rights had (ostensibly) been declared to vest in a stranger, *i. e.*, a person previously unconnected with the village.* I would consider these persons to be strangers who were not farmers of the villages during the year A. D. 1845, which year immediately preceded the introduction of the Khalsa system; and as regards the few villages which did not come under the Khalsa system at all, but remained in farm† until the new Settlements, I would call the incumbent

* Printed Volume, page 19, para. 17.

† Printed Volume, page 33; para. 65.

a stranger, unless he had been the farmer continuously for five years immediately preceding the new Settlement. Narrow limits are necessary in relation to such a subject, but the above are, I think, as narrow limits as can well be drawn, and I believe they will meet the necessities of the case. The term stranger would also include pergunnah officials, Mundlooes, Canoongoes, &c., as well as private parties, if they had been unconnected with the village by other than the ties which arose directly out of their official relations."

"But it would not include these officials if they had held a proprietary or other influential position as cultivators or Jageerdars in the village previously (some discrimination would be requisite here)."

(6.) Regarding Patels' Wuttundaree huas, which were left untouched and undefined at the Settlement, that the five percent allowance still enjoyed by them in some parts of the district (Aser and Khundwa, *vide* paras. 187 and 192) should be continued only for the lives of existing holders, though no resumption should take place till expiry of Settlement. Regarding their other huas, viz., anam lands, produce of fruit trees, and miscellaneous dues, that regular enquiry and disposal of them, under certain rules, be made. The particulars of these I need not specify, as they will come to be discussed again further on.

(7.) That a regular enquiry and report should be undertaken regarding all Maafee claims, under the Central Provinces' Maafee rules, somewhat modified as regards Wuttundars' enams.

(8.) That the Central Provinces' Excess Waste Land rules be not applied to the villages in the settled pergunnahs.

Orders of the local Government for the prosecution of the Settlement.
 tions was as follows:—

236. The decision of the local Government, on these recommenda-

Nos. 1 and 2 were approved, except that the half asset principle should not be absolutely prescribed, and that the instructions of the Government, North-Western Provinces should be supplemented by the Central Provinces' Settlement Code.

No. 3. The introduction of a system so strange to the Province as the Bombay Ryotwar, was held inadvisable, and it was believed that the Central Provinces' Settlement Code, Sections IV. 10, II. 14, 15, &c., sufficiently provided for the protection of all rights in Zeinabad pergunnah.

Nos. 4 to 7. Approved.

No. 8. Excess Waste Land rules held to be applicable to villages in settled pergunnahs after expiry of current engagements.

237. Subsequently, however, most of these preliminary resolutions underwent important modification, in consequence of further discoveries, resulting from more minute inquiry into the circumstances.

238. In March 1866 I arrived in Nimar to take up the work of thus completing the Settlement. On carefully examining the Settlement records of the settled pergunnahs, it was found that the "completion of the record," as recommended by the Commissioner (No. 4 *supra*), was an impossibility. Out of 396 settled villages, the original Settlement papers of 121 only were available. In 170 of the rest, imperfect and unauthenticated copies could be got from the Tehseelee offices and the Putwarees. In 105 there were no records to be found at all! The reason of this disappearance of the original records was chiefly the burning of the Khundwa office by Tantia Topee, but partly also the complete absence of care or system in keeping them in the district office after its transfer from Mundlaisir to Khundwa. The numerous Jageer and quit-rent villages had also never been brought under Settlement at all.

239. Moreover it was found that there were generally no such entries regarding the different classes of cultivators in the Settlement papers as, it was supposed by the Commissioner, might be made to define their rights by a mere conversion of terms, or by the addition of an explanatory clause. In the first place there were in the Settlement misls of Scindia's Nimar no proper Muntukhubs at all. There was only in some instances a jumabundee in the Putwaree's possession, unsigned, and bearing no evidence of having been drawn up by authority, and having, moreover, no pretension to define the status of the cultivators. Nor were there any field maps or descriptive Khusrahs, from which the actual holdings of all cultivators (which had also changed much since Settlement) could be abstracted, and the record formed by the usual process of attestation. Other imperfections in the Settlement also appeared. Village boundaries had not been defined either in the field or on paper, and without this the professional survey could not proceed. Nor could the Excess Waste Land rules be applied from the data furnished by the Settlement papers.

240. For all these reasons it was determined that even in the settled pergunnahs all the operations of a regular Settlement should be gone through afresh from the commencement, including a reassessment for 20 years, less the unexpired period of the current engagements (No. 1956-183 of 23rd June 1866, from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, to Settlement Commissioner). Practically then the

Settlement of the whole district had now to be effected, just as if no regular Settlement had ever been attempted, and with the prospect of much additional difficulty and complication arising out of the half measures that had been taken on the North-Western Provinces' instructions, and the verbal explanations and assurances that had subsequently been given.

241. Before proceeding to describe the prosecution of the new Settlement, there is a matter which it will be well to dispose of here, namely, what is called the *Nimar Zemindari Settlement*, effected in 1864 by Captain H. Mackenzie, Commissioner of the Nerbudda Division. As he submitted an exhaustive report on the subject (No. 4171A. of 3rd December 1864, printed), from which the details of the Settlement are fully available, I will not burden my own necessarily lengthy report by repeating the details of the arrangement, but confine myself to what is necessary to the completeness of my history of Nimar landed tenures. My remarks on the general and fiscal history of the district have included all that is to be learnt respecting the (apparently little understood) origin, growth, functions, and decay of the institution of the hereditary pergunnah officers, who have in later times all been designated by the term *Zemindar*, which properly belongs to those of them only who are the descendants of the original feudal lords of the soil. It has been seen how the system of farming the revenue, introduced by the Mahrattas and continued by us, laid the axe to the root of the ancient position and functions of the pergunnah officer, the old "front" and representative of the country, as it did to those of the Patel who exactly corresponded to him in the village, excepting where these officers themselves obtained and kept the farm of their pergunnahs or villages. In both cases it resulted that large emoluments, originally assigned as property, subject to the performance of certain functions, then onerous and carrying much responsibility, came to be enjoyed by the proprietors without the exaction of the duties originally attaching to them. The Mahrattas certainly retained some of their functions, even after the general recourse to farming the revenue. When not the farmers themselves they had to assist them with their knowledge and influence; and were also a valuable check on undue extortion and peculation by them. They were held responsible for due efforts to keep up and advance cultivation, and they were made use of in various ways in the general administration of the country. New *Wuttuns* of a similar sort were even, as we have seen (para. 152), created during this period. But their main function—responsibility for collection of the revenue,—was gone. Still the Mahrattas, to their honor, had no thought of confiscating their property, while exercising their undoubted right to alter their system of revenue management. Both *Zemindars* and *Patels* retained the emoluments of their *Wuttuns*, though often ceasing to render, because no longer required from them.

the services on account of which they had been granted. I have dwelt at length on the subsequent fortunes of the Patel, and the Zemindar has naturally receded from the boards during the discussion. Under our early system of management in Nimar we made but little use of the pergunnah officials, but on the introduction of the Khalsa system in 1846, something of the usefulness and prominence of their office was revived. The Mundlooes then began again to keep a revenue office, which they had ceased to do for years, and a good deal of work was then got out of them in various ways. At the time of the 20 years' Settlement, too, the Mundlooes were of considerable use in serving on punchayuts for assessing soil rates, and in drawing up the papers; though, as might be expected, they did not perhaps always act with that impartiality that is looked for from officials who are not also landholders. In fact it was a complete misunderstanding of the theory of their office ever to allow them to have anything to do with assessment,—with the Government side of the question. They were essentially the representatives of the revenue payers, not of the receivers. Major Keatinge writes of them in 1855 as follows:—"The duties of the Zemindars are to attend regularly in the Pergunnah Tehseel Kutcherry, and to have a Gomashta, or Mookhtyar in each Mahalkurry's Thannah. The Zemindar or his Gomashta attends the Government officials on all occasions of going out in the pergunnah to settle disputes and assess land, and they keep copies of all the pergunnah accounts, which have been found most valuable checks on the Government servants. *I believe that the duties they perform, if entrusted to paid Government officials, would cost very little less than the amount of their huca.*"

"In all cases of new Settlement and assessment of land their advice is peculiarly valuable, as it is their interest to keep up the revenue, on which they receive a percentage; but, on the other hand, they have a natural desire toward the evils of over taxation from the people amongst whom they live." But though thus in a way utilised, a discussion had long been going on regarding a Settlement of their position and emoluments, which partly consisted of percentages increasing with the revenue. As this increase was in no way due to their exertions it was felt that some more satisfactory arrangement was necessary. Several times the Government, misunderstanding both their position and rights, almost ordered the resumption of all their huca and lands; and throughout the discussion their maintenance was consented to only on condition of service being exacted in return; and it was not till 1862 that this proviso was abandoned, and certain rules for the settlement of their position and claims were laid down by the Government. But still the matter dragged on, becoming complicated with questions of conversion of their cash allowances into Jageers, and involving discussions regarding the rights of other parties in the land; and it was not till Captain Mackenzie submitted his complete *resumé* of the subject, accompanied by distinct proposals, that any real action for the Settlement

was taken. The report is accompanied by detailed tabular Statements of all the Zemindars, both heads of families and sharers; and I need only quote here the summary of recommendations appended to the report, and which received the sanction of the Government of India :—

“ I.—That the balance of cash perquisites, consisting of percentages and payments from current Government revenues, and entered, after commutation to Jageer, in column 24, be continued, in all cases where they exceed 20 rupees a year, as pensions from the public treasury to the present holders and to their heirs in hereditary succession, to their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons, with effect from the 1st May 1865.”

“ II.—That in cases where the amount is less than 20 rupees, the amount be multiplied by 20, and paid in a lump sum to the holders as a final acquittance.”

“ III.—That the perquisites, consisting of sanctioned compensation for payments and percentages from Government abolished transit duties, exceeding 20 rupees per annum, and entered in column 26, be continued to the present holders as pensions for life, to lapse to Government on their death.”

“ IV.—That when they are less than 20 rupees per annum, they be paid at once by lump sum payments, according to the prescribed insurance rates for age.”

“ V.—That the “Ziraut” and Jageer entered in columns 17 to 23 be continued to the holders and their heirs in free-hold, subject only to the quit-rent entered in column 27 under the provisions of the Madras Enam Rules XX,* with effect, as regards the new Jageers and the quit-rent, from the 1st May 1865.”

“ VI.—That if at the approaching Settlement of landed rights in Nimar, any of the Zemindars should be declared proprietors of or in villages not now entered in columns 22 and 23 as being already their property, and therefore capable of being held as recommended in Jageer, or if before the 1st May 1866 any Zemindars should become proprietor of a village or villages by purchase, that they be allowed the option of receiving one or more such villages in Jageer, on the same terms as the Jageer villages now recommended in columns 20 and 23, in lieu and as an equivalent of these cash pensions which are now recommended for them, or which may on the present recommendation be sanctioned.”

* This quit-rent is imposed in consideration of the free-hold tenure being fully heritable and transferable, instead of heritable only by direct heirs, as these lands formerly were.

The total value of the lands and pensions thus confirmed to the Zemindars amounted to 12 per cent on the revenue, land and sewae. In the case where a Zemindar held malgoozaree villages in the district on undisputed tenure, he was allowed to commute his consolidated cash bucs into free-hold enam of these villages to the extent of their value,—a measure which it may be remarked was a clear gain to them, and loss to the State. For not only was an estate, certain to increase in value, exchanged for a fixed pension, but the alienation was even made at the assessment of last Settlement, which was considerably under their real value at the time the commutation was effected. Little further remark appears necessary on this subject. The Settlement has generally given great satisfaction to those affected by it; and there is no doubt that the Zemindars have been most fairly treated, though not I think at all more liberally than fairness demanded, considering that in some other parts of India they have been made the absolute proprietors of the soil. The amount of these alienations must remain a permanent rent charge on the land, and should clearly be taken into consideration when considering the proportion of the rental absorbed by the Government revenue.

The only other question on which I would remark, is that of shareholders in these Wuttuns. In Captain Mackenzie's report is a long discussion on this point, showing that generally Government has refused to recognise shareholders, in consequence of their theory that service should be exacted from the holders, while the Zemindars themselves to a great extent admitted shareholders, and Captain Mackenzie admitted those found to exist to the benefits of the Settlement. I think I have shown what the old practice really was in this respect (para. 135). As Wuttuns they were theoretically divisible by inheritance; but while responsibility for the revenue was maintained the valuable emoluments were necessarily monopolised in practice by the head of the house. As their responsibilities lessened this practical counterpoise became weakened, and the law of inheritance prevailed to subdivide the Wuttun. While insisting on service therefore to the full value of their incomes, the Government was right in disallowing alienation and subdivision. But Captain Mackenzie was equally right in recommending the contrary when formally abandoning all claim to service from the Zemindars.

242. On the completion of the Settlement an official salaried Canoongoe was appointed in each tehseel of the district, the pay of these offices having been deducted rateably from all the Zemindar's allowances at the time of Settlement. In my remarks on the Settlement I have chiefly referred to the pergunnah officers proper,—Mundloee, Zemindar, and Deshmookh; but the Wuttuns of the Canoongoes and Deshpandias were settled at the same time, and in the same manner. I am not sure that this was necessary or even quite desirable.

They stood on an essentially different basis from the pergunnah officers. The occupation of the latter had long been gone, and there was no place for them in our system of administration; but, on the other hand, the Canoongoes had all along and to the last performed the original duties of their office as pergunnah accountants, and, as far as I can learn, with considerable efficiency, those of them who were unable to work themselves furnishing Gomashtas. They possessed revenue offices going back for long periods, and their knowledge of revenue matters was very extensive. I confess I do not see why efficient service should not have been exacted from this class of hereditary officials, with comparatively little modification of their existing status. They were, however, fully pensioned, and discharged of all hereditary duty, in the same way as the Mundloees. Though both these classes had thus, at a heavy cost, been severed from their connection with the State machine, yet I found on my arrival three of the most influential of them borne on the establishment roll as the holders of the new official appointments. All three were extensive landholders, and of course did no Canoongoe's work themselves, sending Gomashtas to work in the Tehseel Cutcherry. On representing the matter, so much modification was effected, that the pensioned Zemindars were declared not to be the Canoongoes themselves, but merely to have the patronage of these offices, so that they might, subject to approval, appoint cadets of their own families. Subsequently in the course of the Settlement other evils appeared. The Zemindars' nominees could not be trusted in cases where their patrons' interests in connection with the land were concerned. They wanted the independence of purely Government servants. In one case the patron even withheld a portion of the official pay. In two cases also the selection made had been unfortunate; the Zemindar and Mundloee having been preferred to their hereditary opponents,—the Canoongoes proper. In knowledge of revenue affairs, and possession of records, the former were as men of yesterday compared with the latter, and great was the jealousy created by this absorption of their functions by their hereditary rivals. In the third case the appointment was little less objectionable, as though the Boorhanpore man was really a Canoongoe, yet he lived out of the district in the Khandeish Collectorate. On a second representation all connection of the old pensioned Zemindars with the official Canoongoeships has now ceased.

* Keerut Singh, Zemindar of Burwy; Harree Kurn, Mundloee of Khundwa; Gumbear Rao, Canoongoe of Boorhanpore.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NEW SETTLEMENT.

Field-work and collection of Statistics:

243. In March 1866 I commenced organising an establishment, and set about instructing the village Putwarees in the use of the plane table, by which, according to the Punjab system, the field measurements were made. Several Settlements were then breaking up, and I obtained by transfer a number of officials of all grades from Hoshungabad, Nursingpore, and other districts. These Settlements had, however, long been past the measurement stage, and the majority of those officials were better clerks than surveyors. Nor would the best men, except in a few instances, come to so expensive a district as Nimar on such pay as I had to offer them, and those who did, took the earliest opportunity of leaving me, to seek employment in the Settlements that were going on in the North-Western Provinces. Thus it resulted that at first my establishment were, as a rule, more in need of teaching themselves than capable of teaching others.

244. Gradually, however, I found out which of them were capable, and organised under them circles of instruction for the Putwarees in the field. That is, a Moonserim and three or four Ameens took up ten or a dozen contiguous villages. Each Ameen had three or four of the Putwarees attached to him, and himself began measuring at once. As the Putwarees picked up some knowledge of the work, they were furnished with plane tables, &c., and started work under the inspection of the Ameen. The latter remained responsible for the correctness of their work; and, as soon as a sufficient number of the Putwarees got to work, he had enough to do to look after them, without doing any work, except correction, himself. I found this a better plan than establishing a regular school for the instruction of the Putwarees, which I also tried, as on the former plan the Ameens are directly interested in the instruction of the Putwarees, in order to relieve themselves of the heavy work, whereas in the school it is just the same to them whether they learn or not. Eventually many of the officials I had got from other Settlements left me, and their places were supplied by local material.

245. I soon found that a good deal of reorganisation would be required in order to render the Putwarees efficient, either for the business of the Settlement, or to assist in its proper working afterwards. As already mentioned (para. 139), the Putwaree is strictly a *Wuttundar* throughout Nimar. He has never been in the slightest degree the servant or nominee of the Patel or Malgoozar, but a purely hereditary Govern-

ment servant, responsible to no one but Government, and getting no more pay from the Malgoozar than from the cultivators. He had certain *hucs*, sometimes in cash and sometimes in grain, payable on each plough in the village, and generally a parcel of enam land from Government. Much abuse had crept into the Putwaree arrangements, through our misunderstanding of the principle of *Wuttun*. Under no Native government was the Putwareeship, any more than the Patelship, allowed to be really sub-divided through the theoretical law of equal inheritance, but an efficient member of the family was invariably nominated to do the work and enjoy the bulk of the emoluments; all others having to be content with the empty name of Putwaree, and tokens of their *Wuttandiree* in the shape of minute shares of the land or *hucs* that scarcely affected the position of the real *Kamdar*. I do not think that this system had been allowed to change much up to the commencement of the 20 years' Settlement. From that time, however, the revenue work became much lighter, and as a consequence the *Wuttun* began again to gravitate towards sub-division. The subordinate Native officials, being mostly Mahratta Brahmins, and therefore deeply impressed with the sacredness of *Wuttun*, encouraged this, and the District officers do not appear to have successfully checked it, though Captain Wood reports in 1864 (No. 747 of 31st October, para. 43) that "partition of dues in Putwaree cases are not unfrequent. On every opportunity presenting itself, I have disallowed the sub-division of a Putwaree's dues, as in many cases a large portion of his dues is frittered away in providing for members of his family, leaving the Putwaree a mere trifle to subsist upon." The income of the Putwareeship being thus "frittered away" the sharers could not of course subsist on it, and had to eke it out by recourse to other employment. Some were also the hereditary village priests, and enjoyed shares of the income of that *Wuttun* also; many took to agriculture, or to grain and money lending among the cultivators, and thus some had ousted the Patel and got the Malgoozaree themselves. Nor was this sub-division of the income the only evil. In many cases there was no efficient Putwaree at all. Some of the nominal Putwarees were rich men, holders of villages, or the hereditary *pergunnah* officials, who, as I have shown, had a reversion of heirless Putwaree *Wuttuns* (para. 129). Others were clerks, or even peons in Government offices; many were old women or little children; some were mere tillers of the earth, innocent of letters. Those who could really perform a Putwaree's work generally held the *Gomashtaship* of the inefficient as well for a paltry yearly consideration.

24d. The feeling in favour of the *status quo* appeared to be so powerful, however, that I did not at first adopt any strong remedial measures, but determined to work steadily towards improvement, and use every opportunity offered by the Settlement to render each Putwareeship efficient. In almost every case the natural action of the principle of *Wuttun* has been called forth, and the efficiency

Measures adopted for their reorganisation.

of the office has been revived by a return to the old necessity for rendering real service in the Putwareeship. Where there was no one efficient I called on each incapable to furnish and pay a *Gomashta* for the Settlement work, and other Putwarees were not allowed to accept these *Gomashtaships*. At first they generally tried to do this, but sooner or later, when his pay began to be a drain on them, they gave in, and consented to the *Gomashta* (generally a distant relative) being recorded as the Putwaree, and entitled to enjoy the whole of the income. Where there were several sharers in the office, all professing to be capable of rendering service, which was the commonest case, I insisted on all attending for instruction and work in the Settlement. Under these circumstances they could no longer supplement as before their insufficient income from the Putwareeship by cultivation or other by-work; and as these employments were their real means of livelihood they were compelled to drop off, and surrender the whole income to one of their members, who, I took care, should be the most efficient. By the time that the status of the Putwarees came to be recorded in the *Wajib-ool-urz*, the desire for sub-division had greatly passed away, the old shareholders had mostly taken wholly to other employments; they saw that the office was to be no longer a sinecure; and but little objection was offered to the entry of the working man as the sole Putwaree, and entitled to the whole income. In the case of Putwarees who were inefficient in consequence of wealth or superior position, I called on them to substitute for themselves as the working men, and receivers of all the dues, cadets of their families, which they generally did. In other cases they were content to let their *Gomashtas*, who had generally long done the whole work, and received most of the pay, be recorded as the real Putwarees, paying them an honorary *nuzur*, to save their feelings, of a rupee or so per annum. The measures taken to secure the position and efficiency of the Putwarees for the future I will discuss further on (para. 498).

247. In April 1866 I broke ground simultaneously in the Poonassa
 Commencement of field-work. tehseel and Zeinabad pergunnah, which, being
 mostly held Kham tehseel, stood most in
 need of early Settlement. As no progress can be made in the subsequent stages till measurement has been effected, I was compelled to continue the field-work throughout the rains of 1866,—an unfortunate necessity, as I had not only to work against great sickness among the the establishment, but, owing to the height of the crops and stickiness of the soil at that season, measurements can be both more slowly and less accurately effected.

248. Deputy Collector Fuzlool Kadir joined me from the Ho-
 shungabad Settlement in May 1866, and was
 Distribution of work. placed in charge of the work, including
 measurements and investigation of proprietary rights and maafees, in
 the south of the district (Boorhanpore tehseel), while I took up the

northern section of the work myself. This general distribution of the work continued until the transfer of the Deputy Collector from the Settlement in January 1863, since which time I have only had the assistance of one probationary Superintendent. I retained, however, throughout, in my own hands, the work of excluding excess wastes, inspecting for assessment, and assessing both villages and proprietary ryots' holdings. I had also in the end to revise most of the work done in Boorhanpore tehseel, in which important errors came to light, and nearly all disputed cases of proprietary right were eventually decided by me on appeal.

249. Among the other preliminary steps taken, was the preparation of an accurate list of the cultivated and waste mouzahs (villages),—not so simple a matter as might be supposed. Even after this had been done, a stray mouzah was every now and then turning up, and it was long before every known mouzah, cultivated and waste, was accounted for. There were old pergunnah lists, called *Dehjaras*, in which the names of mouzahs were entered under the usual heads of *Asulee* and *Dukhilee* or *Mujra* (the latter, off-shoots or hamlets of the former). But many of these were mere names, and could not be recognised in the field. Others had changed their names during the Mahomedan period, when the *Dehjaras* were drawn up, and had gone back to their original ones again in the Mahratta time. Eventually the mouzahs entered in the *Dehjaras* were thus disposed of, hamlets being included in their parent mouzahs in this Statement.

Pergunnah.	Number of villages that have come under regular Settlement.				Number of villages declared State property.		Total waste villages.	Grand total villages in old Dehjaras.	REMARKS.
	Revenue paying.	Maufee.	Quit-rent.	Total.	Unreserved waste	Included in reserved forest.			
Zainabad ...	58	9	2	69	93	...	93	162	* Three additional villages were on the Maufee list before Settlement, but have been recommended for resumption.
Aser ...	55	1	..	56	109	...	109	165	
Manjroto ...	7	..	3	10	125	...	125	135	
Khundwa ...	243	9	11	256	22	...	22	278	
Peplode ...	23	1	3	32	186	...	186	218	
Famgurb ...	33	1	5	39	33	...	33	72	
Seelance ...	29	3	5	42	13	34	47	89	
Kanapoor ...	20	..	1	21	5	..	5	26	
Beria ...	15	..	6	21	5	..	5	26	
Poonassa, &c. ...	85	5	9	99	70	50	120	219	
	573	27*	45	645	661	84	745	1,330	

230. Every part of the district was nominally included in one or other of these mouzahs. But none of them had any demarcated boundaries, and the true limits of each rested solely on the statements of the hereditary officials on either side of the line. When an unoccupied village bounded with a cultivated one, there was no security that the latter might not encroach on the former; and, I am sure, from the difficulty of identifying many of those on the old lists, that this process of swallowing up had been in point of fact extensively practised. At the commencement of Settlement operations in the Central Provinces it was determined that only a fair proportion of waste (limited to 200 per cent on the cultivated area) should be included in the areas to be assigned in proprietary right, property in the rest being retained by the State; and this rule was made specially applicable to Nimar (para. 230). The process adopted for carrying out this provision will be now explained. Every mouzah ascertained to be in any degree cultivated was visited and reported on to me. If reported to have only a few acres of cultivation, the Patel or lessee was sent for and examined. If he could show no title to proprietary right, and the cultivation was deemed insufficient to warrant a regular Settlement, it was declared Government property, and excluded from Settlement. All other mouzahs, the amount of waste land in which was obviously much in excess of the percentage laid down by the Central Provinces Excess Waste Land rules (100 to 200 per cent on the cultivated area), were treated thus:—The cultivation and such waste as was interspersed with it was first measured, and the map was forwarded to me with a full report by the Sudder Moonserrim in charge of the party, regarding its situation with respect to other excess waste lands, the requirements of the village in the way of pasture and water for cattle, &c. In the meantime I made a preliminary inspection of the tract where measurements were going on; and ascertained by personal observation as thoroughly as possible the situation of the principal waste tracts, and the real requirements of the people. I also heard all that they had to urge against exclusion of any of the waste. After considering all this, I determined what amount of waste should be included in each village, and in what direction, selecting as far as possible water-courses and natural features as the boundaries, and excluding the excess in such direction as to ensure its forming with other excluded wastes a compact block; and then returned the map with the boundary line roughly indicated on it, to be filled in on the spot, and the *hudbast* (boundary survey) completed. I found this system, with constant personal supervision, to work on the whole exceedingly well. The want of any decent general map of the district prevented this elimination being everywhere as perfectly done as I could wish; and I had subsequently, on good reason being shown, to alter my original decisions in some cases. But, on the whole, I think I was sufficiently liberal to the people, without sacrificing the interests of the State. In the wilder hilly pergunnaahs, where more cattle are kept as a means

of income, and a less permanent system of cultivation is adopted by the unsettled wild tribes who occupy them, larger areas of waste were allowed in some cases than the highest percentage above noted. In the more populous tracts there was often not nearly that percentage uncultivated in the village, so that, on the whole, the margin allowed by the rules has not been exceeded. The total percentage granted has been considerably raised by the exemption from the rules of all Jageer and free-hold enam villages granted under the Zemindari Settlement, some of which were almost wholly waste. Another reason in some instances for giving higher areas than the percentage laid down by the rules, was the amount of wholly unculturable land interspersed with the village areas, amounting altogether to no less than 61 per cent of the whole included waste. The following table gives the percentages of waste allowed in different parts of the district:—

Name of tract.	Percentage on cultivation of waste included in village areas	REMARKS.
Zainabad Pergunnah	74	Round the city of Boorhanpore.
Aser	105	Do, do.
Khundiwa tehsel, including Piplode and Bimgurh	157	} Contain a large percentage of Bheel and Korkoo cultivators. Inhabited wholly by the wildest of Korkoo.
Kanapur and Beris	167	
Belance	279	
Peonassa	304	
Sandwana of Piplode Pergunnah	853	
Hanjrode	889	Do, do. and chiefly freehold enam
Average for whole District..	169	

251. Every village boundary was demarcated in the field by large single stones erected at each angle or place table station. The standard laid down was 2 feet above ground and 2 feet below (or down to rock); and the majority come up to, or exceed these dimensions. But such large stones not being everywhere procurable, instances of their being somewhat smaller are not rare. Below each charcoal was buried; and at the junctions of three or more village boundaries masonry platforms, measuring 4 feet square X 2 feet high, were built. I am satisfied, both from my own inspection and from the report of the Revenue Surveyor, that these boundary marks are very complete and of a permanent description.

252. Under Book Circular No. XV. of 12th March 1863, the landholders will be required to certify each year that they are in perfect repair; and 20 per cent of them will be inspected and reported on annually by the tehseel Canoongoe.

Maintenance of village boundaries.

253. Trees have been planted round every tri-junction platform as ordered. Many of these are, however, situated on ground incapable of growing trees, and there they cannot be expected to survive.

Planting trees.

254. A tracing of each boundary map and its accompanying *khusrak* was furnished to the Revenue Surveyor, and all which have been compared by him up to the time of writing have been returned by him signed, as correctly corresponding with his survey.

Correctness of boundary maps.

255. There were altogether 23 cases of disputed boundaries in the district, exclusive of frontier disputes with Native States. Those between British villages were settled either by PUNCHAYUT or after personal examination of witnesses and the ground in dispute. In every case I caused masonry pillars to be erected at each angle of the line finally adopted, the cost of which fell on the losing party,—an admirable check on the bringing of frivolous complaints about a rood or two of barren rock, which at first seemed likely to be rather common.

Disputed boundaries.

256. The Settlement of the frontier between British Nimar and Holkar's territory, much of which was in dispute, long remained in abeyance pending the decision of the question of exchanging territory with that Chief on our north-western frontier. As this discussion promised to become a protracted one, however, a Commission, consisting of the Deputy Bheel Agent of Maunpore (Captain Cadell V.C.) and myself, was appointed late in 1868 for the adjustment of the boundary. The obstacles thrown in our way by His Highness Holkar prevented our doing more than decide the disputes brought forward between the British pergunnahs of Kanapore and Beria and Holkar's adjoining villages. The remaining part of the frontier, which forms more than two-thirds of the whole, is still unsettled at this time of writing (April 1869). The total length of boundary settled by this Commission was 126½ miles, of which 28½ miles in 18 British villages were disputed. The total area of land included in the disputes, and the proportions of it awarded to each side, were as follows:—

DESCRIPTION OF LAND	Awarded to British.			Awarded to Holkar.			Total area.		
	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
Cultivated	256	1	8	0	0	0	256	1	8
Culturable waste	837	3	0	635	1	9	1,473	0	0
Unculturable do.	1,497	3	8	1,502	3	8	3,000	2	16
Total	2,591	3	10	2,138	0	8	4,729	3	24

in every case where cultivated, or recently abandoned, land was concerned, the claim preferred by Holkar's people was found to be utterly frivolous and unfounded; and it was only in the remote hill tracts which had been desolate for generations, and when no good evidence was forthcoming on either side, that an equal division of the disputed tract was made. The probable yearly rent value of the disputed land is Rs. 250, and the direct cost of the Settlement on both sides to the British (including half cost of boundary pillars), will be about Rs. 4,100, or 16½ years' purchase. It is in reality much more however, as the cost of preparing the disputes for Settlement, and the extent to which the long delay in adjusting these boundaries has enhanced the general cost of the Settlement, cannot be accurately estimated. Much of this is due solely to the obstructiveness displayed by the Holkar Durbar in the affair. The remaining unsettled portion of the frontier has also already cost a large sum in preliminary surveys, and delay of work; but the total expenditure on this account cannot be estimated till the Settlement of the line is completed.

257. Nearly all the interior measurements of villages were done by the Putwarees, under the inspection of the Interior measurements. Ameens. The English statute acre was adopted as the unit of area, but was divided, for facility of calculation, according to the Native fashion, into *biswas* (twentieths) instead of rods and poles. Each *biswa* is of course equivalent to 8 poles, which is a sufficiently minute land measure in this part of the country. The "Jureeb" adopted was thus 208·7 feet long (the side of an acre), but for facility of use half chains were used in the field. These were constantly tested by comparison with bamboo rods measuring *guttas* (one-twentieth of a Jureeb). I have every reason to believe that this work was executed as well as any survey by Putwarees and plane tables can be expected to be done. To ensure as great accuracy as possible I procured a number of superior, though inexpensive compasses from England, with true needles and only north and south line engraved on the face. As a further check on the work I caused bearings to be taken, whenever the table was set up, to a number of fixed stations at different central points of the village area. The work was also thoroughly checked (purtalled) by the Moonserims, the Sudder Moonserim, and finally a proportion of it by either the Deputy Collector or myself. I also checked some of the work with better instruments, and was surprised to find so much accuracy to have been attained by so imperfectly trained measurers with such rude implements of survey. The holding of each cultivator was generally marked out by the erection at all corners of single stones rather smaller than those at the village boundaries. But this was generally superfluous, as it is very rare that the limits of a field are not marked by a small ridge or belt of earth covered with a peculiar long grass, and by bushes, or sometimes rows of trees. However, the people seemed very eager for the stone marks, and white-

washed them violently when the Revenue Survey came round, in the vain hope that they would be entered in their maps.

258. The rough khusrah was prepared in the usual form in the field at the time of measurement by the Putwaree, the area of each field being taken out with the talc square from the map (Shujrah). Considering the scale of these maps (417.4 feet to 1 inch), and the rough instruments furnished to the Putwarees, it would be not only surprising but even suspicious if these areas were afterwards found to correspond exactly with those rigorously ascertained by computation by the scientific survey. Obviously nothing more than a general correspondence in the gross village areas can be looked for; and as these contain a large proportion of waste and barren land, in which the greatest errors in extracting areas by the talc square naturally occur, even if considerable difference should be found to result between the two surveys, it would certainly be illogical to condemn the Settlement measurement of cultivated land. This, I am perfectly certain, has been as accurately done as is possible with the means employed. It can never be fairly compared with the cultivated area given by the professional survey, for several reasons. One is that the latter does not measure the cultivation in detail, field by field, but in block, and on a much smaller scale, sometimes unavoidably showing an irregularly shaped patch of cultivation, with numerous angles in its boundary, as a neat parallelogram, bounded by straight lines. Another is, that they do not measure as cultivation the same thing as we do. They measure in different years, when, under such an agricultural system as is prevalent over great part of Nimar, much of the land has passed from arable into fallow, and *vice versa*. In a rapidly advancing district like this there is also considerable difference in area even after one year, and particularly the year just succeeding the Settlement measurement, when the natural advance had been rather restrained by landholders till the measurement of area, on which depended their assesment, should have been got over. Again, whereas land covered with stubble is termed by the Surveyor "fallow" because there is no crop on it, having borne a crop during the season of measurement it would be returned as "cultivation" in the Settlement. I am unaware at this time of writing how my cultivated areas will agree with those of the professional survey, but I say unhesitatingly that, from what I have seen of the system, I would be as undesirous of taking credit for any accidental coincidence, as I would be unwilling to admit that my work was incorrect, should discrepancy occur.*

* Since the above was written the areas of 216 villages have been compared with those of the Revenue Survey, the difference being as follows:—

Settlement area	2,49,107	acres.
Survey	2,57,566	„
Difference	8,459	„ = 3.2 per cent.

The areas of cultivation, however, do not agree at all.

259. Their classification of the waste into cultivable and uncultivable is equally unreliable. Their surveyors are quite untrained in this by no means easy work, and they do not work in conjunction with any of the village or Settlement people, so as to get any accurate information; while much land that appears cultivable on the surface is in reality, from the existence of rocks close beneath the surface, wholly barren. This circumstance has I fear vitiated to some extent even the Settlement classification, though every available check on its correctness was employed; much more must it have done so in the professional survey.

260. Not the least important part of the measurement operations, is the classification of the cultivated soils and collection of agricultural statistics, on which much more than on mere area, the ultimate assessment of the revenue must be based. In these the professional survey renders no assistance whatever, borrowing in fact all such statistics for its figured statements from the Settlement records. The machinery at the disposal of the Settlement officer is also insufficient for more than the roughest approximation to what is required in a district of small properties like Nimar. In such an irregular and broken country as Nimar has already been described to be (Chapter I), the quality of the soil varies through infinite shades of fertility—from the rich bottom yielding a double crop of rice and wheat without irrigation, to the almost bare upland, on which only a copious rainfall will produce a scanty crop of *koolkee* (a partially cultivated grass) or *tillee*. A general valuation of the whole land of a village, even if it included all these gradations of quality, might perhaps be effected with sufficient exactness by such a comparatively rough method as the present system. But it is otherwise where, as in Nimar, the land has to be assessed in small parcels, as occupied by the peasant proprietors, who pay the bulk of the revenue. A rough classification under four or five heads is *not* enough to ensure equal incidence of the assessment on such small holdings as these. But the temporarily employed, and imperfectly trained, Ameens of our Settlements are incapable of doing more than arrange the land with tolerable correctness into four or five classes, experience having shown that with such machinery it is in vain to attempt more. Thus it results that the most valuable aid of all in effecting the equable assessment of the small proprietors is not available under the Bengal system of Settlement and Survey. That system was doubtless invented to meet a very different state of things,—large Zemindaree and Bhyachara estates, where the gross assessments only have to be effected by Government, and the Zemindars or coparcenary communities regulate the detailed payments by their intimate knowledge of the relative capabilities of each field, or by the action of the economic law of supply and demand.

261. In the Bombay Presidency, where similar small proprietary tenures prevail, and the land is in many parts equally varied in natural fertility, a far more accurate and detailed system of classification has been adopted (Bombay Survey Manual of 1859, page 16). There the professional Revenue Survey accurately measures each field, and the soils are arranged by a thoroughly trained staff of classifiers, under strong European supervision and check, in no less than 27 classes for each assessment circle; besides which a certain scale of allowances is made for situation and other incidental circumstances. I have taken some trouble to ascertain the working of this survey in the adjoining district of Khandeish, and am satisfied that the data thus accurately obtained enable the Settlement officer to assess the revenue (already determined for the tract in the gross from other considerations) on the holdings of small proprietors by a rigid arithmetical process, with remarkable fairness, and to the complete satisfaction of the people. It is probable that a higher revenue can be secured without undue pressure, when an accurate machinery of assessment is thus provided. On the other hand, the Bombay survey is inferior in almost every other respect than this to our own. While costing more than our professional survey and the Settlement together, it is, I believe, wholly useless for geographical purposes. Our professional survey at least gives us an admirable topographical map, if it furnishes little or no assistance to the Revenue officer. But I am informed that if the scale of our Revenue Survey, now far too small for revenue purposes, were further reduced to what is necessary for a purely boundary and topographical survey, and all the so called "revenue" details were omitted, its cost might be very greatly reduced; while a moderate increase in the cost of the Settlement interior measurements would render the latter a sufficiently accurate basis of assessment, and record of rights. I am sure that at the next re-assessment of Nimar it will be wise to adopt a much more minute system of land valuation than the present one.

262. While measurement was going on the proprietary right and Collection of statistics. maafee enquiries already described were prosecuted. Every means was also taken to collect complete and accurate statistics on every subject bearing on the past and present condition of the district and people. The district revenue and general records I found to be in the greatest possible state of disorder. They had been so much so moved about, and so badly cared for, that it was simply impossible to lay hands on any paper, either English or vernacular, older than a few years back. This state of affairs had not been improved by an attempt made only a short time before my arrival to separate the "sheep" from the "goats," and destroy the latter. Unfortunately the "sheep" had generally been destroyed instead. Hundreds of records bearing on enquiries into all sorts of rights were sent for during the course of my investigations, and the

general reply was, that there certainly was an entry of such a misl in the registers, but that it had been destroyed at the general clearing out above referred to. I obtained the few useful documents remaining only with considerable difficulty, out of the chaos of vernacular *bustas*; and myself went right through the English papers from the beginning, filing and cataloguing all that promised to be of use to me. I also found many useful records, some of very old date, in the hereditary Canoon-goes' and Deshmooks' offices, and many more were filed by the people in support of their claims. Much of the information thus got together has already been given in the historical section; and the remainder of what is interesting will be made use of in future chapters. All the statistics obtained at measurement, and from other sources, were arranged and abstracted by careful Native clerks, mostly Khynts of Northern India, who certainly display a most extraordinary capacity for figures. The work of measurement and classifying statistics was commenced in April 1866, and was not completed for the last villages until June 1868.

263. Much stress is usually laid on the personal "inspection" by the assessing officer of all the lands, after the compilation of the statistics obtained at the measurement stage. The object of this is to verify these statistics, and gain information not afforded by them. It seems to me, however, that this formal inspection is really useful only in cases where the assessing officer has not himself superintended the field-work. The whole of the field-work having been performed under my own personal inspection, although I performed the usual final inspection in all but two pergunnabs, I cannot say that I derived any very striking assistance from it. All that can be learnt by scampering over the district at the rate of a dozen villages or so a day is very little; and the necessary check on the statistics, as well as an intimate acquaintance with all matters not brought out by them, can only be secured by constant inspection at the time the field parties are actually at work.

CHAPTER X.

JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION.

264. Before proceeding to matters directly bearing on the re-assessment, I will complete the subject of landed tenures, which has chiefly occupied the preceding seven chapters, with a statement of the result of the judicial enquiry made into proprietary and other rights, which was commenced at once on my arrival in the district.

Investigation of proprietary rights.

265. In the previously unsettled pergunnahs the case was sufficiently clear; all cultivators of any standing who had hitherto held direct from Government, were entitled to receive a heritable and transferable proprietary right in their holdings. This was at once done, and without asking either their consent, or any engagement for a term of years. They were simply declared proprietors, subject to the payment of the revenue assessed on their land, leaving it to themselves to alienate their property or not as they pleased. They were further secured in all privileges of grazing, and otherwise using the common waste of the village, which they had before enjoyed; and also of taking up for their own cultivation any part of the unoccupied waste, subject to an additional payment at the average revenue rate of the village.

In the unsettled pergunnahs,—peasant properties.

266. This effected, a "superior proprietary right" in the whole village was, under the instructions conveyed by a letter, No. 2300-11 of 16th July 1866, from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, bestowed on the hereditary Patels, including the Chowdrees of Southern Nimar where they held shares in the *Wuttun*. This right is of the nature described in Chapter II. Section 17, Central Provinces' Settlement Code, and is fully hereditary and transferable. It conveys the title to engage as Malgoozar for the gross revenue assessed on the village. It also involves responsibility for the whole of this revenue, including the shares of it assessed on the proprietary ryots. The Government will take no action to recover from the latter in case of default; but it will rest with the superior proprietor to pay the whole, and take action through the Courts to recover from the proprietary ryots. The responsibilities of landholders regarding police and other administrative matters also rest solely with the superior proprietor; and on him also lies the burden of maintaining and supervising the staff of village servants, except in so far as they receive their cus-

Superior proprietary right.

tomary dues direct from the cultivators. *Quoad* the proprietary ryots it is somewhat a misuse of terms to call him "proprietor" at all. He is merely the responsible collector of their assessment, and can exercise no sort of interference with them, except in case of default, and then only through the regular Courts. But as he is responsible for their revenue, and for all the village expenses, as well as their general agent in all intercourse with the Government, he is remunerated by a percentage on the Government assessment payable by the proprietary ryots. This percentage is calculated so as to be just sufficient to remunerate him for the risk and trouble of his engagement. The superior proprietor having engaged, or contracted as it were, with Government for the revenue of the whole village for the period of Settlement, will, during that period, receive the whole of the additional income derived from the extension of cultivation, including the payments of the proprietary ryots (at the average revenue rates of the village) for whatever additional land they take up. After the expiry of the Settlement the new land taken up by proprietary ryots will be added to their proprietary holdings, and regularly assessed. That taken up by the superior proprietor, or by tenants from him, will remain his property. With the above noted exceptions in favour of the proprietary ryots, everything else of the nature of proprietary right in the village belongs to the superior proprietor alone.

267. Even in the khalsa villages all existing occupiers of land have not been made proprietors thereof. There are in every village, besides the regular steady cultivators, some of an extremely unsettled nature. They are usually of the aboriginal races of Bheels, Korkoos, and Bhilalas, who are here to-day and gone to-morrow, often leaving arrears of rent due. They usually cultivate with the Patel's seed, cattle, and ploughs, and even borrow their food from him, or get the funds for all these things on loan from a banker on the Patel's security. When they throw up their land, the Patel arranges for its being taken up by some other similar tenant. Such cultivators have obviously no sort of claim to proprietary right, nor could it be given them with any sort of safety. Some sort of guarantee for steady occupancy was therefore required. The general rule laid down was, that all Ryots, the *quality* of whose occupancy had been of the nature specified in Circular IX. Appendix VII. Central Provinces' Settlement Code, (without any restriction as to *period* of occupancy) should be declared proprietors. That is, they must be of one or other of the following descriptions:—

- I.—Ryots whose possession had carried with it something of an hereditary character.
- II.—Ryots who have expended such capital on their fields as to give them some special title.

III.—Ryots who are relations of present and former proprietors (Wuttundars), and whose sub-proprietary right may be considered to some extent as a substitute for a share in the superior proprietary right.

IV.—Ryots who have held their fields since the village was founded, or since those fields were reclaimed from the jungle.

Classes V. to VI. of Circular 9 are not applicable, as there had previously been no proprietors in the sense of the Circular, and length of occupancy was specially excluded from the list of conditions. Every ryot of any stability came under one or more of these classes; and in every doubtful case the point was stretched in favour of the ryot, not of the Patel. Yet, notwithstanding the discrimination used, a good many of those declared to be proprietors, especially in the wilder tracts, were found to have absconded before the time came for giving them their puttas (title-deeds). All who did not find a place in one or other of these classes were declared tenants of the superior proprietors.

263. The treatment which has thus been shown to have been adopted in Nimar for these *ryotwaree* villages would appear to be a new one. Nowhere else has the Patel been secured in the superior rights, while the great body of the cultivators have at the same time been fully recognised as the proprietors of their own holdings. It may therefore be looked on in some measure as an experiment, and will doubtless be condemned for opposite reasons (as indeed it has already been) by the advocates of the two extremes of *ryotwaree* pure and simple (that is when Government engages with each proprietary ryot direct), and of *Zemindaree* unhampered by subordinate rights (that is where all the cultivators are made the mere tenants of the Patel). The question may be discussed from two points of view, namely, its expediency, and its justice. Regarding the former I do not intend to say much. Both views have been strongly advocated by abler pens than mine, and I would only say that this system will probably, on the one hand, give rise to far fewer causes of litigation than one of a simple landlord and numerous tenants with ill-understood rights of occupancy at "fair" rates; while, on the other hand, the intelligent and willing management of a well-to-do hereditary Patel proprietor, who is solely responsible for the whole assessment, would seem to be preferable to, while it is probably not more costly than the minute and constant interference of a large staff of mere salaried revenue officials. No comparison between the cost of this system and of Bombay simple *ryotwaree* can be drawn, till data are available for ascertaining the per-

centage of the true rent taken as revenue, the relative cost of salaried revenue officials, and the amount of revenue assigned for service, which points are never discussed in Bombay Settlement Reports. The fullest possible encouragement is also given by the Nimar system to the extension and improvement of cultivation, through the capital both of the ryots themselves and of the superior proprietors. As respects the justice of our treatment of the case, there seems to be little room for doubt. No one can say that the ryot has been ill-treated, seeing that he can never be made to pay for any land he cultivates more than 20 per cent (generally 10 or 15) above the revenue rates assessed at Settlement, which again are much below the true rental of the land, while he can compete on equal terms with the Patel for the appropriation of the waste. At the same time the hereditary Patel was fully entitled to the place he has got in our revenue system. I have shown the antiquity and proprietary nature of the interest he has held in a share of the produce of the land, and in the dignity of head and manager of the village. The share of the rental he will now get, if somewhat greater than he has recently enjoyed under us as irresponsible manager, is assuredly less than was his right during Mahratta, or even Mahomedan times. His dignity and authority, also, are probably not greater than they were then. In fact, allowing for the difference of times and systems of law and government, he has now been merely restored, as nearly as possible, to the position held by the Wuttundar Patel under the Mahomedan rulers of the Deccan, which must be held to be the type of the institution in Western India. Just across our border, in the Khandeish Collectorate of the Bombay Presidency, his fate has been very different,—deprived of the greater portion of his emoluments, and of all his dignity, he has become a mere village servant, little superior to the Kolee or Balahee. Yet his former position was there identical with that I have described for Nimar in former chapters. The usual argument used to excuse this treatment is that the Patels had irregularly acquired their position in times of anarchy. I have shown, however, that this was not the case to any great extent,—that their rights date from a period long antecedent to the wars of the 19th century. But, even were such the case, and their interests be regarded in the light of vested property in an abuse, yet in abolishing them, they should surely be held entitled to full compensation for their loss.*

* The Khandeish Patels are frequently the poorest people in the village. Their official income is a mere pittance, and the duties of their office prevent them from adding much to it by cultivation. They stick to it, however, because it is a "Wuttun," and hope for another turn of the wheel of fortune. In some other parts of the Deccan the former position of the Patel seems to have been even better than I have been able to make out for him in these parts, and consequently his loss under the Bombay system has been all the greater. In his report on the landed tenures of the Deccan, Colonel Sykes, Statistical Reporter to Government, says :—"The office was hereditary, and the free-lands attached to it, together with the numerous rights and emoluments, were alienable by sale or gift, at the pleasure of the holder. * * * The lands and sites of houses of extinct families (Meerasdar cultivators) were appropriated by the Patels or the village community without the interference of Government. A permanent hereditary right, subject to the

Furthermore, in Nimar we were bound by the provision which the Maharajah Scindia, himself the descendant of a village Patel, inserted in our treaty of exchange for the protection of the Wuttundars. The fourth article of this treaty provides that each "Government shall give to its new subjects sunnuds in perpetuity for the rent-free lands, the Jageers, the perquisites, and the hereditary claims (*i. e.* 'huqs' and 'Wuttundars'), which they enjoy at present under the other Government." Had we refused the Patel's superior proprietary right, there would have been no alternative under that treaty but to continue to them for ever, and without return, as a fixed charge on the land, the whole of the considerable revenues they had been enjoying.

269. The only other point connected with rights in the khalsa villages, is the admission of shareholders in the superior proprietorship. I have already described the practical bounds that limited the theoretically binding sub-division of *Wuttun* according to the Hindoo law of inheritance (para. 135.) This was constantly kept in view in deciding on claims to share; and proof of an actual interest in the management, and of a substantial share in its profits, was always required. Out of 71 claims to share preferred, all were thus rejected but 11. For the future I confess myself somewhat apprehensive on this matter of sub-division. In every case, a Lumberdar or representative of the shareholders has been appointed with 5 per cent on the jumma (Government revenue) out of the profits, as his perquisite. But it will lie with the Civil Courts to determine the succession to the property, and they will possibly, under our rigid system of Civil law, divorced as it is from administrative considerations, be compelled to maintain the theoretical right of common inheritance under the Hindoo Code, in preference to the practical negation of it by custom. I need scarcely point out the possible results,—a large body of jointly responsible pauper shareholders, collecting each his mite from the proprietary ryots, or claiming his right of partition, and taking off his two or three

land tax, in fact a free-hold, or, as the Meeras Putrah forcibly expresses it, a right to 'children's children,' was given in land by the Patels, duly witnessed by the village authorities, and the so much desired permanent assessment was fixed in the deed of inheritance; and these were not isolated cases as local peculiarities, but were solemnly acknowledged by the chief authorities of districts so extensive as to be equal to several English counties, and with the full participation of the Prime Minister of the Rajah of Sattarah. Had Government claimed the lordship of the soil could it possibly have sanctioned such absolute and unrestrained disposal of it, as we see in these documents. * * * * The assumption that the lordship of the soil is in the government, has occasioned the monstrous injustice of the dispossession of all the landholders of the Deccan of their franchise. Happily, from the paternal character of the Government, it has had few practical consequences, beyond the abrogation of the rights of the Patel, and his degradation to the level of other cultivators." Since the above observations were made, the ryot has recovered, at the expense of the Patel, even more than his original rights under the Bombay Ryotwar system of Settlement.

proprietary ryots to form a new estate, from which he will derive a profit of a few rupees or annas. I have in my own mind no doubt that, not only does policy require this property to be maintained indivisible, but also that, as the Wuttun on which the proprietary right is founded was, by usage under the Native governments, practically indivisible, except by consent of the ruling power,—a practice strengthened also by family custom in the case of the large body of Zemindars and Thakoor Patels,—so also the same restriction might properly be placed on the subdivision of the new property created by the act of the State. Should this system of Settlement ever be found to work badly, I fear much that this will be the rock on which it will have split. The statement of points of law in the Settlement record being prohibited, this has not been referred to in the papers.

270. Regarding the determination of the superior proprietary right and title to engage for the revenue in the settled pergunnahs, the extent to which re enquiry should be admissible, had been closely defined in the Commissioner's report (No. 5 of his recommendations detailed in para. 235, *ante*). It will be noted that the Commissioner here selected for protection from re-enquiry only those cases in which the present holder had held the lease of the village during the last Settlement under the farming system, and before the resort to khalsa management. This class certainly included many of the Wuttundar Patels, but it also excluded many of them; and it included some present holders of villages who had no other connection with the village, except their present tenure and their having held the farming lease as aforesaid. Now this farming lease was expressly declared by the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces to give in itself no claim to proprietary right (para. 203); and certainly, according to my understanding, the class of holders last mentioned were in fact the only persons who could now properly be reckoned as strangers, and as having, under the others of the Lieutenant-Governor, no title to anything more than a temporary lease (*vide* para. 211). Thus, while the Commissioner's recommendation protected many who needed no protection (the Wuttundar Patels), it also barred enquiry in some of the cases in which, according to the strict interpretation of the proceedings at last Settlement, re-enquiry was now legitimate. In practice, however, no harm has I think resulted. There were only 23 such cases in the district, exclusive of the Wuttundar Patels. The stranger had in some cases voluntarily associated the Wuttundar with himself as a shareholder, or now consented to do so; in some there was no Wuttundar who claimed to oust him; and in others he had so greatly improved the estate, and the beneficial interest of the Wuttundar had so long ceased, that, looking also to the verbal assurances that had been made to the present Malgoozars by the District officer after Settlement, the claim of the former was now in justice superior. In some cases the rent-free lands held by

the ex-Patel were continued to him in lieu of a share by the former. In the end all such conflicting interests were arranged, in some way or other, to the satisfaction of both parties; and thus no further reference of the point was necessary.

In the case of those Malgoozars who had no other title but their tenure under the current Settlement, no restrictions were placed on free re-enquiry. There were 44 such in the district, and their cases were disposed of as follows:—

Number who received sole proprietary right.	Number ousted altogether in favour of other claimants.	Number who retained a share only, the remainder being bestowed on other claimants.	Number constituted inferior proprietors with title to engage others becoming superior proprietors with Malikana percentage.
27	7	2	8

In the majority of cases where the stranger obtained proprietary right there was no Wuttundar Patel. The tenure specified in the last column exists only in the Aser pergunnah. There the Wuttundar Patels were found to be in strong possession, not only of their enam lands, but also of the 5 per cent on the revenue, which had been continued to them for life, under the orders before mentioned (para. 256); while in some cases the Malgoozaree was held by strangers, whose only claims rested on actual possession during the ten years of Settlement. But they had in some cases expended much capital in the improvement of their villages, and it would certainly have been very hard to oust them altogether; yet the claims of the Wuttundar were also very strong. These cases were all adjusted, either by the continuance on the part of the stranger of his enams to the Patel in lieu of a share, where the Patel's claim was weak, or by his admission to a share where very strong, or in an intermediate class of cases by the recognition of superior proprietorship in favour of the hereditary Patel, and concomitant inferior proprietorship in favour of the stranger. The title to engage for the revenue was attached to the latter, subject to the payment to the former of a percentage thereon as a Malikana, which was usually 10 but sometimes 5 per cent, and included what enam land he might have, as well as the 5 per cent *Puchotra* secured to him by Government order.

271. The admission of family shareholders in the settled villages turned on similar grounds to those in the khalsa villages, and in the Central Provinces generally. Ancestral title, combined with prescriptive enjoyment of the profits of management, or the latter

alone, might entitle to a share. A difference of opinion arose, however, on the question of the right of a claimant, who had not shared in the profits during Settlement, or during the early farming period, to share now in the proprietary right, on the bare ground of his enjoying a share in the *hucs* of the Patel's *Wuttun*. The Commissioner of the Nerbudda Division, when hearing Settlement appeals, considered that he should; but a precedent to the contrary had already been laid down in many cases, and in the end determined these also. I think that a full consideration of the ancient as well as modern practice on this point, *wherever the profits and duties of the Wuttun were anything more than nominal*, will, as I have already urged (para. 269), show this treatment of such claims to be fully warranted. Nor does their rejection deprive the claimants of anything they already enjoy. The miscellaneous *hucs* and 5 per cent *Puchotra* have long since been abolished or commuted, on grounds independent of the question of proprietary right; and if they have any rent-free land, it is continued to them either from the State or more generally by the proprietors, in lieu of a share in the profits. They are also constituted proprietors of their own holdings on the easiest possible terms of assessment. Out of 508 claims made, to share in these estates, 159 only were admitted. Altogether the 645 villages in the district are now held by 1,118 individuals, or rather less than an average of two each.

272. The Statement overleaf shows distinctly the results of this

Results of enquiry into superior proprietary rights.

enquiry into superior proprietary rights; both in the settled and unsettled *pergunnahs*; and I think it cannot be deemed unsatisfactory that, after so much grievous maladministration, still 92 per cent of the original right-holders have now been secured in their property; while of the remaining 8 per cent one-half are hereditary *pergunnah* officers, who cannot be called total strangers. At para. 407 is a Statement of the caste of all the superior proprietors, showing in what proportion the various indigenous and immigrant races have at last obtained a firm position as landed proprietors, from which it will be seen that 11 per cent are aborigines, 27 per cent *Rajpoots*, 41 per cent immigrant *Hindoo agriculturists*, and 21 per cent *Mussulmans*, *Brahmins*, and other non-agricultural castes.

273. The nature of all these superior proprietary tenures in Nimar

All tenures, *Zemindaree* and imperfect *Putteedaree*.

is thus what is technically called in the North-Western Provinces "*Zemindaree*," with the exception of *Mouzah Shahpore* of *pergunnah Zeinabad*, whose original constitution (described at para. 140) naturally resulted in the establishment now of an "*imperfect Putteedaree*" tenura.

	Number of estates in which sole proprietorship has been secured to the original right-holders.				Number of estates on which original right-holders have acquired a partial interest in estates.				Number of estates in which original right-holders have been excluded in favour of "strangers," with period of tenure by the latter.						
	Wuttundar Patels.				Where stranger is the hereditary pergunnah officer.				Total strangers.						
	Original lessees of waste tracts.				Has held only during current Settlement.				Has held only during current Settlement.						
	Jageerdars, &c.				Has held during current and previous Settlements, excluding khalsa period.				Has held during current and previous Settlements, excluding khalsa period.						
	Total.				Has held from before the previous Settlement (A. D. 1839), exclusive of khalsa period.				Has held from before previous Settlement (A. D. 1839), excluding khalsa period.						
	Original right-holders admitted to share with strangers.				Total number of strangers declared proprietors.				Total number of villages in which proprietary rights have been conferred.						
	Original right-holders constituted superior proprietors, with Malika-na from strangers.														
	Total.														
In settled pergunnahs	306	21	30	357	2	14	16	12	14	...	15	8	1	50	433
In unsettled pergunnahs ...	147	28	43	218	1	3	4	222
TOTAL.....	453	49	73	575	3	17	20	12	14	...	15	8	1	50	645

274. **Subordinate rights in settled pergunnahs.** An immense amount of rights or supplemental rights of proprietors engaged in the settlement, which should now be recorded in the Commission Circulars, regarding the rights of superior proprietors, which should be recorded in the Settlement papers, and be now merely recorded in more precise terms, had fallen to the ground, in consequence of the general absence of authentic records of the sort, and their unproductiveness of information in this matter even when available. Fresh propositions had therefore to be submitted. On carefully considering the matter, I became convinced that, if the instructions of the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces were now to be strictly carried out, *every old cultivator even in the settled pergunnahs must still be made proprietor of his holding.* For there was no proof that they had ever been offered the individual proprietary right in their holdings which the Lieutenant-Governor justly declared them to be entitled to in 1846,* and their being offered it, and having declined, must be proved before those who engaged for the revenue could be held to possess such a title as would now bar its recognition in their favour. There was, as I say, no proof obtainable of this. It was in fact impossible that they could have been so offered it; for we have seen that the idea of a permanent proprietary right was not present to the mind even of the officer who made the Settlement. At the same time they have been fully protected under the Settlement from ouster and enhancement; and it could not be shown that the Malgoozars had ever exercised, or even deemed themselves to possess, any of the exclusive rights of a proprietary landholder with regard to them. When I first submitted this view (No. 487 of 27th October 1866 to Settlement Commissioner), it was held that the provisions of the Central Provinces' Settlement Code would sufficiently protect the interests of the old cultivators. Further experience, however, showed that under the then accepted interpretation of the Central Provinces' Code I could not secure to the mass of the cultivators the status which there could be no doubt that they had possessed from as far back as was ascertainable from the records, namely a heritable and quasi-transferable right of occupancy, at rents fixed for the periods of Government assessment; while nothing short of the recognition of an actual proprietary title in their holdings in favour of the whole of the *Joonardars* would meet the requirements of the order enjoining literal adherence to the North-Western Provinces' instructions. But here another difficulty arose. A proprietor of a holding, under a superior proprietor engaging for the revenue (*Malik-mugbozza*), must, under the Central Provinces' Code assessment rules, be assessed with only the share of the revenue due on his holding, and a percentage thereon as *huc-ool-tehseel* payable to the superior pro-

* With a few of the Mials of British Nimar were filed *Inkar namas*, as they were called, recording the refusal of the ryots to accept the lease for 20 years with joint responsibility. No mention of individual proprietary right however, is made in them.

prietor. This percentage was calculated so as merely to remunerate the latter for the ^{total number of} ~~and~~ and risk of collection and management, and must ^{be paid} ~~be~~ 20 per cent on the *jumma*. But the superior proprietors ^{of the} ~~of~~ *Nimar* were already in the enjoyment, under the Settlement, of 33 per cent of the *rental* of these holdings; and thus, if ^{the} ~~the~~ proprietorship of the nature provided for in the Central Provinces' Code were generally conferred on the cultivators, the income of the superior proprietors from these lands would be suddenly reduced (at the highest allowable percentage) from 33 to 13, supposing the *jumma* to remain unaltered; or, calculating the percentage on the probable enhancement of 15 per cent, then from 33 to 15, or more than one-half. But neither the principles laid down in the North-Western Provinces' instructions for the assessment of proprietary ryots (*vide* para. 207), nor the actual practice under the Settlement, required the adoption of the Central Provinces' method of assessment, which would in many cases have operated to reduce their present payments, while such a course seemed unfair to the superior proprietors after the assurances they had received, and even likely, by a sudden impoverishment of them, to endanger the safety of the public revenue, and possibly lead to their refusal to re-engage prospectively for their villages. Impressed with these considerations, I again submitted the question in September 1867. Prolonged correspondence ensued, the title of the Joonardas to proprietary right was admitted, but the Central Provinces' principle of assessment was at first insisted on. I felt compelled in the interest of the superior proprietors, and for the safety of my Settlement, to ask for a reconsideration of the point, and suggested that, if the rule of assessment could not be relaxed, a full right of occupancy at rents fixed for the term of Settlement, such as the *Nimar* ryots had always possessed,* would be preferable to so violent a transfer of income from the class now possessing it to another which never had possessed it. The opinion of the Commissioner of the Nerbudda Division (Major Mackenzie) was recorded to the effect that the Joonardas were not now entitled to proprietary rights, and that they could not in fact be recognized under the instructions of Sir R. Temple for the completion of the Settlement, passed on the Commissioner's report. A ruling by the Government of India, however, declared that the orders of Sir R. Temple had not this effect, and finally a compromise resulted by which the old cultivators were declared entitled to proprietary right in their holdings; but the Central Provinces' rule of assessment was so far relaxed that they were not to be entitled to claim any reduction from their present payments, where they were not excessive, even though above a regular assessment, (letter No. 230-2 of 3rd February 1868, from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, to Settlement Commissioner). As this provision would generally secure the superior pro-

* This was almost exactly the tenure subsequently secured to the "Mouroosee Mutluk" or "Circular G." ryots in other parts of the Central Provinces, by Government order (Settlement Commissioner's Circular No. 14 of 19th May 1868).

proprietors in at least their present incomes after the new assessment, the objection to the general bestowal of rights of property on the old cultivators was fully removed. Some supplementary rulings followed. Where there was doubt as to the Joonaylars being correctly specified in the old Settlement records, all cultivators who would have been declared entitled to absolute rights of occupancy under Circular G. Appendix, Central Provinces' Settlement Code, were to receive proprietary right. Proprietary ryots were to be entitled to grazing on unoccupied waste, and to add to their proprietary holdings from it as described for the khalsa villages in para. 265. Old Jageer villages in which the alienation of the revenue has always been held to

Subordinate tenures in Jageer villages.

include a complete proprietary right, were to be exempted from the rule; but those of which the revenue had been alienated after the Settlement were to be treated exactly as if they were still on the revenue paying-roll. On the same principle such ryots as were found to be entitled to proprietary right in the land they held at time of Settlement, were held to be proprietors of any additional fields they had since then recovered from the waste, unless the superior proprietor (Malgoozar) could show that it had been done with his capital, &c. If they had taken any ready cleared and tilled land, however, after Settlement, they were not held entitled to proprietorship in that.

275. Some other descriptions of tenure in the district required and received special treatment. A good many villages had been taken up from the waste on farming leases both in the khalsa and settled pergunnahs. In the khalsa pergunnahs some of these were partially under cultivation before they were let to their Patels under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, quoted in para. 205. In these a fair interpretation of the orders left no room for the general bestowal of subordinate proprietary rights, and none have been bestowed, excepting in the cases of holders of resumed Maafees and relatives of the proprietors.

276. There remains for discussion under this head the case in which the Government engagement was nominally made at last Settlement with the whole body of cultivators with joint responsibility. I have already shown (para. 226) how purely nominal this arrangement was, and how little it has since been acted on. Practically the interest of each cultivator had been confined to his own land, and they had in no case any idea of the responsibility that was theoretically thrown on them by the arrangements at Settlement. The Sudder Malgoozar had in fact been held responsible for the revenue, and had made good all deficiencies. I very carefully explained to the cultivators

Villages settled with cultivators jointly responsible.

in these villages their real position and responsibilities under the paper arrangement, and also the position they would hold as proprietors of their separate holdings under the Nimar rules. The latter is in fact identically the position which they already occupied in practice under the Settlement. As soon as they fully understood all this, there was but one opinion as to the desirability of dissolving the unnatural bond of joint responsibility, and relapsing into the position of individual proprietors, under a responsible head. As there is nothing in the North-Western Provinces' rules inconsistent with this change by consent of those concerned (while the advantages of such a cumbrous joint responsibility—particularly among such heterogeneous elements as these—have been found, I believe, since the date of the orders to be a good deal imaginary); and as it seemed to be only the natural out-come of the existing state of things, I gladly assimilated the tenures of these villages to the rest of the district. Thus it has happened that the fact of having consented or not to engage jointly for the revenue at Settlement, will now (as is only just, considering the circumstances) make little difference in the permanent status of the ryots. The proprietary ryots of these villages who did engage will, however, be so far gainers, that they will be from the first fairly assessed with equitable shares of the revenue, and will pay the smallest possible rates of *huc-ool-tehseel*; while those who did not engage will, where necessary, continue to pay the rents assessed on them at last Settlement, which are generally a good deal above the revenue rates of the new Settlement. Probably, however, at the next revision revenue rates will be higher than these payments, and if so then both classes of ryots will be again on an equality, excepting in the matter of *huc-ool-tehseel*, which will probably continue for ever payable at the rates now fixed. These rates have necessarily been made somewhat higher where the ryots did not accept the engagement, than where they did.

277. I may state here that, besides the regular attestation of each ryot's standing, at which, if found entitled, he was at once recorded as a proprietor, many cases of disputed title were fought out between the superior proprietors and the cultivators, and decided after a regular judicial investigation. Both sides displayed a vigour in this matter that speaks volumes for the increased value of land since the Settlement, when the difficulty seems to have been to get any one to accept it.

278. Before noticing the status of tenant occupiers of land it will be proper to narrate the results of the investigation made into alienations of the revenue, which, from the district having so long been the seat of successive governments, were unusually extensive in Nimar.

279. I have already referred to the assignments to the hereditary pergunnah and village officers, termed *Nankar** in the case of whole villages, and *enames giraut** in the case of smaller parcels of land, both implying that they were assigned on terms of service. Those of the pergunnah officers were disposed of, as stated in Chapter VIII, by the Revenue Commissioner, and a statement of their amount will be given further on.

280. Very few of the assignments made for political purposes, once numerous in Nimar, have come on to the present day. One half of pergunnah Chandgurh, north of the Nerbudda, is so held by a Raj-Korkoo family, under a grant from Scindia; but Settlement operations have not as yet been extended to that pergunnah. The only other tenures of the sort are those of the Raj-Korkoo and Bheel Chiefs in the hills which divide the district from Berar. The whole of this wild hill range was doubtless before the Mahomedan period held by these Chiefs in feudal or independent tenure, and since then free of revenue on terms of military service and police duty, as wardens of the passes between the Khandeish and Berar countries. These Chiefs had also in course of time obtained "rights" in the plains, on both sides of their fastnesses, to contributions of blackmail in the shape of cash or grain. They had also obtained many plots of enam land in these villages, and moreover levied transit dues on travellers and merchandise passing through their hills. Each of the chiefships was called a "Huttee," meaning originally, I believe, a hill pass,—a term which has given a name to this branch of the Sautpoora range (*vide* para. 6).

281. That on the extreme east was called Jeetgurh, and pertained to one of the bastard Chohan families mentioned in para. 34. A cadet of the same family obtained twelve of the Jeetgurh villages as a separate holding under the name Chakbara. The recent history of Jeetgurh curiously illustrates the weakness of a Native government when compelled to work through subordinates at a distance. Up to A. D. 1838 it appears to have remained undisputed in the possession of its "Raja,"† but in that year his "army," consisting of a band of Rohilla mercenaries, having received no pay for a long time, put their liege lord in durance, and took him before the Boorhanpore authorities. There he engaged to give up his rights in Jeetgurh (retaining only those of Mhowkote,—another tract held by him in Berar), on condition of the large sum due to his troops being discharged. Before, however, the affair had been completed a quarrel arose between the Rohillas and Scindia's troops, and the former were massa-

* Latterly all assignments of whole villages had improperly come to be called *Jaqeer*, and of plots *giraut*, in Nimar.

† All these Huttee Chiefs call themselves "Raja" to this day, and keep up minute standing armies, &c.

cred. The Raja fled to Berar and the Boorhanpore authorities took possession of Jeetgürh, but after holding it for two years their agents were expelled by the Raja, who thereafter maintained a sort of semi-independence, till the country was transferred to us in 1860. Living safe in Berar, he levied forest dues in the hills, Scindia's people taking them in the plains. The tract being utterly waste these were all the revenue they yielded. The Raja declined to put in an appearance on our receiving the country; and as his Jageer rights had not been mentioned at the transfer, we proceeded to establish posts for collection of forest duties in Jeetgürh. These were expelled, as well as a small police post at Ambajholée. The posts were, however, reinforced, and since then the tract has been dis severed from all connection with the so-called Raja. His claim has now been fully considered, but the above stated facts preclude the idea of its being restored to the Raja. His contributions from the villages in the Taptée valley, of course, ceased with his outlawry in 1838, but he still obtains a considerable sum, I believe, on the Berar side. The village of Chakbara remained in Jageer with the younger branch till now, and has been recommended for perpetual release.

282. The four *Huttees*, comprising the western portion of this range, and called respectively (commencing from the east) Ali-Balkote, Jumboopanee, Ghurree, and Jantee, were held by Bheels converted to Mahomedanism by the Moghuls (para. 59). The Bheel Chiefs appear to have become general robbers during the "time of trouble," in the early part of this century; and on the pacification of the country came under the general scheme carried out by General Briggs in Khandeish for the reclamation of the Bheels. Sunnuds* were bestowed on them, at the instance of that officer, by Scindia, granting a fixed yearly payment of from 400 to 600 rupees, in lieu of all their claims to contributions from the plains, and transit dues, and also Jageer rights in *one* village in each of the *Huttees*. These Sunnuds, however, appear to have remained nearly a dead letter till the transfer of the country to us in 1860. The irregular contributions continued to be exacted to a great extent, and the rights of the State were never fully asserted in the large number of waste villages in the *Huttees* not comprised in the sunnuds. This is, however, little to be wondered at, as there was no revenue except from their jungle produce, which was nowhere exacted under Scindia's rule. Our forest rules have, however, been fully applied in these *Huttees*, and the Jageer rights of the Chiefs have now, on the principle of *Expressio unius est exclusio alterius*, been restricted to the villages they hold under sunnud. There is some very fine land on the plateaux of these hills, and they bear evidence of having at one time been extensively cultivated, probably from the Berar plain, which they

* No. CLXX. of Aitchison's Treaties.

adjoin. These tracts are, however, now almost wholly deserted, except by the Chiefs and their few followers, all of whom are utterly devoid of energy, and demoralised by the practice of opium-eating.

283. Charitable grants (Khyrat) and religious endowments (Dhurmadeo) formed the bulk of the other Charitable and religious assignments. The former were usually heritable by lineal heirs only, but they were often allowed to pass to collaterals, and sometimes even to be transferred to strangers, probably on account of the large fine (Peshkush) that was exacted on such occasions. Religious endowments always passed with the custodianship of the shrine or worship to which they were attached.

284. Some grants had been made subject to the condition of digging a well and planting a grove, which Grants for groves. very frequently was never performed.

285. A large number of plots of land were also granted by the early British Political Agents on their own Grants irregularly made by British officers. authority. They were generally either for planting groves, or on terms of village service, and the latter were never resumed when the service ceased to be exacted.

286. All revenue assignments practically carried with them every- Assignment of revenue in- cludes proprietorship. thing of the nature of property in the land, which was not specifically reserved. There are instances where the deed of grant specifies this property to extend to the water, grass, stone, and all that is under the surface; others, where cultivated land has been granted, state that the old occupants have consented to the grant, or have received other land instead. But the most noticeable evidence that in making such grants, other existing rights were not sacrificed, is found in the numerous cases where the *hucs* (rights) of the hereditary per-gunnah and village officers were specially reserved from the grant, and have continued to be paid by the grantees up to the present time.

287. In default of direct heirs charitable grants were liable to be resumed. When resumed their assessment was termed *tanka*, probably corrupted from *tunkha*, and of late years has come to be considered a fixed assessment, though there is no sort of authority for the idea, excepting that such holdings were registered by us in a separate book, and that we never raised their assessments—a matter of no great wonder, considering that we have been

steadily lowering all our assessments till now. In the same way, when service enams were resumed they got the name of *moond*, and also came to be considered as permanently assessed, as far as I can discover for the same reason. That the idea of fixity of assessment in both these cases is purely the assumption of the holders, and due to no act of Government, is further shown by the fact that revenue free lands of both sorts, resumed within the last twenty years, or even quite recently, are invariably dubbed *tanka* or *moond* by their holders, though we know that they have no authority for considering their assessments fixed. I believe that, excepting in one case where a so-called *moond* holding was confirmed by the Peshwa, the only authentic holdings of this nature were some granted in the early years of our own rule to village servants, the rule being to assess them at three-fourths of the ordinary rate (letter from Political Agent, 1823).

288. A register of all Maafee holdings was compiled in A. D. 1827, under the orders of the Resident of Indore. A large number of Maafees were then waste, particularly in British Nimar, and were excluded from this register. The cultivated land claimed as free of revenue in Scindia's Nimar was disposed of under the following rules, issued by the Resident, a short history of each being inserted in the register :—

RULES OF 1827.

Every Zerayut held previously to Dowlut Rao Scindia's accession and continued to be held since on rent-free tenure, with or without Sirkar's or Komasdar's sunnud, to be continued rent-free hereditarily to incumbent, provided he appear to be the right and undisputed proprietor (that is, the original grantee or his *bona fide* successor, and not an interloper).

Every Zerayut held under an authentic sunnud or Takeedputur from Dowlut Rao Scindia to an hereditary effect, to be continued hereditarily rent-free to incumbent, supposing him to be the right and undisputed proprietor. If the sunnud or Takeedputur be not to an hereditary effect, the Zerayut to be continued rent-free only for incumbent's life, supposing him to be the right and undisputed proprietor.

Every Zerayut held under an authentic sunnud from a Komasdar, granted since the accession of Dowlut Rao Scindia, to be continued rent-free for incumbent's life, should he be the right and undisputed proprietor, and provided the plea and reason for the grant should appear to have been good and sufficient.

All other Zerayuts than the above described to be subjected forthwith to assessment for rent. Occupancy to be allowed to incumbent in preference to another, and, should he continue to occupy the Zerayut, he may be let off with the payment of only a third of the full rentage the first year, and two-thirds the second year, full rentage to be paid the third year.

No claims preferred for restitution of Zerayuts on rent free tenure, which were not in possession as such on our taking charge of the district, to be entertained now.

289. This register remained the only record of alienations up to the 20 years' Settlement, when the lands were measured and entered in the Settlement Misl, and in new descriptive registers.

Treatment of Maafees at last Settlement.

We had in the meantime come to administer Scindia's Nimar under a new treaty, that of 13th January 1844,* by which it was provided that all "religious endowments and grants of a similar character *bona fide* existing at this date, and excluded from the rent-roll of the several districts, are to be respected and maintained" (Schedule A). In accordance with this provision fresh rules for the disposal of all cases of revenue alienations and pensions at the Settlement were issued by the Resident as follows:—

"1st Class.—Grants or holdings, whether in money or land, under any ruling Maharaja, as Dowlut Rao Scindia. These are to be continued for the life of the present incumbent† on his producing the original genuine sunnud, without further question, provided the succession was previous and anterior to the last treaty with Scindia after the battle of Maharajpore in January A. D. 1844, and in cases of maintenance of temples or for poojahs, provided the temples exist and the purposes for which the grant was made are fulfilled, and have been since the date of the last treaty with Scindia in January 1844, after the battle of Maharajpore. In cases of succession subsequent to the date of last treaty, an enquiry to be made that the succession was in conformity with the grant."

"2nd Class.—Grants by Soobahs, Komasdars and other local officers. These are not to be held to be hereditary. Incumbents in January 1844 to be maintained for life on producing the original genuine grant."
 * * "All succession subsequent to January 1844 to be investigated. If the grant is not hereditary the allowance to cease, if hereditary the case to be reported for confirmation."

* No. LXXI. of Aitcheson's Treaties.

† These rules are quoted from an unauthenticated copy, the original being nowhere procurable. I believe this restriction to a life grant to be a mistake in the copy, as the tenor of the other rules implies that these are to be considered hereditary;—certainly this rule was never acted on.

"3rd Class.—Grants which have long been paid without any sunnud or other document being forthcoming. These are chiefly persopal, of an eleemosynary character. Such as have been *bonâ fide* to the original grantee before and subsequent to January 1844 to be continued for life; * * such as have been paid to heirs to be suspended pending an enquiry, provided the succession was previous to January 1844. No succession subsequent to January 1844 to be considered a claim to continuance."

"4th Class.—Allowance for shrines, poojahs, repairs to buildings. These to be continued in cases in which the cause of grant existed previously to, and has uninterruptedly continued since January 1844; in all other cases to cease at once.

* * * *

"5th Class.—Allowances or grants for attendance to sick, for schools, hospitals, or other public establishments. All such grants should be paid into the general dispensary, school, or other fund, to be appropriated according to the terms of the grant in consonance with existing establishment" (No. 210 of 15th February 1853, from Resident, Indore.)

At the 20 years' Settlement it was found that there was much more land claimed as Maafee than was entered in the old register of 1827. A good deal of this had been granted by the District officer himself to the village servants, and the origin of the rest will be learnt from the following extract :—

"One of the most difficult enquiries connected with the Settlement, has been the determination of the amount of enam land to be allowed. Under the old farming system an agreement was made that when new land came into cultivation 20 per cent of the revenue derived from it was to go to the farmer, and the remainder to Government. But this was altogether avoided by the Thakoors allowing their innumerable relations to cultivate for nothing, saying it is my enam or Ziraut which I have given to him. The old book of Zirauts, which was compiled when we first took charge of the district in 1823, was taken as the standard; but it was necessary to make allowances in the case of the many villages which were deserted and covered with jungle at the time the Ziraut book was compiled, and in which consequently the Zirauts were not enquired into." (Report on Khundwa Settlement in 1854). No formal investigation appears to have taken place regarding Maafees at the Settlement, a summary inquiry, and entry in the registers, being held sufficient. Nor were any cases reported to Government; such cases as were ascertained to be confirmable for life only, under the Resident's rules, were so entered in the registers; and regarding the rest the Political Assistant reported that "in the matter of Zirauts, I have carefully abstained from giving any sort of sunnuds or promises for the future, but have merely entered the name of a field as a certain person's Ziraut

in the village papers"—(No. 141 of 26th September 1854, para. 7). No service enaums were resumed, and thus the Patel and Thakoor Malgoozars were left with considerable additions to their nominal margin of profit in this shape. The exemption from assessment of land claimed as maafee, but not entered in the register of 1827, would seem to be a questionable measure; and I am certain that a great deal of fraud was employed to secure the entry in the registers of much land that had no sort of title to release. All the so-called *tanka* and *moond* holdings in the settled pergunnahs were also registered at the time of Settlement for the first time, excepting some which paid very high quit-rents, and which were brought on the ordinary rent-roll by consent of their holders. Generally, however, these persons preferred to hold the land as moond, even at an excessive rent, such lands being, besides maafees, the only ones in which a distinct proprietary title was recognised by the District authorities. No formal investigation was made into these quit-rent cases, and I feel sure that much fraud was employed here also in the compilation of the registers.

290. It is a great pity that regular investigation and report of all these cases was not effected at the time of Settlement, because, in the meantime, the matter has become greatly complicated by the engagement we came under (somewhat inconsiderately perhaps) in the treaty of 12th December 1860, by which we obtained the Sovereignty of Scindia's Nimar,* to give to our new subjects "sunnuds in perpetuity for the rent-free lands, the Jageers, the perquisites, and the hereditary claims (*i. e.*, 'hucs' and 'wuttuns') which they enjoy at present." This stringent provision was particularly unfortunate in Zainabad, where no investigation of maafees had ever been made, and where the interests we thus bound ourselves to protect, particularly "perquisites," were very numerous and very doubtful. From the very first the provision became in some respects a dead letter. "Perquisites," such as transit dues and exactions of all sorts by the pergunnah and village officers and others, which, strictly speaking, should have been allowed in perpetuity under the treaty, were ruthlessly abolished. In fact, nothing would have maintained the letter of the treaty except a careful retention in every respect of the *status quo*, as regards the existing system of administration. Still we were, of course, bound to carry out its spirit regarding maafees, and this necessitated modification of the sanctioned proposals of the Commissioner, Nerbudda Division, (para. 236) for their disposal.

291. Eventually the general rule was laid down that all existing grants should be confirmed in perpetuity, excepting (1) village service grants, *e. g.* grants

Rules now adopted.

* Aitchison's No. LXXXII.

to Kotwals, &c.; (2) grants made by subordinate officers of the Native government, not entitled to make them, and not in any way confirmed by the Government; and (3) grants which have not been taken advantage of, that is, where the land has been allowed to run to waste. "These may after full enquiry be recommended for resumption, or for such consideration as they may seem to deserve."—(No. 2110-182 of 2nd July 1866, from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, to Settlement Commissioner).

292. Regarding the first class of exemptions from the general rule of confirmation, I may state that all village service lands, including those of the Putwarees, have been resumed so far as regards government, their release being incompatible with our system of village Settlement with proprietors; but they have in all cases been recorded in the administration papers as held free of all rent, as part of the remuneration of these officers for service; and as they are secured in their hereditary position, subject to good behaviour, the provision of the treaty has, as regards them, been practically carried out. Patels' lands were at first held not to come under the head of "village service;" but, after a long correspondence, it was finally decided that those held by the Patels who have now been recognised as proprietors, and engage for the revenue, should be resumed as regards government, that is, become a part of the assessable assets (Minute by the Chief Commissioner dated 28th January 1868). Regarding those held by Patels and Thakoors not in possession of a share in the proprietary right, in the tracts which first came under our management in 1860, they were all either continued to the holders by the Patels in possession, in lieu of a share in the Malgoozaree, or released by Government. In Scindia's Nimar, managed by us since 1823, the same course was followed, except that such as were not entered in the registers of 1827 were confirmed only for life. In the few cases of this sort existing in old British Nimar they were all resumed, having been granted by the District officer during the Khalsa period.

293. The second class of exemption only applied to that part of Nimar which had remained under Native administration till 1860. The great majority of the grants there had never been sanctioned by Scindia until the pergunnah was just being made over, when a register was made out which received his sanction. In this transaction he was desperately cheated by his local officials, who granted hundreds of maafees to their own friends just before the transfer,—the loss of revenue being covered by receipts from the villages which they had long appropriated for themselves and kept out of the accounts, but which were necessarily entered

in valuing the pergunnahs for exchange. We had, however, nothing to do with these irregularities, as they had been sanctioned by Scindia, and were excluded from the valuation at which the exchange was concluded.

294. The third exception (waste land) was fully attended to, no wholly waste lands having been released, except in a few cases where special reason existed. A good many of the maafees irregularly granted from the waste by Scindia's officers just previous to the cession of the Taptee pergunnahs came under resumption on this score. A few special cases require notice. In the parts of Nimar held by us since 1824 village priests (pursae) maafees have been released for life only, in accordance with instructions, excepting those entered in the register of 1827, which have been released on a heritable tenure. There were no such holdings in the recently acquired pergunnahs. Where groves have really been planted on land granted for the purpose, and the public have the benefit of them, the land has been released; where in some cases it has been converted into a private fruit garden it has usually been brought under assessment; when devoted to ordinary crops it has always been resumed. Maafees released at last Settlement-only for life have been similarly treated now. With the above exceptions all alienations have been released in conformity with the terms of the treaty.

295. I annex a Statement (A) overleaf showing the whole lands of these several descriptions found to exist in the district, together with the treatment adopted for them. I have added the enams of pergunnah Zemindars, which had been previously disposed of by the Commissioner of Division. (para 241), in order to give a complete view of the whole alienations in the district, which, it will be seen, amounted to 13·4 per cent of the settled area, and to 20·5 per cent of the assessed revenue. I also add a similar Statement (B) on page 132 showing the disposal of the holdings termed *tanku* and *moond*, all of which it was necessary to investigate, owing to their having been entered in a separate register as held at fixed rents, though I believe, in most cases erroneously so. It will be seen that the revenue now assessed on these holdings is considerably less than they have hitherto paid.

296. Holders of resumed maafees, tankas and moonds, have been recorded as their proprietors, alienation of the revenue having in all cases carried with it everything of the nature of proprietary right, except in cases of Surinjama grants, none of which now survive. All maafees released have also been assessed and recorded as the property of the holders, in case the free tenure should at any time lapse. The continuance of the *kuc*s payable by Maafedars to the Patels (now proprietors) and other Wutundars (para. 134) has been secured.

Statement of disposed of Manjfee tenures.

A.

Total.	Plots.	Whole vil- lages.		Charitable and religious grants.		Service grants including those of Parahs in and out of pos- sion as proprietors.		Grants for other purposes.		Total.
				Resumed.	Released.	Resumed.	Released.	Resumed.	Released.	
73	71	2	Number of cases.							
4,987 3 24	804 0 32	4,183 2 32	Extent in acres.							
543 11 8	488 11 8	55 0 0	New Revenue asst.							
62	62	..	Number of cases.	For period of						
553 1 16	553 1 16	..	Extent in acres.	current Set- tlement.						
283 6 4	283 6 4	..	New Revenue asst.	For						
148	149	..	Number of cases.	life.						
1,474 0 16	1,474 0 16	..	Extent in acres.	ever.						
880 7 9	880 7 9	..	New Revenue asst.							
431	407	24	Number of cases.							
43,885 3 24	6,192 2 24	39,693 1 0	Extent in acres.							
8,709 5 0	6,591 5 0	2,118 0 0	Revenue.							
512	512	..	Number of cases.	Resumed.						
9,045 1 8	9,045 1 8	..	Extent in acres.	For period of						
6,891 3 9	6,861 3 9	..	Revenue.	current Set- tlement.						
654	6 4	..	Number of cases.	For						
15,739 3 0	15,739 3 0	..	Extent in acres.	life.						
7,122 13 1	7,122 13 1	..	Revenue.	ever.						
116	118	..	Number of cases.							
609 2 16	609 2 16	..	Extent in acres.							
688 4 3	688 4 3	..	Revenue.							
74	74	..	Number of cases.							
2,397 3 16	2,397 3 16	..	Extent in acres.							
1,132 10 9	1,132 10 9	..	Revenue.							
43	43	..	Number of cases.	Resumed.						
887 1 24	887 1 24	..	Extent in acres.	For period of						
896 6 9	896 6 9	..	Revenue.	current Set- tlement.						
14	14	..	Number of cases.	For						
138 2 8	138 2 8	..	Extent in acres.	life.						
166 8 2	166 8 2	..	Revenue.	ever.						
20	20	..	Number of cases.							
300 2 32	300 2 32	..	Extent in acres.							
221 1 0	221 1 0	..	Revenue.							
171	171	..	Number of cases.							
2,811 2 24	2,811 2 24	..	Extent in acres.							
2,467 3 0	2,467 3 0	..	Revenue.							
628	626	2	Number of cases.	Resumed.						
14,920 2 16	10,736 3 24	4,183 2 32	Extent in acres.	For period of						
8,301 6 2	8,240 6 2	55 0 0	Revenue.	current Set- tlement.						
730	730	..	Number of cases.	For						
16,431 2 24	16,431 2 24	..	Extent in acres.	life.						
7,572 11 7	7,572 11 7	..	Revenue.	ever.						
284	284	..	Number of cases.							
2,384 1 24	2,384 1 24	..	Extent in acres.							
1,782 13 0	1,782 13 0	..	Revenue.							
676	652	24	Number of cases.							
51,895 1 24	11,402 0 24	39,693 1 0	Extent in acres.							
12,309 0 0	10,191 0 0	2,118 0 0	Revenue.							
2,318	2,293	26	Number of cases.							
84,832 0 8	40,955 0 16	43,876 3 32	Extent in acres.							
29,965 14 9	27,792 14 9	2,173 0 0	Revenue.	Grand total dispo- sed of.						

A,—2

*Statement of Zemindars' enams disposed of by Commissioner,
Nerbudda Division.*

	Number.	Area in acres.		Assessment of 20 years Settlement.		New Assessment.		Quit-rent fixed.	
		A.	R. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Whole villages.. ..	38	71 659	3 0	3 745	2 4	5 353	0 0	1 039	8 0
Plots	329	9 800	0 0	5 108	3 0	6 660	13 6	1 440	8 0
Total ..	367	81 459	3 0	8 853	5 4	11 419	13 6	2 480	0 0

297. So many of the ryots having thus acquired rights of property in their holdings few of the remainder were found to fulfil the conditions which would entitle them to be secured in the right of absolute occupancy at fixed rates, under the terms of the Government orders conveyed in Settlement Commissioner's Circular No. 14 of 1868. In all khalsa (kham) and settled villages the same terms of tenure as would bring them into this class have made them proprietors. Old Jageer villages, in which no proprietary ryots were created, have also been exempted from the application of the absolute occupancy rule, in accordance with Settlement Commissioner's No. 1099 of 25th May 1868 to my address, as the status it conveys is so nearly of a proprietary nature, that it would have distinctly infringed on the rights long enjoyed by these Jageerdars. Thus it is only in the villages hitherto held under farming leases (para. 275) that this tenure could exist, and most of these villages having been quite lately reclaimed from the waste, they are not numerous even in them.

298. The period of occupancy of every other ryot has been attested, by consent of both ryots and proprietors, or in case of dispute ascertained on the best procurable evidence and recorded. Those of 12 years' occupancy and upwards have been stated to possess a right of occupancy under Act X of 1859, which statement however, possesses, I believe no legal force, independently of its value as evidence in case of dispute.

B.
Statement of "tanka" and "moonah" holdings in Nindri.

Total	Plots	Whole villages	Resumed.			Released on quitte rent.		
			Total number of cases.	Area in acres.	Old assessment.	Total number of cases.	Area in acres.	Old assessment.
536	528	8						
31,881 1 24	19,661 0 39	12,220 0 32						
11,574 6 9	9,966 8 9	1,607 14 0						
14,909 4 7	11,413 4 7	3,496 0 0						
..						
..						
..						
..						
1	..	1						
1,406 0 16	..	1,406 0 16						
12 8 0	..	12 8 0						
125 0 0	..	125 0 0						
521	521	..						
19,249 1 0	19,249 1 0	..						
9,841 8 9	9,841 8 9	..						
11,226 12 7	11,226 12 7	..						
14	7	7						
11,226 0 8	411 3 32	10,814 0 16						
1,720 6 0	125 0 0	1,595 6 0						
3,557 8 0	186 8 0	3,371 0 0						
536	528	8						
31,881 1 24	19,661 0 39	12,220 0 32						
11,574 6 9	9,966 8 9	1,607 14 0						
14,909 4 7	11,413 4 7	3,496 0 0						

299. The following Statement will show distinctly the result of these enquiries into proprietary right and rights of occupancy, exclusive of holders of alienated lands recommended for release:—

Tenure of villages before re-Settlement.	Number of villages.	Superior proprietors and recorded shareholders and area of home farms.		Proprietary ryots.		Absolute occupancy ryots at fixed rents.		Tenants with right of occupancy under Act X. of 1859.		Tenants at will.	
		Number.	Acreage.	Number.	Acreage.	Number.	Acreage.	Number.	Acreage.	Number.	Acreage.
Khalsa (Kham Tehseel) ...	130	315	9 034	2 372	35 137	78	2 331	161	1 578	1 038	14 385.
Settled for 20 years ...	373	699	27 094	5 186	1 23 484	..	..	1 265	25 126	3 310	7 674
Held on farming lease ...	71	95	4 177	59	1 103	114	3 857	72	1 389	540	8 782
Old Jageer ...	48	63	959	5	107	26	545	151	4 577	102	5 532
New Jageer ...	16	13	182	67	1 909	..	..	27	591	89	1 941
Life Jageer ...	2	2	155	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	711
Quit-rent ...	5	19	842	18	475	62	1 307	17	235	55	691
Total...	645	1 206	42 443	7 707	1 62 215	316	8 040	1 693	33 496	5 364	92 216.

All other minor rights and interests investigated and recorded at the Settlement, will find a place further on under the heading of "preparation of record" (para. 483 *et seq.*); and in the meantime I must pass on to describe the other portion of the work leading up to assessment.

CHAPTER XI.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM AND STATISTICS.*

300. Of the 3,250 square miles estimated to be the area of the district, 1,356 only have been included in the estates in which private rights of property have been recognised. The remaining 1,894 square miles of utterly waste land have been declared the property of the State. Of the area thus brought under Settlement 310,366 acres or 36 per cent have been found to be cultivated, 345,786, or 39 per cent culturable waste, and 211,693 or 25 per cent incapable of any sort of cultivation. The latter will be thought extremely large; but I think that the description of the physical conformation of the district which I have given (para 10). will abundantly account for the fact, I even fear that some of the land returned as culturable, is in fact, not so; and at all events, I am sure that what error there is, has been in this direction rather than in the other. The well cultivated portions of the district are chiefly massed in three tracts, namely, the open Taptee valley round Boorhanpore, the valley round Khundwa drained by the Sookta, Abna, and Woma, and the valley of the Nerbudda in the north-west corner of the district. It will be understood, however, from what has been said in the first Chapter, that even these are much broken up by rocky and scrubjunglelands, while even the remotest tracts of the district have a greater or less number of cultivated villages scattered through them. Some idea of the position of the chief cultivated and waste tracts may be had from the accompanying map. The waste land excluded from the settled area will be described further on.

301. The geological structure and basis of the soils of the district have been described in the first Chapter (para. 11 *et seq.*) and it was then shown how extremely varied is the depth and richness of the culturable crust, according as it lies in the flat valley bottoms, or on the exposed sides and summits of the intervening ridges. But though thus infinitely varying in quality, the soil has long been ranged by the people under a few main heads, according to the nature of the crops usually grown.

302. *Gutta* is the best of all; lying along the flat banks of the streams, and composed of rich black mould, the produce of the decomposed trap and decayed vegetable matter brought down from the higher grounds; from four to ten feet deep, and extremely tenacious of moisture. In ordinary

* All the following statistics refer to the District, exclusive of Chandgurrh and Selanee north of the Nerbudda, an area of about 90 square miles, in which Settlement operations have been suspended, pending negotiations for exchange of territory with Holkar.

years it produces two crops without irrigation, that is, in the *khureef* (monsoon or autumn) harvest, rice, or some of the inferior water-loving species of *Panicum*. If it is good enough for rice the gutta is called *Sil-gutta*,—from the Persian name of that grain. After this crop has been reaped, and the ground has dried enough on the surface to be broken with the harrow plough (*bukkur*), a *rubbee* (spring) crop of wheat, gram, or some of the inferior pulses is sown, according to the quality of the land. Thus *gutta* is after all a very wide term. It may be good enough to yield a double crop of rice and wheat, 1,400 lbs. of grain to the acre, worth from 50 to 60 rupees; or produce, on the other hand, only some 900 lbs. of *sawah* and *mussoor*, worth about 35 rupees. This fertile soil unfortunately forms only 3·1 per cent of the whole.

303. The next in point of fertility of the recognised classes of soil is *gohalee*, or wheat land, that is, *Gohalee, or 2nd class.* land which will usually yield a spring crop of wheat or pulse without irrigation. It is in fact the common black-soil of Hoshungabad and Nursingpore in the upper Nerbudda valley. The absence of open plains makes it rare in Nimar, though in most villages there is a small patch of it, not low enough to be *gutta*, and yet too wet for a monsoon crop of jowar, &c. In a few spots towards the more open parts of the Nerbudda and Taptee valleys there are larger tracts of this soil,—the commencement in both valleys of fine plains of magnificent *gohalee*, in Khandeish and Holkar's Nimar, scarcely surpassed by that of Hoshungabad itself. Within Nimar, in the desolated upper Taptee valley, there is also a great deal of this class of soil. There the fever-proof Korkoos here and there clear it of its dense overgrowth of jungle, and raise the finest possible crops of wheat; but otherwise it is now wholly untilled. Cultivation is, however, now creeping up to its edge on the Zeinabad side of the valley, and is just nibbling at the rich lands of Seerpore,—an immense village that in Moghul times paid a revenue of 17,000 rupees, now settled, after excluding the majority of the waste, for Rs. 300. Doubtless this rich tract will ere long, perhaps during the Settlement now commencing, once more present the appearance, as it did in the time of the Moghul, of a "sea of golden wheat." *Gohalee* does not usually yield wheat every year, but has a rotation of gram or other pulse, and the lighter sorts even of an autumn sowing of jowar (para. 320). The best *gohalee* will yield 800 lbs. of wheat to the acre for many years in succession. On the other hand, the worst will only yield wheat in unusually copious rainy seasons, and then only some 400 or 500 lbs. In ordinary years pulses are sown, yielding about 500 lbs per acre. Thus the value of this soil also varies greatly. It forms at present only 7·2 per cent of the cultivated area.

304. The third great sub-division of soils is *mal-bhoom*, or, shortly, *mâl*. This word means properly an elevated and tolerably level plateau, and is the root of the name of Malwa. *Mâl-bhoom* is the soil of such a plateau,

Mâl, or 3rd Class.

and has been contracted into *mâl*. The soil is usually only about one or two feet deep, of a hard consistency, being unleavened by the vegetable mould present in the first two classes, dark brown in colour, and more or less mixed with fine *kunkur* (nodular limestone), or quartz pebbles from the trap. It generally rests on a sub-soil of *moorum* (partially decomposed trap), or of the yellow alluvium called *mân*, but sometimes lies directly on rock. Its peculiarity is good drainage, both from its elevated and partially sloping situation, and from its small depth and pervious sub-soil. This feature, while wholly unfitting it for the spring crops of wheat, &c., which depend on the late retention of the monsoon moisture, admirably adapts it to produce every sort of crop grown during the actual downpour of the monsoon. Some of it is the finest possible soil for the *bunnee* (autumn) crop of cotton, the only one grown in Nimar. But its staple product in Nimar is *jowar* (*Sorghum*), which is the food of the people throughout the district. *Mâl* forms 54 per cent of the whole cultivated area. It requires, and usually receives, a rotation system of culture. The staples, *jowar* and *toor-dhal* (*Cajanus*), are grown on the best *mâl* in alternate years with cotton, or sometimes two years of the former to one of the latter. In poorer *mâl* a fallow or manure is required every fourth year, and lighter crops, such as *bajree* (*Panicum Italicum*) or *tillee* (*Sesamum*), alternate with the more exhausting staples. Inferior *mâl* is also liable to total failure of crop in deficient rainy seasons. The best *mâl*, on the other hand, nearly passes into *gohulee*. In copious rainy seasons it will yield wheat, or at least pulses; and if, through deficiency or excess of rain, the autumn harvest should be a failure, a spring crop can usually be secured. Instead of fallowing or resorting to lighter crops, therefore, every fourth or fifth year, as is required in the poorer sorts of *mâl*, the land is relieved by a change from the autumn to the spring crop (that is to a more paying one) whenever the rain-fall will admit of it. Thus the class *mâl* is also found to include a very wide range of degrees of fertility.

305. The last of the main recognised classes of soil is *kührah* (or *Kührah*, or 4th Class. *Kurrur*, as it is sometimes pronounced). It is the highest lying and poorest of all. From a few inches to a foot in depth, resting on *moorum* or rock, and sloping rapidly. It is generally similar in texture to *mâl*, but is sometimes a reddish iron clay, like the laterite soil of Seonee and Chindwara, though, as there is no sign of laterite in Nimar, it is probably formed by the oxydation of some ferruginous element in the trap. It is much more intermixed with limestone nodules and trap pebbles than *mâl*; and is, moreover, generally covered thickly with the round trap boulders described as found on the higher lands of the district (para. 12). It is a curious fact, however, that the removal of these boulders does not increase the fertility of this land. I am sure of this, both from the universal belief of the people, and from experiments made by Deputy Collector Fuzi-ool-kadir on his own estate in Hoshungabad. The reason of it evidently is

the protection they afford to so thin a soil against the drying up power of the sun. Kuhrah will only produce such crops as rapidly ripen during the height of the monsoon, such as mukka (Indian-corn), tillee oil-seed (*Sesamum*), bajree (Italian millet), and the semi-cultivated grasses known as kodoo, kootkee, &c., or at best some of the commoner sorts of jowar, or a little poor cotton, once in three or four years. It is seldom cultivated for more than three or four seasons, often for only two, when it is called *do-sala*; the course of cropping being, 1st year tillee, 2nd bajra, or kootkee or inferior jowar or cotton, 3rd the same, then fallow for two seasons, or perhaps one season more of tillee or bajree before it is abandoned for another clearing

306. In addition to these four main classes of soil, a few minor ones are recognised. *Mân* is the denuded light yellow alluvium before described (para. 13) as underlying the darker top soils in some of the more open valleys. This is usually of great depth, extremely friable, and very pervious to moisture, and is therefore well suited to the cultivation of the deep-striking dye plant called *âl* (*Morinda citrifolia*), which is the only article I have ever seen cultivated in pure mân land. With a thin covering of brown soil, however, the lighter rain crops may be grown.

307. *Pandur* is the name of a light colored soil formed chiefly of the *debris* of old mud walls on the sites of villages. It is usually impregnated with fertilising organic matter, and near inhabited villages receives constant manuring from the village cattle going out and coming home from grazing. It is much valued as producing the finest crops of tobacco, ganja (hemp), chillies, &c.

308. *Atur-patha* is a thin layer of brown soil resting on a rock basin, which retains water. If the rains continue steady a tolerable crop of the lighter monsoon grains can be raised on it; but a drought of any length at once dries up the scarcely rooted plant on this soil.

309. The imperfectly trained hands we have to use in measurement and classification of soils, and the speed which is expected in these operations, render impossible, as I have already remarked (para. 259), a minute valuation of soils; and I accordingly confined my classification to the four main classes described, viz:—1st gutta, 2nd gohalee, 3rd mâl, 4th kuhrah; mân and pandur being classed with mâl, and atur-patha with kuhrah. In the pergunnahs last measured, however, I sub-divided mâl into 1st and 2nd sorts, with considerable advantage, making

the 1st sort include all mál that occasionally yields a rubbee (spring) crop. The result of this classification is as follows, in percentages of the whole cultivated area :—

I. Gutta.	II. Gohalee.	III. Mál.	IV. Kuhrah.
3·1	7·2	54	35·7

310. All these soils are to some extent manured and irrigated.

Manure. The value of manure is thoroughly appreciated in Nimar. Every cultivator has his manure heap, and much of this material produced by the cattle of non-cultivators is also purchased for their land by the cultivators. Much is, however, wasted from various causes. One is the bad system of keeping it in loose heaps exposed to the atmosphere, instead of in closed pits. Another is the temptation, in the open parts where firewood is scarce, to use it as fuel,—a temptation much increased, if report speaks the truth, since a tax has been imposed on firewood brought from the forests. In illustration of the value here set on manure, I may adduce a custom I found prevailing in some places, where the poorer cultivators turn out with baskets in the morning, when the village cattle are first let loose, and the first of them *who sees a tail raised* and calls out, is deemed to have a right to catch that portion of the precious fertiliser, if he can! A story is told with keen enjoyment by the people of a certain zealous Malgoozar who put up the conservancy Darogah to complain of some of his villagers keeping filth in the neighbourhood of the village site, and getting an order to remove the obnoxious heaps at the cost of the delinquents, which he did, on to his own home farm! The amount of manure applied to the land depends of course on the number of cattle a cultivator can keep; but as a rule he tries, if possible, to manure each field of gohalee or gutta once in three or four years. Mál and kuhrah are more usually treated to a fallow instead. A substitute for a manuring is sometimes resorted to in the shape of a green soiling of *sunn*, hemp (*Crotaria*), the tall stalks of which are ploughed into the soil, resulting in a vigorous crop of cereals for the succeeding two years.

311. The geological structure and physical conformation of the district have been described (para. 15) as particularly favourable to irrigation, both by wells and from dams across the numerous streams.

312. The water-bearing stratum is reached by wells in most parts at from 10 to 20 feet from the surface. In some parts there is a supply up to the month of March within 10 or 12 feet. In the more open valleys of the Taptee

and Nerbudda it is not reached at all within 90 or 100 feet; and, as in all trap formations, occasional instances are found where some unsoundness in the underlying rock deprives the surface strata of all water accessible by wells. The neighbourhood of the Khundwa Civil Station is an unfortunate instance of this. In many places there is nothing to get through to reach the water but moorum (partially disintegrated trap), in others hard trap is come upon which cannot be overcome except by blasting, which the common ryot seldom attempts. A masonry lining is seldom required at first, except where there is deep black or mân soil; but without a retaining wall the moorum soon decomposes and slips into the well, which thus gradually widens, and requires annual repairs, or after some years may even have to be abandoned. It costs about Rs. 40 at present rates to sink a well through 15 feet of moorum, and Rs. 400 to thoroughly line it with masonry, which is very seldom done. The ordinary *mote*, or leathern bag, drawn by a pair of bullocks walking down an inclined plain, with painful retrogression up the same, is the only method employed for raising the water from wells. I do not recollect noticing in other districts a fashion they have here of lightening the labour of the ox, by placing a bundle of *methee* or some other succulent fodder at the bottom of the incline, on reaching which at each turn one scanty mouthful is allowed. The annual cost of mote and ropes and wooden fittings is about Rs. 8. An average sized mote holds $5\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet of water, and is raised about once a minute in a 15 feet well. A pair of bullocks can work nine hours a day, so that the discharge is 2,870 cubic feet per diem. An ordinary flooding of one acre takes about 15,000 cubic feet of water, so that about five days are required to flood that area of land. Spring crops require four such floodings, and therefore take twenty days' labour of one pair of bullocks per acre fully irrigated. One man can work the mote and bullocks, with a double rope to regulate the discharge; and one additional hand, who may be a woman or boy, is generally engaged in arranging the flow of water in the field; but is often dispensed with, the bullock man doing this as well.

313. A dam across a small stream for irrigation is called a *pât*. It is composed of heavy stones and brush-wood puddled with clay, and is removed each year to allow the force of the monsoon floods to pass, and replaced about November for the irrigation of the rubbee (spring) crop, which is the only crop (except garden and sugarcane) irrigated in Nimar. It costs little to make, with the united labour of all concerned, and is very effective for cold weather irrigation. It is usually built slanting across the stream, the channel being led out at the lower end. This channel is a mere ditch cleared out annually. It sometimes runs a mile or more before reaching such a level as to command the land for irrigation. The average area watered by each *pât* is very small, namely 17 acres. There are 36 usually going, but the number varies a good deal with the amount of the rain-fall. This rough but

Channel irrigation (*Patus-thul*).

effective system of irrigation is much practised, I believe, in Afghanistan and other Mahomedan countries, and seems to have been introduced in India by the Moghuls wherever they ruled.

314. The physical conformation of northern Nimar does not appear to be favourable for the construction of irrigation tanks. The porosity of the sub-soil, and the feature common I believe to all trap countries, of unsoundness in the underlying rocks, admit of such an amount of percolation as to render the retention of water in high level tanks a matter of great difficulty. Thus of the numerous tanks constructed or repaired by the District officer in 1846, only one is now of any use for direct irrigation. Another result aimed at by the construction of many of those tanks has, however, been partially attained, namely, the retention of moisture near the surface so that it can be tapped by shallow wells in some places, where, owing to peculiar features, water was very scarce at reasonable depths in the hot weather. On the whole, however, I fear a great deal of the money then spent was quite thrown away, save in so far as it gave employment to the people in a time of considerable scarcity.

315. The solitary instance of a successful irrigating tank in the district is the Luchora reservoir in pergunnah Beria, which irrigates from 170 to 250 acres of the land of Kusba Beria, according to the amount of the rain-fall supply. This reservoir was originally constructed by the Ghoree kings of Mandoo, and consists of a large earth-work *bund* thrown across the mouth of a valley in the low hills which bound the open Nerbudda valley to the south. It could never have paid anything like a fair percentage on its original cost. The water that can be stored is generally but little more than is required for the above small area, though an additional extent of land in Holkar's adjoining villages of Bhatoor and Sekunderkheree might be irrigated, were the bund strengthened so as to retain the whole of the ordinary water-supply available. The repairs in 1846 consisted of closing up the gap which had formed in the bund, and constructing a masonry sluice and other works of delivery, and a masonry channel for a considerable part of the distance over which the water has to be led to the lands of Beria. The channel runs right through the bazaar town of Beria, and has been no doubt of great benefit to the place. It has also yielded a good return of profit on the cost of repairs, which was Rs. 5,000. The revenue due to the water received during the Settlement amounts to Rs. 495, or nearly 10 per cent per annum. This is perhaps the most remarkable instance in the district of the effects of manure and water. The soil is naturally very light *mâl*, and a great part of it mere *kuhrah* of the poorest sort. Yet by manuring every second or third year, and with the abundant supply of tank water they have (which has not the defects of that led directly from streams), twelve-fold returns of wheat are regularly got, and in

intermediate years heavy crops of gram and other pulses. "If you manure and water a stone," said a Beria Koonbee to me, "it will yield something."

316. In addition to this tank two masonry dams (*Bundan*) across the river Abna were constructed about the same time by the District officer. They were not quite so successful as the Luchora scheme in a revenue point of view. That at monzah Kharwa cost Rs. 2,407, irrigates about 57 acres, and has paid Rs 2,396 in 21 years, or not quite 5 per cent on its cost. That at Kondia is still smaller. Another dam was commenced across the Abna river at Siloda, about eight miles above Khudwa, but was never finished, owing to the failure of funds. The labour of one hand only, to regulate the field channels, is required in channel irrigation either from tanks or river dams.

317. The total area under irrigation from all these sources is still only 8,411 acres, or not quite 3 per cent of the whole cultivated area. This is a considerable increase on the breadth irrigated previous to the commencement of good administration in 1846. I cannot get statistics of the channel irrigation at that time which can be compared with those now ascertained. But the well irrigation of those pergunnahs which still belong to the district seems to have then amounted to only 2,327 acres, while it is now 7,423 acres,—an increase of 220 per cent. The increase since last Settlement of irrigation, both well and channel, in the settled pergunnahs, has been from 4,995 to 7,413 acres, or 46 per cent,—a result not perhaps unsatisfactory, but still much below what might have been attained, had the flood gates of capital been fully opened by the "magic of property."

318. Contrary to an opinion often expressed, well water is here considered to be more fertilising than that of streams. A difference of one Nimaree maund (128 lbs.) per acre in an irrigated wheat crop (or about 13 per cent of the maximum yield) is said to represent their respective values. The people say the channel water is too cold. I should be inclined to attribute this circumstance to two causes; first, that the small streams rapidly running off the almost denuded hills, bring down comparatively little fertilising matter in suspension, as the more sluggish streams of Upper India do, while the trees which usually overhang the wells contribute a considerable amount of such matter to their water; and secondly, that the channel water, where several cultivators have to be served, cannot be given to the fields exactly as it is required, and often lies all night on the surface of the sodden ground, thus tending to rot the stems, while well water can be given in such amount, and at such times as is wanted, and in the day time, when the heat of the sun aids it in rapidly percolating to the roots, the stems being kept dry by evaporation.

Crops and staples.

319. The following are the chief crops and staples of the autumn and spring harvests:—

320. Jowar (*Sorghum vulgare*) is, as I have said, the staple crop of the autumn harvest. A great number of

Autumn (khureef) harvest.
Jowar.

varieties of it are recognised as possessing distinct qualities in the matters of weight of crop, time of ripening, hardness in season of drought, and flavour when eaten. The best of these, grown only on the best māl land, are *Houree*, *Amnerree*, *Silwa*, *Goorgei Andlei*, and *Doodmogar*; the poorest, which are always sown on kuhrah, or inferior māl, are *Hoglei*, *Santei*, *Ayya-Kondul*, and *Sat-panee* (which will ripen with only seven showers). There are about twenty more besides these, and I believe that these distinctions are not imaginary, but really form a part of the agricultural knowledge of the people. Jowar is sown with the *teefun*, or drill, as soon as the first rains have sufficiently moistened the land, and the appearance of the weather indicates continued rain. This period ranges between 15th June and 15th July.* It requires to be weeded once or twice, according to the strength of the soil in breeding weeds, and at the same time the plants are thinned out till they stand about 1½ foot apart. As they shoot up very rapidly, they soon top the weeds, and require no further attention. Jowar is held to be an exhausting crop, and is seldom sown in successive seasons on the same land; the alternating crops being cotton, toor, or some of the pulses, if the land is good enough. The different species ripen at different times, but cutting usually commences about 15th November, and all are generally reaped by the end of December. The quantity of seed sown is from 6 to 10 lbs. and the yield varies from about 150 lbs. only on the poorest kuhrah soil, to 700 lbs. or more on the strong māl land of the Taptee valley. On average māl the yield may be about 400 lbs. but I should incline to estimate the average yield for the whole district at about 350 lbs. per acre, which is a return of about forty-fold. Besides this, the stalks (*kurbee*) form a valuable cattle fodder, fetching when sold, which is rarely the case, about 4 or 5 rupees per acre. 45 per cent of the whole cultivated area is devoted to this crop, which forms the staple food of all classes of the people. The heads are eaten largely at harvest time, simply roasted in the field; but it is usually made into unleavened cakes and eaten with pulse, or gram flour, and *ghee* (clarified butter). It is much lighter than wheat, and extremely digestible, so that a good deal greater weight of it than of wheat forms the average ration of a working man.

321. I need not describe at length the minor grains grown on the same principle as jowar. They are chiefly

Minor autumn cereals.
bajree (*Panicum Italicum*) and mukka, or
Indian-corn (*Zea Mays*), with, in the wilder tracts, a number of small

* It is held that the most favourable time for the bursting of the monsoon is during the astrological period called the *Miry Nukshutra*, which comprises thirteen days of *Jeth Sooda*.

half reclaimed grasses termed khodoo, kootkee, ralee, &c. They are sown on the poorest soils and form the food of the poorest classes of the people. The light kuhrah land is first roughly cleared of bushes and scratched with a light plough, a few handfuls of seed are then scattered broadcast with the first rains, and reaped in October before the sun has scorched up the scarcely rooted crop. The yield of bajree is not more than 170 lbs. per acre, and of the inferior grains from 80 to 100 lbs.

322. Rice is not at present grown as an irrigated crop, nor is it ever transplanted. A *Sal-gutta*, or rice field, must lie in a hollow, and be well banked up to retain the water at its places of exist; the water from higher lying land being, as much as possible, led into it. Each field is in fact a miniature tank. The soil is very thoroughly worked up during the early rain-fall. The seed, about 100 lbs. to the acre, is sown in drills with the first rain, and, except an occasional weeding, nature does the rest. It is reaped in October and November; the yield on good land is about 1,200 lbs. of *paddy* (unhusked rice) to the acre, or twelve-fold. *Munki-Manee* (a return of a *manee* or 12 *maunds* to a *maund* of seed) has indeed become proverbial, both about rice and irrigated wheat, and is the best possible proof that such is really the usual yield. The Nimar rice is large and white, and is considered inferior as a table rice, only to that grown in Baitool and the upper Taptee valley. There are several varieties of it, and a number of inferior grains grown on the same principle on inferior gutta lands, called *sawah*, *chola*, &c.,—all I believe, species of *Panicum*. Their yield is much less than that of rice,—not more than 400 or 500 lbs per acre.

323. Although there is a large area well fitted for growing cotton in Nimar, yet the actual breadth under that staple is only 31,952 acres, or 10 per cent of the whole cultivated area. Taking *mâl* land as all fit for cotton, which it is, only one-fifth of this is found to be under that crop, whereas one-half of this area might each year be devoted to it. The chief reasons of this are doubtless the necessity under which the district lies of raising its own food (*jowar*) on the same land, and the inferior quality of the indigenous staple, which causes the profits of its cultivation to be less than that of the crops actually grown. The fibre of the Nimar cotton is short and coarse, and the quantity is only one-fourth of the weight of uncleaned *kupaa*. Average *mâl* land will not yield more than 160 lbs. of *kupas* (uncleaned cotton) to the acre, which gives about 40 lbs. clean fibre and 120 lbs. seed, worth to the cultivator Rs. 9-8-0; while an acre of similar land yields 400 lbs. *jowar*, worth Rs. 8, and cattle fodder invaluable to the Nimar farmer, who always keeps breeding cattle, and which, if sold, would produce Rs. 4. This gives Rs. 12 per acre for the whole crop, being an advantage over cotton of Rs. 2-8-0 per acre. Besides this, *jowar* requires less labour in weeding than cotton, and is much more certain of a regular market. The quality of the cotton must there-

fore be greatly improved before the Nimaree ryot will produce it, excepting as an alternative crop, and for local purposes. Some attempt was made in this direction in 1867, by the general distribution of Hingunghat seed in the Boorhanpore tehseel. The produce was of excellent quality, as testified in the accompanying extract from the report of the Cotton Commissioner for 1867:—

“ 44. Of the capabilities of the southern part of Nimar to grow good cotton, the following evidence of Mr. Vix, of the Firm of Messrs. Jules Siegfried and Co., who purchase largely for the foreign market, supplies abundant proof:—

“ In reply to your enquiries I beg to state that I purchased in Bombay last February about 100 bales of cotton which came from Boorhanpore. This cotton was shipped overland to Marseilles, and was sold in France at about 147 francs per 50 killogrammes, equal to about 12½d. per lb. Fair new Hingunghat would have fetched at that time scarcely a better price.

“ The manufacturer who purchased this cotton was so well satisfied with its quality that he sent out an order for about 500 bales more of the same description.

“ I consider that cotton similar to these 100 bales will always command in the European markets about 3d. more than the cotton from Hoshungabad, or about Rs. 90 to Rs. 100 per Bombay candy.

“ If the natives of that part of India could be induced to extend the cultivation of this kind of cotton, I believe that it would result in a great advantage to the cotton trade.

“ From my own experience of the spinning of cotton, I consider that a quality of cotton similar to the 100 bales abovementioned, say from fair to good fair, is equal to middling Upland, and not much inferior to middling New Orleans.”

Some fields gave a yield of 60 to 70 lbs. to the acre; but the arrangements were scarcely complete, and the seed arrived too late. The season was also generally unfavourable to cotton, and the average yield was poor. The Hingunghat crops did not suffer more than others, and the impression left by the experiment was not unfavourable. The price of cotton generally unfortunately fell greatly in that year; and from the slackness of demand, and the comparatively small quantity of the improved staple brought into the market, the ryots got no better price for it than for the indigenous cotton. A good deal of the seed of this crop was again sown in 1868, and the general impression is that the produce had deteriorated in a single year. The people are, however, by no means averse to improvement in this direction, many of them bringing improved seed from Khandeish of their own accord; and I am sure that, supposing the difficulty of deterioration to be overcome, much good might be done by judicious and really well arranged measures for intro-

ducing a better staple.* Cotton is sown and reaped about the same time as jowar. As it does not early attain any considerable height, it requires more weeding and banking up with the *kolpa* (bullock hoe). The process of gathering the pods is a most negligent one,—most of them being allowed to drop and get discoloured on the ground. It is the worst feature perhaps in the husbandry of Nimar; but they urge in excuse that it would not pay to keep people running up and down to the cotton fields every day for a month or so, where so little is grown, and the return is so small. The process of cleaning is the same as in other parts of the country.

324. Tillee (*Sesamum indicum*), the plant that yields the *gingely* oil-seed of commerce, has a sensible position among the products of the district. It is both a spring and autumn crop,—the former variety being called *mooghei*, and the latter *howree* tillee. The latter greatly preponderates in extent. It is essentially the crop of newly cleared land and poor cultivators, as it pays inferior cultivation perhaps better than any other crop. The ground only requires to be partially cleared and scarcely turned with the plough; a mere handful of seed sows an acre, it is only once partially weeded, wild animals wont eat it till quite ripe, and it yields about 200 lbs. of seed per acre on the poorest kuhrah land, worth to the cultivator about 8 rupees. The total expense of cultivation may be 4 rupees per acre, a considerable portion of which should be charged to the succeeding year's crops of bajree or jowar, as it consists chiefly of clearing the land of jungle. The oil is expressed for local consumption in the rudest of mills, holding at each operation about 18 lbs. of seed, which results in 6 lbs. of oil and 12 of oil cake (*khull*). The oil presser charges 1½ anna for this operation, and thus makes about 7 annas a day for himself and the worn out bullock that turns the mill. The mill has no exit for the oil at bottom, both oil and cakes coming out together at the top; water is freely used to facilitate the process, and thus the oil is of the worst possible quality.

325. The other rain crops form an inappreciable portion of the whole produce, and I need not refer to them here in detail.

326. Toor (*Cajanus indicus*) is an intermediate crop between the autumn and the spring harvests. It is sown with the autumn crops, and sometimes also reaped with them. But it is subject to the attack of a caterpillar (*Mlee*), which usually destroys the first crop of pods, and in that case a second crop has to be waited for, which is usually not ready until the

* I have arranged to sow the whole of Boorhanpore tehsael with Hingunghat seed, in 1869.

end of February or March. Toor grows remarkably well in Nimar, particularly in the Taptee valley, where I have seen some fields (manured) in which a man on horseback was hidden to the shoulders. The yield of *dhall* (the pea) in such a field would be 500 or 600 lbs to the acre; but it averages less than this, about 300 lbs. per acre. Its price is usually about 25 per cent higher than that of jowar, but the value of its straw, or rather woody stems, is much less. The cattle graze them down as they stand, and the sticks are used for thatching, or burnt; but they cannot be cut and stored for the season of scarce pasturage like *kurbee*. Thus it does not pay so well as jowar, and is only grown on account of the necessity for a rotation.

327. The term "rubbee" is used in Nimar for "harvest" generally, not for the spring harvest in particular, which is always called *kutan*.
The spring harvest.

328. The chief crop of this harvest is wheat. The Nimar wheat is all red, and is termed *kutya* and *chowdhara*.
Wheat. Hoshungabad wheat is distinguished by the name of *bunsee*. (pedigree), weighs more for the same measure, and when sold by measure its price is from 5 to 10 per cent higher in the market. As already remarked (para. 303), there is very little land in Nimar that will grow a crop of wheat unirrigated. When it is so raised its cultivation differs in no respect from that of the upper Nerbudda valley, so thoroughly described in the Hoshungabad Settlement Report. As it is not grown except on the best black gohalée, and never in successive years on the same land, I would estimate the average yield per acre rather higher than in Hoshungabad. Here an average crop is expected to yield 600 lbs. per acre unirrigated, and in some very favourable cases, such as the partly dried up beds of tanks, and gutta land, the yield is often as much as 800 lbs. About 82 lbs. of seed go to the acre, so that the average return would be $7\frac{1}{2}$ fold, and the highest nearly 10 fold. Except in these superior lands wheat is never sown unless it can be irrigated. The Nimar Koonbee revels in a good irrigated wheat field; and I am certain that it is a species of crop that must rapidly extend, if irrigation is duly fostered, for Nimar does not now produce nearly enough wheat for the local consumption. Wheat thoroughly irrigated from wells yields about 12 fold or 984 lbs. per acre; from running streams the yield is said to be about 11 fold or 902 lbs per acre. Three or four waterings are usually given, according to the copiousness or otherwise of the natural rain-fall. The first is given sometimes before sowing, if the land has been allowed to dry, but generally 18 or 20 days after sprouting; the rest at intervals of about 15 days. The rule is never to delay so long as to let the ground split deeply, in which case much more water is required. Repeated experiments, both on well and channel irrigation, have satisfied me that an ordinary watering of wheat takes about 15,000 cubic feet of water, that is 60,000 cubic feet for the season.

329. The great thing dreaded by the cultivator of irrigated wheat

is the *gerwa* or red rust. The *Busunt Punchmes* festival on 5th of Magh (about the first week in December) is looked on as a sort of St. Swithin's day by the wheat grower, and if cloudy weather and showers do not then set in there is little chance of the *gerwa* making its appearance. The state of the ear at this period has also a great deal to do with it. If just formed, or, as they say, "in the milk," it is much more likely to be damaged than either earlier or later sown wheat, when the ear is either not formed or strong and set into grain. I can imagine nothing more overwhelming to the farmer than to see his vigorous and golden wheat field, reaching to his waist, stricken by the rust, drooping, blotched and turning the colour of brick dust. Though attacking unirrigated wheat also to some extent, its devastations are far more terrible in the irrigated crop. In this respect it resembles the *Puccinia graminis*, or red rust, which has lately been committing terrible ravages in Australia. Heat and moisture have been found to be essential to the development of that disease, which is due to a parasitic fungus, the spores of which find entrance through the pores of the wheat when opened by the superabundance of moisture. So in Nimar a crop is often saved from rust at the cost of some diminution of yield, by the timely withholding of the last watering. If it be identical with the Australian rust, it is unsatisfactory to know that, notwithstanding scientific investigation, no cure has been discovered for that. It is a matter of no small importance in connection with the prospect of an extension of irrigation, as I believe that about a quarter of the crop is annually destroyed by it on the average.

330. The spring crops next in importance to wheat are the pulses;

Pulses. viz., gram (*Cicer Arietinum*), mussoor (*Ervum lens*), and Butana (*Pisium Saturim*). These require less and less moisture to ripen them in the order I have placed them, and are accordingly selected to suit the season and the quality of the soil. First-rate mál land will usually take a rotation of one or other of these every fourth year or so; and the soil is said to be so improved thereby as to require no manure. They also form the regular rotation with wheat on gobalee land. They are occasionally, but seldom irrigated. The produce unirrigated is from 500 to 600 lbs. per acre. Irrigation and manuring add to the yield in about the same proportion as in the case of wheat. Only 2½ per cent of the whole area is sown with these crops. The amount of gram produced is quite inadequate to meet the local demand, which, owing to the increase of traffic between the railway and Indore, and the number of mounted troops that march through the district on relief in the cold season, has greatly increased of late years. Last year (1867) a regiment of cavalry encamped for a few days only at Khundwa, and the district was absolutely stripped of gram, and then the supply was insufficient. The Upper Taptee valley, before it

relapsed into desolation, is said to have been proverbial for the fineness of its gram crops; and I certainly saw some fields of this grain raised by the Manjrode Korkoos, in their imperfect fashion, as fine as any I ever saw in India.

331. There are 1,476 acres of linseed altogether, chiefly in Zeinabad pergunnah. It is considered an uncertain crop, and is only grown on the best gohalee land, at intervals of three or four years. The other regular spring crops are insignificant in amount, and do not require remark. I may, however, shortly describe some other crops, which belong exactly to neither regular harvest, and the amount of which may at some period be greatly increased to the advantage of the cultivators in Nimar.

332. I have mentioned the dye plant called *ál* (*Morinda vitrifolia*) as being grown in the denuded *mán* soil of the more open valleys (para. 306). There are only 837 acres of this cultivation at present, but I am told that it is increasing, there being a considerable consumption of the dye in the Nimar cloth factories. It is wholly in the hands of a caste called Alees, who, to maintain their monopoly, excommunicate any of their members found to have sold or given away any of the seed. *Ál* is grown in ordinary light *mál* soil, as well as in pure *mán*, but it requires to have the friable *mán* as a sub-soil at a little depth to receive the delicate root fibres, and enable them to be dug out without breaking. The Alees seldom own cattle, and usually rent a ready prepared field for three years, as their crop cannot be grown successively on the same land, and they practise no other cultivation. The *ál* is sown the first year along with jowaree, both for profit, and to shade it from the sun. It stands alone the second year, and is not gathered till the third. The red dye-stuff resides in the roots, chiefly in the bark of them, and is in greatest quantity in the finest of the root tendrils. The soil is therefore carefully dug out to the extreme depth it penetrates, three or four feet. The land is thus returned to the owner greatly improved by the deep working it has received, and he immediately reaps a magnificent crop of too or cotton from it. The cultivators are therefore by no means averse to rent their land to the Alees, who also pay very high rents for suitable fields ready prepared. I have known 600 rupees paid for 17 acres for the three years' lease, that is Rs. 11-12-0 per acre per annum, and this for land worth a rent, for ordinary purposes, of not more than one rupee an acre. The profit of the cultivation must therefore be very high, though it is quite impossible to ascertain what it really is from the suspicious Alees.

333. There are only 420 acres under sugar-cane. It is an extremely profitable crop, but requires some capital, as the outlay on a cane field is considerable, and there is no return for a year. It is remarkably well suited to much of the land in Nimar, and should greatly extend with security of tenure

and increase of agricultural capital. Indeed, to judge by tradition, and the great number of disused stone sugar mills to be seen in the district, this cultivation must have much fallen off since old times. The cane is sown in lengths of a cubit each in ruts about one foot apart. A curious method prevails of ascertaining the quantity of cane of varying lengths required to sow the old beegah of 100 cubits square. A line 32 cubits long is marked on the ground, and at each end is placed a bundle of 75 canes. The counter then proceeds to march along the line, laying backwards and forwards a double row of canes (not from the bundles of 75) as he goes, and throws off one of the 75 canes at each turn. When both bundles have been removed, you have enough, with them and those you have laid together, to sow one beegah. Supposing the canes to average 5 haths long, 1,950 would be required; and a calculation of the total length of ruts one foot apart in a beegah will be found to give nearly the same result, viz, 2,000 canes. It is probably a much simpler plan of measuring the seed, where the length of the canes varies, than to measure each individual cane till 10,000 haths have been reached, even if the rustic mind possessed the requisite skill in arithmetic.

334. There are 278 acres under opium. Much of the land, particularly in the Nerbudda valley, is well suited for its growth; but we have given away the best opium tract, in which the cultivation was rapidly spreading, to Holkar, who fully appreciates the acquisition. The best land is held to be a light friable gohalee, particularly that which shows signs of a saline efflorescence. It requires to be irrigated six or seventimes during the season, and the work of gathering the *doodh* (milk) which exudes from the slit poppy head, is a long and expensive one. The yield is 10 to 12lbs. per acre, the red flowered species (*lal*) giving less than the white (*dholea*). The Nimar cultivator—so far from the nearest scales—does not get more than Rs. 10 a seer for the thoroughly prepared drug, which gives him a return of only about Rs. 50 per acre for a full crop. There is not much risk in the cultivation, the chief danger being high wind at picking time to rub the heads against each other and knock off the *doodh*. But it is held to pay but little better here than irrigated wheat, the difference in the value of the produce being only about Rs. 18 in favour of the opium, while it requires more thorough preparation of the land, nearly double the irrigation, and costs more to reap, besides the annoyance and cost of having to procure a license, and the necessity of selling only in one market.

335. The betel creeper is still to a small extent grown in Nimar, which was at one time celebrated for its production. The Lall Bagh garden near Boorhanpore was so famous for its pân that Scindia invariably sent for it from Gwalior for his own use, so long as the Lall Bagh was in his territory. For some reason, however, its cultivation was prohibited after we

got the garden; I believe with some object of turning it into a "people's park" for Boorhanpore. It was, however, turned into a rank jungle instead. There are some peculiarities in the Nimar method of cultivation which I have not seen noticed elsewhere. Instead of lasting only two years, as in some parts (*vide* Wurdah Settlement Report), a *pân tanda* once established yields steadily for 10 or 12 years. The ground having been carefully prepared by repeated ploughing and manure, saora trees (*Sesbania argyptiaca*) are sown in rows at the commencement of the monsoon. These shoot rapidly up, and when a few feet high the young betel plants are put in at their roots. Poles of pangra (a species of *Erythrina*) are planted round the garden, and bamboo mats attached to them. Both pangra and saora grow very rapidly, and soon afford sufficient shade. Saora lasts only two or three years, and is then replaced with poles of the *salei* tree (*Boswellia*), the texture of whose bark is said to give a favourable hold to the climbing betel. Teak was used in preference, so long as poles of that wood were procurable. These poles give no shade, but in the meantime plantains have been planted all over the garden, at intervals of 10 or 12 yards, and by this time supply the place of the saoras with their umbrageous leaves. No matting is used overhead, or for partitions, as is the case in some places. Each year after the leaves have been gathered, the creeper is coiled down at the root until only some three feet of it are left above the ground, a fresh root is thus struck, and the old coil is next year cut away altogether. It is irrigated steadily at all seasons except the rains. At the commencement of each hot season (March) the plants are pruned, manure is applied to the roots, and the earth banked up round them. Fresh earth is brought from another field for the purpose, and thus by the end of the 10 or 12 years that the garden lasts the depth of soil has increased by two feet or so. Hemp is sown the year after to clean the land, and then alternate fallows and irrigated spring crops, with liberal manuring for some years, are necessary to bring it into heart again for another turn at *pân*.

236. The vine is cultivated in the neighbourhood of Aseergurh to a small extent. It is a very remunerative, though laborious description of culture.

The vine,

The opening of the railway has greatly extended the market, and the price obtained at the Chandnee railway station, where large quantities are disposed of, is now 5 annas a seer ($3\frac{1}{4}$ per lb.). The grapes are of very excellent quality when thoroughly ripened; but for facility of carriage are generally plucked unripe. The area under this crop may I think be expected to increase. The Aser vine, as well as the Cabul variety, flourish well in the Khundwa public garden.

337. The Nimarees are extremely partial to the establishment of orchards, so that the district is covered with

Fruit gardens.

clumps of mowahs and mangos, and gardens of guayas, plaintains, pomegranates, limes, &c., adding greatly to

the beauty of the country and the convenience of the people. Altogether 227,727 fruit trees, besides peepul, burr, &c., which yield no fruit, have been enumerated in the settled area, or one to every three and a half acres. Near any of the large towns there is no more paying crop than one of fruit trees. It of course requires the investment of some capital during the few years that the young trees are unproductive; but even then a careful planter will cover his expenses by raising grain crops along with the trees. The latter should be put in 15 or 20 feet apart, and as they grow, their lower branches should be cut away to allow the passage underneath of a plough. The object of this is to save the necessity of irrigating them in the hot weather. It is a curious fact that if the ground be ploughed over before it has dried sufficiently to crack, and afterwards *bukkured* lightly once a month throughout the hot weather, it will not split, and from the non-penetration of the sun will remain moist throughout the season at a little depth, when otherwise it would have been as hard as a brick.

338. The fruit of the mango is in great demand in Nimar and the neighbouring districts, which are not well supplied with trees. The possession of the old trees is therefore highly valued, and new groves are planted every year by the people. The fruit is plucked eight days before ripening, and matured by keeping in straw. They are then called *keirees*. A peculiar measure is employed in mango transactions.

6 *Keirees* = 1 *Para*.
26 *Paras* = 1 *Sou* (or hundred, which thus consists of 156 mangos).

An average tree is expected to yield about six *sous* (936 mangos), which sell for Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2 per *sou*, so that the yearly produce is worth from Rs. 9 to Rs. 12 (averaging 10). Of course many of the largest trees yield much more than this,—30 or 40 *sous* not being uncommon. The mangos are generally of an inferior description, but there are a few trees of better sorts about the district. Much improvement might be effected in the quality of all the cultivated fruit trees in Nimar by the general distribution from the public gardens at Khundwa and Boorhanpore of improved seedlings and grafts. Nothing of the sort has, however, as yet been attempted.

339. Mowah trees are never destroyed in clearing land in Nimar, their fleshy flowers being not only used as the basis of the native wine or spirit, but largely eaten as well. They are also much valued, and their possession is obstinately disputed. They are chiefly held by the Wuttundars of villages. Much of the produce is bought up by traders for exportation to Khandeish, where trees are scarce. An average tree yields about 128 lbs., which sells for about Rs. 5 the *pulla* of 240 lbs. A tree may be taken therefore as yielding about Rs. 2-8-0 worth of fruit, if well watched. Much of it is, however, always lost, as it is preyed on voraciously.

iously by every beast and bird, and one-half the produce is generally given as wages for the mere watching of a clump of trees while the flowers are falling.

340. I have prepared the subjoined estimate of the gross produce of the district with every care. The average produce per acre of different crops is an extremely difficult thing to estimate, and can never be more than an approximation to the truth. During three years, however, I lost no opportunity of ascertaining the yield of crops on all sorts of land, by enquiry and actual experiment, and I am confident in the fair correctness of the amounts I here assume them to yield:—

Estimate of gross agricultural produce of Nimar District.

Name of crop.	Number of acres in year of measurement.	Average produce per acre in lbs.	Total produce in maunds of 82 lbs.	Value at rates obtainable by cultivator.	Remarks.
				Rs.	
Wheat ..	8,862	640	69,167	1,89,056	
Gram ..	5,815	500	35,457	72,684	
Pulses ..	1,963	400	9,575	24,470	
Jowar ..	142,463	350	6,08,073	10,17,594	
Toor ..	37,446	300	136,997	3,86,162	
Bajree ..	17,009	170	35,250	72,288	
Rice ..	7,384	1,000	90,048	3,46,125	
Other edible grains ..	30,559	150	55,880	93,106	
Total food grains ..	251,500	335	1,040,453	22,01,585	
Fibres. { Cotton ..	31,952	{ fibre 40	15,587	3,03,544	
{ Hemp ..	800	{ seed 120	46,761		
Oil-seeds { Tillee ..	20,007		4,878	20,000	
{ Linseed ..	1,476		200	48,797	1,50,000
Sugar-cane ..	420		300	5,400	29,059
Opium ..	278		400	2,048	16,800
Tobacco ..	525		12	40	16,000
Ganja ..	491		240	1,536	15,750
Vegetables and Spices ..	996	Ra. 200 per acre.			4,602
Dye stuffs { Al ..	837	" 600 "			3,99,200
{ Indigo ..	20	" 200 "			1,67,400*
Fruit trees ..	64	" 150 "			4,000
					9,600
Total ..	58,866	..	Total	10,90,770	
Total cultivated area ..	310,366	..	Total	32,92,355	
Add for second crop on gutta land ..	9,036	500	55,097	1,37,742	
Total ..	319,402	..	Total	34,30,097	

* One-third value of this crop only is estimated, as it takes three years to ripen.

341. From the foregoing description of the soils and crops of Nimar it will have been seen that the agriculture is sharply divided into the *khureef* or autumn, and *rubbee* or spring harvests,—soil of the first and second classes, and irrigated land, being almost wholly occupied by the latter, and soil of the third and fourth classes by the former. The extent of land of such quality as to be sown with each crop in alternate years, as in some parts of India, is so small as to be quite inappreciable. The average area of each farm, or separately recorded holding, is $22\frac{1}{2}$ acres; but some of these are worked by the aid of farm servants, and contain several “ploughs” of land. The average area for the whole district, cultivated by one plough (which is the agricultural unit as it were), is 19 acres under crop. But a number of these ploughs are engaged in cultivating gutta land, which yields a double crop of rice in the monsoon and wheat in the spring, and of which not more than 6 acres can be tilled by a plough if worked alone. Omitting 1,506 ploughs, and 9,036 acres, on this account, the average area for the rest is almost exactly 20 acres per plough. If the several classes of soil were fairly distributed among the remaining ploughs, there would be,—

Rubbee land,	}	irrigated $\frac{1}{2}$ acre.
	}	unirrigated $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre.
Khureef land	.. ..	18 acres.

But few, if any, such farms exist, for the reason that a ryet can do nothing with the couple of acres of rubbee land that would fall to his share. It would not repay his expenditure of labour and capital on it, and he can make much more profitable use of the portion of the year that would be occupied by the spring cultivation in working with his farm cattle for hire. Thus the general disposition of the land has gone to divide the whole of the rubbee land among so many farms only as will give to each a sufficient area to occupy the whole labour of a plough, with its complement of men and cattle during the spring, all other farms being composed of khureef land only. This circumstance has a very important effect on the economy of the district, which I shall endeavour to describe. Of course the competition for rubbee land, as affording agreeable and profitable occupation to the cultivator, who would otherwise be idle or working at the hated *bara* or carrying trade, has forced up the rents of such land, and reduced the area of it occupied by each plough to the lowest amount that will repay cultivation. I have taken great pains to ascertain the real facts about this, and believe that about 6 acres of unirrigated or channel-irrigated wheat land, and about 4 acres of well-irrigated land, is the average that a single plough holds, in addition to khureef. The area actually irrigated from each well averages 4 acres, and several *notes* often work at the same well, and represent different ploughs of land; but, on the other hand, many of these are engaged in garden cultivation, where less than 6 acres

goes to each mote. At these rates (including gutta) 6,692 of the 16,579 ploughs in the district can be provided with rubbee land for spring cultivation. I have not noticed that a smaller total area is usually cultivated when part of it is dry or irrigated rubbee land. Nor is there any reason why it should be so, as the reduction from the area of khureef to be reaped, of 6 acres in one case and 4 in the other, amply compensates for the labour of *bukkering* and sowing the 6 or 4 acres of rubbee. Most farms have also three or four acres of fallow land, the rent of which is included in that of the cultivation. It performs the double function of furnishing grass for the cattle during the summer months, and a periodical rest for a portion of the cultivated area. Of course the land is not actually distributed in farms of exactly this size. There are all varieties of combination of men and farm stock, and the khureef holdings are often joined to a rubbee farm composed partly of gutta, and partly of dry or irrigated wheat land. For this reason an exact deduction from the statistics of the average or "ideal" farm is impossible. But I am satisfied, from the examination of multitudes of actual cases, both in the Settlement records, and with more advantage in the field, or at the threshing floor, where every circumstance can be ascertained, that this account fairly represents the different kinds of farms that are usually cultivated by a single plough in Nimar, namely:—

- 1.—The purely khureef farm of 20 acres.
- 2.—The farm of 14 acres khureef and 6 rubbee, unirrigated, or irrigated by channel.
- 3.—The farm of 16 acres khureef, and 4 irrigated from a well.

342. The regular complement* of oxen to a "plough"* is two; four-bullock ploughs being quite unknown. The common ryot with his two-bullock plough keeps no farm servants, and seldom hires any assistance, excepting for a few days at harvest time. Of course there are also many farms belonging to wealthy people who keep a number of ploughs, and do all their work by hired labour; but the vast majority of the ryots are wholly dependent on the exertions of themselves and families, with such occasional aid as they give to and receive from their similarly circumstanced neighbours. The average working family may be taken to consist of the man and his wife; and a son of 10 or 12 years who does the crop watching, cattle herding, and light jobs of all sorts.

343. The cultivation of the purely khureef farm is of the rudest sort. After the first ploughing to reclaim the land from the jungle, which is done

Khureef tillage.

* The possession of an actual plough (*nagur*) is not necessary to constitute the *aoi*, or "plough" of land (para. 343). The pair of bullocks is the only test.

with a heavy plough called *nagur*, it is never ploughed again until it has lain fallow, or weeds have got so thick as to require eradication. The *bukkur*, a sort of "cultivator" with a horizontal hoe-like iron share which penetrates some four or five inches of the soil, is the instrument commonly used for preparing khureef land. Three or four cross workings with this in the months of March and June are all that the land is supposed to get between the crops. The first of these in March fills up the cracks which have then opened in the soil, thus excluding in some degree the parching rays of the hot weather sun, and also, I imagine, manuring the land in some measure with the dried leaves and other crop refuse which are swept into the cracks. As soon as the rain has well saturated the land thus turned up, which is known by the resulting growth of weeds, the seed is sown with the drill plough. This is either two or three-barrelled (*doosan* and *teefun*), according to the strength of the cattle of the farmer; the tubes are hollow bamboos fed by hand. Each barrel properly requires to be followed by a *bukkur* to cover the seed with soil, and at the same time kill the young weeds. Thus sowing with the *doosan* takes three pairs of bullocks, and with the *teefun* four. The latter is obviously the most economical, as the rate of sowing is one-third greater (4 and 6 acres a day), while the labour is only one-fourth more. A poor ryot with only one yoke of oxen must first sow and then *bukkur*, and can with difficulty manage an acre a day. It takes the single-plough farmer 20 days, therefore, to sow his whole farm. By the time he has done this the first sown fields will require weeding, which is generally done by the bullock hoe (*kolpa*), and this work will fully occupy him till the earliest crops of tillee and bajree are ready to be cut in the beginning of November.

344. By the end of December the whole crop will be harvested, threshed, and stored or sold, any fields that are to be taken up from the waste, will also have received the needful ploughing, and the ryot will have nothing more to do for the next four months, as far as his farm is concerned. If he has a cart, he yokes his cattle to it, and goes out on hire, perhaps to carry wheat from Hoshungabad to supply the deficient food supply in Nimar (*vide* para. 380), or finds employment on the railway works. But more generally the poorest ryots have no cart, which costs from 20 to 30 rupees. They do not actually require it for their farming, as one can always be borrowed for the few days necessary to bring in the crops; though of course a farm is not properly stocked without a cart. If he has not one, he may get a job with his cattle at some one else's irrigation; but more likely he does nothing for the rest of the year. The man with both khureef and rubbee, on the other hand, is occupied at productive work the whole year, though, if he does not irrigate, he has very little to do during January and February, while the rubbee crop is growing, unless in the jungly tracts, where he has to watch it. He may require a little assistance when harvesting

khureef and sowing rubbee are both going on; but otherwise he can manage his farm with the same stock as the khureef man, and with no assistance except from his own family.

345. It is not very difficult to estimate the profits of such farming as this, where the farmer and his family do all the labour themselves. A pair of bullocks can be bought for Rs. 60, and may be expected to last for ten years, if used for ordinary farming only. If taken out on hire or used for well irrigation, I would reckon their life at less than this, perhaps eight years. The yearly expense for farm implements, beyond the cultivator's own labour, will be about Rs. 5. The crops usually sown comprise a known proportion of the different sorts of produce. Thousands of ryots in Nimar would balance their season's account much as follows, if they ever calculated their outgoings and incomings:—

EXPENSES.

Deterioration of live-stock, at one-tenth their value, Rs.	6	0	0
Yearly cost of farm implements ..	..	5	0
Salt for bullocks .. .. .	..	2	0
Seed grain .. .. .	..	2	0
Land rent at 12 annas an acre ..	..	15	0
Putwarees' and Village servants' fees ...	..	2	0
		<hr/>	
Total Rs. ..	32	0	0

PRODUCE.

Jowar and Toor 10 acres, 4½ maunds' grain ...	Rs.	44	0	0
" " Kurbee worth ...	"	20	0	0
Cotton, 3 acres, 1½ maund fibre ...	"	20	0	0
Tillee, 3 acres, 7 maunds' oil-seed ...	"	17	8	0
Inferior grains, 4 acres, 8 maunds' grain ..	"	12	0	0
		<hr/>		
Total Rs.	"	143	0	0
Deduct expenses as above ..	"	32	0	0
		<hr/>		
Balance net produce	Rs.	111	8	0

In this Statement I have taken the deterioration of the cattle at one-tenth their value, on the assumption that they will not be used during the remainder of the year at hard irrigation, or transport work. I have also omitted from the produce half the jowar kurbee, and all the cotton seed, which would be expended in feeding the farm cattle. The prices assumed for the produce are such as could be got supposing the culti-

vator not pressed to market by debt, when they would probably be considerably lower. The investment of capital comprises not only the value of the stock, but the subsistence of the man and his family for eight months, which may be taken to be eight maunds of jowar, and Rs. 8 for miscellaneous necessaries of life at one rupee a month, which appears to be a commonly accepted rate in the district when making such calculations for an ordinary family—altogether Rs. 44. The total investment has therefore been Rs. 113, and the profit is at the rate of 98 per cent on this. Should the family support themselves and their cattle by labour for hire during the remainder of the year, this profit, being for eight months only, is at the rate of 147 per cent per annum.

346. In many cases, however, a considerable part of this profit goes, not to the cultivator, but to some money-lender or grain dealer who has supplied the funds to stock the farm, and often also advanced the food of the cultivator himself for the six months before the earliest grain is harvested. A cultivator first starting a plough, unless he is a cadet of an old established farming family, generally has to borrow both stock and food, and as he can give no security, has to pay such a rate of interest as will cover the considerable risk of loss to the lender. The rate for money is generally 2 per cent per mensem, and borrowed grain is returned in kind at double quantity. But as the money value of the grain is always lower at harvest time than when it is borrowed, this does not represent quite 100 per cent interest to the lender. In the above case, if both stock and food have to be borrowed, the interest on the former would be Rs. 12. One *kucha manee* of jowar ($1\frac{1}{4}$ ths Government maunds) is the usual quantity of food borrowed by a family, as the earliest crops of bajree, kootkee, &c., ripen about the end of October; and this quantity, repaid for usage at harvest time, would represent Rs. 20, altogether Rs. 32, thus leaving to the cultivator Rs. 79-8-0, which is not more than the bare wages that himself and family might have earned by labouring for hire at similar work for the same time. Of course it is quite natural that such should be the case when he brings to the enterprise nothing whatever beyond this labour, and the whole risk is practically incurred by the capitalist. In security in the tenure of land, and the obstacles long thrown by the Courts in the way of the money-lender recovering his money by the sale of the farm stock, greatly aggravated the risk of such investments, and necessitated a correspondingly high rate of interest, which was also frequently disallowed by the very Courts whose blundering zeal had chiefly created it.

347. Sometimes the partnership between labour and capital takes a still simpler form than this in what is called *ang-sajee* cultivation, where the moneyed man furnishes a pair of oxen, and the cultivator his own per-

sonal labour, on equal terms. All other expenses, including the wages of the cultivator's family, if he has any, are deducted from the gross produce, with interest at a moderate rate (there being little risk) to the capitalist, if he has advanced money to purchase the dead-stock, &c., and the balance is divided equally between the owner of the bullocks and the cultivator, showing that the value of an "intelligent ryot" is held to be just equal to that of a pair of bullocks! A cultivator working in any of these ways with borrowed capital would usually have to eke out his livelihood by labouring for hire during the spring months.

348. At the old rates of prices of produce (*vide* para. 440) a ryot starting thus without any capital seldom emerged from this condition. It is obvious, however, from the above Statement that, even after paying the interest on the money and food he has borrowed from the merchant, the cultivator and his wife may now have a considerable margin left, over and above what is necessary for their bare subsistence, which we have assumed to be Rs. 44, leaving Rs. 35 to go towards paying off their debt to the banker, supposing them to support themselves and bullocks by labour during the rest of the year. Of course this margin is often, perhaps generally wasted in marriage ceremonies, or other extravagance, instead. Yet not a few of this indebted class have lately shaken themselves entirely free of the burden on their farms. The high price obtainable for tillee oil-seed of late years has perhaps done more towards this than anything else. It takes a mere handful of seed to sow an acre; it flourishes with the rudest cultivation on half cleared land for which no rent is paid for three years; and is cut and sold by the beginning of November. I know two "unencumbered" Korkoos who in 1867 cleared 30 acres of light land and sowed it with tillee. They borrowed Rs. 80 to buy bullocks and implements, and two *manees* of jowar to eat. The interest on the money debt was Rs. 20 (they gave no security, and Korkoo honesty is at a considerable discount in the money market), and the jowar was returned as usual in double quantity. They had no other expenses whatever, no rent being charged, and themselves doing all the labour. The produce was 75 maunds of oil-seed, which sold for Rs. 215, from which they repaid—

Four manees' jowar	..	Rs. 80
Cash borrowed with interest	..	100

Total Rs. .. Rs. 180

leaving them gainers of Rs. 35, after paying off the whole of their debt. Thus they got a stocked farm free of debt in a single season by their manual labour alone; while the money-lender cleared 40 per cent on his money in eight months.

349. Once clear of debt, the cultivator will not work for hire, except at agricultural jobs, and endeavours to get a piece of land that will grow rubber to occupy his time during the spring months. Should he succeed in this he will have to pay high for it, the average rent of such land in the open parts of the district being Rs. 3 per acre. His expenses and profits will now be somewhat as follows:—

EXPENSES.

Deterioration of cattle at one-tenth	...	Rs.	6
Farm implements	... ..	"	5
Salt	.. ..	"	3
Seed	.. ..	"	15
Rent	... ..	"	28
Putwarec, &c.,	.. ..	"	2
			—
Total Rs.			59

PRODUCE

14 acres Khureef at Rs. 7-1-7	...	Rs.	99
3 " Wheat	.. ..	"	60
2 " Gram	... ..	"	25
1 " Pulses	.. ..	"	12
			—
Total Rs.			196
Deduct expenses			59
Net produce			137

The stock invested is Rs. 65 for the whole year and Rs. 84 for half year, and the profit is at the rate of 128 per cent per annum, which is a lower rate of profit on his labour and capital than he got at khureef only, supposing him to have worked for hire during the spring months. But against this he places the greater pleasantness and ease both to man and beast of agricultural work, and the advantage of feeding himself and his cattle from his own produce, instead of purchasing food away from home at a heavier cost, particularly for the keep of his cattle. If he did not labour for hire before, his income is now Rs. 26 more than it was, with practically the same labour, though spread over the whole year instead of compressed into eight months.

350. It is more probable, however, that he will not succeed in getting a piece of rubber land, and must sink a well at a cost (supposing him to find

Sinking a well.

water at 15 feet, through moorum) of Rs. 45, and costing about Rs. 4 each year to repair. His account would now be—

EXPENSES.

Deterioration one-eighth	..	..	Rs.	7	8	0
Farm implements	..	..	"	8	0	0
Deterioration of well	..	..	"	4	0	0
Salt	..	..	"	3	0	0
Seed	..	..	"	8	8	0
Rent	...	...	"	15	0	0
Putwaree, &c.	..	...	"	2	0	0
				Total Rs. 48 0 0		

PRODUCE

16 acres Khureef at Rs. 7-1-7	..	..	Rs.	114
• 4 „ Wheat, 48 maunds	..	..	„	123
				Total Rs. 242
Deduct expenses	..	..	„	48
				Net produce
				.. „ 194

The invested stock is Rs. 110 for the whole year, and Rs. 77 for half the year, on which the profit is 131 per cent per annum. The rate of annual profit is still lower than that of purely khureef cultivation, though his income is increased by Rs. 83 a year. But it is 3 per cent higher than he could get from the unirrigated rubbee land. The real advantage of sinking a well, however, arises from its enabling the cultivator to profitably employ the labour of himself and cattle when they would otherwise be idle, and it would be easy to draw a fallacious conclusion from the comparative *rate* of profits of khureef and mixed cultivation, if this be not attended to.

351. It will be seen from the foregoing description how vast an effect the want of sufficient land capable of growing spring crops has on the productiveness of the Nimar district. The difference between the annual produce of a purely khureef farm and of one partially well irrigated, is no less than 36 maunds of grain, value Rs. 100, or for the whole number of ploughs unprovided with spring crop land, about 12,000 tons, value 9½ lakhs of rupees (£95,000), that is half the quantity now imported. This increase could be effected by the digging of 9,587 wells, at a cost of Rs. 7,19,025, or less than one year's produce, and without any addition whatever to the population or farm stock of the district. But if this be the case with well irrigation, where four acres only can be managed by the average cultivator, how much greater would be the result of a general bestowal of channel irrigation, when a larger

area could be irrigated with the same labour. Channel irrigated land is at present so scarce that the available quantity is divided into the smallest holdings that will remunerate rubber cultivation. Thus the land watered by the Government works mentioned in paras. 315 and 316 is held in the proportion of 4 acres irrigated out of every 20 in possession of the cultivators who share in the advantage. But were an adequate amount available at moderate rates, the holdings would doubtless average 6 or 8 acres irrigated out of every 20. Assuming the former area only to be irrigated, the additional produce of each khureef farm would be 54 maunds, worth Rs. 148, or about 18,000 tons, value 14 lakhs (£140,000) for the district. This would entail no increase of population or stock, and requires the application of high level irrigation to 57,522 acres of land. This addition to the produce of the district would amount to three-fourths of the amount of grain that is now annually imported for consumption, (*vide* para. 380). If 8 acres per plough were irrigated, as I believe to be possible, then the whole of the food now imported might be raised in the district. Nor would this abstraction of agricultural hands and cattle from the market for hired carriage in any way injuriously affect the traffic of the country. At present each cart of this class working for hire makes about three trips to Hoshungabad during the open season, and brings into the district about 36 maunds of grain, which is less than the quantity that might be raised at home if the labour were applied to production instead of exchange. The railway material they carry towards Hoshungabad at present is only a temporary addition to the traffic. I do not say that all these carts work between Nimar and Hoshungabad, but the effect is the same as if they did, for all of them would not suffice for the grain importation from that district, and therefore I say their labour is wasted in the present economic condition of the district.

352. The extent of irrigation above indicated is probably the utmost that could be beneficially accomplished without either increasing the population or diminishing the total area under the plough. Nor am I sure that the limit of irrigation should not be properly placed considerably within this point, on account of the necessity of manuring land which is constantly irrigated. It is reckoned in Nimar that average mál land irrigated for spring crops requires manuring every second year, and garden or sugar-cane land every year; and my observation tends to fully confirm this idea. The common calculation in the district is that the dung of a pair of cattle, and the refuse of one house, can manure a beegah (old measurement $\frac{1}{3}$ ths acre) in the year. At this rate, the whole number of cattle now existing in the district, and all the houses, if every particle of the manure were applied to the land, and supposing the present extent of garden and sugar cultivation not to be increased (though greatly insufficient), could only manure about 4 acres to each of the existing number of ploughs. Of course all this manure would never be

collected, probably only a small fraction of it, and thus the limit of irrigation may have to be placed much below the capabilities of the district in men and farm stock. I believe, however, that deeper working of the soil, by setting free a greater amount of its nutritive elements, would go far to obviate the necessity for constantly manuring the thin stratum which alone is now made use of. But this higher tillage can obviously be effected only by an increase to the agricultural population, or a reduction of the area under each plough. The manure difficulty could also be a good deal lessened by constructing all irrigation channels, as far as possible, so as to command double the land irrigated each year, and so allow it to be relieved by a rotation of unirrigated crops, or by fallowing if necessary.

353. The only irrigated crop that appears to be capable of being grown steadily on unmanured land is rice, which seems to draw the elements of its sustenance more from the water direct than, as other crops do, from the constituents of the soil which the presence of water enables their roots to penetrate. Rice, as I have remarked, is never irrigated in Nimar, unless the accumulation of water in the hollows where it is grown can be called irrigation; but I do not believe that there is any insuperable objection on the part of the people to grow irrigated rice if necessary. Were channel irrigation supplied on a large scale it might possibly be desirable to make use of whatever portion of the monsoon supply could not be stored in reservoirs for spring or perennial irrigation (which are the great requirements of the district) in irrigating rice crops during the autumn on land which now produces only the ordinary khureef crops. I say it might *possibly* be advisable to do so, but the question requires some consideration. I learn that a single plough growing irrigated rice can cultivate only about 5 acres in the neighbouring parts of the Bombay Presidency; and if so, and supposing 6 only of the present plough area of 20 acres to be capable of spring irrigation, then 9 acres of his present farm would have to be thrown up by the cultivator; and the question is whether 5 acres of irrigated rice is economically better than 14 of common khureef grain;—1,200 lbs. may be taken as the yield per acre of irrigated rice, or say 73 maunds for the 5 acres, worth Rs. 150, against 42 maunds, worth Rs. 99 (with cattle fodder), for the 14 acres. The actual produce is therefore more valuable. But against this must be placed the higher rent that would be paid, at a water rate of Rs. 4 per acre in addition to the dry soil rates, that is Rs. 23-12-0 instead of Rs. 10-8-0, reducing the value of the rice to the producer to Rs. 137. Again people do not change the staple of their food on a sudden; and as the rice would have to be exported, and, if it supplanted the food of the people as the staple crop, the latter would have to be imported, the cost of the latter operation and the intermediate profits of the trader would be added to the present value of the ordinary khureef grain. The jowar, &c., consumed by the people would come from the

Deccan by railway, and probably from an average distance of not less than 100 miles, with two days' cartage to the railway. At this rate the cost of carriage for the produce of 14 acres would be not less than Rs. 22. Add to this the grain dealer's profit on Rs. 60 (harvest price) of the imported grain at say 2½ per cent, or Rs. 14, and we find that the value to the producer of the jowar, &c., from the 14 acres is Rs. 135, while that of the rice is Rs. 137. The near coincidence of these figures is probably accidental, as exact accuracy is impossible in such conjectural calculations. But such figures, even if not strictly exact, yet show that it is by no means sure that the substitution of irrigated rice as the autumn crop for the present jowar, &c., would be beneficial, and render it certain beyond doubt that not a drop of water which can be stored till spring should be expended in the monsoon. Every 60,000 cubic feet available in spring adds 54 maunds, worth Rs. 148, to the present produce of the district; while even 135,000 cubic feet (the Godavery allowance for an acre of rice) expended in autumn would add little if anything to the present value of the produce, and would therefore be wasted.

354. I believe it to be impossible to apply irrigation with success to the ordinary autumn crops of Nimar. The soil on which they are grown, where it lies low enough to be reached by channels, is so retentive of water during the monsoon as to be already too wet for these crops when the ordinary rain-fall is much exceeded; and certainly no Nimar cultivator would take water in ordinary seasons at any price for this purpose. On the other hand, on the higher lands, where the crops might be benefited in some seasons by moderate irrigation, no irrigational works could be constructed to reach them. Nor would the *safety* of the autumn crops, which is of course a main object in constructing such works, be greatly improved by such irrigation for the same reason, namely, that in seasons of deficient natural moisture it is ordinarily the high lands that suffer, not those that could be reached by the water.

355. Nimar has once suffered the extremity of famine (para. 84); and twice, in more recent times, with difficulty and much distress tided over periods of great scarcity. Though it has now a railway connecting it with other districts, its non-agricultural population has immensely increased, while its capability of production is not much enhanced. In times of general scarcity a district which imports so large a portion of its food as Nimar does would be the first to suffer; and the danger of relying on one crop, and that an unirrigated one, is obvious. This consideration, therefore, as well as that already dwelt on of its economical importance and advantages, points to the earliest possible application of irrigation to the district.

356. It follows from the preceding remarks that the works that will prove most useful in a district like Nimar are not those on a large scale, calculated to flood large continuous areas of land, but rather works of moderate size scattered at intervals over the country, so as to irrigate portions only of the whole culturable land in each tract, and so enable the cultivator to occupy his time throughout the year. Where the streams so rapidly lose their monsoon volume, storage reservoirs are clearly the best for this purpose; and next to them, weirs on the few streams that afford sufficient discharge of water from the beginning of November to the end of February, by which time all the spring crops have ceased to require irrigation. Any discharge continuing through the hot weather could be utilised in garden and sugar-cane cultivation. I am afraid that few useful works of irrigation, of such importance as to call for Government construction, will be found practicable in upper Nimar, though many dams to irrigate one or two hundred acres could doubtless be made on the larger streams. This is of the less importance, as the water-bearing stratum is in many places near the surface; and the certainty of tenure and light assessment now secured to the people will doubtless lead to the general construction of wells wherever possible. But it is different in the Taptee valley, where water cannot usefully be reached by wells. Fortunately large works are there probably not impracticable. The Ootaolee reservoir scheme, which is now being examined, may, it is hoped, supply all the northern side of the valley; and a similar work on the Omraotee stream, a tributary of the Taptee from the south, has recently been reported on by me as likely to afford irrigation to a large part of the Zeinabad pergunnah.

357. I have hitherto confined my remarks on the constitution of farms to the simple case of a cultivator working only such a farm as he can manage with the labour of one pair of oxen, and no assistance except from his own family. But there is of course much land farmed by persons who either do none of the manual toil themselves, or employ more or less hired labour in addition. It is much more difficult, or rather I should say impossible, to estimate the usual profits of such farming. The ordinary cost of hired labour, and the number of cattle, &c., employed, are easily ascertained. But what amount of permanent and occasional labour is actually expended on a given area, and at what actual cost where labour is engaged for a few days or weeks only, and cattle are used for other purposes as well as farming, where the master only supervises, and the actual labourer gives only the proverbially inefficient hired service, it is impossible to tell. One thing is certain, that farming on a great scale is unknown. However many ploughs and cattle a rich employer may own, his holding is only after all a conglomeration of small farms similar to that of the poor ryot. There is little or no economy of labour, and no improvement in agricultural processes.

Capital does not take this form of investment in agriculture, but rather that I have described by loans from the capitalist to the actual labourer, or by the partnership arrangement called *ang-sajet* (para. 347). Most of the superior proprietors invest their gains in one of these ways instead of adding to their own home farms.

358. Considering the low state of agricultural skill, the deficiency of large capitals; and the scarcity of labour in the market, it is not surprising that this should be the case. The enlistment of the interests of the labourer in the produce of his toil is better effected on the present system than on one of large farms and hired labour; and unless large farms, by economising labour, and the use of machinery, enable the same produce to be raised by fewer hands, they are wholly without advantage. The country is not ripe for this, and perhaps may never be. The conditions of such a state of things are, a dense population which has occupied all available land; and large non-agricultural industries giving employment to as many hands as can be spared from the land. So long as there are extensive tracts of uncleared waste, economists seem to be agreed that low farming over large areas gives a larger return to labour than high farming of smaller areas; and labour and capital being thus spread over a large area in proportion to the return, it follows that numerous small farmers, each working on his own account, are preferable to scattered gangs of hired labourers who cannot be effectively supervised by their employer.

359. Nor does this argument militate against the introduction of such improvements as irrigation, with the view of enhancing the return to the present labour of the district. The existing labour can produce no more than it does without irrigation; for it already cultivates as large an area as it can manage during the monsoon, and there is no more spring crop land within its reach. It is not "high farming" to enable a man who is at present compelled to idleness during a part of the year by the want of land in which to labour to add to his total usefulness by working instead of idling. It would be "high farming" to make him irrigate a smaller area if he already employed all his time on a larger unirrigated area; and unless the produce were larger, such high farming would be an economical mistake. Any machinery which enabled water to be raised more economically would be a distinct improvement in the agriculture of Nimar, inferior only to the supply of high land irrigation. Captain Keatinge tried to introduce the double *mote* worked by a horizontal wheel and a single bullock, instead of the single *mote* and inclined plane in common use, and one or two of them are still going. But they did not take among the people generally, and the old method, which is probably the most wasteful application of labour to be seen in the world, still prevails. There is much to be done in such directions by intelligent effort. High farming, in its

proper sense, is not wanted; but much available labour is now either wasted on unskilful processes, or lying idle for want of the capital to give it employment, and might by proper stimulation be rendered productive.

360. Hired labour is of two sorts, namely, that of the resident farm servant, and of the occasional gang labourer. The former is called a *Bursoodya*.

They are nearly all aborigines, Korkoos or Bheels, and as a rule are found only in the remoter parts of the district. In the central parts the railway and other public works have attracted by superior pay the majority of this class; and the immense rise in prices of agricultural produce has converted many of them into independent farmers, working at first with borrowed capital, which now tends more freely to the land than before. The actual wages of the *Bursoodya* amount in cash value to no more than Rs. 44 a year. But in addition he is generally furnished with quarters, and allowed to keep a breeding cow or buffalo with his master's herd (rather more than half of them do so), and his wife earns something more by her labour; so that they are on the whole tolerably well off. Where *Bursoodyas* cannot be got, farm servants are generally hired by the month or by the job. There are altogether only 2,243 recorded resident farm servants, or one to every eight ploughs, and this includes every one not himself a holder of land on whatever terms he may have been working. There is a large floating population of gang labourers in Nimar; and a portion of these are employed in agricultural jobs, principally at harvest time.

The annexed Table gives the current rates of wages for different descriptions of labour, now and twelve years back, excepting the case of railway works, regarding which I have obtained no information earlier than 1862. The rates are those prevailing in the open parts of the district, but not near the railway or any very large town, where they run a good deal higher. At Khundwa, for instance, farm servants demand Rs. 7 and Rs. 8 a month. It is worthy of remark that the wages of almost every description of labour, measured in cash, has just about doubled, and that the customary payments in jowar, which is now nearly three times the price it was then, have generally been reduced by one-third. The variation in the rates of payments for different special agricultural jobs is obviously due to the comparative abundance or scarcity of labour at the time of year. Thus at the times of sowing and harvesting everybody is busy at his own work, and wages are very high, while at weeding time and cutting the spring harvest, there are many more idle hands looking for a job, and wages are low. It appears that the rise in the rate of wages has not kept pace with the rise in the price of agricultural produce; and the labourer for hire is so much worse off than he was before. It is probable that this must be attributed to the extensive displacement in Western India of food staples, to make room

for the much desiderated cotton; so that, to the enhancement of general money prices and wages due to the fall in the value of money resulting from the enormous imports of bullion of the last ten years, has been superadded a scarcity value in the case of food grains, which is probably now being rapidly removed by the extension of the area under the plough. For further remarks on the prices of produce *vide* para 440.

Description of labour.	Former rate of wages.	Present rate of wages.	Remarks.
Railway coolies ..	2 to 3 annas a day (in 1862)	5 to 6 annas a day	* The woman carries the grain and feeds the drill.
Bursodiyas or resident farm servants paid by the year. }	1 mance of jowar, value Rs. 12, and Rs. 12 in cash, total Rs. 24.	The same quantity of jowar value Rs. 32, and Rs. 12 in cash, total Rs. 44	
Miscellaneous agricultural labour by the month ..	Man Rs. 3 Woman 1½	Man Rs. 6 Woman Rs. 3	
Do. do. by the day ..	Man 2 annas Woman 1 anna	Man 4 annas Woman 2 annas	
Ploughing and sowing by the day ..	Man 6 seers of jowar, Woman 4½ do. do.	Man 4 seers of jowar Woman* 3 do. do.	
Weeding by hand by the day	3 seers jowar	2 seers jowar	
Cutting khureef crops by the day	6 seers jowar	4 seers jowar	
Cutting rubbee crops by the day	3 seers jowar	3 seers jowar	
Picking cotton ..	One-sixth the quantity	One-twelfth the quantity	
Do. pepper ..	One-eighth do. picked	One-twelfth do. picked	
Watching crops by the month ..	48 seers jowar, worth Rs. 1 Rs. 1 in cash	Rs. 4 in cash	
Watching mangoes while in fruit ..	One-fourth the crop	One-fourth the crop	
Pulling mangoes ..	One-sixth the crop	One-seventh the crop	
Gathering mhowa ..	Half the crop	Half the crop	
Herding buffaloes ..	2 annas a month per head	4 annas a month per head.	
Other cattle ..	1 anna do. do. do.	2 annas do. do. do.	

361. Most proprietors and cultivators of land add to their regular profits from agriculture more or less by keeping cattle. Each village proprietor has an average of five head of cows and buffaloes, and each cultivator an average of two head, besides his plough bullocks. These are usually grazed by one or two paid herdsmen on the village waste, and are liberally fed with the *kurbee* of jowar, *bhoosa* of wheat and rice, and straw of other crops, besides often with cotton seed, oil cake, and green *methee*, *teora*, &c., grown on purpose for them. They are sent for two or three months in the hot weather to the remoter jungles to graze, and altogether are kept throughout the year in excellent condition,—a result which is probably due to the large amount of cattle fodder afforded by khureef crops, and to the intermixture of high and dry grazing grounds with the cultivated area, caused by the undulating surface of the district. I have shown

in another place (para. 382) that the number of breeding cattle in the district is no more than enough to maintain the stock of agricultural bullocks, and the enhanced demand for carriage, and therefore few if any are now exported. The Nimar oxen have long been famous; but the best breeding grounds are in the more western parts of old Prant Nimar, now in the possession of Native states. The cattle of these tracts are known as *Panch-Mahalas* (there are five old Moghul Mahals in that portion of Nimar), and are much larger and finer than those of the eastern part of the Prant forming the modern district. They resemble a good deal the Goojerat breed; and are probably derived from that source, in the same way as the main element in the agricultural population of the same tract, the Goojerat Koonbees (*vide* para. 417). But the common bullock of the present district is an excellent beast in his way, and perfectly suited to the light draught required in tilling the khureef soils, as well as to the work of drawing water rapidly from shallow wells, being extremely active and enduring, and powerfully built for his size. The Panch Mahalas sell for Rs. 150 to Rs. 300 per pair, and are beyond the means of the poor cultivator. The ordinary breed ranges from Rs. 60 to Rs. 200 a pair, the finest bringing even higher prices than this. In my opinion no efforts towards the improvement of the breed of cattle in Nimar are at present required.

362. Large herds of goats are kept by the *Dungurs* (the goat-herds of the Deccan) in Nimar. The abundance of babool, khair, and other prickly acacias in the form of shrubs on all the higher and unculturable tracts furnishes them with congenial browsing; and their presence in a village is eagerly coveted by the cultivators on account of the large supply of good manure they afford. No enumeration of them was made at the Settlement. Sheep are not bred in the district. Nimar is also singularly free from the disgusting native pig, which forms so undesirable a feature in districts more populated by Gonds, and low caste Hindoos. Geese and ducks are little kept, but common fowls are tolerably abundant.

CHAPTER XII.

STATE FORESTS AND WASTE LANDS.

363. The area left out of Settlement amounts as I have said to about 1,894 square miles; the exact extent of it must, however, remain uncertain till completion of the Professional Survey now in progress. It admits of consideration from two distinct points of view;—first, as affording a field for future extension of cultivation; and secondly, as a source of supply for the various natural products of the waste useful to the people. From the description I have already given of the district, it will be understood that most of the tracts capable of cultivation over a large continuous area are already under the plough, and included in Settlement; and that the remaining culturable waste is much intermingled with land which is wholly unfit for tillage. Some tracts, however, contain a greater proportion of culturable soil than others, and may fairly be expected to be in course of time redeemed in a great measure to the uses of the plough; while in others the barren areas so vastly preponderate as to leave no prospect of their ever being more than forests for the supply of natural produce, with scanty intervals of tillage by the wilder races who now frequent them. The latter may not be less useful than the former in the economy of the district, as yielding natural produce and securing an undiminished rain-fall. I propose to describe these tracts generally under the two heads above indicated. An arrangement has been made for the demarcation and survey, on the large scale of four inches to a mile, of the culturable tracts in blocks of 5,000 or 6,000 acres, while the forest portions will probably be surveyed topographically and in lump. A descriptive register of both classes will then be prepared, which, with the maps, will form a complete index to the unsettled wastes, whether for purposes of purchase or lease, or of forest administration. Some progress was made in the preparation of a register of the wastes under the old village names, and a portion of it was even published in the *Central Provinces' Gazette* (No. 19 of 9th May 1868); but the position and extent of tracts so described are wholly uncertain, and the data for description valueless. The preparation of this register has accordingly been discontinued by the district authorities.

364. The first tract of waste likely to come under the plough in the Taptee valley lies about 12 miles south-east of Boorhanpore, between the settled villages of Seerpoor and Sindkhera of Zeinabad pergunnah on the north-west, the Ootaolee river on the east, and the Kala-pahar (a spur of the Huttee range) on the south. It has already been incidentally referred to at para. 303, as consisting chiefly of the excluded waste

Culturable wastes in Taptee valley. The Seerpoor tract.

of mouzah Seerpöör, which once paid a revenue of 17,000 rupees to the Moghuls. Its area may be 9,000 or 10,000 acres; and most of this is a rich deep soil, capable of growing the spring crops without irrigation. It was at one time highly cultivated, and contains numerous old wells (said to be 600), many of them capable of repair and use. The water, however, lies from 50 to 100 feet below the surface. I think it might probably be irrigated in part from the Ootalee stream. It yields at present nothing but grass, which is valuable from its proximity to Boorhanpore. It is almost certain to be shortly taken up by the overflow of the Zeinabad population, now thickly crowded on the land. The neighbouring settled villages which share in its advantages of soil and situation have greatly extended their cultivated area even since Settlement, two years ago, and I believe it only wants a man with capital to take it up and invite cultivators to secure its immediate population. Its neighbourhood I found even now to sensibly affect the rent rates of the adjoining villages; but once it is occupied the next extension of cultivation in this direction must make a long step across the barren barrier of the Samurdeo hill (para. 8) into the Manjrode pergunnah higher up the valley, and it may therefore be looked on as certain to yield a high rate of rental for a very long period to come. If fully cultivated, I should look for from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per acre as its probable rent value unirrigated. As an investment I know of no land in the district at all to be compared with this tract.

365. The only other culturable tract in Zeinabad pergunnah lies in the valley of the Mona river to the west of the Mona valley tract. It adjoins the settled villages of Raesena on the east, Peepulgaon and Popnar on the north, and Bhaosa on the west, and is bounded by the Huttee hills on the south. It contains about 8,000 acres, but is not all capable of cultivation. The culturable part is also generally of inferior quality, fit only for khureef crops, and it is, I fear, incapable of irrigation. It will doubtless be taken up, however, during the currency of the Settlement.

366. In the upper part of the valley there is much culturable soil of the richest quality lying in the old pergunnah of Manjrode. This pergunnah once yielded 25,000 rupees of revenue; and all of it now in any way cultivated, as well as a large area of the cultivable waste, is settled for Rs. 200. The culturable tract lies between the Taptee on the north, and the Jeetgurh and Mhowkote hills on the south. It bounds with the Ganga tract of Berar on the east, and abuts on Samurdeo to the west. It is generally level, though here and there broken up by low ridges. Numerous small streams flow through it from the hills, and generally contain water throughout the year. The black-soil varies from over two to twenty feet in depth, and most of it would grow spring crops without irrigation. Wells would generally find water at a little depth, and probably irrigation works could be constructed on the small streams.

It is at present wholly isolated from the civilised part of the district, containing only six or eight hamlets of Korkoos, who raise wheat and rice in the villages settled with Kesho Rao, the hereditary Zemindar of the pergunnah. I do not look for any immediate extension of tillage in this tract. Kesho Rao will doubtless import more Korkoos from Berar and settle them on his lands; but nothing would persuade a dweller in the open valley to move to such a jungle. The climate is extremely malarious, and wild animals of all sorts abound. The natural produce is grass, generally long and coarse from the richness of the soil, very little of which is exported; small timber, mostly saj and unjun, not permitted to be cut of such small girth; and the inferior sorts of trees such as salei, which are not worth carrying to a distant market. There is much fine kowah of large growth along the streams,—a tree which always appears to have been saved, by its uselessness when young, and great size when mature, and inconvenient way of growing on the sides of stream beds, from the destruction which overtook every useful and available tree in the days of non-conservation, in the neighbourhood of great cities and densely peopled plains. Many fine banyan, tamarind, and peepul trees also attest the former populousness of the valley.

367. Along the north bank of the Taptee, opposite Manjrode and between the river and the hills, lies a narrow strip of land of the same quality as that of

The Sajnee tract.

Manjrode. I have called it the "Sajnee"* tract, since it comprises the site of that old seat of the Chohans, and chief town of the pergunnah now called Peplode. This strip averages about two or three miles broad, though in some places where spurs of the hills run down almost to the river it nearly disappears. The best portion of it is the plain in which the settled villages (Korkoo) of Sendwal and Raepore are situated. The area of really good land to be taken up may amount to about 10,000 acres. There is no sign at present of any movement from the cultivated parts of the district towards this part of the valley. It is cut off from the lower Taptee valley in the same way as Manjrode, and from the populous part of the Peplode pergunnah it is separated by the whole width of the Satpoora range. A good deal of nice straight young timber, including a little teak, is now growing in this tract. Little or none of its natural produce is exported.

368. In northern Nimar there are very few noteworthy tracts of culturable waste. Throughout the Poonassa tehseel (now incorporated with Khundwa) numerous waste tracts are scattered about among the settled villages, most of which contain more or less culturable soil along with a great deal of wholly barren land. These will doubtless be gradually taken up as the population of that tract increases; but a great deal of culturable waste has been here included in the settled

* There is a very remarkable banyan tree at this place, which has entirely included in its trunk and uplifted an old Mahomedan tomb of considerable size.

area, and the people will for long have enough to do in improving that. Along the Chota Tawa and Peprar rivers a good deal of level rich soil exists, towards which cultivation will gradually extend from the fairly populated tract round Moondee. From this centre also cultivation may be expected to extend in the Poonassa direction, where there is a considerable area of rich soil. This tract extends up to the Selanee pergunnah, and offers the only field for extension of the cultivation of that pergunnah, as well as Kanapore Beria, and Holkar's Sunawud pergunnah. I should look for the clearance of most of the good land in this tract (round Poonassa) during the currency of the present Settlement. The natural produce of these wastes is grass, which is valuable in the more southerly tracts for removal to Khundwa, and small timber, which is, however, only locally used.

369. The Khundwa pergunnah has little room left for expansion. Along the Sookta river, east of Khundwa, and in the angle between the Peprar and the Chota Tawa, there are narrow strips of good waste. The waste lands of Khundwa are all highly valuable for their natural produce, grass and firewood. The best preserves are those east of Jawar, north of Ahmedpore, &c., and in the neighbourhood of the Indore road.

370. In Bamgurh and Peplode there is much waste land. A block of some hundred square miles lies between Bamgurh and Peplode tract. the eastern limits of the settled areas of these pergunnahs and the eastern boundary of the district, terminating on the north in the angle formed by the junction of the Gungapat with the Chota Tawa river, and on the south at the foot of the Satpoora hills. In this area there is scarcely an inhabitant, very little water in the hot season, and but few large trees. Much of its soil, however, is of excellent quality, particularly in the hollows along the stream beds. I do not think it has ever been well populated, and it will probably be the last extensive tract taken up in the district. It is remotely situated, and by no means healthy, and water would require in most places to be artificially supplied, during some part of the year. None of the natural produce of this tract is ever removed. When hard pressed Khundwa may to some extent appropriate these lands; but for their reclamation there is most hope from the gradual expansion of the population of Bamgurh, Peplode, and Charwa of Hoshungabad. The wastes of the western portion of Bamgurh are valuable for their natural produce. They supply much firewood, and the whole of the good sorts of grass is annually cut by the people of the open tracts of Khundwa and Peplode. The best of these grass preserves lie along the Sookta river north of Bamgurh.

371. Of forest tracts proper, I may mention first the hill range running along the south of Nimar, and comprising the tracts known as Jeetgurh and the Bheel Huttees (*vide* para. 282). The produce of this range is small

timber of all the common sorts, bamboos and grass. There is little or no teak, and no large timber. It is steadily drawn upon for the supply of the above articles by the thickly peopled plains of Nimar and Berar on either side. Carts can work up the principal valleys to the foot of the hills, and the produce is brought down to them by the *Karass* or bullock yoke, or on men's heads. This forest is of considerable importance, and extends over about 300 square miles, of which, however, a considerable portion is the property of Jageerdars. The only culturable land in it are a few tracts on the tops of some of the flat plateaus. They are of very limited extent, but of excellent soil; and, as they have an elevation of from 2,000 to 2,500 feet, would probably be suitable for tea and coffee. If ever again taken up for cultivation it will probably be from the Berar side, to which they are nearest.

372. This tract comprises the section of northern branch of the Satpooras which lies within the district eastwards of Kusba Peplode, an area of about 110 square miles. It is a continuation of the Kaleebet forest of Hoshungabad, and possesses a similar character. From its lying closer to Boorhanpore and the thickly peopled plains of Nimar and Khandeish, however, it has been even more subjected to the destruction consequent on unregulated cutting in former times. It has now been allowed to rest for some ten years as regards the best sorts of trees, and there is a considerable stock of these, chiefly saj, coming on. There is also a good deal of young teak in some places, mostly sprung from old stools and stumps. The commoner sorts of trees allowed to be cut of any girth are exported in considerable quantities to the central parts of the district. Bamboos are also plentiful, and of good quality in the eastern portion of it, and are largely exported. The grass in the most westerly portion of it is also good and valuable. This portion of the tract has but little culturable land in it.

373. These comprise the continuation of the Satpoora range westwards of Peplode up to the western boundary of the district, and including the Aseergurh hill. There are one or two villages partially inhabited to the east of Aseergurh, and also those to the north and west of that fortress in the upper valley of the Sookta river, known as the Sutrabustee Tuppa, which we acquired in sovereignty in A. D. 1818, (*vide* para. 93). These have been regularly settled, and comprise in their area the greater portion of the culturable land in this tract. They are usually situated in the centre of a fine though limited level flat of rich soil on the bank of the river, which there is evidence to show was once highly cultivated by the best agricultural classes. The remains of numerous stone sugar mills and wells attest the high character of the cultivation. Now only poor khureef crops are raised by the Bheels, to whom the tract has reverted. Most of these villages have strong forts; and access to the country from Bourhanpore and Aseergurh is provided by an old Moghul road well

defended at numerous points by works of fortification. I think that it must have at one time been looked on as a sort of granary for the supply of the fort in time of need. The rest of the tract is mostly unculturable, and consists of a long series of rolling hills, covered with profitless scrub jungle. About Boree, and to the westwards, these hills form up into a sort of plateau of considerable elevation (about 2,500 feet), but still there is but little culturable soil. Towards the western extremity of this plateau a little small timber of saj and other jungle woods is procured, and all over it there is much excellent limestone, now used to some extent for the city of Boorhanpore. I do not look for any great extension of cultivation here, but by conservation the forest might be greatly improved, and become a valuable source of supply to the open Taptee valley.

374. The only other tract worthy of the name of forest is that recently formed into a reserved forest. It extends in a strip along the southern bank of the Nerbudda from its junction with the Kaverree river on the west nearly to the Chota Tawa on the west. Its area by revenue survey is 141½ square miles. I extract the following description of it from a report I submitted on the Nimar forests, while acting as Conservator of Forests, in April 1865:—

“There is a large quantity of young teak over the greater part of this area, particularly along the Nerbudda, and in the valleys which run down to it from the plain. It is of much the same character as the Burwaye teak, but opposite Chandgurh and east of Poonassa it is of a straighter and better growth. There are also many fine unjun, beejasal, rohun, and saj trees within this area, although numbers have been cut by the railway sleeper contractors. This forest is very conveniently situated with respect to the railway, and the open country to the south, and is everywhere opened up by good cart roads.” The greater portion of northern Nimar is supplied by this tract with timber. It has now been fully demarcated and surveyed, and is under the management of the Forest Department.

The Chandgurh forests. 375. I extract a description of these from my report of 1865:—

“I confined my examination of the forests to the khalsa portion of Chandgurh. This tract is a continuation of the adjoining Leemunpore Mukrar. It is an almost unbroken forest, the northern part of which is of a similar character to Leemunpore Mukrar, with which it bounds on the west. The timber is, however, of better quality, owing I believe to its not having been so much resorted to by the timber dealers. In the more southern portion, in the valleys of the Kari, Kuniari, and Panala streams, which encircle the hill forts of Ratgurh and Baranga, much promising young teak is springing up. It appears to be of about the same age as the Burwaye teak, but is altogether straighter and better

and is more from seed than old roots. Intermixed with the teak is much fine timber of other sorts, principally unjun, saj, kowah, dhowra, beejasal, kudum, siris and bahera (*Terminalia bellerica*). I never saw the latter so plentiful and fine as in the Panalla valley. The area of the khalsa part of Chandgurh may be 50 square miles, of which about one half is covered with young teak.

"The Ratgurh hill is a perfect hive of bees' nests; there must be many thousands of them on this one hill alone. The wax and honey are collected by a class of people called *Dhanook* and *Nahal*, who seem to have learnt the secret of the "Bee-master," as they manage to perform this dangerous operation with perfect impunity.

"A good deal of timber and forest produce leaves Chandgurh by the Nerbudda route for the western districts."

Exports by Nerbudda route:

376. Forest conservation was first commenced in A. D. 1857, and, as we have seen (para. 103), was nearly being made the pretext for a rising in that year. Forest conservation in Nimar. The rules enforced after the Mutiny till 1865 were of a most minute and vexatious kind, and the system of collecting the revenue unnecessarily inquisitorial. In 1865 the Central Provinces' rules were applied, which allow the agricultural classes to provide themselves with every sort of produce, except a few reserved species of trees only to be cut with sanction, on payment of light duties. More recently the system of leasing out the collection of these dues every year by public auction was introduced. This system, though probably ensuring the largest revenue, is open to much abuse, unless extreme care be taken to give the people concerned in the produce of the waste and in cattle grazing ample protection against possible extortion, and the opportunity of themselves taking the leases of the adjacent wastes. This has not been done in Nimar, the wastes having been let out in lump over large areas by auction at the Sudder station. No proper information regarding the powers of the lessees and the rights of the people has been made generally public, and the people are quite ignorant of what they may and what they may not do. The system of collection adopted by the farmers is the worst possible, namely, that of placing the fewest possible number of collectors at central posts outside the forest, to whom the people are made to come and pay the tax. Reliance on their fears is thus made to supply the absence of a proper force of collectors, which would of course be more costly. Much needless vexation is thus caused to the people. Till recently the rates of duty leviable were all fixed by Government; but now some descriptions of fees, including that for cattle grazing, are left to the discretion of the lessee. As the system of letting the wastes of a whole pergunnah or tehseelee in lump at the Sudder station precludes the cattle owning and other residents in the neighbourhood.

from competing for the wastes they use, a virtual monopoly is thus thrown into the hands of a few speculators, who may extort any sum they please from the people who are compelled to resort to the adjoining wastes to graze their cattle, &c. It is the general opinion that the number of cattle grazed in the Nimar jungles for profit and breeding has greatly diminished since the introduction of the leasing system, and also that the wasteful practice of burning cowdung as fuel instead of using it as manure is on the increase from the same cause. These abuses of the leasing system have not been unnoticed by the local Government; and they may now be fully averted under the provisions of Book Circular No. XXVI. of 1868.

377. I have given in an Appendix a list of the useful trees in the Nimar forests. Nimar depends for its local supply of teak timber entirely on the Gaugra forests of Berar, from which a continuous stream of Bunjaree bullocks laden with teak poles and posts may be seen crawling along the main road down the Taptee valley throughout the open season. Much of this passes on to the adjacent Khandeish territory. In 1865 I advised that a regular system of thinning the teak sprung from old stumps, for the supply of rafters to the people, should be set on foot. This was done for one or two seasons with great advantage and profit, but was then for some reason dropped. The chief source of this supply (Burwyne) has since been made over to Holkar; but the Poonassa, Chandgurrh, and Peplode forests might still yield a considerable supply of poles on the same system, with improvement also to themselves. Nimar has not been inspected by a Forest officer since 1865, and I know of no district which more requires such attention.

378. Within the area left out of Settlement are 57 hamlets of aborigines, which pay a small land revenue, and are mostly quite waste. None of them had any cultivation considered of such a permanent nature as to be fit for a Settlement. A list of them will be found in Appendix. Of these, 34 are held on farming leases, and in 23 the collections are made direct from the cultivators. The total amount of the land revenue paid by them is Rs. 1,277-5-3. The future management of these squatters is a somewhat difficult question. Clearly a rent should be exacted from them, or the temptation to this sort of life would be unfair to the proprietors of neighbouring settled villages. The leases in no case I believe include forest rights, and should, I think, be cancelled where the village is quite waste. In khalsa villages where there is cultivation the rate should be levied on each "plough"—* a system thoroughly understood in Nimar. I would recommend a general rate of Rs. 5 per plough in the Boorhanpore tehseel, and Rs. 4 elsewhere, to be imposed. Removal to "fresh fields and pastures new" should be as far as possible discouraged, and never permitted where there is any timber, unless a regular clearance

* Vide para. 342 for definition of a "plough" (Aot).

lease be taken. The plough rate should include the right of appropriating such forest produce as they require for their own use, and of grazing their own cattle in the neighbouring jungle (none of the existing leases confer forest rights); but not the duty on produce cut for sale, or the grazing tax of large herds kept by Gowlees and Bunjaras.

379. The upset price of the Government waste in Nimar is Rs. 2-8-0 (five shillings) per acre. None of it has yet been sold, and only seven lots, aggregating 3,797 acres, have been taken up on cultivating leases since the State property in wastes has been marked off from private estates. In truth the people will for long (except in a few tracts) have enough to do to bring into thorough cultivation the area assigned to them by the Settlement; and I do not think any pressure in the matter of taking up additional waste land is desirable.

CHAPTER XIII.

TRADE, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMUNICATIONS.

380. It is impossible to give with any exactness a statement of the import and export trade of the district.

Trade Statistics. No assistance is to be had from the official registration of trade statistics, as it does not include the traffic with other parts of the Central Provinces, but only with districts of other provinces. The import and export trade of towns is separately registered, but with what amount of correctness may be estimated from the fact that the returns for Boorhanpore,—a walled city with only half a dozen gates, which does not grow an ounce of its own food,—show an average annual importation of food grain for the last two years of only 148 lbs. per soul of the population, or about one-fifth of what it must necessarily consume.*

381. Taking the most moderate estimate of the quantity of food required for the population it is evident that Nimar must import a large proportion of its food supply. The main article of food being jowar (millet), of which about 3 lbs. is the daily ration of an able-bodied man, an average of 2 lbs. of grain per diem for each soul of the population will certainly not be an excessive allowance. At this rate 1,695,136 maunds (62,063 tons) would be required for a year's consumption. But only 1,060,093 maunds (38,370 tons) of human food grains (deducting seed) are raised within the district (para. 340), so that 39 per cent of the food consumed has to be imported. I believe that this importation consists chiefly of wheat from Hoshungabad, and in a less degree of jowar, pulses, sugar, tobacco, and spices from the Bombay districts. Only 7 per cent of the food raised in the district is wheat, and 5 per cent rice; while, with so many Europeans, Mussulmans, and Hindoos of Northern India, as there are among the population, a much larger proportion of the former, and at least all the latter, must be required. Nor does the district raise any other agricultural produce, except perhaps cotton, in excess of its own requirements. Boorhanpore alone, containing less than a fifth of the population, consumes four times the sugar (goor), more than half the tobacco, three-fourths of the opium, and three-fifths of the oil-seeds grown in the district, so that more or less of all these articles must be imported. Nor can there be anything left for exportation of the small amount of vegetables, spices, and dye stuffs raised. In addition to this all the salt consumed (at $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. per soul per diem, about 970 tons) is imported chiefly from Rajpootana and the Konkan.

* A few cultivators who reside within the walls pass their grain in free of duty, and unregistered, but this would scarcely affect the above calculation.

382. As regards cotton exports, if we allow that one half the children are so young as to use little or no clothes, there remain in round numbers 150,000 persons to be clad. Of these, perhaps 20,000 will use chiefly English piece goods, and the rest Native fabrics. These are all made in the district,—the finer stuffs in Boorhanpore, and the coarser in the villages of the interior. Allowing 5 lbs. weight of cloth, on an average, as the annual consumption of each person, 9,375 maunds of cotton would be required. The district produces about 16,000 maunds of this material, so that only about 6,600 maunds (235 tons) remain for export. A part of this is sent out in the shape of cloth, and a part as raw material; and this is the only cultivated produce of the earth which ever leaves Nimar, excepting a portion of the produce of the 227,727 fruit trees, mango, mohwa, &c., which goes to Malwa and Khandeish. Nimar used to be famous as a cattle exporting country, and the breed is still as good as ever. But I am assured that fewer are now bred, and the local demand for the increase of agriculture and the immense cart traffic between Khundwa and Central India, caused by the railway, now permits very few cattle to leave the district. My census of cattle shows that there are altogether 41,206 cows in the district. Taking everything into consideration, barren cows, casualties among the progeny, some of those reckoned being under breeding age, &c., one calf from each cow in every three years is the utmost that can be allowed as an average production, and half of these only will be labouring saleable oxen, that is altogether 6,866 bullocks a year. But 42,377 bullocks have actually been counted as belonging to residents in the settled villages, agricultural and non-agricultural, and this, as well as the account of cows, includes all that regularly graze in the district. If the average life of a bullock be placed at 10 years, 4,287 head a year will be required to keep up this stock, leaving only 2,579 available for sale, all of which are, I am sure, taken up by the annual extension of cultivation, by the purveyors of public carriage, contractors, and commissariat of Aseergurh; so that statistics bear out the general opinion that Nimar has ceased to export cattle. Every native I have consulted avers that the numerous herds of cattle that used to be pastured on the rich grazing lands of Nimar have now left them for the neighbouring jungles in Berar and the Native States, mainly in consequence of the annoyance their owners suffer in the collection of the new grazing tax through monopolist farmers (*vide* para. 376).

383. Estimating then roughly the value of the imports into the district, exclusive of railway plant, it may be stated at—

Balance of trade,				
Food	...	...	...	Rs. 15,00,000
Salt	..	...	..	" 1,50,000
English piece goods	..	..	..	" 3,00,000
Miscellaneous	..	...	..	" 1,50,000
				<hr/>
		Total	...	20 lakhs of Rupees. (£200,000)

while the land yields but some 2 lakhs' worth of cotton and fruits for export in exchange. The non-agricultural portion of the people must therefore produce the balance by their labour.

384. Almost the only thing manufactured for export is cloth.

Cloth weaving of Boorhanpore.

The fine cloth weaving industry of Boorhanpore has already been referred to (para. 65), as having formed the basis of a highly important trade to places as distant even as Turkey and Poland, about the middle of the 17th century. It is said to have continued in high prosperity till the Mahomedan power began to wane before the Mahrattas, early in the 18th century, when it began to decline. The more recent introduction of English fabrics has supplanted, here as elsewhere, the Native production of the "fine, clear calicuts" mentioned by Tavernier, and now the industry is confined to the manufacture of fine cotton and silk fabrics interwoven with the gold plated silver thread drawn in the city, and to the coarser cotton goods which have not yet been supplanted in the estimation of the people by Manchester "piece goods."

385. The value of the fine fabrics depends mainly on the purity

Gold wire drawing.

of the metals employed in the composition of the wire, and to secure this the wire drawing has always been kept under Government inspection. A hereditary tester called the *Chowkussee* received and assayed all the silver and gold brought to the *taxal* or mint (where the Boorhanpore rupee was also coined); and here the wire was drawn out to a certain degree of fineness before being allowed to pass again into the hands of the manufacturers,—an arrangement still continued by us. The silver, after testing, is cast into the shape of a round ingot (*passa*) weighing from 52 to 60 tolas, and measuring about 21 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in average circumference; and on this a duty amounting to Rs. 2-6-9, including the fees of the Chowkussee and some other servants of the place, was exacted during Scindia's tenure of Boorhanpore. There were three other places in the neighbourhood where wire drawing was then carried on, two being in the neighbouring British territory. The duties in these places were somewhat lower than at the Boorhanpore *taxal*. When the city came under our administration (December 1860) the *passa* was fixed at 60 tolahs (of 180 grains troy each) weight of silver, and the *taxal* duty at Rs. 3 per *passa*, which was reduced to Rs. 1-8-0 from May 1868. Two of the four *taxals* were also then abolished, and the drawing now takes place only at Boorhanpore and Lodeepoora, a suburb of the old city. The silver bars are covered with a thin gold leaf weighing from 4 to 42 *Mashas* (of 15 grains troy each) to each *passa*. The number of *Mashas* employed is called the *rung* (colour) of the wire, which thus varies from about $\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 per cent on the amount of the silver. The adhesion appears to be effected purely by mechanical skill on the part of the workmen called *passa taniais*. It is then passed by the same workmen through a series of holes in steel plates of diminishing size

By manual power applied by means of a spoked wheel of the rudest construction. It is passed through 40 of these holes before it leaves the *taxal*, and is then reduced to about the size of an ordinary soda-water wire. Thence it goes into the hands of another set of operators called *tinias*, who still further reduce it though a gradation of 40 more holes, the last of which is as fine as a human hair. Their apparatus is of somewhat more delicate construction, and their work requires neither the same skill nor hard work as the first operation. The wire is drawn by them down to various degrees of fineness, according to the work for which it is destined. The round wire is then given to the *Chuppuryas*, who flatten it into an almost impalpable film, by hammering between two polished steel surfaces,—an operation requiring, it is said, superior skill. In this state it is termed *badulee*, and is used for some few sorts of work. The greater part of it has however to be spun into a thread along with silk, before being woven up. This is done by persons called *Bitayas*, who use no sort of apparatus for the purpose excepting a couple of wooden spindles twisted by the hand. Indeed the beauty of the result obtained by such primitive implements must strike every one with amazement. The layer of gold on the finest wire must be of almost inconceivable tenuity; and yet such is its regularity that the silver never begins to show in any place till the fabric itself has worn out. The mixed thread is called *kalabuttoo*, which is woven into the *kinkoba* and other brilliant fabrics worn by rich natives on high occasions. It is partly exported as thread from Boorhanpore, and partly made into cloth in the city. In either case an export duty of 4 per cent *ad valorem* was levied on it by Scindia's government, which has of course been taken off by us. The wire drawers were originally Pathans introduced from Upper India by the Emperor Akber Shah; but now all castes work at the trade. Each branch was however during Native rule kept in some measure exclusive by the levy of entrance fees on apprentices, which amounted to the following sums:—

On coarse wire platers and drawers	Rs.	12	8	0
„ fine wire platers and drawers	„	7	12	0
„ „ „ flatteners	„	5	8	0
„ kalabuttoo spinners	„	2	8	0

The rate of wages in each branch is also fixed by a custom, which the great rise of wages all over the country has not yet served to break. Every operation is performed by piece work, and the established rates are as follows, giving to each operative the average daily wages noted:—

Coarse wire drawers, 12 annas per pansa, daily wages	Rs.	1	8	0
Fine wire drawers, 20 annas per 100 tolas, „	„	0	4	0
Wire flatteners, 12 „ „ „ „ „	„	0	6	0
Kalabuttoo twisters, 20 „ „ „ „ „	„	0	3	0

The three latter rates probably represent well enough the relative difficulty of the different sorts of labour, but the former is much higher

on account of the intermittent character of this branch of the work, as well as the severe labour of drawing the solid bars through the first series of holes, and the skill required to effect a thorough union between the silver and its gold plating. Nor do these daily rates really represent the earnings of these operatives over a long period. In the first place on each branch there are certain *chowdrees*, middlemen who take the contract at the above rates from the merchants who furnish all the capital for this industry, and become responsible to them for the safety of the materials; and these middlemen absorb about 25 per cent of the above contract rates, which are all that the merchants allow. Again the trade has doubtless greatly fallen off from its original prosperity from causes to be presently mentioned, though the number of passas converted into wire during the past ten years shows a recent revival which is due to causes about to be mentioned, thus:—

Year.	Number of Passas drawn.	Year.	Number of Passas drawn.
1858-59	1,719	1863-64	4,126
1859-60	2,183	1864-65	3,776
1860-61	941	1865-66	3,593
1861-62	2,395	1866-67	3,641
1862-63	3,328	1867-68	3,172

In the meantime the removal by us of the fees on apprenticeship has, it is said, brought many new hands into the trade, so that none but the most skilful can now secure regular work, the average being I am told 20 days in a month. The wages of the most numerous of the classes engaged in this industry are extremely low, varying from about Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 per mensem, or about one half the ordinary wages of a labourer on the railway works, the price of their food having at the same time risen to more than double the rate it stood at ten years back. At the recent census the number of persons employed in this work was set down at—

Wire drawers	..	..	601
" flatteners	..	..	411
Kalabuttoo spinners	..	..	412

386. The cloth weaving business of the city is quite distinct from the operation of drawing the wire, and spinning the kalabuttoo thread, above described. The fabrics are of many different sorts, many of them of great beauty—*kunkhwal* (vulg. kincob), which is of mixed silk and gold thread, is now little made in Boorhanpore—the Ahmedabad and Benares articles, from being produced both cheaper and nearer

the great markets for such stuffs, having driven it out of the field. The same may be said of *mushroo*, a fabric of silk warp with the woof of cotton thread, wrought with a pattern in kalabuttoo. Though made to a small extent it is greatly inferior to the produce of Ahmedabad. The chief fabrics still made in the city are *jeeree*, a very rich light stuff, in which the flattened wire is interwoven with silk in the warp, with a thread woof, chiefly made up into *oornees* (scarves) and *sarees*, worn by females on wedding and other high occasions. *Selaree* is half silk and half thread, with brilliant edgings and borders of silk and gold thread, mostly in the form of *sarees* and *doputtas*. *Pitamber*, all silk with the same edging, is a better sort of the same. Turbans, sashes, &c., are made in all these fabrics. The gold thread is also much woven up with silk into rich borders and edgings, exported to be attached to the cloth manufactures of other places. The silk for these cloths is all imported. It is mostly from China, generally spun and dyed in fast colours at Poona; a little however is spun in the city from the material imported raw. The cotton thread used is extremely fine, and is both English and made on the spot. The former costs at Boorhanpore exactly one-fourth of the latter, but it is greatly inferior both in strength and cleanness. The closely twisted native thread breaks with a sharp crack, while the English article from its fluffy open character parts without any noise. The people attribute this in part to the different nature of the cotton used, the indigenous fibre being hard though short, while the English yarn is made from the much desired "long soft staples." The English thread, from its greatly superior cheapness, has however completely supplanted the Native for all but the finest stuffs. The city thread is spun by the families of the weavers and others; the best being produced by the Bulahee (Dher) caste. A coarser thread is generally spun throughout the country by the women of almost every caste. It is woven into every description of common cloth by the Boorhanpore weavers; even the best of them, when out of fine work, having to take to the commoner stuffs. The latter now greatly preponderate in quality, and it is said that every day the demand is getting smaller for the finest qualities. It is not difficult to account for this. The supersession by the rough and ready Mahrattas of the luxurious Mahomedan princes and nobles was probably the first blow to the trade. The Courts of Scindia and the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpore were, after them, the greatest customers for rich goods, and both of these have now been lost; the former having ceased to patronise Boorhanpore since its transfer to us, while the same articles can be got cheaper in Upper India, and the Nagpore Court having ceased to exist. But besides the diminution of general demand for such stuffs, Boorhanpore is at a disadvantage compared with other seats of the same industry. The neighbourhood does not produce nearly enough food for the supply of itself and the city, and nearly all the grain, goor, condiments, &c., used has to be imported from considerable distances. Prices therefore range very high in Boorhanpore, and, besides, the materials, silk, silver, and gold, have to be brought further, and the goods have to

be taken a greater distance to market than those of many other places. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the commoner stuffs used nearer at hand, and by a lower class of people, are chiefly made. The increased wealth of the people, due to the cotton demand and other causes; has recently somewhat revived the demand even for fine goods (as shown by the amount of duty received at the *taxals*) (*ante*); and it is not hopeless to expect that as this wealth increases Boorhanpore may at least cease to decline as a manufacturing town, if it does not actually recover anything of its old place. The average earnings of the weavers is from about Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 a month, besides what their families earn by spinning, dyeing, and odd work connected with the trade. They are thus it appears a good deal better off than the operatives connected with the manufacture of kalabuttoo, as was to be expected from the greater decay that has occurred in the gold wire trade than in the manufacture of cloths. A weaver, if out of fine work, can always make common *sarees*, *dhotees*, &c., for which there is a steady demand, and for which little capital is required; but a wire drawer can only draw wire, and can never afford the capital to work on his own account. My enquiries lead me indeed to believe that the weaving operatives, like most others at present, are rather improving in their relations to capital than otherwise.

387. Till lately the whole command of both the wire drawing and weaving trades was in the hands of the merchants of the city. They found all the materials, and merely paid the stated rates for piece-work executed by the operatives. The latter were always kept under heavy advances; and, under Scindia's rule, they could not leave their employers while these were unpaid, unless their new masters chose to liquidate them—that is, they were regularly bought and sold like slaves. The employers now complain of their inability to keep them to their work; and seldom now make advances, as the operatives frequently abscond, and being chattelless the debt cannot be recovered under our legal procedure. Of course this tends, without qualification, to the good of the operative class. They are thus gradually emancipating themselves from the thralldom of the capitalist merchants; and a good deal of the outcry made by the latter about the decay of the trade, may mean only the transfer of a part of their old profits on fine goods to the independent manufacturers of coarser stuffs. The latter have already some advantages in their trade, and might have more. House rent is cheap in a half empty city; water—a great thing for their work—is plentiful and pure. Firewood is not very expensive, and might be even less so with good roads into the waste tracts. Cotton, suitable for such yarns as are required for the stuffs most in use by the common people, is grown all around, and is spun by almost every woman in the neighbourhood. Food of all sorts is dear, but might be cheap were some considerable irrigation scheme carried out in the neighbourhood (*vide* para. 356). We have taken off the Mahratta export taxes on cloths, which amounted to 4 per cent on their value, and there

is now no direct burden on any part of the trade, except the taxal fee of Ra. 1-8-0 on each *passa* of silver made into wire. This the wire drawers themselves would not desire to be withdrawn, as it is thought to give a sort of protection to the genuine Boorhanpore article against the inferior imitations made at Ravere in Khandeish and other places. How it does so, however, it is impossible to understand, for it does not, like the English Hall mark, impress any stamp on the goods, and there is no law to prevent the importation of the inferior article to be re-exported as Boorhanpore produce, which is in fact already done. Moreover, the Boorhanpore wire is itself deteriorating in quality; for, while it was at one time seldom made below from 80 to 42 *mashas* of gold per *passa* of silver, 10 to 20 are now much more commonly used; and this only because there is no demand for the more costly sort. We still, however, tax by octroi the import of the raw materials of these industries. It may be doubtful whether this can be considered wise, at all events in the case of cotton and cotton thread, as the poorer people who chiefly employ these in their trade already pay heavily enough towards the Municipal funds in the shape of taxes on their necessaries of life. The true policy, while the fate of the city industry is still hanging in the balance, is to relieve it as much as possible of every burden, however small, and even defer so-called "improvements," not necessary to the health of the people, and well within their means, till more assured of the prosperity of its trades under the new state of affairs induced by the advent of British rule (which is generally followed by an increased influx of Manchester goods) and the opening of the railway. Instead of this, we have until lately taken a much larger sum in the shape of Municipal taxation from the city than Scindia used to do. This has now been a good deal reduced however, and the abolition of octroi on all articles of the above nature is imminent.

388. The census statements show that there are in Boorhanpore—

Promising opening for a factory.	Silk spinners	..	...	45
	Cloth dyers	..	..	457
	Kulabuttoo weavers	..	..	382
	Other weavers	..	..	4,437

I cannot but think that Boorhanpore offers a singularly promising field for the establishment of a factory on English principles for the production of the coarser cotton fabrics worn by the common people. With so many hands available, who are already skilled in thread spinning and weaving by hand, steam machinery on a moderate scale would certainly enable such an establishment to supply better and cheaper goods of this description than either the imported Manchester cloth, which has neither the strength nor substance looked for by the common people for their every day wear, or than the hand wove Native fabrics now in vogue. His Highness Holkar is now establishing such a factory at Indore; and if possible there, its chance would certainly be much better at Boorhanpore.

389. Besides the Boorhanpore production of cloths, a considerable quantity of the coarsest sorts is woven throughout the district. The number of

Cloth weaving in the district.

persons recorded at this trade, besides those already noted as within the walls of Boorhanpore, are—

Weavers and blanket makers	..	..	7,382
Dyers	..	..	679

so that altogether 14,928, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the inhabitants of Nimar are occupied entirely in cloth manufacture. This however is exclusive of the numerous village servants, who employ part of their time in weaving, and of many women who spin thread.

390. It is impossible to estimate accurately the amount annually produced and exported. The trade returns for last year show a net export of only 1,77,250 rupees worth, while the two preceding years show an import instead. The only line not checked by the statistic takers, is towards Hoshungabad, and little or no country cloth trade probably goes by that line, as Hoshungabad is supplied from Nursingpore with country cloth, and exports none itself.

391. The balance of the value of the imports is exported in cash. Though Nimar has no mines of precious metal, yet it none the less obtains bullion without exporting anything in exchange for it. Firstly is the money expended in the wages of the numerous labourers employed in constructing the railroad and other public works. Then there is the sum paid for the carriage of about 60,000 tons of goods per annum through the district, and for the services of the numerous agents and traders subsisting on this traffic. And, lastly, there is all the money expended by the 18,000 persons, shown further on (para 404), to be always in the district as travellers, or unproductive temporary residents, and for the supply of the numerous troops that march through the district in the cold season. Nothing goes out of the district in lieu of all this money, and it may well be imagined to be much more than sufficient to pay for the excess of imports, though it would be vain to attempt to exactly estimate its amount.

392. The outcome of this state of affairs is a high range of prices for agricultural produce, corresponding to the cost of carriage of the grain imported from the most distant tract which contributes to the supply. In point of fact, wheat sells regularly about 70 per cent higher here than in Hoshungabad, and every other imported grain in proportion. This dearness of food is, of course, highly favourable to the agricultural part of the community, and must be a most powerful incitement to the expansion of cultivation.

393. But its effect on other industries is just the reverse. Wages are higher than elsewhere, nearly in proportion to the difference in the cost of food; and through wages the price of every other industry.

local commodity has equally increased. The most serious effect likely to be produced is the discouragement of the cloth industry of Boorhanpore, already referred to.

394. An effort of Government to encourage the growth of the necessary food supply on the spot might be more successful, and this is only possible by the construction of some considerable works of irrigation, to enable wheat, rice, and the finer produce used in towns to be grown, in place of jowar, in the basin of the Taptee valley around Boorhanpore (*vide* para. 356 *et seq.*). Facilities I believe exist for this, and I have already brought one of the most promising of these schemes (the Ootaoleeé reservoir) separately to notice. Should such a scheme be found practicable in an engineering point of view, I am fully satisfied that both fiscally and politically its advantages are pre-eminent. With an abundant local population and capital, and a thorough appreciation by the agricultural classes of the benefits of irrigation, there could be little doubt of its financial success, while, as a matter of policy, it would probably be the salvation of a city now four hundred and fifty years old.

395. The through traffic of Nimar has already been noticed as maintaining a large number of the non-agricultural population. It amounts to some 60,000 tons, valued at upwards of five millions sterling a year; and consists chiefly of railway plant and military stores from Bombay; of grain, cotton, and oilseeds, from the Nerbudda valley, the Bhopal and Saugor plateau, and Bundelkund; of opium and cotton from Malwa; and sugar, salt, and cocoanuts, &c., from the Western Coast. The latter part of this traffic has come to the district almost entirely since the opening of the railway to Khundwa.* The cost of carrying this traffic through the district by carts and the railroad must amount to about £70,000 sterling, besides the salaries and profits realised by the local transit agencies, a considerable portion of which finds its way into the pockets of residents in the district. Much of the Malwa traffic, however, still pursues its old route to the West, by the old Bombay road, in consequence of the badness of the road between Khundwa and Indore, and particularly the Nerbudda crossing, where, if anywhere in India, a bridge is urgently required. This road, originally made by local effort for local purposes, has completely broken down under the heavy work suddenly thrown upon it. It has now been put in some degree in repair, but not so as to carry the traffic for a length of time; and the

* Since this was written the imposition in the Customs Department of a duty of 1 rupee a maund on sugar passing from Bombay to Malwa has driven the trade in sugar, and along with it many other articles, to the old Agra and Bombay road, which meets the G. I. P. Railway at Munmar. The loss of traffic, via Khundwa, from this cause in 1868-69 amounted to 2,610 tons, while the revenue derived from the transit duty on sugar cannot have exceeded Rs. 3,300! The establishment of opium scales at Oojein has also considerably increased the traffic by the Khundwa route in opium from Malwa to Bombay.

project once mooted for a regular metalled road by a better line appears to have quite fallen through. It seems possible, however, that a branch of the G. I. P. Railway may ere long be extended to Indore.

396. So large a part of the agriculture of the district being confined to the autumn crops, a large number of carts are set free for hire during the open season, and the cultivators add not a little to their gains in this manner. But the supply of carriage is still below the demand; and the cost of carriage is extremely high in Nimar, two bullock carts getting from 4 to 6 annas a coss (3*d.* to 4½*d.* a mile), according to the class of persons who hire them. Traders, who regularly entertain and as regularly pay them, get them at the lower rate; troops and travellers, who seldom require them and are bad paymasters, are charged the higher rate, the difference being pocketed by middlemen.

397. So large a proportion of the people consisting of non-agriculturists an unusual briskness in local traffic is naturally found. About one in every twenty of the whole population lives by grain dealing or banking. Every tract has a considerable town as a centre of the grain trade, the chief of which are Boorhanpore in the Taptee valley, Pundhana and Khundwa in Central Nimar, Moondee in the north-east, and Sanawud (Holkar's) in the north-west of the district.

398. Weekly markets are also held in the towns noted in the margin, and twelve considerable fairs come off in the course of the year. These are as usual partly religious and partly commercial gatherings. The largest in concourse of persons is held in honor of Omkarjee at Mandhatta on the Nerbudda (para. 36). It is held on the 12th Kartik (October and November), and gathers some 50,000 people together. The banks of the river are covered with booths from all parts of the country, and about half a lakh worth of goods usually change hands. The second is held at Peeplia-Singajee (para. 424) on the banks of the Peprar on the 5th of Koar (September and October), and has a concourse of about 15,000 persons; goods to the value of about Rs. 1,00,000, chiefly cattle, being disposed of. This is the only fair at which livestock are generally brought for sale. The usual grain

Markets and Fairs.

Market day.	Name of Town.
Sunday	Bahadurpoor.
"	Khundwa.
"	Beria.
"	Gandwa.
Monday	Ahmadpoor.
"	Borgaon.
"	Jeswaree.
Tuesday	Pundhana.
"	Rahurkoté.
Wednesday	Dhungaon.
"	Goal.
"	Khirala.
"	Moondee.
Thursday	Atode.
"	Jawur.
"	Kohdur.
"	Shahpoor.
Friday	Shahra.
"	Soolgaon.
Saturday	Bumbhara.
"	Buroor.
"	Bamgurl.
"	Poonassa.
"	Roostampoor.

measure in northern Nimar is the *chokee*. Each bazaar used to have a chokee of its own, the average of which held about $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of grain, but varying between 2 and 4. In 1864 a standard chokee was officially established, which is supposed to hold 4 seers of wheat. In fact it holds however the following quantities:—

NAME OF GRAIN.	Weight of measured chokee nominally 4 seers of 80 tolas each.	
	Seers.	Tolas.
Rice, fine Gondwana	4	13
Do. common Nimaree	4	6
Wheat, Hurda	4	5
Do. Gangra	4	0
Do. Nimaree	3	75
Gram	3	55
Jowar... .. .	3	63
Bajree	3	74
Tillee	3	8

16 chokees make a maund, which is therefore in Nimar about 64 seers. If the old average chokee of $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers had been retained, the maund would have been identical with the Government maund of 40 seers. The old local chokee and maund are still used in all bazaars, in wholesale dealings. Twelve maunds make a manee. Cotton is sold by the *kucha* maund of 26 Government seers. In the Taptee valley grain used to be sold by the following scale:—

40 seers = 1 maund
 3 maunds = 1 pulla
 20 maunds = 1 kundee

but this has now been generally superseded by the official chokee above-mentioned.

399. The internal communications of the district are as yet very backward, consisting almost entirely of what are properly enough called "fair-weather" roads; that is water-courses during the four rainy months, quagmires for the succeeding two, and inferior cart tracks for the remaining six; which latter, however, fortunately comprise the season at which the greater portion of the internal traffic would naturally occur. The main exception to this is the old road between Indore and Boorhanpore made by the local officers during the period of energetic improvement commencing in 1846. Two fine bridges of large span pass it over the Abna and Sookta rivers; and the portion of it which has not been subjected (as already described) to the heavy railway-feeding traffic is still in very

fair order. But this section now carries little or no traffic, until after it passes Aseergurh, between which place and Boorhanpore a considerable commerce exists. Two other roads, tolerably well made about the same time, namely, from Boorhanpore to Ichapoor (south), and from Khundwa to Borgaon, have now relapsed into considerable disrepair. Nor does there seem to be any prospect of much improvement in internal communications under the existing system. The only fund from which improvements can be made is the local road cess on landholders' profits, which will amount under the new assessment to a little over Rs. 2,000 a year,—not enough to make decently a single mile of road. It is directly the interest of the landholders and of the State to make local roads in a district like Nimar, where, so long as any portion of its food supply has to be imported, every rupee saved in the carriage of the local produce to market might be added to the rent. But the former are as yet too poor, and too uncertain of their position and prospects, to do much in this line, and the latter has perhaps more urgent claims on its resources. The non-agricultural classes are interested only in the improvement of external communications, and would not get their food a penny cheaper by covering the district with local roads. There is one local work which would probably in time greatly aid in cheapening the district food supply, namely a road from Boorhanpore up the south side of the Taptee valley, which is at present properly practicable only for Bunjaree bullocks. Large tracts of the finest wheat lands are now lying untilled in the upper valley, while the laborious Koonbee cultivators of the inferior soils in the lower valley, in Khandeish and Nimar, are jostling each other for sufficient space. Gangra in Berar, beyond the Nimar border, is tolerably cultivated, because it has an outlet to the populous country on the south; and I believe that the inducement of a really good road through the Nimar part of the valley would lead the Koonbees to venture into the at present dreaded, because isolated and unknown, Marjrode jungle. If this were once again subdued to the plough Boorhanpore would have a plentiful supply of food at her very gates. The bulk of the timber, grass, and fuel supply to Boorhanpore, also comes by this route, and would be vastly cheapened by its improvement. Sound economy would therefore point to its construction out of the Municipal funds of the city.

400. The Nerbudda affords water carriage for a little local traffic in grain, timber, and other forest produce, between Chandgurh on the extreme east and Holkar's Nimar on the west. The largest boats employed are of two or three tons, and only for a few months in the year can even these pass throughout (with the exception of the Dhairee portage, *vide* para. 7). The timber and bamboos are floated down in rafts, chiefly from the Chandgurh jungle,

CHAPTER XIV.

POPULATION. CIVIL AND SOCIAL STATISTICS.

401. The total population of the district as it now stands, according to the regular census taken on 5th November 1866, amounts to 190,440 souls.

402. If all the extensive, and almost uninhabited wastes be taken into the account of area, this would give a density of only 58·6 per square mile, or 26 per cent below the average for the whole Central Provinces. But this would include tracts so varied in populousness as the Peplode jungle on the one hand, with less than a single soul to the mile, and Boorhanpore on the other, with 34,400 inhabitants in the space of 1½ square mile. A much better test of density for fiscal purposes is to be found in the number of inhabitants compared with the area under cultivation. In Nimar there are 1·59 cultivated acres to each soul of the population against 1·76 for the whole Province. Indeed, according to this test the district is better populated than any other in the Central Provinces, Nagpore even being 7 per cent inferior to it. It is still, however, 53 per cent below the average of the North-Western Provinces.

403. Were this superior density merely a pressure of the agricultural population on the land, giving each man a smaller area to subsist on, the effect would not be favourable to agricultural profits, though it might be to rack rents. This is not however the case. The proportion of the population who occupy land as cultivators to the whole is smaller in Nimar than in any part of the Province, thus:—

In Nimar the percentage of occupants of land is	21*
„ Hoshungabad	37
„ Baitool	54
„ Wurdah	36
„ Nagpore	29
„ Central Provinces	42

* The published census returns for Nimar are not reliable on this point. Farm labourers were shown as occupants of land, and railway coolies, &c., as farm labourers. There are just 13,779 recorded occupants of land in the district, and, including their families at the average rate, the number of souls would be 41,722. If resident farm servants be included, the percentage of agriculturists would be raised to 25.

This large proportion of food consumers to food producers must obviously have no small influence on the local market for agricultural produce, as we shall afterwards see to be the case.

404. The phase of population next in importance to its density, and proportion of producers and consumers, is its rate of increase. The first systematic census of the people, and the only one with which a proper comparison is now possible, was taken about the close of 1831. It was not however a simultaneous enumeration, but merely a registration of residents by the village authorities. From the correspondence of the time, I am satisfied that much care was taken to ensure its accuracy, and I see no reason to doubt that it is fully reliable as a registration of residents only. Such a registration is more valuable for the purpose of measuring the rate of increase in the population than a regular census, which includes the travellers and floating population, who have increased so enormously in numbers since the introduction of the railway. But it must be compared with the similar enumeration effected now in the course of the Settlement by the same agency as then, and not with the regular census. This Settlement registration shows for the whole district 18,029 souls less than the regular census, which may fairly enough be taken as about the average number of the travellers, gang labourers, &c., who have no permanent residence in the district. I have very carefully taken out the figures from the returns of 1831 (accidentally rescued from a heap of waste paper), and from my Settlement returns, for the tracts noted in the margin,* which are all that both then and now were subjected to the enumeration. In these 37 years, if these statistics be reliable, the population has increased from 66,168 to 101,017 souls, or 52 per cent. As the number of inhabited villages has increased 63 per cent, and the number of houses (of which there could be little chance of mis-statement) has rather more than doubled, I think the increase shown may be accepted as trustworthy. The greater increase in number of houses than in population points to an increase of wealth among the people, and also to considerable immigration, as well as mere multiplying of the old residents. A similar census appears to have been taken in 1832 in the neighbouring district of Hoshungabad, and from it the increase in population in the same time is found to have been considerably less in that district (as might be expected), namely, 25 per cent.* I believe that the greater part of the increase in Nimar has taken place within the last ten or twelve years. Since the 20 years' Settlement the area under cultivation has increased by 17 per cent. Khandeish has increased its cultivation 50 per cent since its Settlement in 1854; and has now little more waste land remaining to

* Kanapoor.
Beria.
Selanee.
Poonassa, (exclusive of Poonce and Jubgaon.)
Peplode.
Bangurh.
Khandwa.
Aser (exclusive of Boorhanpore and Aseergurh).

* Hoshungabad Settlement Report, page 58.

be taken up. Its excess cultivators are consequently obliged to take land in Nimar. This they readily do as far as the Taptee valley is concerned, which is populated chiefly by similar races, with whom they are already connected by caste and intermarriage. Thus the greatest increase has taken place in the two pergunnahs nearest to Khandeish, Aser having extended its cultivation by 51 per cent since Settlement (1855), and Zeinabad having increased 36 per cent in cultivation, and 20 per cent in population, in the almost incredibly short space of five years, according to statistics carefully collected in 1862 and 1866 (*vide* para. 234).

405. In Nimar adult males are to Proportion of sexes. adult females as 100 to 94.

Infant males are to Infant females as 100 to 85.

All " " All " " 100 to 91.

which shows the district to hold a place, in the matter of proportion of sexes, intermediate between the Central Provinces generally and the North-Western Provinces of India.

406. As might be looked for in a district with such a history, the variety of castes among the inhabitants is

Variety of Castes.

very great, 173 having been recorded at the

census. Many of these are however insignificant, and the people may be broadly ranged under the following heads; the first two of which classes mark their own inferiority by calling all the others the *chowkar* or "excellent" people :—

	{	Bheels	..	..	18,573
	{	Bhilalas	..	..	7,010
	{	Kolees	..	..	1,542
I. Aborigines.	{	Korkoos	..	..	6,412*
34,803	{	Nahals	..	..	1,201
	{	Gonds	..	..	33
	{	Meenas	..	..	34
II. Indian outcasts	{	Bulahees	..	..	17,478
(? immigrants).	{	Mangs	..	..	605
18,446	{	Mehters	..	..	299
	{	Ramosees	..	..	64
	{	Rajpoots	..	..	14,292
	{	Koonbees	..	..	21,176
III. Hindoo Immigrants	{	Gocjurs	..	..	11,459
117,039,	{	Malees	..	..	4,967
<i>viz</i> :	{	Kachees	..	..	1,714
(A). Agricultural and pas-	{	Jats	..	..	61
toral castes.	{	Aheers	..	..	1,423
64,565.	{	Gowlees	..	..	3,968
	{	Bunjaras	..	..	2,866
	{	Miscellaneous	..	..	2,639

* The Korkoos were erroneously called Gonds in the district census report.

(B). Trading and artizan castes 31,769.	.. {	Bunneahs	8,577
		Marwarees	377
		Telees	6,443
		Miscellaneous	16,372
(C). Other Hindoo castes. 22,174.	.. {	Brahmans	6,983
		Kayuts	281
		Religious mendicants	2,468
		Miscellaneous labouring castes	12,442
IV. Mussulmans 18,279.	.. {	Shekhs	5,293
		Syuds	1,936
		Pathans	1,550
		Bohras	1,606
		Moghuls	308
		Others	7,586
V. Miscellaneous immi- grant classes 402.	.. {	Europeans	220*
		Eurasians	50
		Parsees	29
		Indo-Portuguese	4
		Jews	3
		Telinga Madrasees	77
	Seedee Africans	19	
Total population ..			190,440

407. Of more interest in a Settlement report however is the following classification by castes of the actually recorded proprietors of villages, and cultivating occupants of the land, in the area included in Settlement:—

Proprietors of villages, including shareholders.

Aborigines 128.	.. {	Bheels	12
		Do. Mahomedan	28
		Bhitalas	76
		Korkoos	12
Rajpoots .. ..	.. ..	.. ..	304
Immigrant Hindoo Agri- cultural castes 460.	... {	Koonbees, Deccanee	65
		" Tiloleh ...	77
		" Mahratti..	135
		" Goojrattee..	19
		Goojurs	136
		Malees	17
		Deswalees	6
Aheers	5		

* When the census was taken there were no European troops at Aseergurb, where there are usually two Companies (about 200 men).

		{	Brahmins, Hindostanee	1
			" Baveesa...	3
			" Narumdeo	34
			" Nagur ..	24
Other Hindoo castes	...		" Deccanee	75
179.		{	Kayuts	8
			Bunneahs and other mercan-	
			tile castes	17
			Gossaeens	6
			Other castes...	10
Mussulmans .. ..	...		.. ..	47
			<hr/>	
	Total	...	..	1,118
	<i>Cultivating occupants.</i>			
Total Aborigines.		{	Bheels	1,410
2,668.			Bhilalas	861
			Korkoos	320
			Gonds, Nahals, &c. ...	77
			Brahmans	975
			Rajpoots	2,120
			Bunneahs	158
Total Hindoos.			Koonbees	2,681
10,777.			Malees	612
			Kachees	226
			Goojurs	1,515
			Other Hindoo castes and	
			outcasts	2,490
Mahomedans	...		.. ..	334
			<hr/>	
	Total	...	..	13,779

I may remark that care has been taken in this Statement to include each individual cultivator only once. A mere enumeration of the names recorded in the Settlement Mists would be erroneous, as one man often appears as a cultivator in several villages.

403. I have little space to devote to an ethnological description of these castes and their customs—a subject which, although interesting, scarcely belongs to the province of a Settlement report, and is moreover already in great part accessible in other quarters. Some remarks however, particularly on their respective characteristics as cultivators, are necessary.

409. In all the seven aboriginal tribes, of whom we have representatives, is observable more or less of the innate restlessness and absence of attachment to the soil, characteristic of most uncivilised races. The only exception is in the case of those families who hold the *Wuttun* of hereditary village watch. These officials have seldom deserted their villages in any

calamity, and have always taken the earliest opportunity of returning. But here also their position is somewhat in accordance with their unsettled proclivities, depending as it does on the chance contributions of grain, &c., and on the produce of the wild fruit trees of the village waste, rather than on regular cultivation. Few if any aboriginals but these have held their land long enough to give them a claim at the present Settlement to be recognised as the proprietors, or even as possessing a right of occupancy as tenants. Nor would they value such rights if they had them. They are still such as the mass of the cultivators of Nimar were in the time of our early administration, who bargained for the right to throw up their land, not to retain it (para. 181). They have boundless waste lands before them, deadly to every constitution but their own, and are more happy in a pestiferous wilderness, growing a little Indian-corn on the hill side, and eking it out with jungle fruits and labour as hewers of wood, than as tillers of the finest wheat fields in the open country. Yet they are often most laborious cultivators when the conditions are suitable, as in the remote and pestilential upper Taptee valley, where the wheat fields of the Korkoos rival in good tillage those of the open country. I have described the system of cultivation usually adopted by these tribes when they take land as tenants (para. 346). The majority of them, however, work as farm labourers during the greater part of the year, above which condition they seldom permanently rise. They are doubtless useful as the pioneers of cultivation. They are generally the first to break up new land, and clear the jungle, to be followed, when the soil has improved by exposure, and the climate by clearance, by the more enduring races, with their superior skill and farm stock, as permanent settlers.

410. The majority of these aborigines are Bheels, the central, north, and south line of Nimar forming the extreme eastern limit of the range of that tribe. As might be looked for, therefore, they are not very genuine savages. They speak no aboriginal tongue (if any Bheel language exists), but a dialect composed of Hindi, Mahratti, and some other elements, difficult to analyse but probably aboriginal. In personal appearance they are scarcely to be distinguished from the other wild tribes of the district, particularly the next on the list, the Bhi!alas. All these aborigines have very marked negretto features, and all except some of the Chiefs, who must have an infusion of Rajpoot blood, are very dark skinned. A number of the Bheels were converted to Mahomedanism during the rule of that power in the district. These are found chiefly in the hills round Aseergurh and the Taptee valley. They now retain no observance of any save the most elementary rites of that faith, and, particularly the women, have returned to the worship of the semi-Hindoo semi-elemental deities revered by most of the wild tribes of India. These converted Bheels are, with few exceptions, a miserable lot, idle and thriftless, and steeped in the deadly vice of opium eating. The unconverted Bheels are held to be tolerably re-

liable. When they borrow money or stock for cultivation they seldom abscond fraudulently from their creditors; and this rough honesty of theirs tends, I fear, to keep numbers of them still in a state little above serfdom, though not a very unhappy sort of it, to the Rajpoot Thakoors, who possess most of the villages on the western side of the district. I know a few instances of Bheels who have risen to the position of substantial and steady farmers; and on the whole, I think there is no doubt that their position and character are steadily improving. How much they have already improved since the not very remote time when they were the most dreaded and turbulent robbers in the country (para. 101) is evident. The wildest of the Bheels carry bows and arrows, and some of them shoot with remarkable accuracy up to about 60 yards, at which distance their arrows will penetrate an inch board.

411. The Bhilalas are usually held to be descended from one of those commixtures of Rajpoot and aboriginal (in this case Bheel) blood, which appear to have been not uncommon in that period when the Rajpoot clans were acquiring for themselves the lordship of Central India. In general, however, such commixture has taken place only in the case of the Chiefs of the tribes, and no general change of name has followed for the whole race. Such are the Korkoo Chiefs of the Gavilgurh (para. 34) and Mahadeo hills, who, though evidently and admittedly descended from such a cross, are yet called Korkoos, like the unmixed tribe of which they are the heads. Such also doubtless were the powerful Gond princes who once ruled the country from Gurra Mundla to Nimar, and who are still represented by many families of "Raj Gonds." Nor do I believe that in the case of the Bhilalas the actual commixture of blood extended any further than this, though for some reason, probably the territorial superiority I have shown them to have had, the tribe of Bheels with which the intermarriage took place acquired the distinguishing name of "Bhilala" (*vide* paras. 35 to 38). The only Bhilalas who show a marked infusion of the Rajpoot blood are the families of the Chiefs, here represented by those of Bamgurh, Mandhatta, and Selanee. These call themselves Rajpoots, though not admitted to be so by the other clans. They do not intermarry with the common Bhilalas, but only among themselves and the numerous other families of the same descent in Malwa and Holkar's Nimar. Nor do they admit that a Bhilala can now spring from intermarriage between a Rajpoot and a Bheel. Thus the young Chief of Rajgurh, who is descended from a Rajpoot father and a Bheel mother, is held to be nothing more than a Bheel, though as Aryan looking as any pure Rajpoot in the district.

The common Bhilalas, though I believe really undiluted aborigines, yet differ considerably in habits, though not in physical characteristics, from the other tribes of Bheels. They do not cling to wildernesses, and shrink from intercourse with the races of the plains, so much as they do; and have for a much longer time apparently been in contact with "civilisation." The consequence is that they are much greater scoun-

drels, just as the tame Gond is much worse than the wild one. A Bhilala is proverbial for dishonesty in agricultural engagements, and can seldom get advances of money from the bankers. They are also worse drunkards than any other of the indigenous tribes I have met with. The Bhilala Chiefs are ultra-Hindoo in all their practices, like all races whose pure Hindoo origin is denied. They are, nevertheless, as far as my experience goes, a dissolute and deceitful lot, prone to opium and other debaucheries, and sticking at nothing likely to advance their interests.

412. The Koles are few in number and scarcely distinguishable from Bheels. They are nearly all in the position of village watch.

Koles.

413. Of the Korkoos I need say little. They are identical with the tribe of the same name (Pothria Korkoos) spreading over the hills on both sides of the Taptee valley, in the Kaleebheet hills of Hoshungabad district to the north, and in the Gavilgurh range of Berar to the south. This tribe differs in some respects from the Mowasse Korkoos of the Mahadeo hills (Puchmuree), though their vernacular languages are nearly identical. Minute, and generally accurate accounts of them will be found in an Appendix to Mr. Elliott's Hoshungabad Settlement Report, and in a paper on the "Gonds of the Gawil hills" in the Proceedings of the Bombay Geographical Society for May 1846. How they came to be called *Gonds*, both in Berar and Nimar (a mistake apparently as old as Akber's time, *vide* para. 57), I cannot understand. They do not call themselves so, though the other classes of the community invariably do; and they are wholly distinct in language and everything else. This has already given rise to numerous mistakes, and should if possible be discontinued. There are really only 33 Gonds proper in Nimar, which is altogether to the west of their range, but in the district census report all the Korkoos were improperly so termed. The Nimar Korkoos are a somewhat more settled and laborious race than their comrades deeper in the hills. They never practise the destructive *Dhya* or *Bendree* system of cultivation, in which a hatchet and the ashes of devastated teak forests are made to take the place of the ox-plough and honest tillage of the soil. They occupy chiefly the fertile lands in the otherwise depopulated Taptee valley, are fairly supplied with ploughing and breeding cattle, and raise, by regular tillage, wheat, gram, and a particularly excellent species of rice. Though still inclined, somewhat to shift their actual residence on slight provocation, they stick pretty steadily to the clearings they have made with considerable labour for such cultivation. They are laborious, if not very skilful cultivators, and on the whole tolerably reliable. They readily get advances of money, though at high interest, for agricultural purposes. Those in Manjrode rely for these advances chiefly on the hereditary Zemindar, who owns all the settled villages in that pergunnah, and is indefatigable in his exertions to reclaim the Korkoos. Those of

Korkoos.

Peopled are chiefly in the hands of some Bohras of Boorhanpore, who advance them money, and take all the produce of their labour at very low rates in repayment. Until the Korkoos become more steady, and learn to refrain from wasting all their earnings in drinking, they must inevitably thus remain dependent on the capital of the grain dealers. I believe that what superiority the Nimar Korkoos possess over those of Berar, in industry and steadiness, is mainly owing to the restriction long placed on their irregular habits by the Forest laws, and to the regulation of liquor distilleries. Though such restrictions are at first distasteful to these "children of the forest," and always drive the worst of them across the border to any tract where they are not in force (in this case numbers have gone to Berar); yet that they are the most powerful instruments for their reclamation is shown by the effect they have already produced on the wild tribes throughout the Central Provinces. In neither of the papers on the Korkoos above referred to is there any mention of two striking characteristics of the tribe. One is their fashion of building their villages of a close bamboo wattle-work, and of almost Swiss-like neatness, a picturesque site being usually chosen, and the invariable plan being one long street with a wide open roadway, or several such parallel with each other. Their villages are kept remarkably clean, and their general appearance forms a striking contrast to that of the habitations of any other aboriginal tribe, or even of most of the more pretentious towns in the open country. The other point is their habit of carrying a small bamboo flute behind the ear like a pen, from which they discourse a not unpleasant strain—chiefly when drunk, or engaged in propitiating Wagh Deo, the "tiger god," Mata Devce, the "small-pox goddess," or any other of the dread powers they reverence. I have elsewhere referred (paras. 34 and 411) to the Raj-Korkoo Chiefs of Nimar, who are descended from the alliance of Rajpoot Chiefs with the daughters of the aboriginal tribe. I need only remark concerning them here that they do not now intermarry with the pure Korkoos, but only among themselves and other families of similar descent in other parts of the Nerbudla and Taptoe valleys. Those I have seen are much superior in appearance to the common Korkoos, and in character have I think the advantage both of the Raj-Gonds and Bhilalas, who are descended from a similar commixture of blood. This may in part be due to the superiority of the pure Korkoo to either Gond or Bheel, which I think no one who knows all three will fail to concede to them.

414. The Nahals do not now exist in Nimar as a separate tribe, and are chiefly village servants. They have already been mentioned as at one time forming a dangerous class of hill robbers, and having been subjected to a sort of war of extermination in consequence (para. 59). Little is therefore to be now learnt of their origin. They have no separate language, but talk that of the Korkoos in the wilder parts of the district. They

do not eat or intermarry with any other tribe, being held inferior both to Bheels and Korkoos. I have been unable to learn any peculiarity in their religious observances or habits.* There being so few Gonds, and Meenas (who are allied to Bheels), no remarks on them are required.

415. I think it doubtful to what extent the outcaste classes of
 Outcastes. Bulahees and Mangs are indigenous or immigrant. The former are the Dhers of the Deccan, and here fill the office of village drudge, and also, where there is no Bheel or Mankur, of village watch as well. They however readily take to any sort of labour. They used to be the principal weavers of cotton cloth, and are still to some extent so employed. But the cheapness of English cottons has taken a great portion of this business out of their hands; and they now work greatly on the roads and other public works. I have no doubt that the Ramoosees and Mehters are immigrants, the former from the Deccan, and the latter from Hindostan.

416. I have already dwelt at length in many parts of this report on the history of the Rajpoot immigrants who pioneered the way for the other Aryan tribes that now form the bulk of the population. As a cultivator the Rajpoot ranks below the industrious classes of Koonbees, Goojurs, &c. Though here devoid of the prejudice they affect in some places against handling the plough, the Rajpoot labours under the great disadvantage of receiving no assistance in the field from the female members of his family, who are strictly kept in seclusion. Were it not for this he would not perhaps be much behind any class but the regular Koonbee or Malee in agricultural character. As landowners the Rajpoot Chiefs are grasping and contentious to a degree. They have steadily fought every inch of ground throughout this Settlement, in the endeavour to recover as much of their ancient proprietary right as possible, while a minor war has at the same time raged within each family, the head of which has striven to recover as much as possible of the lands alienated in favour of the collateral branches. I do not think that the present statistics point to the existence of infanticide among the Nimar Rajpoots, nor does popular report give support to such an idea. The proportion of male to female infants shown by the census papers of 1831 was 100 to 68, while now it is 100 to 84, from which perhaps an improvement in this respect may be deduced.

417. The Koonbees form the bulk of our cultivators, and are certainly the best of them. There are four
 Koonbees. divisions of them, none of whom intermarry.

*They may be the remains of the race mentioned as *Nalas* in the Mahabharat, whose locality is ascertained to have been near the Vindhya and Riksha (Satpura) mountains (vide Professor H. Wilson's translation *Vishnu Purana*, Vol. II., page 171).

The Tiloleh Koonbees of Northern Nimar came from the Deccan (they say from a place called Matingaon) in a body of 600 families, though they have a tradition that their origin was in Goojerat. Their genealogies contain about 13 generations, which points unmistakably to their arrival having occurred shortly after the conquest of Akber. Another branch of Tiloleh Koonbees is found only in the Taptee valley, and at present does not intermarry with the first mentioned. They are usually called "Mahrattas," and are the only people who bear that name in Nimar. The third class are the Goojeratee Koonbees, subdivided into Lewas and Kurwas. They are generally spoken of only as "Goojeratees." They came to Nimar by way of the Nerbudda valley, and are accordingly found chiefly in the north-west corner of the district. They are the best possible cultivators, and raise most of the opium grown in Holkar's Nimar. I cannot ascertain when they first came up the valley, but it was most probably during the latter years of the Mandoo sovereignty. The Kurwa Koonbees have a curious custom of celebrating marriages only once in every twelve years. The ceremony consists simply in publicly joining hands when the sun is half set on a particular evening once in twelve years, which is announced by messengers from the shrine of their tutelary deity in Goojerat (Devee). If the lawful moment cannot be seized, the parties are doomed to twelve years more of single blessedness! The fourth and last sub-division is the Ghatoo! Koonbee, usually termed "Deccanee." They are a comparatively recent importation, their landmark being the battle of Kurdla between the Moghuls and Mahrattas in A. D. 1795. They are confined to a few villages in Nimar, the principal of which are Jeswaree, Bamgurh, Singote, and Deeplan, in the Khundwa tehseel. The rest of the invoice of "700 cart loads" went on to Kurgond in Holkar's Nimar. All the three classes of Koonbee who came from the Deccan, though ready to take up any sort of profitable cultivation, yet appear to have a natural leaning towards the raising of the khureef or autumn crop, which mainly consists of their favourite food, jowar.

418. The Goojurs arrived from Hindostan with the Mahomedans.

Goojura. Though they have there got a bad character as cultivators, here they are but little inferior to the Koonbee in industry. They have four sub-divisions,—Moondlee, Leloria, Jadum, and Bur-Goojur. The main feature which distinguishes them from the Koonbees is a love of ostentation, which leads them to spend their money in fine clothes and houses, rather than in increasing their agricultural stock, and particularly a fondness for fine trotting bullocks, and indeed for cattle generally. The return from a Moondlee-Goojur's wedding is a sight to be seen. Every Goojur far and near has come with his whole family in his best bullock cart, gaily ornamented; and whatever the road may be nothing but a smash will prevent a break-neck race homewards at full gallop; the winning cattle in several such races acquiring a much coveted reputation throughout the district,

While on this subject I may notice the complete want in the district of carts built expressly for speed, like the *ringees*, &c., of the Nagpore country. The common farm cart is indeed the only vehicle employed; and it is surprising what speed the Gojurs manage to get out of it. Doubtless as the people become more wealthy better equipages will become common. They are still barely emerging from the dejection engrained in their nature during the long period of oppression, when to own a fine house or equipage, or even, as the proverb goes, to wear a red turban, was to invite a squeeze from the ever ready screw of extortion.

419. The Malees and Kachees are here, as elsewhere, chiefly devoted to the finer sort of garden cultivation. None of the other cultivating castes appear to require remark.

Malees.

420. I have classed the Banjaras among Hindoos, though properly speaking they can scarcely be said to belong to that class. They are the Gypsies of India; and here, as elsewhere, maintain their peculiar patriarchal institutions and wandering mode of life. From its situation on several main routes of traffic, and the excellent grazing afforded to their numerous herds of cattle, Nimar has always been one of the main sites of their *tandas* or resting places. These are generally fixed as hamlets attached to such regularly cultivated villages as have considerable tracts of waste land belonging to them. Here remain the old men and many of the women and children of the tribe, together with their breeding cattle, while the younger men are absent with the working bullocks on their long carrying trips. They generally rent a little land in the village to give them a footing, and pay also a grazing fee on the number of cattle present. Their spare time is constantly occupied in the manufacture of hempen twine and sacking, which is much superior to the similar articles manufactured in the towns. The advent of the railway and the construction of cart roads are said to have greatly diminished the demand for pack-bullock carriage; and certainly numbers of Banjaras are now found labouring as common coolies on the railway and road works,—a circumstance I do not remember to have seen in any other part of the country. They are also taking a good deal to cultivation in the wilder parts.

421. With the Banjaras have, I suspect, been classed in the census another carrying tribe called *Mooltancees*, who are *quasi*-Mahomedans, said to have immigrated from Mooltan about two hundred years ago. The chief site of their *tandas* is along the Nerbuddia river; and much of the grain traffic between Hoshungabad and Malwa is carried on by them over the difficult passes in the Vindhya range, which separates these countries. They are ranged in tribes under headmen called Naiks, in a very

Mooltancees.

similar manner to the Bunjaras; and like them they bear the repute of being a dangerous criminal class.

422. Of the other Hindoo castes it is only necessary to mention that the Brahmans are chiefly what are called "Mahratta" Brahmans, that is those from the Deccan above the ghats (Deshce) and below the ghats (Concane). The former usually add their father's name to their own as a surname, while the latter distinguish themselves by an *Oopnam*, or family name, such as "Bhoskooteh," &c. (para. 77). The Putwareeships of southern Nimar, and nearly all the public offices throughout the district, are monopolised by this class, than which none that I have come across is more distinguished for intellect and application, if also in too many cases for an excessive degree of unscrupulousness. The seeming abnegation of, but real grasping at power, which made the Shao Rajah a puppet in the hands of his Brahman minister the Peshwa, is still as remarkable a feature in the genius of the class as ever. The Mahratta Brahmans are now undoubtedly the dominant class in Nimar. The long supremacy of the Peshwa threw the whole administration, and much of the land itself into their hands; and they are not the people to allow such advantages to diminish, but rather the reverse. Their appearance in the district probably dates from the beginning of the 18th century. There are also a few Nagur Brahmans from Goojerat in the position of hereditary officials and landholders (para. 121); and in northern Nimar a considerable number of the Narum-Deos of the upper Nerhudda valley, and the Bavisas peculiar to Nimar, who together possess most of the Putwareeships and village priestships (*Pursae*) in that part of the district. The Hindostanee Brahmans are chiefly occupied in the ministry of Siva at Omkarjee, and elsewhere; and, except as religionists, possess little influence in Nimar.

423. The Mahomedans are chiefly congregated in Boorhanpore, The most prominent class of them is the Bohra community, who are under the headship of a Moolla only inferior in rank to the high priest of Surat. The Bohras, though bigotted religionists, are certainly the most civilised and enterprising, and also perhaps the most industrious class in the district. They have penetrated its remotest corners with their shops, and have much of its trade in their hands. They also show some signs of a desire for the ownership of land; and I doubt not will ere long possess themselves of a good deal of it in the neighbourhood of Boorhanpore. The recent fire in the Bohra quarter of the city was a severe blow to their prosperity.*

424. In Nimar modern Hindooism displays, perhaps more strikingly than in most places, the decay of the older and more orthodox forms and objects

* The tombs of the Bohras near Boorhanpore are worth a visit, though possessing little claim to architectural merit.

of worship before sectarian innovation and the popular tendency towards the canonization of their religious teachers. Though the whole district has been at one time the seat of the strongest forms of the Sivite and Vishnuvite faiths, as evidenced by the numerous temples to these deities still remaining, yet in recent times the devotion paid to the former has become cold and heartless, while the latter has been almost wholly replaced by the more popular of his incarnations, Rama and Krishna. The strong religious establishments connected with the Sivite shrines of Mandhatta have certainly tended to keep alive to some extent the popular devotion to Siva, Bhowanee, &c., at the periods of the chief religious festivals of that faith. This is not a little aided of course by the excitement of the trading fairs, and the universal holidays arranged to come off at the same time; and even at Mandhatta itself the shrines of the god are little frequented at other times save by the ministering Brahmans. Elsewhere the numerous temples of the Phallic emblem are almost wholly deserted. The worship of the personified forms of the "god of destruction," Bhairava Devee, &c., still lingers among the aborigines, where they doubtless had their origin; though even there the popular reverence is more freely paid to the deified powers of nature, such as Wagh Deo, the "tiger god," Mata Devee, the "goddess of small-pox," Hela Deo and Sambur Deo, the "bison and deer gods," and to the spirits of their deceased ancestors. The hatchet by which they chiefly live is also deified by these simple savages under the name of Kulhar Deo. The highest hill tops are their favourite temples. Among the Hindoos proper the popular forms of faith are of a milder type. Every village has a village god, generally Hanooman, whose temple is the largest banyan or peepul tree on the spot. There are also numerous rural deities who preside over agricultural operations, and are duly invoked at the proper season. It is not unusual to see an old stone *Ghana* (sugar mill), daubed with vermillion, and propitiated with flowers, &c., at such a time. Every household too has its Lares and Penates, consulted on affairs peculiarly concerning the family. The residents of towns and cities hold more to the recognised members of the Hindoo Pantheon. Rama Chandra has a large following under the Goo-rooship of a religious teacher (Brahman), whose ancestor brought the the Ramanundee creed from Hindostan 150 years ago. During eighteen days of Chait and Bysak in every year the whole of the Ramayan epic is performed by this sect in the temples and groves of Khundwa; and it is a time of great popular rejoicing and display. The religion of the Gokulashta Gossains, in which Krishna and his associates are the favourite objects of devotion, is also a favourite, chiefly among the mercantile classes; though many of these are still followers of Jainism, once the dominant faith in Nimar. It would almost seem indeed as if a revival of this creed were imminent. Many new temples to the Jain saints are in course of erection; while I scarcely think a single Hindoo temple has been built during the last fifty years. New centres of religious attachment are constantly being formed by the canonization of popular religious teachers. Such is the devotion paid to Singajee, a glorified

Gowlee (cowherd), who died in the odour of sanctity 309 years ago. He became during life a Gokulashta Gossain; but by several miraculous appearances and other supernatural circumstances, duly recorded in the gospel according to his disciple Khemdas, acquired a deified character for himself after death, and is now the object of a wide popular devotion, chiefly on the occasion of a Mela or fair held at his tomb on the banks of the Peprar on the 5th of Koar (September and October). There too his descendants, prior to the present generation (which collects the offerings of the devotees), are entombed, each under a stone platform surmounted by a pair of carved feet; and they are associated with the original founder in the devotion of the people. Not the least remarkable saint in the calendar is a Mussulman Peer named Mahomed Shah Doola Durvesh, who founded a sect at Boorhanpore about 200 years ago. He is related to have become deeply learned in the Hindoo scriptures, so as to have attracted to his teaching numbers of the rural population, chiefly Mahratta Koonbees. He never attempted, however, to make his followers Mahomedans; but preached the one god of Islam as the Bhugwan of the Hindoos. On his death he was canonized; and his followers, now greatly increased in numbers, still reverence him as their Peer; and his descendants the Peerzadas, dissolute and unholy as they are, yet receive a portion of their adoration, as well as tithes of all their goods. There are many other minor sects more recent in their origin even than these, the leaders of which are oftener taken from the lay classes than from the recognised priesthood. Thus it may be said, I think, that the old dogmatism of the Brahmanic creeds is on the wane; and the Brahmans themselves, though dominant as a laity, have lost much of the influence acquired by a monopoly of sacred things.

425. How far this may be in process of acceleration by the advance of popular education, it may at present be vain to speculate. Government encouragement of education commenced, like every other effort at good administration in the district, about A. D. 1846. Teachers were then brought from the Deccan, and many books procured. Others were printed in a press established by Captain Erans at Mundlaisir. In 1859 Major Keatinge got an Inspector of Schools appointed; and, from that time till the district was attached to the Central Provinces, the number of Government schools increased by 40 per cent, and of scholars by 100 per cent. A portion of this increase was however owing to the acquisition of Boorhanpore and Scindia's Taptee pergunnahs. Since the introduction of the Central Province system, five years ago, schools have increased 187 per cent, and scholars 84 per cent. There is now a Government school to every ten villages, and there is one scholar among every 87 souls of the population (excluding travellers, &c., 1 in every 79 residents), a result greatly above the average for the Central Provinces, and other parts of India. Yet there are still several extensive and populous tracts without a single Government school. Besides

this there are numerous inferior private places of education. There are two very strong reasons why the sort of education which consists in learning to read and write should flourish in Nimar. The first is the unusual preponderance of the non-agricultural element among the people; and the second the use in all the public offices of the Nimaree dialect written in the Hindi character; which leads to almost all the Government appointments being the prizes of locally educated youths. Though there is a certain air of provincial peculiarity about the Nimar people, which is apt at first to give an unfavourable impression of their intelligence, yet a closer acquaintance with them only is necessary to show that (excepting the aboriginal races) they in fact possess an unusually high average of mental capacity; but how far the enlightenment which constitutes practical education has really penetrated even the upper stratum of the people may be learnt from such facts as this; that not long ago one of the wealthiest bankers in the district died of a common fever within a hundred yards of medical aid, while his friends, thinking him bewitched, neglected all remedies save the charms and mummeries of the family priest.

426. The Nimaree dialect is a mixture of the common Hindi of Malwa and the Upper Nerbudda valley with Mahratti, considerably dashed with high-flown Persian words and idioms bequeathed to it by its numerous Mahomedan population of former times, and often strangely mangled in their modern uses.* The Hindi element preponderates north of the central hill range, and the Mahratti to the south of it. Goojeratee is also much used by the mercantile classes in Boorhanpore.

427. Much has been said in different parts of this report on the general condition of the people. It is undoubtedly on the whole one of rapidly advancing material prosperity, though certain of the manufacturing industries are undergoing a process of decay. The emergence of the district from the old paternal system of management, suited to its infancy, has tallied well with its attainment of wealth and self-reliance. It would probably have been as vain to give it a more determinate system of Settlement and land tenure than it has had, while it lacked material prosperity and a sound legal procedure, as it would have been (and has in some measure been of late years) to institute strictly legal tribunals while the substantive law regulating the tenure of land was yet unwritten, and the mass of the people were steeped in poverty. As regards the feeling of the people themselves

* An example will show this better than any vocabulary. Few people would translate off-hand "*Mookur, is dhurtee pike mal hete bes hae, subbud toom ne umul bona*" to mean "certainly, the best of this land is that below the ridge, therefore you should sow it with opium." The misuse of the particle "ne" here exemplified is universal in Nimar.

towards the recent change of system much might be said. It may suffice, however, to remark that certain classes have every reason to dislike it; and these are unfortunately the very persons whose statements are frequently taken as the opinion of the people. I mean the old officials, who loved the ease and influence of the old *regime*, the hereditary *pergunnah* officers who have lost both in real power and in popular estimation, and the money dealing classes who see their old milch-goat—the necessitous ryot—escaping from their clutches. Could the depths of the real feeling of the masses be sounded, I believe that, in so far as it is uninfluenced by their long state of depression and tutelage, that feeling is one of satisfaction with their new-found liberty and security.

428. The Nimarees thoroughly enjoy the, to them, new luxury of formal code-and-procedure litigation. Of old the decision of a *punchayet* or the *firman* of the *hakim* was the only law, and offered few attractions to litigation. They have grown much richer too; and a large trading class, skilled in the use and abuse of legal machinery, has come among them along with the railway. In 1868 there were 6,561 cases disposed of by the Civil Courts, or about one to every ten families in the district, the value of the property concerned being Rs. 2,81,560 (£28,496). As was shown at para. 233, but few of the suits concern the agricultural classes, land having not till now been the recognised subject of property; and the heavy files must be due, partly to the novelty of the thing, and partly to the large proportion of the people connected with commerce.

429. Crime also would seem to be common, there having been one offence committed in 1868 for every 142 souls of the population, while the average shown for the whole Central Provinces in 1867 is 1 for every 287. The large through traffic in goods, and the constant stream of travellers along the Khundwa and Indore road, many of them the offscourings of Bombay and the Central India States, together with the facilities of escape offered by the surrounding Native States, are doubtless the main causes of this. The fact that in A. D. 1832 the reported crimes were only 1 in every 966 souls of the population may point, either to a state of primitive innocence among the Nimarees of that period, or to a considerable increase of efficiency in the modern police.

430. I subjoin a Statement of the taxation of the district, exclusive of salt and sugar customs, which cannot be separately ascertained. The land revenue is the regular demand for the year, and the other items are the actual collections made during 1868-69. I add a Statement of the cost of its administrative establishments for the past year:—

*Statement of gross revenues, and cost of administration of Nimar
for 1868-69.*

Year.	Imperial Revenue.			Local Taxation.			Cost of Establishments.			REMARKS.
	Rs.	0	0	Rs.	0	0	Rs.	0	0	
1868-69.	1,52,396	0	0							Land Revenue is taken at the regular demand for the year, a portion of the former year's revenue having been also collected in 1868-69.
	Land Revenue.									
	73,341	0	1							
	Abkaree.									
	14,748	11	6							
	Drugs.									
	9,649	15	3							
	Forest.									
	69,823	2	0							
	Stamps.									
	12,576	12	0							
	Direct taxes,—Income, License and Pandhari.									
	3,32,535	8	10							
	Total Imperial revenue.									
	2,338	0	2							
	Road fund.									
	5,120	8	3							
	Nuzooi fund.									
	30,722	12	10							
	Ferry fund.									
	33,719	4	6							
	Municipal fund.									
	1,798	9	0							
	Educational cess.									
	73,855	15	9							
	Total.									
	57,796	8	5							
	Regular District Revenue and Judicial Establishment.									
	56,391	9	7							
	Police.									
	2,232	0	0							
	Abkaree.									
	1,692	0	0							
	Forests.									
	15,561	0	0							
	Other regular establishments.									
	1,33,693	2	0							
	Total.									

It appears that, while of the whole imperial revenue of the Central Provinces (excluding customs) about 66 per cent is derived from the land, in Nimar only 45 per cent is so derived. Allowing a proportionate share of the salt and sugar customs to Nimar it will be found that its inhabitants contribute to the imperial revenue at the rate of Rs. 1-15-0 (3s. 10½d. sterling) per soul of the population, while the average taxation of the whole Central Provinces is only Rs. 1-2-4 per head. In a large mercantile and city population it is not surprising that stamps and spirit excise should form the main items in the portion of this income not derived from the land. The spirit excise is now levied in Khundwa and Boorhanpore tehseels under what is called the "Sudder Distillery" system, according to which only three central distilleries are allowed for this large tract of country. In Mortukka tehseel the intermixture of foreign territory renders the introduction of the new system impossible; and there the old farming system still prevails. Great as are the advantages of the Sudder Distillery plan in securing a "maximum of revenue with a minimum of

drinking," it may perhaps be doubted whether even all this outweighs its cardinal fault of rendering it impossible for the liquor to be distilled below a certain strength, owing to lighter stuff not being capable of carriage. There is the same difference between the mohwa liquor formerly made (and still made in the neighbouring Holkar's territory) running to 3 or 4 degrees of the hydrometer, and that now brewed of from 10 to 15, as there is between light-wine and brandy. It is true that the strong stuff is usually diluted before drinking; but that only makes it spirits and water, not light-wine as it used to be. Formerly certain Jageerdars (37 villages) had the Abkaree revenue of their villages assigned to them as well as the land revenue; and in every village the Patels and Zemindars had certain *hucs* (percentages) on this revenue. The Sudder Distillery system of course abolished these separate stills, and with them the private revenues. The Jageerdars have been compensated by commuted pensions; but it has been ruled that the Wuttundars are to receive no compensation for loss of Abkaree *hucs*. In addition to this Nimar raises an annual revenue of Rs 73,856 for local purposes, or 6 annas 2 pies ($9\frac{1}{2}d.$) per head. The regular cost of administrative establishments is 32 per cent of the gross revenues.

CHAPTER XV.

ASSESSMENT AND ADJUSTMENT OF RENTS.

431. The main object of all these statistical enquiries is the ascertainment of the true rental of the land, that is the rent which the private proprietors, who let their lands to tenants, can really get for it; and when they cultivate it themselves, what they should have to pay for it were they only tenants. This done, the assessment of the revenue, which is a fixed share of the rental, follows as a mere arithmetical operation. The true rental of land is defined to be the net produce, what remains after defraying at current rates the wages of the labour and the profits of the stock employed in cultivation. In a country where the land is all in the hands of private proprietors who let it unfettered by any rent laws to cultivators, themselves subsisting on the rent, and where the tillage of the earth is carried on as a purely commercial undertaking, and not as the only possible occupation of the masses, this true rent corresponds with that which is actually paid. It is settled infallibly by the ordinary competition among landlords and tenants.

432. Here the case is different. As in most parts of India, there never have been any private proprietors, in the English sense, and so there never has been, properly speaking, any such thing as rent at all. So far back as our knowledge reaches, the State has simply assessed a land tax on each cultivator, assigning some share of it as a property to the Chiefs and headmen of the people, to secure their good services in the collection of the rest. This tax was, under the Mahomedan rule, a fixed proportion of the produce of all land. In later Mahratta times it was all that could be squeezed out of the people without destroying their means of subsistence. In our own early attempts at administration it again came to mean theoretically a fixed share of the produce; but, as we have seen, our officers being incapable of justly appraising the value of crops, it was really, as in Mahratta times, as much as could be extracted from the people. In some of our revenue text books the rental is still held to be a fixed share of the produce; and consequently attempts are still made to ascertain the gross produce, as the standard from which to deduce the revenue; considering that, even in England, where agriculture ranks as a science, no two authorities are yet agreed as to what the average gross produce of the land amounts to; it is hardly to be expected that such attempts should succeed in India, where we ourselves cannot acquire a real practical knowledge of agriculture.

433. This is however of little consequence, economists being now agreed that the true rental is *not* a fixed share of the produce, but a share varying with every variation in the natural fertility, or acquired advantages of the land. If the labour of one man and a pair of oxen is adequately remunerated, at current rates, by a yield of 20 maunds of grain, then the worst land in cultivation must yield that amount, or it would not be cultivated. If it yields no more than this it can pay no rent. If one-fifth of the produce of all land be taken as the land tax, no land could be cultivated profitably unless it yielded 25 maunds, so as to leave 20, after paying the rent; or, if a want of other employments drove the people to till land yielding only 20 maunds, then the one-fifth taken by the landlord would be a tax on their profits, not rent. In the same way the one-fifth taken from all land yielding more than 25 maunds to the same labour would be less than its true rent. If it yielded 30 maunds the true rent would be 10 maunds, but the one-fifth would be only 6 maunds. If it yielded 40 maunds the rent should be 20 maunds, but it would be at one-fifth only 8. The true rent thus rises very rapidly with an increase in the natural fertility. The only supposition on which the rent could be held to be a fixed share of the produce is that the cost of cultivating land of different degrees of fertility is in exact proportion to its productiveness, which we know not to be the case. Still less is that element in rent which consists in advantage of situation truly represented by a fixed share in the produce. Not only should money rents vary on this account according to the increased money value of the same grain rent, but a larger grain rent even should be paid by better situated lands. For, as the cost of carriage to market is saved to the cultivator, a less quantity of grain has to be sold to give him the average return in money or other goods to his labour and capital, and there is a greater balance for rent. Thus it appears that the true rental of the land cannot be ascertained by any calculation of the amount of its produce, even were such calculation possible; and accordingly, though much is often written about produce rents, no Settlement is ever really based on them. In this theory, however, may perhaps be found the explanation of a feature noticeable in some of our assessments, namely, a tendency to under-estimate the rent value of the best soils, and lessen the differences between the rents formerly paid by different classes of land. The old Mahratta land tax and our own early assessments, though greatly higher than the true rent, yet varied on the same principle as rent. For they left to all only a bare subsistence, and exacted all the excess. Here the land tax was the varying surplus over the fixed amount left for subsistence; the true rent is likewise a varying surplus over the equally fixed, though greater amount left as the fair wages and profits of the cultivator.

434. As then there has hitherto been no adjustment of rents by free competition, and there is no means of estimating the true rent by an arithmetical deduction from the value of the produce,

Method of ascertaining the true rental.

there is no method of ascertaining it left, excepting that of hypothesis. Even for the future, free competition cannot be looked to as a regulator of rents. But a very small proportion of the whole number of cultivators are tenants-at-will of landlords; most of them are themselves proprietors, who will pay rates much below the true rent assessed on them for the period of Settlement. Many of the rest have rights of occupancy at fixed or fair rents, to be determined by the Courts, which, from unavoidable ignorance, must always keep a good deal within the full rent in their decisions. These proprietary cultivators and tenants with right of occupancy hold all the best lands, on the value of which a natural rise in rents would have the greatest effect. The tenants-at-will being the most recent occupants have only the lighter and more remote lands, of which the variations in rent would be much less marked, being brought into direct competition with extensive areas of culturable waste land little inferior to themselves in advantages.

435. For the present the pressure of the Government assessment must continue to be the main regulator of rents. It is the only thing which affects the great mass of proprietary cultivators; and it in the end determines the rents of occupancy cultivators also. Their rates again must act on the rents of the tenants-at-will. As cultivation extends, and tenants-at-will form a larger proportion of the whole number of cultivators, we may expect a nearer approximation to a settlement of rents by free competition. Some long settled parts of India have already reached the stage at which the fair Government revenue can be ascertained by simply dividing the landlord's rent-roll by two. Whether this is desirable or not involves the whole question of our Indian land policy, and must not be here discussed. Here the influence of the assessment itself on rents is at present the first thing to be considered. If that be not immoderate, rents will follow it in a great measure. Custom and caste co-operativeness would certainly defeat any attempt on the part of the new fledged landlords to exact rents not authorised by the Settlement, even though they might not exceed the natural rent; and on the other hand, a long habit of submission to the rates assessed by the Government, and the certainty of the Courts supporting landlords up to the Settlement rates, would powerfully influence the cultivators to try to pay these rates, even if they somewhat exceeded the natural rent.

436. The task of the assessing officer is therefore by no means an easy one. It is nothing less than to imagine a state of affairs as yet impossible in this part of India, viz., free competition for land as a commercial speculation and not for subsistence; and to endeavour, by the exercise of his judgment on all available evidence, to adopt rents such as should exist under these circumstances. There cannot therefore be any "rule of thumb" by which to arrive at an accurate assessment of the land. In the absence of the impalpable agency of unrestricted demand and

supply in regulating rents, the process becomes a matter of pure judgment, influenced by many and varying sources of information, some of which defy reduction to figured statements. Yet the general grounds should doubtless be capable of justification by statistics.

437. The first object must always be to obtain a just knowledge of the history and existing state of rents. *History of rents.* Much of their history in Nimar has already been given, but may be here summarised with advantage, in connection with the history of prices of grain, on which rents must always have an intimate dependence.

438. The rents actually paid in former times and now are fully ascertainable from the village papers. I believe these to be quite reliable. The accountants have never been the dependents of the Malgoozars, nor paid by them, and there were always too many persons interested in the revenue, hereditary officials of all sorts, to permit any concealment. During a considerable period too the Government dealt direct with the ryot, and the innermost recesses of the village accounts were then laid bare. I also carefully attested in the presence of the cultivators the rent rolls drawn up for Settlement purposes, and rarely found occasion to alter an entry.

439. In Nimar the price of jowar, which is the staple food of the people, and occupies 45 per cent of the whole land in cultivation, may be taken as the safest index of the general prices of all agricultural produce. I have taken considerable pains to ascertain as accurately as possible the prices of this grain from the official price lists, and the books of grain dealers in different parts of the district. I have taken the pazaar retail selling prices, as nearly as possible in January of each year, which month is the best to choose for the purpose, being most free from the perturbations incident to both harvest and sowing times. The retail price is certainly always above the price obtained by the cultivator, more or less above it, according to the general indebtedness or otherwise of the latter, who, as his circumstances improve, is enabled to exact a price more nearly corresponding to the market value of his produce than when he is necessitous and bound by advances from the grain dealers. But it is impossible to ascertain the average price obtained in any year by the cultivator, all accounts of such purchases being mixed up with profits due solely to the investment of his capital in agricultural stock by the merchant. The retail price must therefore be taken as the indication of the lower price obtained by the cultivator.

440. It has been shown that during the latter years of Mahratta rule the average price of jowar *per manee* of 1,152 lbs. was Rs. 20-2-0, and that during the first British Settlement it fell to Rs. 9-6 Or. *Effect of prices on former Settlements.* That Settlement, which was based on the Mahratta rates, accordingly

broke down. There is no doubt that the high price during the Mahratta time was caused by no superabundance of money, but solely by a scarcity of grain, owing to the ravages of war and the general conversion of ploughshares into swords. When the swords returned again to ploughshares the reaction came at once. Hosts of consumers became themselves producers, and the price fell straightway. This was in each case a distinct alteration in the value of grain, not as respects money only, but all commodities, and affected grain rents accordingly. The famine and pestilence of 1833 again much contracted cultivation, and during the five years' Settlement commencing in 1834 the price again averaged Rs. 22-8-0 per manee. Accordingly that Settlement, though at the same rates as before, worked much better, that is the people paid almost the whole demand. The fifteen years' Settlement of 1839 was made at about the same rates per acre of cultivation (though waste land was assessed so as to give an increase); prices again fell to an average of Rs. 8-15-0 per manee, and the Settlement broke down hopelessly in 1845.

441. The Table in the margin commences in 1846 with the introduction of the Khalsa system.

Prices and rents since 1846:

Average price of jowar in the Khundwa, Pundhana, Moondee and Bahadurpore markets since A. D. 1846:—

Year A. D.	Price per Khals. se manee of 1,152 lbs.	REMARKS.
1846	10	Average for the six years of Khalsa management.
1847	10	
1848	8	
1849	12	
1850	10	
1851	10	
1852	12	Average for first 11 years of 20 years' Settlement Rs. 13. Average rain-fall 29.1.
1853	15	
1854	15	
1855	13	
1856	16	
1857	9	
1858	12	
1859	12	
1860	15	
1861	22	
1862	28	
1863	26	Average since 1862 Rs. 29. Average rain-fall 33.4.
1864	32	
1865	27	
1866	32	
1867	32	
1868	26	

During the six years that that system lasted the average price of jowar was Rs. 10 or 12 per cent above the average rate of the previous Settlement. At the same time an immediate relief of 6 per cent was given to the revenue, and therefore to rents which varied with it. At the close of the Khalsa period it was further found that 20,000 beegas of land had been added to the cultivation with scarcely any increase of the rental or revenue. So that the average rent rate per acre had fallen from Rs. 1-1-4 in 1845 (the first actual figures we can get) to Rs. 1-0-8 in 1851, or 20 per cent. Thus the cultivator gained altogether no less than 32 per cent on his old rates of rent, taking money reduction and rise in prices together, during the period of Khalsa management. Up to this point I have deduced these comparisons from the statistics of the whole district as it

stood in 1851. From that year, however, the requisite data can be continuously obtained only for the pergunnahs noted in the margin* which

* Kanapoor.
Beria.
Khumdiwa.
Bamgurh.
Peploda.
Asar.

came under regular Settlement, and are still a part of the district. In these tracts the average rent rate at the close of the Khalsa period was 13 annas 1 pie per acre. The rent-roll drawn up at Settlement increased the average rate to only 13 annas 4 pies per acre, or scarcely 2 per cent; since then cultivation has increased by 17 per cent, and the rental having increased in a lesser ratio (6.6 per cent), the average rent rate has now fallen to 12 annas per acre, or 10 per cent. At the same time the price of all produce has risen in an unheard of fashion. Jowar having for the last seven years averaged 190 per cent above the average of the six years preceding last Settlement.

442. I have divided this rise into two periods. The first comprises the ten years from 1852 to 1861, before the cotton famine consequent on the American war had begun to cause a perturbation in the commercial relations of India and England, of which no one may venture to prophesy the end. During this period the average price was Rs. 13, or 30 per cent above the average of the Khalsa period. That this rise was due to causes which we may deem permanent is I think certain. The rain-fall was not deficient, and there was no scarcity. The ordinary influx of railway and other capital will probably increase rather than diminish, while improved communications will steadily add to the productive power of the country. The former merely lowers the value of money without making the people any richer, and should therefore affect money rents only. The latter directly adds to their wealth, and, by causing a greater demand for produce, leads to extension of cultivation and to a rise in grain rents.

443. During the second period of seven years from 1862 to 1868, though the rain-fall and harvests were better than usual, the average price has been Rs. 29, being an additional rise of 123 per cent, or nearly three times the price during the Khalsa period. There is little room for doubt that this is due solely to the enhanced price and demand for Indian cotton in England. Not only has the immense amount of capital paid to this country for its cotton greatly depreciated the value of money, but large areas which previously produced food having been suddenly devoted to the more paying fibre, the food-supply of the country was unduly diminished, and grain has acquired a scarcity value. That this is the case is amply proved by the fact already mentioned (para. 360), that while the wages of labourers paid in money have doubled, their wages paid in grain are less than they used to be by about one-third. Had the fall in the value of money been the only cause of high prices and wages, they should have got the same grain wages as before. The actual wealth of

the country has been increased by the cotton famine only in respect of its enhanced power to purchase English goods. Its own products have all been equally affected by the fall in the value of money, and common labourers who consume very little of English goods have actually suffered, notwithstanding the doubling of their money wages. The profits of agriculture are of course enormous. In so far as the cultivator consumes his own produce, or purchases oxen (which have also acquired a scarcity value owing to the rush to the land), he has no advantage. But his surplus produce now exchanges for nearly three times more money, for one-third more of other Indian commodities, and for two-thirds more English goods than it did in 1852.

444. This tends to draw all hands and capital to the land, and vast extensions of cultivation are everywhere taking place. General wages are also rising as hands withdraw to the more profitable occupation of agriculture, and the balance of supply and demand will doubtless soon be restored. Agricultural produce will then cease to have a scarcity value, and prices will fall by as much as is now due to the scarcity. It is impossible to guess how much this may be. Neither the value of labour, nor of English goods, can be taken as a true index of the reduction in the value of money, for both have been disturbed by the cotton crisis. Nor is it at all certain that what reduction there has been will be permanent. A reaction in the demand for cotton might in a single year depress prices by more than it has raised them. It is unlikely, however, that they can ever fall for long below the point at which they stood before the cotton crisis. If the country has not permanently advanced since then in real wealth—the wealth that acts on the value of produce, and on rents—it has at all events not retrograded. It would, however, be rash to assume anything like a continuance of the present money prices during a period of 20 years. Herein lies the difference between our long Settlements and the short ones of Native governments. Holkar settles for five years, and imposes three times the old assessment; in the confidence that prices will hold up for that time. If we did so for twenty or thirty years we should incur the certainty of breaking down.

445. Besides these general considerations, more or less applicable to all parts of India which have come under the direct influence of the cotton crisis, are some peculiar to Nimar. In particular should be considered the fact that owing to the large proportion of non-agricultural residents, and the poverty of the soil, Nimar does not grow the whole food-supply required for its inhabitants. It is therefore an importing country, and its prices range higher than those of the other districts from which it completes its supply, by the whole cost of the carriage of that portion which is imported from the greatest distance. But this extra price for the locally raised produce was not required for the remuneration of the growers, and has therefore formed a portion of the rent.

446. The cost of importing food will now be somewhat reduced by the improvement of communications, and particularly by the advent of the railway. The present cost of carrying the grain imported from Hurda, which forms the bulk of the supply, is about four annas per ton per mile, or Rs. 10 per ton for the whole distance. The railway will do it for 10 pies per ton per mile, or Rs. 3-5-0 altogether. A ton of wheat now sells for Rs. 102 in Nimar, so that, if the full difference in cost of carriage went to lower the price, wheat should fall about 13 per cent on the opening of the railway. But, as that opening will enable the Hoshungabad wheat to reach distant markets, from which it is now excluded by cost of carriage, its price before export will certainly rise, and thus perhaps the full fall in price may not be looked for in Nimar. Yet, had there been no other disturbing influence, the price of produce must have been to some extent permanently lowered by the railway. The capital locally spent for the construction of the line, and the large addition to the consuming population in railway labourers, the trading classes who congregate round a railway terminus, and troops marching through the district to the railway, have hitherto probably sufficed to counterbalance this tendency; though, from all such minor influences being indistinguishable from the vastly greater one already discussed, exact data are not available. Much of this can be of only temporary duration. The railway works are all but finished, and no new ones are projected; the through line opening will shortly withdraw most of the traders and their establishments, and the military camps. The large city of Boorhanpore, situated as it is apart from all the main arteries of trade, is suffering an inevitable decline, and even its peculiar articles of production are already almost superseded by other more favourably situated places. While therefore the railway must commonly increase the agricultural wealth of previously undeveloped exporting districts such as Hoshungabad and Chutesgurh, by just so much must it be expected to depress the prices of agricultural produce in an importing district like Nimar. It may be hoped that the permanent increase to the number and wealth of the trading and consuming classes will suffice to counter-balance this; but it might be rash to assume that it will do more.

447. On the whole I think that the only safe conclusion to be derived from the examination of prices is that the whole rise of the seven years subsequent to the cotton famine must be looked on as an accident, which circumstances may render permanent in a more or less modified form, but which other equally probable circumstances may altogether obliterate: but that the ordinary development of the country may fairly be trusted to keep prices at least up to the point which they had reached during the ten previous years, which we have seen to be about 30 per cent above these prevailing when last Settlement was made.

448. If then the rents then fixed were not too high, they should be generally expected to rise now by about 30 per cent. I have said (para. 233) that I think they were a little, though not much too high; but, the subsequent rise in prices having followed so soon after the Settlement was made, it is impossible to obtain exact evidence of this: certainly they were not too low. I am confident that, had prices not so risen, there would have been marked signs that in some cases the rents were pitched somewhat above the capabilities of the land. This is particularly the case in the Aser pergunnah, where rents had long been much higher than the average, owing to its proximity to Boorhanpore, the decay of which city, and advent of the railway, must have tended greatly to lower the special value of the land in its neighbourhood. Rents were undoubtedly fixed too high there at the Settlement, being only 5 per cent below the Khalsa rental, from which constant remissions had had to be made; and, but for the cotton prices and influx of population from Khandeish, I should certainly say that the Settlement of that pergunnah would probably have broken down. As it is, though cultivation has increased by 50 per cent, the rental has scarcely increased at all, and there has certainly been a fall in rents irrespective of the new cultivation having taken up much inferior soil. A rise of 30 per cent, then, was looked for in the old Settlement rents, when such were not before excessive; and of something less than that when they were shown to be too high.

449. Where cultivation had been much extended, however, in the settled villages, and generally in the case of farmed villages recently taken up from the waste, little or no rise was to be looked for. Most of this extension had taken place after the great rise in prices; and there was nothing to prevent the Malgoozars from exacting what rent they chose for the new land.

450. In the Khalsa pergunnahs the case was somewhat different. There was not so good a basis to proceed from as the assessment at last Settlement of the other pergunnahs. A reference to the Table at para. 230 will show that the rent rates adopted at Settlement were almost identical with those previously taken under the Khalsa system. But then that system was being vigorously managed, and the rates were probably relatively fair; whereas now the system had degenerated, and land had probably been taken up to a great extent without a corresponding addition to the rent-roll. This was afterwards found to have been a good deal the case, particularly in the case of the village authorities.

451. Pergunnah Zeinabad had only come over from Scindia in 1860, and was then of course fully assessed. But it had since been held Kham tehseel under the loosest system of management, and much new land had come under the plough. It was therefore to be expected that its rent rates had considerably fallen in the interval.

452. Such were the general considerations looked to in connection with the revision of the gross assessment of the district. There had been however many other influences at work in altering the *relative* value of the lands of different parts of the district since they were last assessed. The advent of the railway and the change in the Sudder station had greatly affected the chief centres of trade and population. While, for instance, Boothanpore had decayed, and the railway had diminished the special value of the land in its neighbourhood, on the other hand Khundwa had waxed great and prosperous, and its land had greatly risen in value. Again the produce of all waste lands had much increased in value, and a tax laid on that of Government lands had enhanced the value of what was private property, while diminishing the rent paying power of cultivated land by increasing the cost of cultivation. Cattle had also acquired a scarcity value, which had further acted on the value of waste lands. Cultivation had extended, and land had been improved, more in one tract than in another; while the prospects of further similar improvements had varied with varying circumstances. The amount of waste land available in the neighbourhood has perhaps more effect than anything else in causing variation in rent rates. So long as there is abundance of good land to be taken up it pays better to work a larger area in a superficial manner than to highly cultivate a smaller area. The total return to the same labour and capital is greater, though the yield per acre is less. In such tracts, though the whole rent paid by each cultivator may be as high, or higher than in more thickly peopled parts, yet the rent of each acre will be less. It is obviously then a mistake to draw comparisons, as is sometimes done, between the rents per acre paid by highly cultivated tracts like the North-Western Provinces and a partially reclaimed country like this. The comparison should be based on the rent paid by a *given amount of population and stock*, and then it is probable that the conclusion often arrived at might be reversed.

453. It is necessary to adopt a unit of assessment; and this may either be the whole district, a group of villages, a single village, or the individual cultivating holding. At last Settlement the latter was adopted as the unit, and the village, pergunnah, and district assessments were built up from the aggregate of these. With a perfect system of soil valuation this would undoubtedly be the best possible plan, where, as in Nimar, the assessment has ultimately to descend to such detail; and at last Settle-

ment, as I have already mentioned, a tolerably successful approach to this was made by the employment of a jury of agricultural experts to assess each field on its merits. The Bombay system of survey and settlement also adopts the principle of careful relative valuation of soils by means of a thoroughly trained staff of responsible officials. But, as I have said (para. 236), our Bengal system, being devised for a different state of things, does not possess the machinery for such detailed valuation; and thus the only possible method of assessment is the application of a system of averages, descending from the general to the particular,—from the district to the pergunnah, the circle of villages, the village, and ultimately the individual holding. The indications derivable from the two first of these, the district and the pergunnah, are necessarily general, and incapable of accurate statistical statement. Such as they are they have been already stated in the preceding paragraphs of this chapter. The third, or circle of villages, is the first point at which the statistics can be brought to a focus as it were, and, embracing the greatest possible field, is capable of affording the most valuable averages. This accordingly was selected as the unit of assessment.

454. The circles (or *chuks* in technical parlance) were arranged by grouping together as many villages as possible, whose general situation and other circumstances were nearly similar. The principles on which each circle was constituted, and assessed, may be read in detail in the manuscript reports submitted regarding each to the Settlement Commissioner, an abstract of which, with the names of the villages comprised, is also given in an Appendix (F).

455. It will there be seen how, on a consideration of its whole circumstances, a gross rental was assumed for the cultivated land of each tract. The aggregate of the same for the whole district need only be given here. The gross rental of the whole cultivated area of the district thus obtained was Rs. 2,77,399, or a rise of 17 per cent on the ascertained rental. In point of fact the rental subsequently recorded after re-adjustment rose to Rs. 3,10,953, or 31 per cent, and a further rise of Rs. 3,895 or to 32 per cent altogether may be looked for on expiry of the current engagements with tenants in the settled pergunnahs (*vide* para. 477).

456. The rent value to their proprietors of the natural produce of the waste lands included in the Settlement was also appraised, and added to the account of assets. This is extremely difficult, and I was careful to err on the side of moderation. The assets consist chiefly of fruit trees, mango and mohawa, of cattle grazing, and of growing wood. Minerals are excluded from the proprietary right.

457. There are altogether 80,580 mango trees (or nearly 30 per square mile) in the settled area. But of these many grow in cultivated land; and, forming part of its produce, are included in its rent. The remainder are assessable. It is not difficult to ascertain the value of an average tree. Till recently there have always been numbers of trees in Khalsa villages, the property of Government, which have been yearly let by auction, and many others are let by private persons. There were also numberless disputes regarding rights in trees, and their value has often been determined in civil suits. The result thus obtained was that a tree lets for about eight annas to one rupee, according to situation. The yearly produce of a tree averages Rs. 10 in value; and almost one-half (9-20ths) the produce has to be paid for the labour of watching and gathering it. Eight annas to one rupee, would therefore be from one-tenth to one-fifth the produce, and a fair rent in different circumstances. The rates varied according to the circumstances of different tracts, for which see Appendix F.

458. Mohwa trees yield about Rs. 2-8-0 worth of fruit, half of which has to be paid for the mere cost of watching. Much of it too is consumed by others than the proprietors, and yields no rent. I assumed the rent value of the mohwa on waste land at rates varying from three pies to six annas a tree. As all the fruit trees on waste land do not invariably belong to the village proprietors, who have to pay the assessment, a doubt arose at first whether they would fairly be considered an assessable asset. The view eventually taken, however, was no doubt the correct one, namely that when (as in the majority of cases of possession by others than the proprietors) they were held by the village servants, they formed a portion of their remuneration for service, and therefore, according to our principles of Settlement, should be paid by the proprietors out of their margin of profit. When held by persons not village servants they are invariably the descendants of the old Patels who had lost all other interest in the management and proprietary right. In this case they were looked on as an assignment from the profits in lieu of a regular share, and therefore fairly assessable.

459. The other natural produce of waste land must evidently vary greatly in value according to its situation and the number of cattle it supports. In some tracts a portion of the culturable waste is deliberately kept out of cultivation to produce grass, and should therefore pay the same rent as if it were cultivated; but usually its value is much less. An acre gives about 800 bundles* of grass, which cost twelve annas to cut. That therefore is its value on the spot. The rental may there-

* The *poola* or "bundle" of grass is not so indefinite a term as might be supposed. The usual *Ekjhap* poola contains as much as can be held in the left hand while cutting with the right. A poola should be a fair handful.

fore be assumed to be from 1-12th to 1-6th, or from one to two annas, according to situation. I also ascertained the actual rents at which a number of grass preserves were let; and found them to range about one-half anna an acre, at one day's journey from a market for grass. In the more remote parts, where there is no market for cut grass, the only use of the waste is to graze cattle. The number of cattle in the part, other than plough bullocks, is therefore the only test of the value of the waste. I usually assumed the value of grazing at the rate taken in Government waste lands, or Rs. 5 per hundred head, and from this obtained a rate for the culturable waste usually somewhat below the rate above deduced from the value of the produce. In no case did I assess unculturable waste for grazing. In Nimar, if poor enough to be wholly unculturable, it can yield no natural grass that would be worth assessing.

460. The value of forest produce I estimated solely from personal inspection. Ordinary firewood, &c., such as would be consumed by the residents, I did not consider, but only the growing teak and other timber in a few villages which had been preserved by Government, and has now become the property of the village proprietors. The amount of these items with some *phaleze* (vegetable beds on banks in streams), &c., is Rs. 18,998.

The assumed gross assets of the district from land rent and other items, thus amounted to Rs. 2,96,397.

461. The assets being thus ascertained, the Government revenue was fixed at a certain percentage thereof. The general rule proposed for the guidance of the Settlement officer, under our system, is to take 50 per cent of the rental as the revenue demand. But in the case of Nimar, where a large part of the district had till now been held *khām*, that is Government taking the whole rental as its revenue, and where the reassessment of the rest will not come in force for some years, this rule was suspended (para. 236).

462. In the Khalsa villages I usually took from 60 per cent to two-thirds of the assets as the revenue. The proprietors, having previously derived much less profit than they will now get from the rental, had generally supplemented their income as managers by large home farms, and herds of cattle; and thus a lower margin of profit would suffice to remunerate them for the trouble and responsibility of management; while to give full half-assets at this first Settlement would have caused an unnecessary loss to the State. It is probable that at next Settlement the half-asset principle will be found practicable in these villages, without injury to the revenue; and the present assessment at the higher percentage may be looked on as merely a temporary concession to the peculiar circumstances of the case.

463. In the farmed villages, those taken on lease in recent years, full half assets were usually allowed as the proprietors' profit.
 In farmed villages.

464. In the settled pergunnahs I usually fixed the assessment at 60 per cent of the present assumed rental, where there is much available culturable waste, and cultivation is extending; so that, by the time the new assessment comes in force, the proprietors may be expected to realise full half assets as their profit. Where the tract is already fully cultivated, however, the assessment has been fixed at half assets only. *Sewae* assets were always assessed at half only. On the whole my assessment absorbs 58 per cent of the gross assets thus assumed for the district, and 53 per cent of the assets actually recorded in the Settlement papers.
 In settled pergunnahs.

The gross rental and assessment of each tract having been thus fixed, further guides were sought for to regulate its distribution over the individual villages.
 Distribution of gross assessment.

465. The chief of these was a set of average soil rent rates. The average rent that should be paid by each of the four classes of soil into which the land had been classified, as already mentioned (para. 260), was ascertained by an examination of all available data. The relative cost of tilling them, and the relative value of their usual produce, was estimated. The actual rent already paid by each class was ascertained by abstracting the areas and recorded rental of each. This could be done only where whole fields of one class were found to pay separate rents. Usually each holding paid a lump rent, and included several classes of soil. An examination of the rates paid in revenue free villages was found particularly useful. The old names for the classes having been retained, abstracts of the rates assessed on them during the Khalsa period, and at last Settlement, were also drawn up. But these were of comparatively little value, from the fact that lands included in each class varied infinitely (as they should do) in the rates assessed on them by the Panchayuts, there having been 28 different rates assessed during the Khalsa period on unirrigated land, and still more I believe at last Settlement, though the whole number is not now ascertainable. During the Khalsa period the highest rate for *gutta* land (1st class) was Rs. 8, and the lowest for *kuhrak* (4th class) was one anna seven pies per acre. The whole range of rates adopted at last Settlement cannot now be ascertained, but they appear to have ranged between the same maximum and minimum as the Khalsa rates. The rates I assumed were not the same, nor even relatively the same, in all the assessment circles. The more nearly level is the general conformation of a tract, the nearer do its several classes of soil approach each other in fertility; and, on the other hand, the more it is broken up into high ridges and deep valleys, the more widely do the values of its soils diverge. The actual rates adopted

for each assessment circle will be found in Appendix F. Altogether the following rent rates per acre were assumed for each class, in some or other of the *chuks*, giving 24 different soil rates in all:—

Number of rates.	Gutta. I.		Gohalee. II.		MāL III.		Kuhrah. IV.	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
1	5	0	3	8	2	10	0	14
2	3	8	2	12	1	12	0	8
3	3	0	2	10	1	2	0	6
4	2	8	2	0	1	0	0	5
5	2	0	1	12	0	13	0	4
6	1	8	1	10	0	12	0	3
7	1	0	1	8	0	10	0	0
8	0	0	1	6	0	9	0	0
9	0	0	1	4	0	8	0	0
10	0	0	1	0	0	6	0	0
11	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0
Mean.	2	10	1	8	1	0	0	7

But no more than four of these could be employed in any one circle of assessment, and this amount of detail is, I am sure, inadequate in an irregular district like Nīmar, to express the relative fertility of even whole villages. Thus it occurred that this check proved by no means generally reliable, though not so wholly useless as in the case of the detailed assessment of the ryot's individual holdings (para 474).

It should be repeated, however, that these are *average* rates, and do not cover the whole range actually paid. The best *gutta* sometimes pays Rs. 8 and Rs. 10 an acre; and these average rates were employed only as a *guide* in distributing the assessment over whole villages.

466. The assessment of irrigated land is a different question; and there are few published data to guide the Settlement officer in effecting it. In Nīmar irrigated land was until 1846 very highly taxed, well irrigation paying, in some cases, Rs. 8 per beegah, that is Rs. 12-12-0 per acre. This high taxation of irrigation was a mere blind continuance of the Native plan of piling on the demand wherever there is capital sunk as a guarantee for its payment. In 1846 a general reaction against the taxation of water took place; and the rate for well irrigation was reduced all round to Rs. 3 per beegah, or Rs. 4-12-9 per acre. This was maintained at the 20 years' Settlement. Channel irrigation originally paid only Rs. 6 per beegah, or Rs. 9-9-7 per acre, as a maximum rate (probably because there was little or no capital invested in the temporary dams), and was eventually reduced to about Rs. 4 per beegah, or

Rs. 6-6-5 per acre. These rates were fixed by no rule; and the equal reduction all round was not less inconsistent than the original excessive assessment, resulting as it did in the absurdity of some land paying Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 an acre when there was no well in it, and less than Rs. 5 when there was! On the general question of assessing additional revenue on irrigated land, over and above what it would pay unirrigated, a few words are necessary. According to the true principles of rent, irrigation should pay as rent all the additional yield due to it after replacing the outlay of capital with the usual profit, and repaying the whole cost of working the irrigation. If the extra produce of irrigated land were not more than sufficient to just repay the extra outlay on it, with the usual profit, then it could pay no rent. All that it yields beyond this is fairly rent. Irrigation is only one of many methods of applying a higher tillage to the land; and, as under higher tillage a smaller area can be managed with the same labour and capital than under a lower system of cultivation, it is clear that if a proportionately higher rent rate per acre be not applied to irrigated land it might happen (though not perhaps in Nimar for a considerable period) that an increase in the population and capital of the district might leave the landlords and the State with actually diminished revenues. In paras. 345 to 350 some attempt was made to estimate the profits arising to the cultivator from dry and irrigated cultivation respectively. It is not pretended that these are accurate enough to determine the water rates that might fairly be levied from well and channel irrigation. Indeed I believe that the complication of circumstances is so great, and the difficulty of valuing the expenditure or its return in irrigation are so insurmountable, that no calculation can possibly be made of the proper rates to allow for agricultural profit, and therefore of the fair rental payable for the natural advantage afforded by available streams and water-bearing strata. But the last example given serves to show in what manner a water rent may fairly arise from a well, even when sunk by the private capital of the cultivator. There it was found that the cultivator received a return of 3 per cent more than was due to his invested capital, or Rs. 4 altogether per annum. The cost of the well was Rs. 40, so that in ten years his capital would be replaced, and he would then receive from his cultivation no less than Rs. 55 more than he got from his unirrigated farm. This is evidently much more than would be necessary to induce him to expend the extra personal labour involved in 80 days' irrigation, when he would otherwise have remained idle along with his cattle. The extra labour of his cattle has been allowed for by a higher rate of deterioration; and, supposing that he even hired labour at Rs. 9 a month to do this work, he would still have a margin of Rs. 31, which is not due as profit to any capital he has laid out, and may therefore be fairly taken as rent for the natural facility for irrigation offered by a water stratum which can be got at in 15 feet of *moorum*. This would be nearly Rs. 8 an acre, but this would evidently be reduced by any circumstances causing greater difficulty in

sinking the well, and by any addition to its depth causing a longer lift for the *mote*. Rates on well irrigation should evidently be lower in proportion to the depth of the well; and I regret that I did not take accurate measurements of this nature when collecting the statistics. There is, however, little doubt that a period of 20 years free from taxation is ample to secure the replacement of any capital laid out in sinking unlined wells, even if some feet of rock should have to be blasted; and that a water rate of Rs. 3, thereafter levied, will be fully within the margin of the rent due to the natural advantages of the deepest well likely to be sunk in Nimar. I was inclined to be fully moderate in assessing well irrigation; and although I could not learn that the present rate of Rs. 4½ showed any signs of being excessive, so as to discourage the sinking of wells (as indeed is proved by the great increase in their number), yet, after consideration, I reduced it to a maximum of Rs. 3, and to Rs. 2 in some of the remoter tracts. Irrigation is of such vital importance in Nimar that any encouragement of it by moderation in rates is certain to be rewarded ten-fold by extension of area. Channel irrigation I rated at Rs. 4 per acre. It may seem unaccountable that there should be so little difference in the rates, when the apparent difference in the labour of these two methods of irrigation is considered. But I think it is capable of explanation. The first good argument in favour of it is that it has always been so, which goes to show that there is some good reason for it, as, till lately, the principle of getting as much as possible out of everything ensured the maximum rates being relatively right. Further it may be said that this difference in the rates really represents with approximate fairness the actual difference in the cost of the two systems of irrigation. It has been seen that one extra hand, and a pair of bullocks, can irrigate an acre from a well in 15 days, if three floodings are required, or in 20 if four are given; and, according to the *Ang-sajee* principle (para. 347), the value of the labour of the pair of bullocks is just equal to that of the man's, so that from one month to 40 days' labour of one man may be taken as the extra cost per acre of well over channel irrigation. Now the ordinary wages of a resident farm servant for a month is 1 rupee, and 1 manee of jowar, worth Rs. 2; while the well irrigated land is held, as we have seen, to produce 1 manee of wheat, worth Rs. 3, more than the produce of channel irrigated land, which, with the Rs. 1 difference of rent, more than compensates for the ordinary cost of the labour of drawing the water from Nimar wells. I believe the value to the cultivator of his own and his cattle's labour at that time of year is really not under-rated in this estimate, while any difference (which there would no doubt be) in the time during which the second hand required for regulating the flow of water over the field, both in well and channel irrigation, would be employed, must be fully met by the fact that a boy or a woman is sufficient for this work in the case of the slowly discharging well—indeed the bullock man often does it himself,—whereas the full flow of the channel requires a man to superintend its distribution. I believe there-

fore that my rates for the two descriptions of irrigation are relatively fair, while both are certainly well within the natural rent of the water privileges they are founded on.

467. Excepting in so far as a consideration of the usual produce of the land was allowed to bear on the adoption of average soil rates, I did not attempt to check my detailed assessments by working out a rental based on estimates of the produce. I have shown (para. 433) that an equal share of all produce is not the true rent of the land; and moreover, if it were, I am sure that no one is capable of estimating the average yield and the average cost of cultivation sufficiently closely to form a reliable basis in detailed assessments.

468. Nor did I find that any method of manipulating the statistics of the number of ploughs in a village gave a check of any value. The main reason of this I take to be the difficulty in dealing with the numerous ploughs that reside in only one village, but cultivate in two or three.

469. Many other considerations were allowed weight in the distribution of the gross assessment of the circle over the individual villages. Situation with respect to roads and markets was looked to. The former history of the village, and character of present proprietors, frequently necessitated remission from what would otherwise be a fair assessment. Not the least important point is the character of the cultivators. The laborious and settled classes of Goojurs, Keonbees, &c., (the *Chowkar* in fact of para. 406), invariably pay much higher rents than the aboriginal Bheels, Bhilalas, Korkoos, &c., who are greatly inferior to them in industry and wealth. This is a fair element in the rent. For as rent depends on the surplus left after remunerating the labour and capital employed, and as, except in the worst land cultivated at the time, there is always a greater return from land than is required for this purpose, it follows that the more labour and capital put into the same land the larger a surplus there will be for rent. To give effect to this influence on the paying power of the land, I ranged the cultivators of each village under two heads, "settled" and "unsettled." The latter comprised all Bheels, Bhilalas, Bulahees, Korkoos, Gondes, and Nahals, and formed 21½ per cent of the whole number. The former included all other castes. This was of the utmost use, and a preponderance of the "unsettled" frequently explained a lowness of rents, which nothing else sufficed to do.

470. How all these, and many more considerations influenced the detailed village assessments may be read in the English remarks on each village appended to the general assessment Statements. The whole of my circle and village assessments received the sanction, without modification, of the Settlement Commissioner. I will here only add a

STATEMENT showing principles of assesment.

	Percentage of soils.				Percentage of cultivated area irrigated.	Percentage of cultivable waste on cultivation.	Average plough area in acres.	Number of cattle per plough besides plough bullocks.	Number of cultivated acres per soul of agricultural population.	Percentage of unsettled classes among cultivators.	Average rent rate of rent paying lands found to exist.	Incidence of new assessment per acre of cultivation.	Percentage of ascertained rental taken as revenue.	Percentage of enhancement on former demand.	Date of expiry of present Settlement.
	I.	II.	III.	IV.											
Zeinabad Pergunnah	1	16	62	21	...	26	20	3	2 ¹ / ₁₀	5	Rs. A. P. 1-8-11	Rs. A. P. 1-2-10	75	..	
Kanapore Beriah	1	5	63	31	2	60	18	4	4	3	1-0-5	0-12-6	76	28	1871-72
Aser .. ..	..	8	51	41	1	46	16 ¹ / ₂	1	5 ¹ / ₂	13	1-2-9	0-11-11	63	11	1874-75
Khundwa, 1st Chuk	5	7	50	38	6	71	20	3 ¹ / ₂	4 ¹ / ₂	7	0-12-10	0-10-4	80	14	1873-74
Do. 2nd do.	3	7	56	34	6	57	18	3	3 ¹ / ₂	26	0-11-0	0-8-11	81	17	Do.
Do. 3rd do.	6	5	42	47	3 ¹ / ₂	133	15 ¹ / ₂	3	4	15	0-10-4	0-8-3	79	14	Do.
Selance Pergunnah | .. ..	1	10	62	27	3 ¹ / ₂	176	22	7	3 ¹ / ₂	17	0-9-10	0-8-2	83	10	
Khundwa 4th Chuk	2	3	53	43	1	150	21	3	4 ¹ / ₂	40	0-9-3	0-7-1	76	20	
Do. 6th do.	3	2	49	46	..	236	21	2 ¹ / ₂	7	22	0-8-10	0-6-5	72	11	1875
Do. 7th do.	4	9	50	43	2	141	23	2	6 ¹ / ₂	37	0-7-10	0-5-10	74	16	1878
Do. 5th do.	6	3	53	39	2	143	20	6	3 ¹ / ₂	19	0-7-3	0-5-9	79 ¹ / ₂	17	
Poonassa Tehseel	10	5	49	30	2 ¹ / ₂	223	17	5 ¹ / ₂	2 ¹ / ₂	59	0-6-6	0-4-9	80	4	
Manjrode Pergunnah	19	17	42	22	..	450	15 ¹ / ₂	3	2 ¹ / ₂	92	0-4-9	0-2-11	61	19	
Khundwa, 8th Chuk	3	19	26	52	..	488	14	3	2 ¹ / ₂	100	0-4-2	0-2-2	83	10	Do.
Total	3	7	54	36	3	115	19	3¹/₂	...	21¹/₂	0-13-2	0-10-1	76	11-4	

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condensed Statement of the chief statistics of each tract separately reported, from which the general effect on the assessment of the chief influences I have described will be seen. The chief point I would draw attention to in this Table is the relation between the two last columns, which show the percentage of enhancement on the whole demand, and the percentage of the actual ascertained rental (before revision) taken as the new revenue. The average enhancement is shown to be 11·4 per cent, and this absorbs 76 per cent of the ascertained assets, —as much probably as any assessing officer would consider safe.

471. Actually the gross assessment, exclusive of revenue free lands, rose from Rs. 1,52,446 to Rs. 1,68,793, s or 10·7 per cent. In addition to this, 46 village and 329 plots of land pay a quit-rent of Rs. 4,086 (their assessed value being Rs. 14,655), and an assessment of Rs. 8,301 has been put on resumed maafee lands, making the total realisable land revenue Rs. 1,81,180;—24 revenue free villages were also nominally assessed at Rs. 2,133 and 1,523 plots of maafee land at Rs. 21,608, which brings up the total revenue value of the district to Rs. 2,15,495. The total enhancement would of course have been greater but for the fact of a considerable part of the district having previously been held *kham tehsael*, so that we had been taking the whole rents as revenue; a large increase in rental thus gave but little increase of revenue. If those tracts be left out, the enhancement on the old revenue of the rest amounts to 19 per cent. The Statement in Appendix J. shows the revenue realisable during each year of the Settlement.

472. The incidence of this revenue is almost exactly 10 annas on each acre of cultivation, and 4 annas 7 pies on each culturable acre of the whole area settled. A reference to the Table at para. 340 will show that this assessment absorbs 1-16th of the present value of the annual produce. Should prices range at the lower rates which I have made the basis of calculation, it would then be rather more than one-eighth the produce. The new assessment of the most naturally fertile district in the Central Provinces (Hoshungabad) is only 9 annas 6 pies per cultivated acre, and absorbs but 1-26th the estimated produce; and of other districts still greatly superior in fertility to Nimar the new assessment is generally lower.

* It may be well to note here that both the old and the new assessments as given here and in the village general Statements, include the sums formerly paid separately on account of Zemindars' huca, and the petty charitable assignments of the revenue called *Chunda*. Both these having now been commuted into pensions payable from the treasury, the revenue assignments they represent have again become payable to the State. In some cases where the Zemindars' huca were reserved in granting the Jageer right in a village (para. 134) these huca have now been assessed as a permanent quit-rent on the tenure.

473. Some comparisons are possible between the *jumma* now assessed and former assessments in some portions of the district. For the tracts noted in the margin,* the figures are obtainable from the commencement of British rule, excepting for the 20 years' Settlement, which was not effected in the whole of those tracts. They are as follows :—

Comparison with former assessment.			Demand.	Collections.
			Rs.	Rs.
* Kanapoor.	Moondee.	...	93,187	87,204
Beria.	Peplode.	1st farming Settlement 1829 ..	1,18,985	97,500
Khundwa.	Selancee.	2nd " " 1834 ..	1,23,596	1,21,000
Aser.	Poonassa.	3rd " " 1839 ...	1,19,645	89,000
Bangurh.	Atode.	1st year Khalsa 1846-47 ...	...	1,20,623
		average of six years' Khalsa ...	..	1,15,789
		last year Khalsa 1850-51 ...	...	1,18,945
		now assessed ...	1,27,180	..
		(Jageers, excluded) ...	...	..

* Kanapoore, Khundwa, Aser, Bangurh and Peplode. A still greater range of comparison may be obtained for the tracts noted in the *margin :—

			Demand.	Collections.
			Rs.	Rs.
Moghul Tunkha assessment	...	..	3,21,002	?
Last year of Mahratta rule	...	..	90,468	58,745
1st British Settlement 1829	..	...	1,08,633	88,000
2nd " " 1834	...	...	1,11,667	1,00,500
3rd " " 1839	..	...	1,01,503	75,000
First year Khalsa 1846-47	..	...	..	1,06,041
Last " " 1850-51	..	..	...	1,04,845
20 years' Settlement	..	..	94,340	94,137
Present re-assessment	..	..	1,09,447	..

The present assessment is therefore very nearly identical with that of the second farming Settlement made in 1834; and some idea of the load of taxation removed from agriculture since then may be got from the fact that the census returns show the population of the same tracts (and probably their wealth and stock as well) to have increased by no less than 52 per cent since 1833 (*vide* para. 404). That the assessment is now fully moderate may also perhaps be inferred from the ease with which it has been collected in the tracts now settled for the first time (Zeinabad and Poonassa) during the two years the Settlement has been working, only one or two *dustuks* having been issued even during the season of general scarcity in 1868-69.

474. The assessment of the villages having been completed, the work of distributing the assessment over the individual proprietary holdings was at once entered on. The bulk of the ryots being separate proprietors, this was a work of unusual importance in Nimar. In most districts, where only a few of the ryots have received a proprietary title, I learn that the process of assessing them merely consists of applying the average revenue rate per acre of the gross village assessment to the number of acres in each holding. This would however give a very imperfect idea of the labour involved in this part of the Settlement work in Nimar. From what I have said regarding the large differences in the value of soils in this district (para. 391) it is obvious that to calculate the detailed assessments on this average principle would occasion great inequality of assessments. I have also shown (para. 260) how insufficient the soil classification possible under our system is for the assessment of small holdings. In point of fact, a statistical Statement, little less elaborate than that drawn up for the villages, was prepared for each peasant proprietor; and his assessment was regulated by a consideration of the whole circumstances. The just rent of his land was first fixed, and the usual percentage of it was adopted as his share of the Government revenue. On this sum was then calculated the additional percentage (*huc-ool-tehseel*) he should pay to the superior proprietor for his risk and trouble in becoming responsible for and collecting the whole revenue, managing the village, and keeping up the village service establishment. The amount of this percentage on the revenue varied from 10 to 20 per cent, according to circumstances. In the settled pergunnabs, where the superior proprietors were already enjoying a large margin as profit, the percentage was generally 20. But a class whose proprietary claims were doubtless stronger, consisting of holders of resumed *Maafee* and *Moond* lands, and relatives of the old or present proprietors, including all *Wuttundars*, was distinguished from the mass and assessed at 10 per cent only above the Government jumma. $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent more was added in all cases for share of the extra cesses on landed proprietors for maintaining the District post, schools, and roads.* Thus the whole payments of those small proprietors vary according to circumstances between 50 and 80 per cent of the rent value of their lands, that is they are from 20 to 50 per cent better off than common tenant cultivators. In point of fact the gross rental assumed for their holdings is Rs. 1,82,885, and their whole payments amount to Rs. 1,28,328, or 71 per cent of their rental.

475. All *Maafee* (revenue free) lands were also assessed with the revenue that would be payable by them in case of resumption. This is necessary, not

* Each holding has been assessed in lump, however many fields it may contain. Thus, should the proprietor alienate a part only of his holding he must still remain responsible for the revenue of the whole during the currency of the Settlement, unless a regular partition be effected through the Collector.

only with a view to such an eventuality, but also because where the Maafeedar is, as is generally the case, also the proprietor of his land, the proprietorship may be sold by the Maafeedar or by the Civil Courts, while the revenue assignment (Maafee) cannot. The purchaser in such a case would be a proprietary ryot, paying the assessment now imposed to the Maafeedar. He would pay no percentage for *huc-ool-tehseel*, but would be subject to the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for cesses, now paid by the Maafeedars as proprietors.

476. While these sub-assessments were being completed, adjustment of rents was going on between the Adjustment of tenants' rents. village proprietors and such of the cultivators as had remained in the position of tenants. Each proprietor was called on to furnish a rent-roll of such lands, and this was afterwards attested in the presence of both proprietors and tenants, before incorporation with the Settlement record. Previous to this the status of each tenant had been determined, and it was known whether he was a tenant with absolute right of occupancy at a rent fixed for the period of Settlement, or a tenant with right of occupancy at a fair, but not fixed rent under Act X. of 1859, or merely a tenant-at-will. In the first of these cases, should dispute arise, a fair rent would be fixed for the period of Settlement by the Settlement officer; in the second, if the parties could not agree the old rent would be entered, and the parties be referred to a regular suit for determination of rent under Act X.; in the case of tenants-at-will, whatever the proprietor declared he would demand was entered as the rent.

477. As however the rents of all land cultivated at the time of last Settlement by the same tenants as now have been held (para. 220) to be fixed for the period of that Settlement, no readjustment of such rents has now taken place. As the period already expired of that Settlement varies in different pergunnahs from 12 to 16 years (*vide* Statement at para. 230), the rents of tenants-at-will only (under 12 years' occupancy) have now been readjusted, though the proprietors may of course raise them again at any time if they please. The result has been an enhancement of their rental amounting to 31 per cent. The rents of tenants with absolute rights of occupancy at fixed rents have been fixed for the period of Settlement, and cannot undergo any further readjustment. But the rents of all tenants in the old settled pergunnahs whose right of occupancy rests only on Act X. of 1859 will become subject to revision as the period of the old Settlement expires. This will occur in different tracts between the years 1871-72 and 1876-77; and accordingly suits for enhancement of the rents of this class may be looked for during this period, even if it be not thought desirable then to invite such claims by a readjustment of the Jummabundee.

* Rents of ryots with right of occupancy under Act X. cannot now be readjusted.

478. The Statement on the following page shows the results of the operations of assessment and adjustment of rents on the proprietary profits. From this Proprietary profits. it appears that the revised Government revenue absorbs altogether 53 per cent of the gross rental and other assets; and that, of the remaining 47 per cent, 30 per cent goes to the village proprietors, burdened by the charge of maintaining the village accountants and servants, and 4½ per cent on the jumma for local cesses, which will reduce their profit to 25 per cent of the gross assets. The remaining 17 per cent of the gross rental goes to the proprietary ryots, burdened by 4½ per cent cesses on their jumma, which will reduce their profit to 15 per cent of the gross assets. The causes of the variation shown by this Statement to exist in the distribution of the gross assets, in the different classes of villages have been, I think, sufficiently explained in the foregoing remarks.

CHAPTER XVI.

PREPARATION OF THE RECORD, AND ADJUSTMENT OF MINOR RIGHTS AND INTERESTS.

479. No pains have been spared to make the Settlement Misl, or record of all the rights, interests, and liabilities, in each village, as complete and accurate as possible. It consists of the following vernacular papers:—

- 1.—Index to contents.
- 2.—Village field map (*Shujra Kistwar*).
- 3.—Descriptive index to map (*Khusra*).
- 4.—Plan of village site (*Shujra Abadee*).
- 5.—Descriptive index to the same (*Khusra Abadee*).
- 6.—List of the proprietors and tenants of all the lands in the village, giving the detailed statistics of each field, and the total of each holding, with their recorded rents (*Moontukhub Asumæwar*).
- 7.—List of cultivators who have an absolute right of occupancy at fixed rates (*Fehrist Asamee Mouroosee Mooltuk*).
- 8.—Statement of the liabilities of all the proprietors among themselves for the Government revenue (*Khewut*).
- 9.—Attested Statement of rights of property in fruit trees, growing on land not the property of the owner of the trees (*Furd Baghat*).
- 10.—Joint agreement of proprietors to pay the assessed revenue (*Durkhast*).
- 11.—Administration paper (*Wajib-ool-urz*).
- 12.—Statistical assessment paper showing grounds of assessment (General Statement).
- 13.—Final proceedings (*Rubakar Akheer*).

Each sheet of each of these papers bears my signature or that of the Superintendent, and the whole are strongly bound in a volume for each village. All except the last two, which are in the Persian character, are written in Devanagree, which is current in the District Courts, and I think so clearly as to be easily legible by most European officers.

Besides the "Settlement Misl," containing these papers, a large file of Misls (*busta*), containing the proceedings of enquiry into every description of right in each village, has been lodged in the District Revenue office. These are chiefly in the Persian character; but will rarely have to be referred to, the essence of them having been abstracted into the "Settlement Misl." Descriptive registers of these for each village have also been furnished. A mass of other miscellaneous papers, many of importance in connection with the history of the district and proceedings at the Settlement, has also been lodged in the office, along with a descriptive catalogue. Most of the manuscripts referred to in this report will be found among them.

The English papers are as follows:—

- 1.—General Statement arranged in assessment "chuks."
- 2.—General Statement in acres, arranged by Tehseelees.
- 3.—Annual Jumma Statement, showing the revenue payable by each village for each year of the Settlement.

Abstracts of these for the whole district are given in Appendices G. II. and J.

480. Duplicate and triplicate copies of the Settlement Misls, less expensively got up, have been furnished to the Tehseelee offices, and to the proprietors. The Tehseelee Misl is strongly bound in cartridge paper, and contains Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, and 11 of the above list of papers, besides the census papers of the village. The Zemindaree Misls are unbound, and contain Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8 and 11. Some proprietors however had copies made exactly like the District office Misl at their own cost.

481. The various proprietary and tenant interests in each numbered field of the village map and index are clearly entered in the appropriate columns of the 3rd, 6th, 7th and 9th papers in the abovementioned list of the vernacular Misl, and the rights pertaining to each description of tenure are detailed in the administration paper (No. 11). The extent of occupancy by householders in the village site is defined in papers 3 and 4, and the rights and liabilities attaching to their occupancy are, as far as possible, defined in the administration paper (No. 11).

482. All sharers in the superior proprietorship (*Malik Deh*) are jointly responsible for the revenue. But the Khewut (No. 8) defines the liabilities of these proprietors among themselves, as they now stand. It also declares the share of the jumma payable for the period of Set-

tlement by each proprietary ryot (*Malik Muqboza*), through the superior proprietors, together with the sum realisable from him by the latter as *huc-ool-tehsal*, and the amount of the road, school, and postal cesses (at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent* on the revenue) he is liable for. Those holders of revenue free lands, who are liable for cesses, or for *Malikana* fee to the superior proprietor (*vide* para, 296) are also specified in the Khewut. The work of getting up the records has been not a little added to by the fact that in the previously settled pergunnahs *two* khewuts had to be prepared for each village, showing the distribution of the old and new assessments between the superior proprietors and the proprietary ryots.

483. The administration paper (No. 11) is in two sections; one
The administration paper. (*Wajib-ool-urz am*) which is printed (with a few written additions) contains such conditions as are common to all villages in the district, the other (*Wajib-ool-urz khas*) such as are peculiar to the village. I shall describe shortly each heading in this paper, as the best way of concluding my statement of the rights and interests secured by the Settlement.

General provisions.

484. The following are the contents of the *Wajib-ool-urz am* :—

This administration paper of mouzah ——— is to hold good as an exponent of village customs and rights during the period of Settlement from the year ——— to the year ——— and until another *Wajib-ool-urz* shall be drawn up by the villagers and sanctioned by authority.

485. The proprietary right conferred by Government on us
Regarding superior proprietary right (*Milkyut*). (superior proprietors) conveys every right in the land except such as are expressly declared in the *Wajib-ool-urz* to pertain to others. This right of property will descend to our heirs, and may be transferred by ourselves or our successors.

486. Cultivators who have been recorded as proprietors of their
Regarding proprietary ryots (*Malik Muqboza*). holdings are entitled to do as they please with such holdings so long as they pay regularly their share of the Government revenue assessed on them, and the other charges to which they are liable, as entered in the Khewut paper of the village. They cannot be deprived of their holdings except by regular sale under orders of a compe-

* In the old settled pergunnahs the road and school cesses were fixed by provision at 1 per cent each instead of 2 per cent as levied under the Central Provinces' Rules. Till the expiry of that Settlement therefore only those rates will be payable.

tent court; and are themselves competent to dispose of their holdings by sale, gift, mortgage or otherwise, subject only to its liability for the abovementioned charges.

487. Should land be taken up by Government we agree to accept compensation therefor as laid down in Chief Commissioner's Circular No. 19 of 1863,* and should any dispute arise regarding land swamped or damaged by the construction of new tanks, or the raising of the embankments of old ones, we agree that it shall be settled under the rules laid down by the Chief Commissioner, accompanying letter No. 2339 of 23rd May 1864, from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, to Settlement Commissioner.

488. The wastes of the village, and all that grows on them, pertain to us proprietors alone. We will allow agricultural residents of this village to graze their cattle on the waste, and to take what wood and grass they require for their own use free of duty or other charge. To other persons we will grant permission to cut wood and grass only on such terms as we may think proper. Proprietary ryots have a full right to graze their cattle on all wastes not already in the occupation of others, and such waste may also be taken up by them for cultivation, and added to their old holdings on a proprietary tenure. They will however be liable to pay us rent for such new land during the currency of the Settlement at the average revenue rate of the village (as entered in column 44 of the General Statement) together with *huc-qol-tehseel* fee at the rate payable for their old holdings.

489. Every proprietary ryot, and ryot with an absolute right of occupancy at fixed rates, may plant trees or dig wells in his own holding, or any owner of a house in his compound, without our permission; and no custom exists in this village by which a cultivator having a right of occupancy can be deprived thereof in consequence of having dug a well whether "pucca" or "kucha," or made any other improvement in his holding without permission of the proprietors. No one may fell any tree within the village boundaries without our consent, excepting proprietary ryots on the land in which they have a right of property, and subject to the provision abovementioned that we will usually allow agricultural residents to take wood for their own requirements. The vested rights in wells and trees which are recorded in the special village administration paper will be respected. But for the future, no one who plants a tree or digs a well in this village shall retain any interest in such tree or well after he shall cease to have any interest in the land on which it stands. The ownership of such trees

* This was printed before Book Circular XII. of 1867, declared Act VI. of 1857 applicable to the Central Provinces. That Act is of course now the law on this subject.

and wells will go with the ownership of the land. In respect to forest trees within our boundaries, we will be guided by any conservancy rules that the Government may recommend to us for their proper management.

490. No one may erect new houses on the waste land attached to the village site without our permission, except proprietary ryots, who have a right to erect houses on any unoccupied land without payment of rent. No rent is demandable for land already occupied by houses. Should existing houses become dilapidated, and not be renewed by the owner or his heirs, then their sites will again come into our possession. We engage to attend to the conservancy of the village site, and keep it clean.

491. Droppings on roads and unoccupied waste land may be appropriated by any resident of the village. But the manure of regular camping grounds is the property of us proprietors only. Droppings on occupied land belong to the owner thereof.

492. The duties of whoever of us is appointed Lumberdar will be as follows:—He will collect all rents and revenue, and generally represent us with Government. He will be primarily responsible for the payment of the Government revenue, and will be entitled as remuneration to deduct 5 per cent on the village revenue from our gross proprietary profits. Should such Lumberdar habitually absent himself, or neglect his duties, or otherwise misbehave, we will move the Collector to punish or dismiss him from office. The Collector can also, if he thinks fit, dismiss him from office. Should he be dismissed we will select, with the Collector's approval, another of our body to succeed him. Should he die, and leave an heir capable of performing the duties of the office, we will as a rule make him our Lumberdar, should the Collector approve of his appointment.

493. We will leave all existing roads and pathways open, and will not exact any tolls or duties thereon, nor interfere in any way with travellers. All mines and quarries are the property of Government only, and the Government has a right to any means of access or land, necessary to the working thereof.

* In villages where Municipal Committees have been appointed the following has been substituted for this clause:—

The village site of this mouzah is not included in the property of the village proprietors, but is administered by a Municipal Committee elected from among the residents each year. Those persons however entered in the column for proprietors in the *khuras abadee* are the proprietors of the land and houses they occupy, and such of them as are proprietors or cultivators of agricultural land in this village or in neighbouring villages which have no *abadee*, are not liable to pay any ground rent for their house sites. In all other respects the village site will be subject to the rules of the Municipal Committee.

494. The following are the principal provisions entered in the special village administration papers of different villages. The first section states shortly the constitution of the proprietary body, the names of the Lumberdars, and explains in what manner and in what proportions the annual profits shall be divided among them. It also provides, in the previously settled villages, for the cancelment of the old Wajib-ool-urz.

495. In the few villages where the species of tenure called "absolute right of occupancy at fixed rates," under the orders of the Government of India dated 23rd April 1868, have been recorded, the rights of such tenants have been according to the instructions thus secured :—

We agree to accept and regard the following as among the conditions on which proprietary right has been conferred on us by the Supreme Government :—

(1).—That all ryots recorded in the Settlement Misl as possessed of an *absolute* right of occupancy shall continue, for the term of the present Settlement, to pay rent at the rates specified in the Settlement record ; and shall not, during the currency of such Settlement, be liable to enhancement of rent, or to payment of any cesses or fees other than those leviable by common consent and village custom from all ryots.

(2).—That fixity of rent for term of Settlement, liable only to revision at recurrence of regular Settlements from time to time hereafter, is to be a permanent incident, and a perpetual characteristic of the tenure of the said ryots.

(3).—That the said ryots shall in future be known as *absolute occupancy ryots holding at fixed rents*.

(4).—That the said tenure shall be regarded as entirely heritable, not only from father to son lineally, but collaterally also to nearest of kin.

(5).—That the said ryots shall have the power to sublet or otherwise temporarily provide by mortgage, or any other like manner, for the occupation and management of their land, and that our consent shall not be necessary to any such arrangement. Such manager or temporary occupant shall not be liable to pay to us a higher rent than that leviable from the absolute occupancy tenant.

(6).—That the said ryots shall have the power to transfer by sale gift, or will, their occupancy right with all its privileges on payment to

us of a sum equal to one year's rent for such land; provided that in every such case the tenure shall be offered for sale in the first instance to us, at a sum amounting to five years' rent of such land, plus the full value without interest of all *permanent* improvements effected solely by the ryot since the fixation of the rent; and shall not be sold to any other person unless we shall, for the space of one month, refuse or neglect to complete the purchase.

(7).—That the said ryots shall have power to improve their holdings, sink wells therein, and use canal water thereon, without paying us any higher rent than may have been fixed as above.

(8).—That these conditions shall have force, only in respect of the fields which the said ryots shall be recorded in the Settlement papers as holding on an *absolute occupancy tenure*.

496. In the settled pergunnahs, the exact interest possessed by Malgoozars under the old Settlement in the village wastes having been held to be doubtful (*vide* para. 235), wherever the whole village waste has not been included in the settled area, the proprietors have formally agreed to make no claim respecting the excluded portion, in consideration of their having obtained absolute proprietorship of the rest. In certain villages held at the time of making the present Settlement on old farming leases, it was found that their deeds of lease included the right to take up for purposes of cultivation any part of large areas of waste land. All this has not been included in the proprietary area, but a stipulation has been made regarding it that during the currency of their old leases they may bring any part of it under tillage without payment of additional revenue; and, at the expiry of the said period, should the cultivated portion of the settled and unsettled area together be found to comprise one-third of the whole area, they will receive proprietary right in the whole, otherwise their claim to the waste left out of Settlement will cease (under sanction of Settlement Commissioner's No. 1323 of 23rd April 1867).

497. The proprietors engage to respect all lands recorded as revenue free in the Settlement papers, to report all deaths and lapses, and on such occurring to collect and pay the revenue recorded as assessed on such Maafees, together with 10 per cent thereon in addition for themselves as *huc-ool-tehseel*.

498. The old status of the Putwarees, and the exertions made to renew their efficiency, have been detailed in para. 245 and 246. In the administration paper, the Putwaree at present in office is named, and his emoluments in lands,

cash, and grain, are detailed. Their average amount will be learnt from the accompanying Statement :—

Number of Putwarees.	Average number of villages to each Putwaree.	TOTAL HUCS.				Average annual income of each Putwaree.
		Cash.	Value of grain.	Rental of Enam land.	Total.	
209	2.4	Ra. 14,385	Rs. 2,473	Rs. 3,406	Rs. 20,264	Rs. 75-5-3

These emoluments are declared inalienable and not divisible into shares.* His duties are generally defined, and residence in his circle of villages is made obligatory. It is mentioned whether he is hereditary (Wuttundar) or not. If he is, provision is made that he shall not be liable to dismissal except for proved misconduct. If so dismissed, or when he dies, his nearest heir who is fit to perform the duties of the office is to be appointed. If he dies heirless, the proprietors may appoint any fit person to be Putwaree, who will not however acquire any hereditary claim. Where the Putwaree is not a Wuttundar, the proprietors may deal with him as they like; but all dismissals and appointments of Putwarees, whether hereditary or not, require the sanction of the Collector.†

499. The other village servants are named, and their emoluments in land, cash, and grain, are detailed. The amount of these is partially shown in the accompanying Statement, though there are other items, such as the usufruct of fruit trees, cattle hides, &c., incapable of estimation :—

Number of village servants.	Average number of village servants to each village.	TOTAL HUCS.				Average annual income of each village servant.
		Cash.	Value of grain.	Rental of Enam land.	Total.	
1,526	2.3	Ra. 580	Rs. 30,322	Rs. 5,951	Rs. 36,853	Rs. 24-2-5

* The Civil Courts must of course enforce any such alienation or division voluntarily made, so long as the maker thereof continues to hold the Putwareeship. But the revenue authorities have the remedy in their hands, by securing the dismissal of the Putwaree under the above provision, should his efficiency become impaired.

† Though it has not been thought desirable to insert such a provision in the papers, yet I think that in villages where there are a large number of proprietary ryots they should be consulted in all cases of doubt regarding the appointment and dismissal of Putwarees. They contribute more towards his payment than the proprietors.

It is stated whether they are hereditary (Wuttundars) or not, and provision for their appointment and dismissal is made in both cases in the same terms as for Putwarees. Their customary rights and perquisites in skins of dead cattle, &c., are minutely recorded. In some cases, where numerous families of Bheels take the duties of the office in turn, the order of succession is explained. In a few villages where the number of sharers was excessive some were abolished under sanction, their enam lands being continued for their lives.

500. In some villages where rest-houses have been built partly at the cost of Government and partly of the village, stipulation is made for their remaining available to travellers free of payment.

Village Dhurumsala or rest-house.

501. In villages where bazaars are held provision is made against the exaction by the village authorities of any bazaar dues.

Bazaars.

502. The proprietors engage to plant and maintain trees of mango, gooler, peepul, or bur, round the masonry platforms which mark the junctions of village boundaries.

Planting trees at village tri-junctions.

503. In some villages (of Aser pergunnah), where there is both a superior and inferior proprietor, and the revenue engagement has been made with the latter, the former getting a percentage only on the Government revenue from the inferior proprietor as *malikana*, the superior proprietor is stated to have nothing to say to the management of the village, and to have, as respects any land he cultivates therein, no rights beyond those belonging to the class of cultivators in which he has been recorded as standing. His *malikana* will be collected and paid by the Tehseeldar along with the revenue instalments.

Superior and inferior proprietors.

504. Reference is made to the list already mentioned (para. 479) of trees the property of one person growing on the land of another. It is provided that these recorded rights shall be respected; but that the proprietor of the land only, has the right to plant more trees, and that any which may spring up naturally shall also be his property. Many disputes have arisen between parties thus circumstanced, the owner of the tree claiming spontaneous seedlings as his. The right of the proprietor of the land to mark off the area occupied and injured in productiveness by the tree and its shade, and to demand full rent for it from the owner of the tree, has been declared, in accordance with Secretary to Chief Commissioner's No. 1928-219 of 1869, to the address of Settlement Commissioner.

Rights in trees.

505. In three villages are small works of irrigation made at the cost of Government. The Government proprietary right in these works is asserted; the rate at which water will be supplied is stated, and the proprietors of the village engage to collect this rate from all land irrigated each year, retaining 25 per cent of it as their remuneration for collection and for managing the distribution, and general supervision. The cost of all repairs is to be borne by the State; but the proprietors are held responsible for making due report of such being necessary.

Irrigation works.

506. Some Maafee lands were originally bestowed subject to the payment of the *hucs* of the Patel and other village servants. These are specified; the sum realisable by the Patels who are now proprietors is mentioned; and provision is made for the other village servants being duly paid.

Percentage realisable by proprietors from certain revenue free lands.

507. Of course in many villages there are some special customs and obligations recorded. But the above are all that will be found generally to occur.

Other customs.

508. Reference has been made (para. 235) to certain "miscellaneous *hucs*" in former times enjoyed by the Wuttundar Patels of villages. It was proposed by the Commissioner, Nerbudda Division, in his report on the completion of the Nimar Settlement, that such of these as were found to be customary should be continued to them. Of the long list of these allowed in old times (para. 187) I found that only the following had been continued up to the date of the 20 years' Settlement, both in settled and unsettled villages, and had been recorded in the administration papers of the former:—

1.—A duty on goods exported and imported, levied at the frontier villages of pergunnabs, at $\frac{1}{4}$ anna per two-bullock cart load.

2.—On sales of cattle taking place in the village, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the price.

3.—A transit duty at $\frac{1}{4}$ anna per cart on all through traffic.

4.— $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per cent on sale of spirit excise contract.

5.—On working sugar mills $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers goor per mill, for each time of using, if the mill is the Patel's property.

Nos. 1 to 3 of these had, however, been subsequently abolished as contrary to public policy; and the percentage on Abkaree (No. 4) had also been suspended on the introduction of the Sudder Distillery system. No. 5 was evidently only the hire taken by the Patel for the use of his own property. On reporting on these for orders, the Chief Commis-

tioner directed that none of these should be recorded in the administration papers, the first three being abolished, the fourth being merged in proprietary profits, and the fifth being left to private arrangement (Minute of 23th January 1868).

509. At the last Settlement certain village artizans, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c., were recorded as entitled to so much for their services to the cultivators. It was not, however, stated that the cultivators must necessarily employ them and no others. On enquiry I found that no such custom existed, and accordingly nothing has now been said about it except in some villages where such artizans did really exist, and there it has only been provided that, in case their services should be employed, the customary remuneration is so much.

510. In some cases too certain payments to the village priests were recorded. I doubt if this was done with the knowledge of the Settlement officer, as, in almost all the villages where such an entry was made, the Pursae or priest was also the Putwaree who drew up the records. The Courts had never enforced such payments, and as a matter of fact the people are very reluctant to make them. By the Chief Commissioner's order (in the same Minute) these have been omitted entirely from the new papers.

511. This paper is in the Persian character, and gives the grounds of assessment, the average revenue rates, &c. It is an exact translation of the English Assessment Statement as submitted for each village with this report.

512. The final proceeding (Rubakar) in the Persian character gives a short history of the village, and of each stage in its Settlement; mentions all disputes that occurred, and how they were settled; and states the authority under which everything connected with the Settlement has been done.

513. All proprietors have been given handsome title-deeds on parchment under the signature of the Chief Commissioner.

514. Copies of all entries in the Settlement papers concerning occupancy and rental of land have been given to those concerned. The copies of Khewut entries regarding proprietary ryots have moreover printed on the back of them all the passages in the administration paper which define the rights and liabilities of that class of cultivators, so that they form complete title-deeds for these peasant properties. I learn that the transfer of 91 of them has already been registered according to law.

515. New patents of release are also in course of being issued to all Maafedars whose grants have been confirmed,—on parchment when the release is permanent, and on stout paper when for life only.

516. Up to the time of transfer to the Central Provinces the district was sub-divided in pergunnahs and tuppas, the limits of which were ancient and universally recognized. According to practice it was then rearranged into four tehseels, namely Khundwa, Boorhanpore, Burwye, and Poonassa. Of these the greater part of Burwye tehseel was transferred to Holkar, and the tehseelee was transferred to the south bank of the river at Mortukka. Poonassa had no sufficient revenue or population to justify its retention as a sub-division, and it has been accordingly abolished, its villages being distributed between Khundwa and Mortukka; those more accessible from the railway side being attached to the former, and the others to the latter sub-division. The Mortukka tehseel is still a very small one, and has no sub-treasury. To it will be added any territory we may receive from Holkar, and the head-quarters may then be transferred with advantage to Sunawud, Dhungaon, or Soolgaon. The limits of these sub-divisions are shown on the accompanying map; the only point requiring note being that the Poonassa reserved forest and Chandgurh pertain to the Mortukka tehseel. The statistics of the settled villages, amount of land revenue, &c., of each of these new sub-divisions, will be found in the Abstract General Statement by tehseels, forming Appendix H.

517. A Statement of the amount of business performed, and its distribution among the several officers who have been connected with the Settlement, will be found in Appendix K. I need only add to this that 705 reams of paper have been expended during the course of the Settlement, to give an idea of the labour involved.

518. The cost of the Settlement has been Rs. 1,14,000, or 52 per cent of one year's revised revenue (including assignments, *vide* para. 471). I had calculated to do it under one lakh, but various causes have combined to increase the cost. The chief of these are the long delay in getting the Misl lodged of the villages adjoining Holkar's territory, owing to delay in settling their disputed boundaries; the putting off of the commencement of Settlement operations in Kanapoor and Beria until 1868, while the question of giving these pergunnahs to Holkar in exchange for other territory was under discussion; the unusually intricate and minute sub-division of property; the number of revenue assignments held on various tenures; the general co-existence of distinct property in trees and in the land they grow in; and the complication arising from the necessity of defining rights, revenue payments, village service assignments, &c., in the old

settled pergunnahs twice over, once for the unexpired period of the old Settlement, and again for the new Settlement;—all this gave rise to a need for unusual care in the examination and correction of the completed Misls. There were few villages in which numbers of the completed sheets were not extracted to be replaced by other corrected ones. Perhaps I was a little over averse to the appearance of correction having been made in my Misls. You are aware of the general causes giving rise to unusual cost in the Settlement of this district. The high prices which necessitate extraordinary pay, the unusually heavy work of Judicial investigations and Maafee enquiries, the absence of good Hindi writers indigenous to the district, and the duplicate papers required in all the settled pergunnahs. I believe that, if everything be allowed for, the Nimar Settlement will compare favourably with most in the Province in point of cost. I should also state that the abovementioned expenditure includes the cost of supervising the preparation of a complete set of Putwarees' papers for each village for the year 1867-68, based on the Settlement Misls; and further, that no "cleaning up" will have to be paid for after the submission of this report.

519. Engagements have, according to orders, been taken from the proprietors for a term of 20 years only, Term of the new Settlement. the Central Provinces generally having been settled for 30 years. I cannot however avoid expressing my opinion that, of all districts in the Central Provinces, Nimar is perhaps the best fitted for, as well as the most deserving of, a 30 years' Settlement. As regards its old settled pergunnahs, the new arrangements, elaborated with so much pains, will have only from four to eight years to run after expiry of the old engagements before a new Settlement has to be made. I would almost hope that a perusal of the present report may induce a reconsideration of the orders given.

520. In conclusion I have only a few remarks to offer. I have first of all to tender to yourself my thanks for the uniform consideration and support afforded me in the solution of the numerous difficulties occurring in the course of a Settlement perhaps exceptionally surrounded with questions open to legitimate difference of opinion, and only to be met by a patient consideration of matters whose origin and history were remote and obscure. There is scarcely a single point in the Settlement which has not been the subject of special reference and of special ruling, which has superseded or explained the North-Western Provinces' and Central Provinces' Codes, which have been the formal basis of procedure.

As regards my Assistants in the work, I may say that, while conceding my indebtedness to Deputy Collector Fuzl-ool-Kadir, who was with me from the commencement till the close of 1867, for much good work in the measurement stage, and for general assistance while I was myself wholly inexperienced in Settlement work, yet, when the difficul-

tics of tenure and detailed assessment and rent work came to be grappled with, I found him somewhat over-wedded to the rule-of-thumb procedure he had learnt in a previous Settlements, and unable or unwilling to adjust his efforts to the strange conditions of a new district. Thus it was not till I recovered entire personal command of every branch of the work that I was enabled to secure a uniform treatment of the complicated interests involved, according to the system determined on after consideration of the special requirements of the district.

His successor, Ali Hosein, Officiating Superintendent, and my only other Assistant, has fully aided me in the letter and spirit of my aims, and is commendable for the considerable knowledge he has acquired of the peculiarities of the district, and for his excellent superintendence of the Vernacular office during the latter stages of the work.

I trust and believe that our united efforts have resulted in a Settlement which, while securing substantial justice to all concerned, is at the same time calculated to promote the best interests of the district.

The Settlement of Selanee and Chaudgurb north of the Nerbudda, and of any territory that may come over to us from Holkar, as well as some 130 miles of frontier between Nimar and Holkar, still remains to be effected. Under instructions, however, the submission of this report has not been delayed on this account.

JAMES FORSYTH, CAPTAIN,

Settlement Officer,

NIMAR.

Khundwa, 30th June 1869.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Table of rain-fall (No. 1)—1849 to 1863.

YEAR.	Average fall in inches, measured by 71 rain-gauges in different parts of the district, during monsoon months, from A. D. 1849 to 1863.						REMARKS.
	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	Total.	
1849	6.2	12.6	7.6	10.	7	37.1	The Register kept up to 1863 shows only the monsoon fall. It seems to have been carefully observed, and is I believe tolerably reliable.
1850	3.7	7.6	5.5	4.9	2.	23.7	
1851	3.8	10.4	6.6	4.7	...	25.5	
1852	8.4	5.5	8.7	6.1	1.9	30.6	
1853	8.4	8.7	5.3	3.8	.1	26.3	
1854	3.	17.7	1.	7.	2.8	31.5	
1855	5.6	5.2	4.1	1.9	1.2	18.	
1856	9.	12.3	6.2	3.7	...	31.2	
1857	6.2	3.9	14.3	12.6	7	37.7	
1858	4.7	12.9	4.7	6.6	1.4	30.3	
1859	8.1	3.9	8.	1.2	..	21.2	
1860	3.5	10.3	7.5	6.4	..	27.7	
1861	10.3	11.4	14.3	7	.2	36.9	
1862	4.8	9.	5.1	6.4	.5	25.8	
1863	8.2	8.6	6.5	10.9	..	34.2	
Average	6.2	9.3	7.	5.7	.5	28.7	

Table of rain-fall (No. 2).--1864 to 1868.

	1864.	1865.	1866.		1867.				1868.				REMARKS.
	At Asergurh.	Asergurh.	Khundwa.	Asergurh.	Khundwa.	Boorhampore.	Poonassa.	Asergurh.	Khundwa.	Boorhampore.	Mortukka.	Asergurh.	
January	.. 4	6	<p>The Asergurh returns were furnished me by the garrison Surgeon, and are doubtless reliable. They show a yearly average of 35.4 inches. In 1864 and 1865 no accurate register appears to have been kept in the district. The fall at Khundwa during 1866 I noted accurately myself. In 1867 the registers were well kept at the Tehseelect, and in 1868 by the Civil Surgeon.</p>
February	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
March	.. ..	.. 1	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
April	.. 4	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. 2	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
May	.. 1	.. 1	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. 4	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
June	.. 75	.. 6	.. 4	.. 3.5	.. 13.5	.. 13.6	.. 10.9	.. 9.1	.. 11.1 ³ / ₄	.. 6.2 ³ / ₄	.. 2.5	.. 9.54	
July	.. 13.1	.. 8	.. 16.3	.. 11.3	.. 20	.. 6.7	.. 17.1	.. 10	.. 14.77	.. 7.9 ¹ / ₂	.. 12.9	.. 11.60	
August	.. 8.7	.. 6.2	.. 15.5	.. 14.9	.. 11.9	.. 17.4	.. 13.1	.. 12.6	.. 8.27 ¹ / ₂	.. 7.6	.. 7.6	.. 1.63	
September	.. 3.2	.. 1	.. 3.6	.. 1	.. 7.7	.. 6.5	.. 10.1	.. 14.9	.. 3.79	.. 1.2	.. 6	.. .83	
October	.. ..	.. 7	.. ..	.. 1	.. ..	.. ..	.. 1.8	.. 2.9	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
November	.. 3.4	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
December	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Total	.. 37.7	.. 23.9	.. 39.4	.. 29.9	.. 53.1	.. 44.2	.. 53	.. 50.2	.. 37.9	.. 23	.. 23.6	.. 23.6	

Range of the Thermometer in Nimar.

1866.	At Khundwa.							At Asergurh							REMARKS.
	Highest 3 P. M.	Lowest 6 A. M.	Extreme range.	Mean of all highest.	Mean of all lowest.	Mean range.	Approximately mean temperature	Highest.	Lowest.	Extreme range.	Mean of all highest.	Mean of all lowest.	Mean range.	Approximate mean temperature.	
January*	93	50	43	87	61	26	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	80	61	19	73	66	5	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	<p>*An exceptionally hot month at Khundwa.</p> <p>NOTE.—The readings at Khundwa were taken at stated hours, (6 A. M. for lowest and 3 P. M. for highest. Those on Aser are highest and lowest irrespective of the hour. The latter where kindly furnished me by the garrison Surgeon, and are probably more correct than those for Khundwa. The comparison is thus only an approximate one.</p>
February	85	52	33	81	59	22	70	86	60	26	75	68	7	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	
March	96	65	31	91	72	19	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	90	67	23	85	75	10	80	
April	107	78	29	100	81	19	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	99	72	27	94	81	13	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	
May	107	80	27	105	85	20	95	99	82	17	96	85	11	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	
June	106	77	29	98	83	15	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	99	74	25	88	80	8	84	
July	95	75	20	93	78	15	85	94	70	24	81	75	6	78	
August	85	74	11	82	75	7	78 $\frac{1}{2}$	80	70	10	77	73	4	75	
September	85	70	15	82	74	8	78	82	71	11	77	75	4	75	
October	84	68	16	82	73	9	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	82	65	17	79	71	8	75	
November	86	54	32	83	58	25	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	80	65	25	77	68	9	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	
December	84	52	32	81	57	24	69	82	63	19	77	67	10	72	
Average for the year	92	66	26	89	71	18	80	88	68	20	81	73	8	77	

APPENDIX B.

List of useful trees observed in Nimar forests.

Botanical name.	Common name.	Local name.	REMARKS.
<i>Tectona grandis</i> ...	Teak ...	Ság ..	In Poonassa, Peplode and Chandgurh. No large trees now remaining, but saplings' coming on in large numbers.
<i>Pterocarpus marsupium</i> ..	Beejasal ..	Beeah ...	Not very common nor large.
<i>Soymida febrifuga</i> .	Rohnee ...	Bugut Rori ..	Bark used as a febrifuge.
<i>Pentaptera tomentosa</i> ..	Saj ...	Sadur ..	Timber much used, but not of great size. Bark also used for tanning.
<i>Pentaptera arjuna</i> ..	Kowah ..	Kow ..	Not used at all, except for railway sleepers.
<i>Terminalia bellerica</i> ..	Beherah ..	Beherah ..	A very large tree, but wood white and soft, nuts used in medicine.
<i>Acacia sirissa</i> ...	Siris ...	Sirsa ...	Not very plentiful nor large. Wood used for common purposes.
<i>Acacia arabica</i> ..	Babool ..	...	Valued for agricultural implements and carts, and sometimes grown on purpose. Common in the open country.
<i>Acacia leucophlœa</i> ...	Reunjah ..	Hewar and Ren- jera ..	Not used much for any purpose, being mostly of very stunted growth. Feeds many goats.
<i>Acacia catechu</i> ...	Khair ...	Khair ..	Generally small and stunted, forms with the last the bulk of the scrub on the low hills of Central Nimar, and is much eaten by goats.
<i>Sleichera trijuga</i> ..	Kossum ..	Kossum ..	Used only for oil presses.
<i>Diospyros ebenum</i> ...	Tendoo ..	Temroo ..	Yields no ebony (the heart-wood), being mostly very small. White wood, used for common purposes.

Botanical name.	Common name.	Local name.	REMARKS.
<i>Boswellia thurifera</i>	.. Salee	.. Seyal	... The commonest tree in the district, but almost wholly useless.
<i>Sterculia urens</i>	.. Gooloò	... Koor	.. Used for torches.
<i>Butea frondosa</i>	.. Pallas or Dhak.	... Dhak	... Bark made into ropes.
<i>Nauclea orientalis</i>	.. Kuddum	... Kulum	.. Good common wood.
<i>Odina woodier</i>	... Goonj	.. Mouni	.. Very common, but not much used.
<i>Lagerstramia parviflora</i>	.. Lendya	.. Boondarya	.. Not valued in this district. Is common, of small size in the Taptee valley.
<i>Bassia longifolia</i>	.. Mohwa	.. Mhow	.. Highly valued for its deciduous flowers, which form an article of export. Is never cut down. Spirit is distilled from the flowers.
<i>Dalbergia latifolia</i>	.. Sheeshum (black-wood)	.. Sheshum	... Obtainable now only of small size. Many young trees in Taptee valley, however, and is reported to have at one time grown into fine black-wood.
<i>Eugenia jamboolana</i>	.. Jamin	.. Jamin	.. The tree variety not very common, as a bush common in all nullas.
<i>Zizyphus jujuba</i>	.. Bher	... Bher	... Very common in eastern Nimar, where it grows very large and is highly valued for its fruit.
<i>Mangifera indica</i>	.. Mango	.. Am	.. Very common everywhere, and highly valued for its fruit.
<i>Melia azadirachta</i>	.. Neem	.. Neem	.. Plentiful, but of small size.
<i>Careya arborea</i>	... Koombhee	... Koombhee	.. A light flexible wood, employed for domestic articles.
<i>Bombax malabaricum</i>	.. Semul	.. Semur	.. The tree cotton, is not collected in Nimar.
<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	.. Imlee	.. Imlee	.. Pretty common in open country.
<i>Ogle marmelos</i>	.. Bel	.. Bel	.. In Taptee valley.
<i>Conocarpus latifolia</i>	.. Dowrah	... Dhowrah	... Produces a very fine gum arabic, to some extent exported. Forms large forests north of Nerbudda.

<i>Hardwickia binata</i>	..	Unjun	..	Unjun	..	Much valued as a building timber. Plentiful in northern Nimar and of considerable size. It is the chief timber tree of the district.
<i>Buchanania latifolia</i>	..	Cheronjee	..	Achar	..	Not common.
<i>Bhyllanthus emblica</i>	..	Aoula	..	Aoula	..	Very common in Taptee valley.
<i>Ficus religiosa</i>	..	Peepul	...	Peepul	..	} Plentiful everywhere.
<i>Ficus indica</i>	..	Banyan	...	Bur	..	
<i>Ficus guleria</i>	...	Goolar	..	Goolar	..	} In Taptee valley. Little used.
<i>Iliodendron paniculatum</i>	..	Jumrasee	...	Jumrasee	..	
<i>Acacia paniculata</i>	..	Dobeyn	..	Phansee	...	Yields a very common timber.

APPENDIX. C.

Sunnud conferring the Wuttun of Sur-mundloee and Sur-canoongoe of Sirkar Handia on Ramchunder Bulal Bhoskooteh.

To the Mundloees, Canoongoes, Mocuddums and Ryots of Sirkar Handia, in the district of Nimar,* Soubah Khandeish, from Balajee Bajee Rao Purdhan, in the beginning of the Shakeh year 1673 (A. D. 1751).

The said Sirkar, from the ravages of Nahals and Bheels, had become waste, and overrun with jungle. On this account Raja Shree Ramchunder Bulal Bhoskooteh, of the Gargyl family, was told to resettle it; on which with great labour he did so. Having come to Poona he represented that he is an old servant of the State, and a family man who has to support his family, and that therefore he was hopeful that a new Wuttun would be established in his favour. On consideration this appeared true, and that he had been a faithful servant; and in hopes of his continuing so, it was graciously determined that in the said Sirkar to the south of the Nerbudda a new Wuttun of Sur-mundloee and Sur-canoongoe should be established. (Here follow details of the Mehals of Sirkar Handia).

Altogether the Wuttun extends to these 22 Mehals, and on the whole *Swuraj* and *Moghlae*† thereof, excepting only the Sur-deshmookhee and Hucdars, he will receive, as Sur-mundloee $2\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. per cent, and as Sur-canoongoe $1\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. per cent, altogether Rs. 4 per cent, which you will regularly pay. The papers connected with revenue and receipts and yearly accounts will first be signed and sealed by him, and he will in all respects take precedence, and after him you will come. The business of these Mehals will be performed through him. Besides this the usual hucs of a Wuttun on Pandree, Mohturfa, Teh Bazarree, Sayer, Rahdaree, Enams, &c., will be paid him as follows:—

Yearly hucs on castes, per shop—

Bunneas ..	8 annas.
Telees ...	1 rupee.
Komars ...	6 annas.

(Detail altogether of 64 trading castes).

*This may be accepted as confirmative of the statement made in para. 1 of this report, regarding the extent of the Hindoo sub-division or *Prant* called Nimar.

† *Swuraj* included all the Mahratta claims on the revenue made when the country was still in the possession of the Mahomedans. *Moghlee* was the balance left to the latter (*vide* para. 146 *et seq.*). The distinction was maintained long after the cessation of the cause.

Hucs on trees—

On mangoes	...	6 pies.
„ mohwas	...	6 pies.
„ tamarinds	...	3 pies.

Export and import dues—

On Kirana (miscellaneous)	half tucca per bullock load.
On Grain	do. do.

Transit dues—

On Kirana	half tucca per bullock
On Grain	quarter do. do.

On marriages—

Each marriage a shawl worth not more than Rs. 3, according to means.

Teh Bazaree—

On each person who sells goods,— $\frac{1}{4}$ seer per sack of grain; a handful from each basket of grain; on each grain-dealer's shop 1-16th, or 1-32nd of an anna, according to its quality, each bazaar day. On sales of cattle 3 pies per head; on miscellaneous dealers in sweet-meats, vegetables, &c., a small contribution in kind.

Statement of revenue collections in Khundwa pergunnah for 112 years,—from 1712 to 1823.

YEAR A. D.	REVENUE.			REMARKS.	YEAR A. D.	REVENUE.			REMARKS.	YEAR A. D.	REVENUE.			REMARKS.
	Land reve- nue proper.	Sewie (ex- tra cesses).	Total.			Land reve- nue proper.	Sewie (ex- tra cesses).	Total.			Land reve- nue proper.	Sewie (ex- tra cesses).	Total.	
..	1,13,851	..	..	The Moghul	1764..	98,026	21,552	1,19,578		1795..	68,467	56,448	1,24,915	
1712...	66,151	..	..	tunkha as-	1765..	81,023	20,443	1,01,466		1796..	68,237	51,413	1,19,650	
* *	..	..	..	assessment.	1766..	86,163	20,718	1,06,881		1797..	60,761	48,968	1,09,729	
1719...	57,379	..	..	The Chouth	1767..	88,932	20,885	1,09,817		1798..	61,001	31,965	92,966	
1720...	32,404	..	..	ceded to the	1768..	98,062	5,799	1,03,861		1799..	34,928	37,553	72,471	
1721...	29,520	..	..	Mahrattas.	1769..	74,491	18,969	93,460		1800..	63,264	26,707	89,971	
1722...	17,366	..	..		1770..	79,252	23,336	1,02,588		1801..	58,701	1,18,038	1,76,739	
1723...	14,879	..	..		1771..	1,04,317	25,791	1,30,108		1802..	44,421	13,283	57,704	
1724...	12,049	..	..		1772..	1,05,082	29,713	1,34,795		1803..	27,263	40,418	67,681	
1725...	10,023	..	..		1773..	1,08,380	22,205	1,30,585		1804..	24,516	82,206	1,06,722	
1726...	7,830	..	..		1774..	97,910	15,834	1,13,744		1805..	23,018	49,979	77,997	
1727...	11,192	..	..		1775..	1,01,670	31,095	1,22,765		1806..	37,984	31,955	69,939	
1728...	10,369	..	..		1776..	1,11,645	21,002	1,32,747		1807..	27,301	26,520	53,821	
1729...	17,630	..	..		1777..	99,999	16,376	1,16,375		1808..	28,735	26,313	55,048	
1730...	14,227	..	..		1778..	1,04,117	19,217	1,23,334	Transferred	1809..	29,811	28,702	58,513	
1731...	9,030	..	..		1779..	95,391	17,263	1,12,654	to Scindia.	1810..	32,813	31,676	64,489	
* *	..	..	..		1780..	93,369	19,745	1,13,614		1811..	39,609	31,208	70,817	
1733...	5,738	..	..		1781..	90,838	24,244	1,15,082		1812..	36,575	54,882	90,657	
* *	..	..	..		1782..	92,803	17,192	1,09,995		1813..	36,158	55,075	91,233	
1739...	13,089	..	..	Ceded to the	1783..	80,605	19,256	99,861		1814..	36,910	47,064	83,974	
* *	..	..	..	Peshwa.	1784..	80,604	14,997	95,601		1815..	35,250	82,086	1,17,336	
1751...	73,723	3,500	77,283		1785..	68,202	15,368	1,03,570		1816..	33,883	53,049	86,932	
1752...	66,307	3,265	69,572		1786..	79,438	18,541	97,978		1817..	33,645	83,240	1,16,885	
* *	..	..	..		1787..	67,231	20,359	87,590		1818..	29,314	37,125	66,439	
1756...	..	..	1,17,364		1788..	72,192	16,953	89,195		1819..	29,139	50,458	79,597	
* *	..	..	..		1789..	73,421	71,366	1,44,788		1820..	28,274	25,046	53,320	
1759...	1,18,932	32,195	1,51,127		1790..	80,055	77,633	1,57,688		1821..	27,258	31,404	58,662	
1760...	1,21,774	26,879	1,48,653		1791..	82,144	97,149	1,39,293		1822..	27,258	18,469	45,727	
1761...	1,09,044	8,940	1,17,984		1792..	82,568	39,103	1,31,671		1823..	49,543	60,777	97,320	
1762...	1,11,200	11,940	1,23,140		1793..	83,727	46,155	1,29,882		1824..	..	..	..	Transferred
1763...	99,047	14,500	1,13,637		1794..	73,059	50,444	1,23,503						to British

Transferred
to British
management.

STATEMENT of revenue of every sort from pergunnah Khundwa (SCINDIA'S) for the ten years before the pacification in A. D. 1819.

ITEMS OF REVENUE.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	Average	REMARKS.
	1810.	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	for 10 years.	
I.— <i>Ain Mal Kalee</i> ..	Ra. 32,813	Ra. 39,909	Ra. 36,575	Ra. 36,158	Rs. 36,910	Rs. 35,250	Rs. 33,833	Rs. 33,045	Rs. 29,314	Rs. 29,139	Rs. 34,329	Land revenue proper.
II.— <i>Regular extra cesses on land (Peshkar Puttee).</i>												
1. <i>Sowie Puttee</i> ..	3,435	5,528	5,523	5,513	5,552	5,487	5,338	5,269	4,835	4,490	...	At 15 per cent on land revenue for Sebundes (Police) Force.
2. <i>Kirkol</i> ,, ..	2,147	2,287	2,282	2,280	2,306	2,276	2,216	2,184	2,147	2,062	...	Miscellaneous at 6½ per cent on land revenue.
3. <i>Nath</i> ,, ..	1,614	2,893	2,893	2,900	2,953	2,913	2,801	2,754	2,486	2,189	...	Imposed by Scindia in lieu of nose-ropes furnished on one occasion to his army cattle.
4. <i>Durbar Khurch</i> ..	2,382	3,598	3,598	3,593	3,596	3,550	3,428	3,335	3,019	2,558	...	To meet expenses of local Durbars.
5. <i>Kum Wuzun</i> ..	720	591	592	592	596	585	570	555	544	499	...	Difference of exchange in currency 1¼ per cent.
6. <i>Kirkol Dhurmadao</i> ..	893	623	663	664	662	648	604	585	585	569	...	Miscellaneous expenses of religious ceremonies.
7. <i>Bhent</i>	1,074	1,040	1,036	1,035	1,036	1,022	964	946	937	900	...	A fixed cess from each village.
8. <i>Karkonea</i> ..	1,284	1,242	1,243	1,241	1,237	1,210	1,144	1,106	1,024	748	...	6½ per cent for pay of revenue clerks.
9. <i>Anteene</i> ..	...	...	...	...	...	435	414	411	391	374	...	For pay of officers who assess the revenue.
Total of regular extra cesses on land ..	13,549	17,802	17,830	17,808	17,938	18,126	17,479	17,145	15,968	14,389	*16,803	*= 49 per cent on land revenue proper.

ITEMS OF REVENUE.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	Average	REMARKS.
	1810.	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	for 10 years.	
III.—Occasional extra cesses on land (Hal Puttee).	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1. Googree Puttee ..	3,519	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	To supply bells for Scindia's cattle.
Bail ..	1,383	..	..	..	..	..	2,097	2,035	1,233	1,057	..	Tax on some villages in lieu of furnishing bullocks for the army.
3. Mowass ..	4,992	..	..	..	..	..	5,239	..	..	..	..	To be paid to the Selanee and other plunderers.
4. Nuwin ..	..	3,913	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	A "new" cess.
5. Luggun ..	..	..	10,620	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Levied for expenses of a marriage in Scindia's family.
6. Ahir ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,344	..	Levied on occasion of a birth in Scindia's family.
7. Khasgee ..	2,109	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Privy purse
8. Sadnook ..	..	..	..	..	..	36,940	21,877	27,549	14,469	19,965	..	To make up losses of revenue farmers.
9. Olawuk ..	..	537	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Cost of carrying Government goods through district.
10. Furmaish..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	Cost of carrying Government orders through district.
11. Havildaree ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	204	159	61	..	For pay of Havildars (bailiffs to watch crops).
12. Sowaree khurch ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	601	..	..	..	Levied on villages not visited by Government officials on their tours.
13. Toop tota ..	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	..	To cover loss in ghee supplied for troops by villages.
Total occasional extra cesses ..	12,088	4,535	10,705	85	85	37,033	29,298	30,474	15,946	23,512	*16,376	*=47 per cent. on land revenue proper.

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Contributions to Plunderers, &c.												
1. Sena Saheb ki Puttee	..	3,205	Contributions to save the pergunnah from plunder by the Sena Saheb.
2. Ramdeen's Khunnee	..	..	9 271	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do. do. to an officer at Holkar.
3. Ragnath Rao's ..	..	..	10 644	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do. do. do.
4. Ramdeen and Roshun Beg's Khunnee ..	..	..	..	12 323	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do. do. do.
5. Lambhatta's ..	..	..	..	..	..	15 739	..	..	..	..	..	Do. do. do.
6. Bhoema Bae's ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5 367	..	..	..	Do. do. do.
7. Pendhar Puttee ..	..	..	..	13 041	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do. to the Pindarees.
8. Aser Puttee Puraram Holkar babut	..	..	..	6 702	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do. to Mulhar Rao Holkar when going to release his brother from Asergurh.
9. Aser Puttee	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7 290	..	..	..	Do. to some one not known, who lived at Asergurh, probably Jeawunt Rao Lar.
10. Raghojee Rajah Jaysing's Khunnee.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18 145	..	..	..	Do. levied by him to compensate for a Jageer resumed by Scindia.
11. Ragho Gunes and Lambhatta's Khunnee.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9 055	..	Do. levied by Holkar's officers.
12. Roshun Beg's ..	..	..	..	..	..	3 660	..	..	..	..	..	Do. do. do.
13. Malcolm Saheb's ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	305	..	..	Do. levied to pay for supplies to Sir John Malcolm's army marching on Asergurh.
14. Sadnook ..	..	..	..	..	24 633	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do. to make up losses by Government officers, &c., in paying black-mail to plunderers.
Total contributions to plunderers and troops from land	..	3 205	19 915	32 071	24 633	19 405	..	30 802	308	9 055	13 939	*=an average of 40 per cent on land revenue proper.
Grand Total levied from land	58,456	68 151	85 025	86 122	79 566	1 09 814	80 660	1 12 066	61 536	76 095	181 447	†=an average of 2'3 times the land revenue proper.

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ITEMS OF REVENUE.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	Average for 10 years.	REMARKS.
	1810.	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.		
IV.—Revenue from other sources than land (See <i>abwab</i>).												
1. Pandhari ..	3 076	2 194	2 194	2 188	2 182	2 162	2 041	1 943	1 363	998	..	House tax on non-agriculturists.
2. Rabnook Puttee ..	60	50	48	79	60	94	89	81	85	78	...	Tax levied on village watchmen who held enams without doing service.
3. Zukat Sayer ..	731	1 265	1 301	1 371	1 350	1 266	1 007	703	856	398	...	Transit duties.
4. Kulalee Mahinmal..	156	156	156	156	156	156	167	192	192	156	..	Monthly Abkaree dues (liquor excise) from each vendor's shop.
5. Do. Tisala ..	..	339	..	444	..	611	..	622	..	487	..	Abkaree dues levied every second year from each vendor's shop (should be every third by the name).
6. Chapehgurh ..	9	9	9	9	9	9	7	6	6	6	..	Fees for stamping cloth manufactures.
7. Hulwae Mukta ..	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	6	6	...	Tax on sweetmeat sellers.
8. Pothee ke rung babut	5	13	16	16	16	15	15	12	12	11	..	Do. lac dye.
9. Nilgur ..	6	12	12	12	12	12	11	11	11	12	..	Do. indigo.
10. Dhooldhowae ..	9	6	15	..	10	12	10	6	6	6	..	Do. on people who wash the refuse of goldsmith's shops for gold filings.
11. Khund Goonagaree	1 337	1 167	561	418	193	681	989	264	262	337	..	Fines for criminal offences.
12. Kurz Chouthae ..	8	7	74	30	..	..	60	109	3	..	..	One-fourth of all debts decreed in Civil Courts.
13. Gyalee ..	43	22	895	..	15	26	..	179	141	..	..	Unclaimed property sold.
14. Nuzrana ..	35	45	90	..	..	40	31	356	645	536	...	Presents on certain occasions.
15. Paddam ...	43	45	40	66	32	54	70	12	62	51	..	Fines on re-marriage of widows.
16. Tulubanah..	93	50	79	59	20	23	12	8	3	17	..	Fees for serving summonses.
17. Durwaza ..	63	95	77	102	105	118	180	183	196	257	..	Octroi collected at gates of Kusba Khundwa.

APPENDIX E.

List of wholly, or nearly waste tracts held in farming lease or Khalsa, and now excluded from Settlement.

Tehseel.	Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Farmed or Khalsa.	Present jumma.	
				Rs.	A. P.
Boorhanpore	Zeinabad.	Hingna ...	Farmed.—Lease will expire in Sum- but 1927 (1871-72) ...	69	3 3
"	"	Gorara Boozroog ..	" " 1932 (1876-77) ..	8	0 0
"	"	Dongergaon ..	Khalsa	81	4 0
"	Aser ...	Dehra ...	Farmed.—Lease will expire in Sum- but 1931 (1875-76)...	9	8 9
"	"	Kakuria ...	" " 1937 (1881-82)...	21	0 6
"	"	Husunpoora ...	Khasla	4	2 0
"	"	Choolkhan Khoord. ...	"	24	1 6
"	"	Bujurkhera ...	"	18	3 0
"	"	Mandwa ...	"	6	10 9
"	"	Boorhanpore ...	"	28	14 6
"	Manjrode	Cheera ..	"	11	10 0
"	"	Ambajholee Boozroog ...	"	11	13 0
"	"	Choonkheree ...	"	11	10 0
"	"	Silote ...	"	7	8 0
"	"	Ambajholee Khoord ..	"	7	8 0
			Total ..	248	11 3
Khundwa ..	Khundwa	Khontia ...	Farmed.—Lease will expire in Sum- but 1930 (1874-75) ..	29	14 0
"	"	Kharda ..	" " " " ..	19	13 3
"	"	Dehree ...	" " " " ..	27	0 0

"	"	Mangurh	..	"	"	1930 (1874-75)	..	25	15	0
"	"	Behria	...	"	"	"	..	15	0	0
"	"	Chinera	...	"	"	1931 (1875-76)	..	69	6	9
"	"	Bijora Makhun	..	"	"	1930 (1874-75)	...	25	0	0
"	"	Bhogawan	..	"	"	"	...	0	0	0
"	Piplode ...	Pokhree	...	"	"	1932 (1876-77)	...	25	0	0
"	"	Jamnia	...	"	"	"	..	25	0	0
"	"	Louhar	..	"	"	1931 (1875-76)	...	22	0	0
"	"	Sirmesir	..	"	"	1929 (1873-74)	...	45	0	0
"	"	Nahulmar	..	"	"	1934 (1878-79)	...	82	0	0
"	"	Saoleedur	...	"	"	1923 (1867-68)	...	10	0	0
"	"	Gogreepoora	..	"	"	1928 (1872-73)	...	20	0	0
"	"	Kumlia	..	"	"	1931 (1875-76)	...	17	0	0
"	"	Pathapoor	...	"	"	1932 (1876-77)	..	15	0	0
"	Bamgurh.	Dongree	..	"	"	1933 (1877-78)	..	20	0	0
"	"	Silotia	..	"	"	"	..	25	0	0
"	"	Bhurungia	...	"	"	"	..	25	0	0
"	"	Kharda	...	"	"	"	..	20	0	0
"	"	Buldooadongree	..	"	"	"	...	52	0	0
"	Poonassa ...	Oodepoor	..	"	"	1937 (1881-82)	..	15	5	0
"	"	Gowalkoree	..	"	"	1927 (1871-72)	..	20	6	0
"	"	Deolan	..	"	"	"	...	30	10	0
"	"	Goolgaon	..	"	"	1928 (1872-73)	..	25	8	0
"	"	Tukaree	..	"	"	1927 (1871-72)	..	18	6	0
"	"	Baoria, Atood	..	"	"	1835 (1879-80)	...	25	8	0
"	"	Seoria	...	"	"	1837 (1881-82)	...	20	6	0
"	Bamgurh.	Rajnee	..	Khalsa	...	...	...	51	0	0
"	Pepiode ...	Peeplia	..	"	...	..	..	4	0	0
"	"	Purehta	..	"	...	..	...	80	8	0

Tahseel.	Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Farmed or Khalsa.	Present juma.		
				Rs.	A.	P.
Khundwa ..	Peplode ...	Dhaeda ...	Khalsa ...	7	0	0
"	"	Godree ...	" ...	27	0	0
"	"	Gurburgonda ...	" ...	0	0	0
"	"	Dewalee ...	" ...	0	0	0
"	"	Nagaotar ...	" ...	0	0	0
"	Poonassa ...	Aonlia ...	" ...	23	0	0
"	"	Deguwan ...	" ...	16	4	0
"	"	Ralwa ...	" ...	25	0	0
"	"	Siralea ...	" ...	25	0	0
			Total ..	1,010	10	0
Mortukka ...	Selanee ...	Ruttunpoor' ...	Farmed.—Lease will expire in Sum- but 1936 (1880-81) ...	18	0	0
			Grand Total ..	1,277	5	3

APPENDIX F.

DETAILS OF ASSESSMENTS.

POONASSA TEHSEEL.

This tehseel has now been broken up. It formed the north-eastern corner of the district, and included pergunnahs Poonassa, Moondee and Atode, and tuppas Poonnee, Jubgaon and Dholea. Area about 432 square miles, of which 42 only are under the plough. Mostly very broken ground, and covered with jungle. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway passes through the best cultivated part of it, with a station (Beer) close to the chief town, Moondee. Population 36 persquare mile. 80 per cent of the population are agricultural, and of these 59 per cent belong to the unsettled races. The average area cultivated by a plough is 17 acres,—being an average of 2½ acres per head of population subsisting on agriculture. A large number of fine cattle are bred in the tract; agriculturists possessing, besides plough bullocks, an average of 5½ head per plough. The percentage of soils is :—

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Cultivated	10	5	49	36
Culturable waste	1	3	36	60

Only 7 per cent of the crops belong to spring harvest; and, though water is everywhere close to the surface, there is very little irrigation. This tehseel has remained *Khalsa* since 1846, excepting that farming leases were given for 47 villages under the orders of 1847 (para 205). Much effort was expended in trying to repopulate it; and a Tehseelee was established at Poonassa. Iron works were also established there; and much money advanced to cultivators and lost, tanks made, &c. We have complete statistics only for pergunnahs Atode and Moondee, the tuppas above noted having been added to pergunnah Poonassa in 1861 and 1862, and incorporated with its returns, which renders comparison impossible. From these we learn that the number of cultivated villages in Moondee and Atode has increased from 38 in 1848 to 47 now, having reached 53 in some intermediate years. The number of ploughs, which is a better indication, rose from 467 to 803, and was never higher than now. In fact the little villages forced into cultivation by advances have broken down, and the people have concentrated in the better villages. In Poonassa, before the tuppas were added, villages had increased from 18 to 39, and ploughs from 387 to 419. Since then villages have not increased, but ploughs have—from 624 to 692; 95 villages came under Settlement, some imperfectly cultivated being left out; 40 of these were held on farming leases, due to expire at various dates up to A. D. 1882, most however within the next five years; and the rest were Maafee and *Khalsa* (managed direct by annual Ryotwar Settlements). The revenue

increased by 30 per cent between 1846 and 1854 owing to the above described exertions for re-settlement. Since then it has stood still. Excepting six of the best villages, this tehseel was never subjected to measurement till now, plough rates being assessed instead of rents per beegah.

I classified the tehseel into three chucks, making a very detailed inspection for that purpose. The villages varied very greatly in natural advantages; and good were so mixed up with bad in situation that it was impossible to classify them geographically. The arrangement into chucks was therefore wholly arbitrary, according to the judgment I had formed of their relative capabilities.

Chuck I.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Bangurda.*	10	Jamkota.	19	Kolgaon.
2	Baorea.	11	Julkoowan.	20	Khygaon
3	Bijora.	12	Julwan Boozroog.	21	Kenoot.
4	Beer.	13	Chichlee Khoord.	22	Gorarea
5	Palsood.	14	Doodwas.	23	Goorra.
6	Poornee.	15	Dohood	24	Gheesoor.
7	Tulwarea.	16	Reechgaon.	25	Moondee.
8	Jamlee.	17	Kankurea.	26	Mahood.
9	Jonwanea.	18	Soorapoor.	27	Nagjhiree.

Includes 27 mouzahs, all except six in pergunnah Moondee, 18 Khalsa, eight farmed, and one Maafee. Average area 1,472 acres, of which 394 are cultivated and 732 culturable waste.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	12	2	50	36

10 per cent of crops rubbee; 2½ per cent only of the land irrigated; 62 per cent of settled classes among cultivators. Present average rent rate found to be 7 annas 11 pies per acre. This was evidently a very low rate,—six of the villages assessed at beegah rates in 1846 were found to pay a rent rate of 11 annas 4 pies; one paying Rs. 1-3-1, though rather better than the rest, was universally considered over-assessed, and was in fact the only one deteriorating in the chuck. Three of these mouzahs pay easily a rate of 11 annas 3 pies. The jawur tract of Khundwa pergunnah, which adjoins this chuck, and much resembles it, was assessed at Settlement with a rent rate of 12 annas 7 pies. In Charwa of Hoshungabad, also adjoining it, rents rose on adjustment from 11 annas 1 pie to

* Names of villages have been spelt in this Appendix according to the system of transcription prescribed in "Directions to Settlement Officers."

14 annas 5 pies, but here there is 61 per cent of rubbee cultivation. There was a demand for land, as shown by the yearly increasing revenue in Khalsa villages. Prices had risen three-fold since 1846. The remaining villages were now in no respect inferior to those that paid 11 annas 4 pies under a beegahwar assessment. I therefore determined to assess on an assumption that rents would rise to an average of 11 annas 4 pies, or 42 per cent : with so much waste land and in so backward a tract this seemed sufficient. To distribute this enhancement average soil rates were adopted on the principles already explained (para 465) :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
1st Class	1	8	0
2nd „	1	0	0
3rd „	0	10	0
4th „	0	5	0

Existing rates on irrigation I found very high ; Rs. 4-14-5 per acre on wells, and about Rs. 8 on channel irrigation. Irrigation was decreasing under this tax ; and I reduced it to Rs. 3 per acre all round. Gross rental thus obtained, Rs. 4,676 for Khalsa villages, or, with sewie, Rs. 4,779 ; and Rs. 2,411 for farmed, or, with sewie, Rs. 2,518. In Khalsa villages Patels already enjoyed 15 per cent of gross assets (or, including village servants' erama, 30 per cent) without responsibility for the revenue. Government share of gross assets therefore fixed at 60 per cent. In farmed villages lessees made 40 per cent profit. They were all recently settled by the exertions of farmers. The half asset principle was therefore adopted in their case. The result is a loss of 6 per cent on the old revenue in Khalsa villages, and an enhancement as the leases fall in of 27 per cent on the farmed villages ; the demand falling at 6 annas 5 pies on the cultivated acre, and at 2 annas 3 pies on the whole culturable area.

CHUCK II.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Bumhoree.	13	Bunjaree.	24	Rewara.
2	Pipria.	14	Rohnee.	25	Purehtee.
3	ChichleeBoozroog.	15	Jubgaon.	26	Herapoor.
4	Dinkerpoora.	16	Beejulpore.	27	Kalmookhee.
5	Deolan.	17	Nurgorea.	28	Mohna.
6	Somgaon.	18	Julwan (tuppa Dhoolia.)	29	Poonassa.
7	Futehpore.	19	Sonpoora.	30	Piplanee.
8	Gondkhera.	20	Julwan Khoord.	31	Chanvel.
9	Peeplia.	21	Salea.	32	Doodgaon.
10	Matpoor.	22	Jamnia of Atool.	33	Kodbar.
11	Kurond.	23	Bamjhir.		
12	Ootawud.				

Comprises 33 mouzahs, more remotely situated than those of 1st chuck,

20 farmed, 8 Khalsa and 5 revenue free. Average area of villages 1,152 acres, of which 234 cultivated, and 561 culturable waste, 71 per cent of the cultivators "unsettled."

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils ..	11	9	50	30

18 per cent of crops *rubbee* (spring); scarcely any irrigation. Present average rent rate 5 annas 1 pie in Khalsa, and 6 annas 1 pie in farmed mouzahs. The latter, being fixed solely by the law of demand and supply, without Government interference, may be taken as the true rent rate of the tract; and with so much waste land available, and considering the whole circumstances, I could not anticipate a greater rise than this. The soil rates adopted were:—

1st Class	..	..	1 Rupee.
2nd "	...	..	10 Annas.
3rd "	...	..	6 "
4th "	..	...	3 "
Irrigation	..	...	2 Rupees (including dry rate).

Gross rental thus obtained Rs. 884 for Khalsa mouzahs. Government demand at 60 per cent Rs. 530 + Rs. 68 sewie. Juma of farmed mouzahs at half assets, Rs. 1,140. Total for chuck Rs. 1,738, an enhancement of 8 per cent on present demand, falling at 3 annas 9 pies on cultivation and 10 pies on Malgoozaree.

CHUCK III.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Umba.	13	Tulwara.	25	Lalpoora.
2	Buleapoor.	14	Dongergaon.	26	Temacha.
3	Kesone.	15	Kakuria.	27	Injulwara.
4	Joonwania.	16	Umoda.	28	Phepria.
5	Suralea.	17	Poora.	29	Dogwara.
6	Ootree.	18	Rajpoora.	30	Deit.
7	Peepulkota.	19	Diyanutpoora.	31	Kelēakharee,
8	Dharagowaree.	20	Atood.	32	Balapat.
9	Cheerakhān.	21	Rujoor.	33	Dugrea.
10	Heree.	22	Beejapoor,	34	Borancee.
11	Gogawān.	23	Oomuria.		
12	Bhoorlae.	24	Khootla.		

34 mouzahs, viz., 12 Khalsa, 19 farmed, and three Maafee. Regular jungle villages with 81 per cent of their cultivators "unsettled."

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils ..	6	4	50	40

Average area of villages 704 acres, of which 175 are cultivated and 432 cultivable waste. I fixed no soil rates in this chuck, assessing at half ascertained assets, resulting in a trifling reduction of Rs. 78-13-0 on the Khalsa, and a prospective increase of Rs. 90 on the farmed mouzahs, the demand falling at 2 annas 4 pies per cultivated acre in Khalsa, and at 3 annas 1 pie in farmed mouzahs.

The net result of the detailed assessment of the Poonassa tehseel is an immediate decrease of demand from Rs. 6,457 to Rs. 6,245 (Rs. 212), with a prospective enhancement, as leases fall in, to Rs. 6,736.

The assessment falls at 4 annas 9 pies per acre on cultivation, and at 1 anna 6 pie on the whole culturable areas.

ASSESSMENT OF ZEINABAD PERGUNNAH.

Embraces the south-side of the Taptee valley opposite Boorhanpore. Bounded on the south by a hill range, up to which land gradually rises, and quality of land deteriorates in proportion. Area about 47 square miles, of which 43,342 acres, or about one-sixth only, are cultivated. Much of the remainder is however unculturable waste in the aforesaid hills, there being 60,000 acres culturable higher up the Taptee valley. The climate at present very unhealthy. Contains 163 mouzahs, of which 66 only are now inhabited. Was transferred to us in 1860 from Scindia. For its revenue history up to that time *vide* para. 160, *ante*. Has since been held Khalsa, excepting six newly settled villages let on farming leases. All cultivators of any standing in Khalsa villages made proprietors of their holdings. Hereditary Patels received superior proprietary right, with title to engage for the revenue. We obtained the pergunnah with a rent-roll of Rs. 43,161, out of which expenses of management amounting to Rs. 11,067, were deducted. Net exchange juma Rs. 32,094. Since then rent-roll has increased by Rs. 7,498, and expenses diminished by Rs. 3,366 (which was apparently a perquisite of Scindia's manager). So that we get Rs. 10,864 out of it more than the valuation at time of exchange. The increase of rental is due to extension of cultivation, rents of old lands having remained unchanged. The rates imposed by the Tehseldar on the newly taken up land are said to have been much lighter than the old rates. In 1863 the pergunnah was measured with the view of settling it, which was never done. Comparing the statistics of then and now, it appears that the population has increased 20 per cent, (due chiefly to immigration from the neighbouring talouquas of Khandeish, which are thickly populated). Cultivation has extended still more, *viz.*, 36 per cent, so that the average per head has risen from one and four-fifths to two and one-tenth. This is an unexampled rate of progress in five years, but I think these figures fairly reliable. There has no doubt been a great improvement since better administration attracted the people of Khandeish. Excluding the uninhabited waste and Boorhanpore city, population is now 129 per square mile. The city contains a population of 34,147 souls alone. There are scarcely any of the unsettled

ances among the cultivators, excepting the numerous village servants. People are now very well to do; though it is said that, till the high prices of produce began simultaneously with the transfer of the pergunnah, the reverse was the case. Each plough cultivates 20 acres, and has three head of cattle, besides plough bullocks.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
The percentage of soils is	1	16	62	21

Water lies very deep below the surface, and there are only 145 acres irrigated. 8 per cent only of the cultivation is rubber; and 15 per cent of the remainder is under cotton, for which the soil is well suited, but which is at present of a very inferior sort. The city of Boorhanpore offers a steady market for all the produce of the pergunnah, as well as of Aser and the adjacent parts of Khandeish, and besides this draws a great part of its supplies from a distance. These pergunnahs have, therefore, always received a higher price for their produce than more distant parts. The advent of the railway, which usually raises value of produce, will have a contrary effect here, as it brings distant produce cheaper to the Boorhanpore market, and thus reduces the *relative* value of that locally raised. There are 22,439 fruit trees in the pergunnah, the produce of which readily sells in Boorhanpore, and forms a considerable item of income to the people. The pergunnah was divided into two main chucks, a few scattered villages among the hills being assessed along with the jungle pergunnah of Manjrode, lying higher up the Taptee valley. The first chuck comprised all villages on the level plain round Boorhanpore, the second all outside this circle, and higher situated, with a poorer average of soil, or more remote and intermixed with jungle.

CHUCK I.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Argaon.	9	Teetgaon Boozroog	17	Sarola.
2	Omurda.	10	Teetgaon Khoord.	18	Sindkhēra.
3	Ichapoor.	11	Chapora.	19	Shahpoor.
4	Badkhēra.	12	Dapora.	20	Khamnee.
5	Borsur.	13	Raegaon.	21	Mohood.
6	Bumbhara.	14	Zeinabad.	22	Nachinkhēra,
7	Borgaon.	15	Ahoo Khana.	23	Neir.
8	Piplaj.	16	Sirsoda.	24	Warolec.

24 mouzahs, of which 23 are Khalsa and 1 on quit-rent tenure. Average area 2,284 acres, of which 1,393 are cultivated, and only 213 culturable

waste, this being the amount under periodical fallow, for the chuck is fully cultivated.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	16	67	17

12 per cent of the crops rubber. To test average rent rate, I compared those of the whole of the surrounding tracts, viz., talooqas Ravere, Chopra, and Edulabad of Khaundeish, and tuppas Bahadurpoor and Nimbola of pergunnah Aser. I have placed them in the following Statement according to the order of natural advantages and fertility which I believe them to possess, the first being best:—

Order.	Name of tract	When settled.	Average rent rate per acre.
1	1st Circle, Ravere	1854	1 7 0
2	Do. Chopra	1857	1 11 0
3	Do. Edulabad	1866	1 11 0
4	Tuppa Bahadurpoor	1855	1 7 7
5	Do. Nimbola	"	1 5 7

The first chuck of Zeinabad I would call inferior to none of these excepting Ravere, and its present average rent rate I found to be Rs. 1-11-0. Considering the declining state of its great market, Boorhanpore, the destruction of its advantage in that market by the opening of the railway, the amount of available waste land in the neighbourhood, the comparatively recent release of the pergunnah from excessive assessment, and the rates prevailing all round it, I did not feel justified in anticipating any general rise of rents here. Considerable inequalities of assessment however required to be adjusted. Soil rates adopted were:—

	R.	A.	P.
1st Class	3	0	0
2nd "	2	10	0
3rd "	1	12	0
4th "	0	14	0
Irrigation	3	0	0

This rate for 3rd class soil, which forms 67 per cent of the whole, is identical with that I found it to be already paying, and the others were fixed on the same principle as in Poonassa tehsel, except in the case of 1st class, which does not here yield a double crop.

Gross rental thus obtained Rs. 45,872 for Khal'sa villages, which is Rs. 3,936 more than the acknowledged assets, but Rs. 325 less than those found by applying the average rate of ryots' land to the Patels' light-rented home farms. Patels at present enjoy altogether 23 per cent of assets as profit of management, without responsibility. Under

Scindia they enjoyed more, but were *quasi* responsible. Rents not having been raised, I allowed 30 per cent remission from this ascertained rental as proprietors' profit, taking 70 per cent as Government juma. The State demand thus obtained is Rs. 32,108,—a loss of Rs. 3,640 on the present receipts. In distributing this gross assessment over the individual villages some cases were found in which enhancement was indicated, a few where decrease was required. Thus the total of the detailed assessments amounts (with sewie) to Rs. 35,625, a loss of Rs. 123 only on present net receipts. This juma falls at Rs. 1-6-0 on the cultivated acre.

CHUCK II.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Eklara.	13	Deeghee.	26	Malvere.
2	Borgaon.	14	Rehta.	27	Mordur.
3	Bhaosa.	15	Seerpoor.	28	Neemgaon.
4	Borda.	16	Kodrec.	29	Wukharee.
5	Bhota.	17	Khurkōd.	30	Hunwuntkhera.
6	Phōpnar.	18	Khaperkhera.	31	Godlee.
7	Taklee.	19	Gondunkhera.	32	Deolan.
8	Jeysingpoora.	20	Gowulkhera.	33	Sookhpooree.
9	Chandgurh.	21	Ghirta.	34	Neoree.
10	Darapoor <i>alias</i> Duryapoor.	22	Goolie.		
11	Dōree.	23	Muhulgeorara.		
12	Dhumugaon.	24	Mehta.		
		25	Manusgaon.		

31 villages, 23 being Khalsa, 6 farmed, and 2 revenue free. Average area 829 acres, 341 being cultivated, and 245 culturable waste.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	1	17	51	31

Rubbee only 3 per cent, and cotton 13 per cent of khureef harvest, 54 per cent of the cultivation is *Paheekashi*, that is by cultivators resident in other villages. The present average rent rates are—

In Khalsa villages Rs. 0 15 0 per acre.
 „ farmed „ „ 1 0 11 „

The revenue rates are however—

In Khalsa 12 annas per acre.
 „ farmed 2 annas 7 pies per acre.

This is clear evidence that the Khalsa rates are too low. There is no pressure on the farmers to make them raise their rents, and the quality of their land is no better than in the Khalsa villages. They are also the most recently settled. The reason of the Khalsa rates being

lower is that most of the recent extension of cultivation has occurred in this chuck, and the Native subordinates fixed what rates they chose for it. The rates of neighbouring tracts, with which this can be compared, are—

Tuppa Nimbola of Aser (1855), rather superior ..	Rs.	1	5	0
3rd Circle of Ravere Khandeish (1854), do. ..	"	1	1	10
2nd " Chopra " (1857), about equal. ..	"	1	0	11

I accordingly assumed that rents in the Khalsa villages should rise to the rate prevalent in those held on farming lease, that is 13 per cent. I assumed as soil rates :—

1st Class ..	Rs.	2	0	0
2nd " ..	"	1	8	0
3rd " ..	"	1	0	0
4th " ..	"	0	8	0

Gross rental by these rates, in Khalsa villages Rs. 8,907, against Rs. 9,770 shown by Putwarees' papers. In the Khalsa villages Patels already enjoyed 27 per cent of assets, without responsibility. I have therefore fixed the Government demand at two-thirds the assets, which gives Rs. 5,941 juma. But detailed assessments (including sewie) amount to Rs. 6,350, which is Rs. 539 less than the present receipts under the Khalsa system. In farmed villages the result, assessing at half assets, is a Kamil juma of Rs. 930, or Rs. 720 above that now paid. This will be realised as present leases fall in, the latest being in 1872. The first falls in 1868-69, leaving the new juma for the chuck only Rs. 334 less than at present. The incidence of the new jumna is 10 annas 8 pies on the cultivated acre, or on the whole culturable area 6 annas 4 pies per acre.

GENERAL RESULT.

The result of the assessment of both chucks is Rs. 42,185, rising to Rs. 42,905,—an immediate loss of Rs. 664, and ultimate enhancement of Rs. 62. It falls at Rs. 1-2-10 on the cultivated area, and at 14 annas 2 pies on the whole culturable acreage. Three Maafee and quit-rent villages have been assessed at Rs. 959.

ASSESSMENT OF PERGUNNAH MANJRODE AND ELEVEN HILL VILLAGES OF ZEINABAD.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Khökree <i>alias</i> Tookaeethur.	8	Pangree.	15	Gurhee.
2	Dhar <i>alias</i> Bêlthur	9	Mêlchooka.	16	Chakwara.
3	Khökree Khoord.	10	Balapat.	17	Jumboopanee.
4	Raetulæe.	11	Jusondee.	18	Jamtee.
5	Dhertulæe.	12	Rusoolabad.	19	Raesëna.
6	Peepulgaon.	13	Shikarpoor.	20	Dowlutpoora.
7	Sheekapoor.	14	Jääferpoora.		

Manjrode adjoins Zeinabad, higher up the Taptee valley. Total area about 200 square miles. This pergunnah was wholly desolated in the early part of this century, and has never recovered, having become overgrown with jungle and deadly in climate. In A. D. 1706 there were 54 villages inhabited, paying Rs. 16,488 revenue. Its Moghul *tunkha* was Rs. 22,177 from 82 settled villages. Nine villages only are now cultivated, entirely by Korkoos. Total area 2,016 acres. The hereditary Zemindar of the pergunnah, Kesho Rao Rughnath, has hitherto acted as Patel of all these villages, holding five of them in Jageer. Eleven small villages in Zeinabad pergunnah have been included in the *chuck* for assessment purposes. They are almost equally remote and wild as those of Manjrode, 92 per cent of the cultivators are the wildest Korkoos and Nahals, 6 of them are held in Jageer by the subsidized Bheel Ghat Police mentioned in para. 282. The average plough area is $15\frac{1}{2}$ acres, supporting $6\frac{1}{2}$ souls, with three head of cattle besides plough bullocks. The soil of these villages is of high quality:—

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	19	17	42	22

In fact the whole of this part of the valley is naturally exceedingly fertile, 26 per cent of the crops are *rubbee*, and the percentage is much higher for the Manjrode villages alone, where little but wheat and gram is grown. The assessment of such a backward tract must be almost nominal. I found the gross assets by applying the average rate paid by cultivators to the whole assessable area, and divided it by two for the revenue, making a few allowances here and there.

The result of the detailed assessments is a juma of Rs. 2-16-0 for the 9 revenue paying mouzahs, which is Rs. 34 more than they paid last year. Rupees 419 have been assessed on the 11 Maafee mouzahs. I have great hopes that the Zemindar, who is very energetic and intelligent, will be encouraged by this nominal assessment for a long period of years to exert himself towards the restoration of the tract.

ASSESSMENT OF PERGUNNAH ASER.

Settled for 20 years from A. D. 1855-56.

The southern portion lies in the open Taptee valley, round the populous city of Boorhanpore, which affords a steady market for produce. The northern part lies in the Sautpoora hills, and is very wild, most of the land being unculturable hill. Out of 179 mouzahs borne on the old *Dehjara* list, 56 only are now cultivated. Total waste land about 318,500

acres, of which about 24,000 only are culturable; 30 per cent of the cultivators belong to unsettled tribes. Juma of 20 years' Settlement, including Zemindaree dues, absorbed 33 per cent of the rental, including service enam lands. Average rent rate assessed was Rs. 1-5-6 per acre, which was a reduction of 5 per cent on the rental of year before Settlement, from which, however, 6 per cent had had to be remitted as incapable of realisation. The preceding year 13 per cent was remitted in the same way. In Khandeish, which adjoins Aser, and was settled two years before it, average rent rate was only Rs. 1-3-4, while the soil of Khandeish is decidedly superior. Rents were therefore assessed too high at last Settlement. Cultivation has now extended by 51 per cent (if last Settlement figures are reliable), chiefly by immigration from Khandeish, where, the Collector informs me that, "cultivation has increased since the survey in 1854 by 50 per cent, and there is now little culturable land uncultivated." This extension has been accompanied by a fall in the average rent rate to Rs. 1-0-9 or 23 per cent. One cause of this is that the new cultivation has taken up inferior soil, while the rents of the old land were by the terms of Settlement incapable of enhancement. The percentage now being, —

			1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	4th Class.
Cultivated	8	51	41
Culturable	26	74

Rents have however fallen in some villages which have not increased their cultivation. Rents are now almost identical with those of pergunnah Zeinabad, which has never been assessed by us till now. These two tracts closely correspond with each other, forming the north and south sections of the same basin of the Taptee valley surrounding Boorhanpore. The average quality of the Zeinabad soil is rather higher. But that, allowing for this, the present rent rates are nearly identical will be seen from the following Statement of the result of applying the average soil rates assumed for Zeinabad to this pergunnah.

				Rental before re-assessment.	Rental by Zeinabad assumed rates.
				Rs.	Rs.
Zeinabad ..	..	..	..	57,298	56,996
Aser .	..	..	..	30,286	29,867

The effect of the proximity to Boorhanpore, and advent of the railway, will be identical here and in Zeinabad, already remarked on.

No rise in rents is therefore indicated in this pergunnah. The recent rise in prices and extension of cultivation, has only, as in Zeinabad, made excessive rents moderate. The average plough area of Aser pergunnah is 16½ acres. There are 5½ acres to each soul of the agricultural population, with not quite one head of cattle on the average per plough, besides plough bullocks, though this is not quite reliable on account of many of them residing in Boorhanpore, where the cattle were not enumerated.

I divided Aser into three chucks :—

CHUCK I.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Bukburgaon.	8	Choolkhan,	15	Mahomedpoor.
2	Emagird.	9	Humeedpoor.	16	Nagolkhera.
3	Borgaon Khoord.	10	Russoolpoor.	17	Nimbola.
4	Bara Khoord.	11	Shadera.	18	Hutnoor.
5	Bara Boozroog.	12	Lal Bagh.	19	Borda.
6	Bahadurpoor.	13	Lonee.		
7	Boree Khoord.	14	Muchalpoora.		

19 mouzals in the open Taptée valley round Boorhanpore, viz., 17 settled and 2 Khalsa, having been received in transfer of 1860. Average area 991 acres, of which 670 are cultivated, and 65 only, culturable waste.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	9	58	31

Crops 6½ per cent rubbee, and 18 per cent of khureef is cotton; 1 per cent of cultivating population only "unsettled." Present rent rates the same as in first chuck of Zeinabad. No rise in rents can be immediately expected. Soil rates assumed the same as in first chuck of Zeinabad, viz :—

Irrigation	...	..	Rs.	3	0	0
1st Class	...	..	"	3	0	0
2nd "	...	..	"	2	10	0
3rd "	...	..	"	1	12	0
4th "	...	..	"	0	14	0

Assets obtained by these rates (exclusive of rent-free and trunkha lands left out of assessment for the present) is Rs. 16,950, present ascertained assets being Rs. 16,853. In anticipation of improvement during the seven years currency of old Settlement, 60 per cent was taken as the

Government share in settled villages. Government demand thus obtained Rs. 10,920, an enhancement of Rs. 757. In 2 Khalsa villages Government juma fixed at two-thirds assets, giving a Government demand of Rs. 1,368, a decrease of Rs. 280.

CHUCK II.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Biroda.	7	Shewul.	13	Mugrool.
2	Borce Boozroog.	8	Sooltanpoor.	14	Nuseerabad.
3	Patond.	9	Futehpoor.	15	Wisar.
4	Chinchala.	10	Khatla.	16	Wusalee.
5	Chiklea.	11	Golgaon.		
6	Reheepoora.	12	Goliana.		

16 mouzahs, all settled, situated along skirts of the hills. Average area 1,310 acres, of which 579 cultivated, and 389 culturable waste.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	6	57	36

Of the crops only 1 per cent rubbee. Of khureef 13 per cent under cotton. Only 1 per cent of the land irrigated. Cultivation has increased since Settlement by 24 per cent: and rent rates fallen 8 per cent.

Soil rates assumed those of 2nd chuck Zeinabad, viz:—

Irrigation	..	Rs.	3	0	0
1st Class	...	"	2	0	0
2nd "	...	"	1	8	0
3rd "	..	"	1	0	0
4th "	...	"	0	8	0

Assets thus obtained Rs. 8,233, against ascertained assets Rs. 8,456. These villages being capable of much improvement during remaining years of Settlement, Government juma is fixed at two-thirds assets, viz., Rs. 5,637, or an enhancement of 22 per cent.

CHUCK III.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Itaria.	8	Dhond.	15	Hutnee.
2	Buree.	9	Sakta Boozroog.	16	Hewra.
3	Bholana.	10	Rohnee.	17	Aser.
4	Bhugwania.	11	Sakta Khoord.	18	Piprana.
5	Thatur.	12	Samurphata.	19	Jalandra.
6	Jhurea.	13	Gardeo.	20	Dhoolkote.
7	Jhirphanjra.	14	Wakee.	21	Hurda.

21 mouzahs, viz., 11 settled, 2 on farming lease, 1 revenue free, and

7 Khalsa (of tuppa Sutrabustee, old British Nimar). Average area 1,073 acres, of which 24½ cultivated, and 30½ culturable waste.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	2	31	65	

Villages all remotely situated in the hills; and cultivators almost all belong to unsettled classes (mostly Bheels). In settled villages increase of cultivation has been 17 per cent; and rent rate has at the same time risen 4½ per cent. A still further rise in rents and general improvement may be looked for. The Khalsa villages, on the other hand, have been over-assessed, and have fallen off in cultivation 25 per cent since 1862, when they were measured with a view to settling them, which was never done. The average rent rate then assumed for them was 8 annas 1 pie, and they now pay 13 annas 7 pies. A reduction is quite necessary here. I assumed for both settled and Khalsa villages the following average soil rates:—

Irrigation	Rs.	3	0	0
1st Class,—none in the chuck.				
2nd "	"	1	0	0
3rd "	"	0	12	0
4th "	"	0	6	0

Gross assets of settled villages thus obtained Rs. 1,682 + sewie Rs. 131, an increase of rental of 35 per cent. This includes all prospect of improvement, and Government juma has therefore been fixed at 50 per cent, Rs. 745, an enhancement of 50 per cent. In Khalsa villages rental at average soil rates is Rs. 870, a reduction of 22 per cent from existing assets. Juma fixed at half assets, as Putwarees are here paid by Government, not by cultivators, and this expense will now fall on proprietors; also because risk of managing these wild villages is excessive. The revenue from these villages is thus reduced by 30 per cent.

GENERAL RESULT OF DETAILED ASSESSMENTS.

In settled villages demand enhanced from Rs. 14,488-4-0 to Rs. 17,020 and average revenue rate from 10 annas to 11 annas 9 pies, or 17 per cent. In Khalsa villages revenue reduced from Rs. 2,741-11-6 to Rs. 2,175, and average revenue rate from Rs. 1-0-6 to Rs. 0-13-2. The net result of re-assessment is therefore an enhancement of Rs. 1,965, or 11 per cent. The average rate at which the new demand falls on cultivation is 11 annas 11 pies, and on culturable area 7 annas 7 pies. One Maafé mouzah has been assessed on the same principles at Rs. 65.

ASSESSMENT OF KHUNDWA TEHSEEL

This tehsél includes the old pergunnahs Khundwa, Peplode and Bamgurh, and a small portion of pergunnah Aser. It was settled by pergunnahs at last Settlement, and Khundwa again was divided into

five "zillaha." But there is nothing in the circumstances of any of these tracts to mark them out as suitable for assessment chucks, as they each include every variety of soil and circumstance to be found in the tehseel. I accordingly threw these sub-divisions overboard altogether; and divided the tehseel into eight assessment chucks, the component villages of which appeared to be as nearly as possible similar. A sketch map accompanied my assessment report on the first of these chucks, from which their exact limits may be ascertained. I shall also briefly describe each of them further on. This tehseel comprises the country drained by the Sookta and Abna rivers, and their tributaries. Its surface is very irregular, but, as usual, it is more level and fertile the nearer the main streams are approached. It is traversed by good fair weather roads, converging on the railway stations, of which there are three within the tehseel.

CHUCK I.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
	A.		B.		
1	Burgaoon Malee.	35	Borgaon Khoord.	69	Chumatee.
2	Tearundazpoor.	36	Itmampoer.	70	Cheerakhan.
3	Chegaon Debee.	37	Abhood.	71	Dhondwara.
4	Chegaon Mukhun.	38	Ujuntee.	72	Dhondkheree
5	Sehara.	39	Aonlea Vithul	73	Domwara.
6	Siloda.	40	Oomurla.	74	Ruseedpoor.
7	Sirsoda.	41	Urdulan.	75	Roshnaee.
8	Kupaathul.	42	Burgaoon Bhoela.	76	Ruhmanpoor.
9	Goljoshua.	43	Baorea Jee.	77	Rampoora.
10	Nahulda.	44	Burkhulsoora	78	Roodhee.
11	Hurnawara.	45	Burya Gyasoor.	79	Raniakheree.
12	Haplan.	46	Bhojakheree.	80	Sutwara.
13	Tigria.	47	Belunkhera.	81	Soondurbail.
14	Baoria Kazea.	48	Bhigawan.	82	Sheorajkheree.
15	Bheelkheree Morar.	49	Bhooenphul.	83	Soojapoor Kulan.
16	Taklee Ala.	50	Bunjarea.	84	Sonood.
17	Juswaree.	51	Bejookhera.	85	Soorgaon Rathore.
18	Digrees.	52	Burgaoon Goojur.	86	Soorgaon Nipanea.
19	Hyderpoor.	53	Bumungaon Akhy.	87	Sooliakheree.
20	Seerpoor.	54	Bhundarea.	88	Seugwal.
21	Soorgaon. Joshua.	55	Beerpoor.	89	Shumsherpoor.
22	Khundwa Tarruf	56	Buria Toola.	90	Futehpoor.
	Koonbee.	57	Panjhuria.	91	Kondawud.
23	Do. do. Ma	58	Puchalia.	92	Kaldakheree.
	lee.	59	Pursookheree.	93	Keetiajoshua.
24	Do. do. Mankur.	60	Piplia Taber.	94	Lukmunkheree.
25	Korgulan.	61	Psepurkhera.	95	Loharee.
26	Kotwara.	62	Taklee Moree.	96	Mokulgaon.
27	Khurkea.	63	Toolgaon.	97	Muthaila.
28	Golsutroo.	64	Taimohee Kulan.	98	Mehtakheree.
29	Larunpoor.	65	Tokurkhera.	99	Nadookheree.
30	Moondwara.	66	Taimbhee Khoord.	100	Nagchoon.
31	Maleepoora.	67	Jamnea.	101	Hemgir Khoord
32	Mohgut.	68	Jamlee Kulan.	102	Heerapor Kulan.
33	Mulgaon.				
34	Ahmedpoor.				

Comprises 102 mouzabs, all of the old Khundwa pergunnah; 6 are

Maafee or quit-rent, and the rest regularly settled for 20 years, expiring in 1874. It comprises the country immediately round Khundwa, within about 4 miles radius, in the open basin of the Sookta and Abna rivers. Average area of villages 1,071½ acres, of which 516 cultivated, and 370 culturable waste. Of the population 43 per cent only are agriculturists, and 7 per cent only of these are "unsettled." Each plough works 20 acres. There are 4½ acres of cultivation per head of agricultural population. There are 3½ head of cattle to each plough, besides the plough bullocks. 6 per cent only of the cultivation belongs to the spring harvest; 6 per cent of the land is irrigated.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	5	7	50	38

The average annual revenue actually collected during British management has been—

1st farming Settlement	..	..	Rs.	28,985
2nd " " "	..	..	"	33,483
3rd " " "	..	..	"	24,055
Khalsa period	...	..	"	29,022
Twenty years' Settlement.	..	..	"	28,272

The *assessments* during the first three farming Settlements were much higher than the amounts actually collected. The whole assessment of the 20 years' Settlement has been regularly collected. At last Settlement the rent-roll drawn up by Panchayat assessment of fields was Rs. 37,452, and the Government juma, with Zemindars' hucs, amounted to Rs. 28,272, or 75½ per cent. Patels' and village servants' enam lands were however all released besides this, and the large sayer assets from fruit trees were not calculated. Were this done the assessment would be found to have absorbed almost exactly two-thirds assets. Owing to land taken up for public purposes, and incorporation of some sewie items, the revenue now stands at Rs. 28,453. Cultivation has increased during Settlement from 39,454 to 48,538 acres, or 25 per cent, and irrigation from 2,136 to 2,936 acres, or about 13½ per cent. But the rental has increased to Rs. 39,058, or only about 4½ per cent, so that the average rent rate has fallen from 15 annas 2 pies to 12 annas 10 pies per acre. This is owing partly to remissions of Rs. 982 made from the Settlement rental to secure the engagement (*vile para. 219*), and partly because the new land taken up is of greatly inferior quality and much of it is still "Pugrus" (rent-free) or at half rates, while the rents of old land could not rise under the terms of the Settlement.

On comparing 23 mouzahs, shown by the statistics to be in no respect above the average, and which included all the Maafee mouzahs, I found a much higher rent rate prevailing:—

	PERCENTAGE.						Average rent rate.
	Irrigation.	1st Class.	2nd do.	3rd do.	4th do.	Culturable waste.	
23 mouzahs ..	6	3	7	51	39	73	Rs. A. P. 1 1 6
The chuck ..	5	3	7	50	40	73	0 12 10

A rise in the rent rate to an average of 1 rupee per acre, being 25 per cent above the present rate, but only 5 per cent above rate of last Settlement, may therefore be fairly looked for after six years.

I assumed average soil rates as follows, finding it necessary, owing to the great difference between the quality of the mál land of those villages which are situated in the level plain along the Abna and Sookta, and the mál of the higher lying villages, to sub-divide the chuck into two sub-chuks, and adopt different rates for these soils in each. In fact mál should have been classified in this tehseel into 1st and 2nd sorts, as I afterwards did in Kanapoor and Beria.

	Sub-chuck.	
	A.	B.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
1st Class	3 0 0	3 0 0
2nd "	1 12 0	1 12 0
3rd "	1 2 0	0 12 0
4th "	0 6 0	0 5 0

I adopted here, for the first time in assessing irrigation, a water rate in addition to the dry soil rate, which is the only way to assess fairly. The rates adopted were Rs. 3 for well, and Rs. 4 for channel irrigation per acre. The application of these rates gives a gross rental of Rs. 50,623 for the 96 Malgozaree villages, and there are some items amounting to Rs. 4,168, composed of 10 annas per tree on 5,796 mangoes, and half anna on 6,929 mohwa trees situated on the waste land, and quarter anna per acre as the value of the natural produce of the culturable waste. In anticipation of improvement during the six years which the old assessment has to run, I have fixed the revenue at 60 per cent of these assets. The result of the detailed assessments gives Rs. 32,480 as

the new demand, which is an enhancement of 14 per cent on the present revenue, and is a higher sum than has been paid in our times, except during the second farming Settlement. Revenue rate on cultivated acre 10 annas 4 pies, and on culturable 6 annas 2 pies.

The Maafee and quit-rent villages have been assessed in the same way at Rs. 1,807.

CHUCK II.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Puchamba.	23	Bulrampoor.	44	Arood.
2	Joonwania.	24	Tulwarea.	45	Jamlee Sookool.
3	Peepia Maigh.	25	Bhyronkhera.	46	Roshunhar.
4	Pamakheree.	26	Bhumraree.	47	Shahpoora.
5	Rujhola.	27	Saifpoora.	48	Pundhana.
6	Songir.	28	Gooraria.	49	Kharwa.
7	Sungwara.	29	Kurolee.	50	Roostoompoor.
8	Soojapoor Khoord	30	Borkhera.	51	Mohunpoor.
9	Munawunhar.	31	Pokhur.	52	Bughmar.
10	Oomurdur.	32	Bandurla.	53	Sarola.
11	Aonlea Kharwa.	33	Tanklee Kulan.	54	Kodalda.
12	Rehta.	34	Makurla.	55	Koladeet.
13	Paby Kulan.	35	Peplode.	56	Rajora.
14	Beduria.	36	Silotea.	57	Burgaon Booz-
15	Bulkhur.		Waghmula.	58	reog.
16	Bheelkhera.	37	Rodhee.	59	Paby Khoord.
17	Moondhea.	38	Goburia.	60	Islampoor.
18	Sooltanpoor.	39	Syedpoor.	61	Dhunora.
19	Piprehtee.	40	Jhirnea.	62	J a m l e e
20	Buria Kharwa.	41	Nabulwaree.		Khoord.
21	Sungmesur.	42	Doolhar.		
22	Hemgir.	43	Khirala.		

Lies immediately to south of 1st chuck in upper valley of Abna and Sookta. 62 mouzahs, all of old Khundwa pergunnah, 3 are Maafee and the rest settled up 1873. Average area of mouzahs 1,362 acres, of which 701 are cultivated, and 399 culturable waste.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	3	7	56	34

6 per cent of the land is irrigated, and 6 per cent of the crops rubber. Average plough area 18 acres, with $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres to each soul of the agri-

cultural population. There are three head of cattle to every plough, besides the plough bullocks. The average collections in British times have been :—

1st farming Settlement	..	..	Ra.	20,217
2nd "	"	..	"	21,088
3rd "	"	..	"	13,954
Khalsa period	..	..	"	19,681

The rent-roll drawn up at last Settlement amounted to Rs. 24,172, and the jumma including Zemindar's huca and chunda was Rs. 18,299, or 75 per cent of the rental. But, if service enams and sewie assets be also reckoned, the assessment absorbed almost exactly two-thirds of the assets. Since then, according to the figures, cultivation has increased by only 3 per cent, and the rental in a rather higher ratio, having risen from 10 annas 9 pies to 10 annas 11 pies (inclusive of Maafee mouzahs), or 5 per cent. I believe the extension to be really correctly represented at this low figure,—first, because the people themselves say that it has expanded very little; and secondly, because the amount of culturable waste now left untilled is barely sufficient for the grazing required, at the usual average for the number of cattle. Again the people are more crowded on the land than in the Khundwa chuck, there being $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres per soul, instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$ as there. I do not therefore look for any great extension of cultivation here. There is a larger intermixture of the unsettled races than in the first chuck, viz., 26 per cent. These are, however, mostly Bheels, who have long settled in the plains and become comparatively steady; and all classes of the people show that they are well off in worldly circumstances. There are excellent local markets, and a Railway station within the tract.

This chuck is therefore scarcely, if at all, inferior to the first chuck, yet it pays much lower rent rates, even though the former had fallen through extension of cultivation and the latter had risen. There being also a greater demand for land, as shown by the pressure on it of population, I saw no reason why the rents might not now be expected to rise to nearly the same rate as was adopted for the first chuck. I therefore assumed a rise of 35 per cent in existing rents all round, that is a rise to an average of 14 annas 8 pies per acre. Soil rates assumed were,—

1st Class	..	..	Rs.	3	0	0
2nd "	"	..	"	1	10	0
3rd "	"	..	"	0	13	0
4th "	"	..	"	0	5	0
Well irrigation	..	..	"	3	0	0 in. addition to
						dry rate.
Channel	..	..	"	4	0	0 do. do.

Grazing land, being so valuable here as to be purposely kept out of cultivation, I assessed at 1 aana per acre. Mango trees on the waste I rated at the same rent value as in Khundwa (10 annas), they being

chiefly locally consumed. But mohwa is largely exported hence to Khandeish, and the trees are remarkably fine. I reckoned them at 4 annas per tree, which is about 1-10th of what their average produce sells for in the Pūndhana market. The gross assets obtained by these rates are Rs. 42,483 (with Patels' annas). So great a rise in rents having been assumed, and there being little or no room for improvement by extension during the currency of the old Settlement, I fixed the Government share at half the assumed assets, viz., Rs. 21,240, which is a rise of 16.6 per cent on the present demand, and absorbs 81 per cent of the existing rental. The total of the detailed assessments is rather higher, viz., Rs. 21,440, an enhancement of 17 per cent, and falls at 8 annas 11 pies on cultivation, and 5 annas 7 pies on whole culturable area.

CHUCK III.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Oochayun.	15	Jamlee Setkhan.	29	Seojeemowara.
2	Atood.	16	Deojeekheree.	30	Kuwesur.
3	Bijora Bheel.	17	Dhondwara.	31	Keergaon.
4	Bhukrara.	18	Dhoranee.	32	Kheree Kitta.
5	Būhwara.	19	Deolan.	33	Khootphul.
6	Bumungaon Bheel.	20	Dhungaon.	34	Gokulgaon.
7	Bulwara.	21	Rohnee.	35	Gohlaree.
8	Burkhal Dadoo.	22	Rungaon.	36	Gujwara.
9	Peepia Phool.	23	Saokhera.	37	Gopalpoora.
10	Pulukna.	24	Seona.	38	Lukhungaon.
11	Teetgaon.	25	Soorgaon Bunjaree.	39	Lulwara.
12	Jawur.	26	Sontulacee.	40	Mowsaee.
13	Jholwara.	27	Sahujla.	41	Madhokheree.
14	Chāngookheree.	28	Sayustpoor.	42	Kuhlaree.

42 mouzahs, of which 33 were in Khundwa, and 5 in Bangurh pergunnah at last Settlement, 36 are regularly settled, 3 farmed, 2 Maafee and 1 Khalsa. This tract lies immediately to the north of the 1st chuck, along the line of railway, of which one of the stations is within it. Average area 1,237 acres, of which 391 are cultivated, and 522 culturable waste. Any amount of culturable waste available at hand.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	6	5	42	47

8½ per cent of whole cultivation irrigated. Average plough area 15

acres, with 3 head of cattle per plough, besides plough bullocks. To each soul of agricultural population there are 4 acres of cultivated land. 15 per cent only of the cultivators belong to the unsettled classes. The average collections during our management have been:—

1st Farming Settlement	...	Rs	6,610
2nd " "	..	"	7,013
3rd " "	..	"	5,204
Khalsa period	..	"	6,337

During the year preceding last Settlement the receipts were Rs. 6,865. Settlement rent-roll Rs. 9,099. Government demand with Zemindars' hucs, &c., Rs. 6,925, or 76 per cent. But, with Patels' enams and sewie assets, it was just about 2-3rds gross assets. Since then cultivation has extended about 11 per cent, accompanied by an apparent fall in average rent rate from 11 annas 1 pie to 10 annas 6 pies, or 6 per cent. But, allowing for remission of a portion of the Settlement rent-roll from causes already mentioned (para. 219), I find that the new cultivation actually pays an average rent of 6 annas 1 pie, which, supposing it to be chiefly 4th class soil, as is likely, is 65 per cent higher than the average rent rate assessed on similar soil at Settlement. It is also to be noted that, in the two Maasee mouzahs, though rents were at Settlement 26 per cent above the average of the chuck, and they have since extended their cultivation by 6 per cent more than the average for the whole chuck, yet their average rent rate has risen by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent instead of falling. I have accordingly assumed a rise of rents for the chuck of 25 per cent, as in the 1st chuck, which it resembles in circumstances. This brings the average rent rate up to 13 annas 4 pies per acre. Soil rates were assumed:—

1st Class	...	Rs.	3	0	0
2nd "	..	"	1	10	0
3rd "	...	"	0	12	0
4th "	..	"	0	5	0
Well irrigation	..	"	3	0	0 additional.
Channel	..	"	4	0	0 do.

The gross assets got from these rates and sewie are Rs. 13,178; and, considering the improvable nature of the tract, and that 6 years will elapse before this assessment becomes payable, I have taken 60 per cent as the State demand, Rs. 7,907 for the 36 Malgoozaree mouzahs. But the total of detailed assessments comes to rather more, Rs. 7,805, or an enhancement of 14 per cent, falling at 8 annas 5 pies on cultivation. The 3 farmed villages give Rs. 75 and the Khalsa one Rs. 15. Total Rs. 7,895, falling at 8 annas 3 pies on cultivation, and 3 annas 6 pies on

Malgoozaree. The 2 Maafee-mouzahs were assessed at Rs 380, or 8 annas 7 pies per cultivated acre :—

CHUCK IV.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Itwa.	10	Jeeron.	19	Mordur.
2	Beria.	11	Jugutpoora.	20	Kidarkheree.
3	Burgaon.	12	Dhunora.	21	Komtha.
4	Bulwara.	13	Deeplan.	22	Kalpat.
5	Behar.	14	Dehria.	23	Gandhwa.
6	Bheelkheree.	15	Dongergaon.	24	Luchora Kulan.
7	Peplode (Khas).	16	Singote.	25	Luchora Khoord.
8	Padlea.	17	Surae.	26	Khbirgaon.
9	Cheechkhera.	18	Kohdur.		

26 mouzahs, 20 belonging to pergunnah Peplode, 2 to Bamgurh, and 2 to Khundwa. 24 are regularly settled (in Peplode) up to A. D. 1877, 1 is on farming lease, and 1 Maafee. Adjoins the 2nd chuck of the same tehseel to the west, to the north by 6th chuck, and to the east and south the almost uninhabited tract of hill and jungle called Gondwana. A greater portion of this waste is incapable of cultivation, but there is also much exceedingly fertile soil, into which, however, cultivation does not at present incline to extend, owing to its extremely unhealthy climate. Average area of villages is 2,300 acres, of which 802 are cultivated, and 1,206 culturable waste.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	2	3	53	42

1 per cent only is irrigated. The plough area is 21 acres, there are 3 head of cattle to each plough, besides the plough bullocks, and each soul of the agricultural population has $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of cultivated land. 40 per cent of the cultivators belong to the unsettled races. The average collections have been :—

1st Farming Settlement	...	...	Rs. 8,001
2nd " "	..	..	" 8,339
3rd " "	..	..	" 6,304
Kbalsa period	...	..	" 6,659

During the year before Settlement they reached Rs. 7,009. Settlement rent-roll Rs. 9,572. Government juma, with Zemindars' bucs, &c., Rs. 6,806. Lapsed Maafees have made it now Rs. 6,836. This juma formed 72 per cent of the rental; but, as usual, unassessed sewie assets

and service enam lands reduce this to about 63 per cent. Cultivation has since increased 9 per cent, and rental 10 per cent, raising the average rent rate from 9 annas 2 pies to 9 annas 3 pies per acre. The large amount of available waste land, the large percentage of the unsettled classes, and already the higher rent rate than at last Settlement, point to a somewhat less rise as probable here than in the chucks of this tehseel hitherto assessed. I have therefore assumed a rise of only 15 per cent, that is to an average of 10 annas 7 pies. Soil rates assumed:—

1st Class	..	...	..	Rs.	3	8	0
2nd "	..	..	..	"	2	0	0
3rd "	..	..	..	"	0	13	0
4th "	...	..	...	"	0	4	0

The gross assets obtained by these rates, with sewie, amount to Rs. 14,352 for the Malgoozaree villages, and the Government jumā, at 60 per cent of land rent and $\frac{1}{2}$ sewie, is Rs. 8,470, which is identical with the total of the detailed assessments. The enhancement amounts to 20 per cent, and falls on cultivation at 7 annas 1 pie, and on Malgoozaree at 2 annas 7 pies per acre.

CHUCK V.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Atur.	6	Pulasee.	12	Sahujla.
2	Buroor.	7	Tornee.	13	Sirran.
3	Bhojwa.	8	Chichgohun.	14	Mandunpoor.
4	Bheelkheree Too-	9	Desgaon.	15	Nandwa.
	by.	10	Rosia.	16	Naolee.
5	Pokhur Kulan.	11	Rohnaee.		

16 mouzahs, all of Khundwa pergunnah, situated in the extreme north-west of the tehseelee, among the hills which form the water-shed of the Abna and Nerbudda valleys. Much covered with jungle, and remote from the railway stations. It is traversed however by the main road to Indore, on which is Sunawud, a large grain mart. 15 of the villages are regularly settled, and one on farming lease. Average area 1,683 acres, of which 492 are cultivated, and 705 culturable waste. There is also much culturable waste available in wholly deserted villages in the neighbourhood:—

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils..	5	3	53	39

Average plough area 20 acres, with an average of 6 head of cattle per plough, besides plough bullocks. $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres cultivated per soul of agricul-

tural population, of whom 18 per cent only belong to the unsettled classes, the others being mostly Gowlees and Rajpoots. Average collections have been—

1st Farming Settlement	..	...	Rs.	1,234
2nd "	"	...	"	1,535
3rd "	"	..	"	1,355
Khalsa period	"	..	"	1,756

Year before Settlement Rs. 1,908 were realised. Settlement rent-roll Rs. 2,636, and Rs. 411 assets unassessed. Everything calculated, juma was, as usual, about two-thirds the gross assets, Rs. 1,976. Cultivation has since increased by 46 per cent, while the average rent rate has fallen from 9 annas 1 pie to 7 annas 3 pies. I have assumed a rise of 25 per cent, which will just restore the average rate to what it was at Settlement, the average quality of soil being of course much worse. Soil rates adopted were—

1st Class	...	..	..	Rs.	2	8	0
2nd "	..	...	..	"	1	4	0
3rd "	...	..	..	"	0	8	0
4th "	..	..	..	"	0	3	0
Well Irrigation	...	..	..	"	2	0	0 additional.

There is no channel irrigation, and wells are sunk with great difficulty. Assets, with sewie, Rs. 4,333, giving juma at 55 per cent (there being less chance of improvement here by extra cultivation while there is so large a number of cattle to graze), Rs. 2,475, including Patels' enam lands as a portion of their profit. This demand has not been altered in the detailed assessments, and is an enhancement of 17 per cent, falling on cultivation at 5 annas 9 pies, and on Malgozaree at 2 annas 2 pies.

CHUCK VI.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Umlanee.	12	Rampoora.	23	Bodool.
2	Bhugwanpoora.	13	Surae.	24	Phoolgaon.
3	Bhysawa.	14	Umulpooora.	25	Soorwara.
4	Pandwa.	15	Kunhwanee.	26	Korwara.
5	Poorunpoora.	16	Gondwaree.	27	Matnee Kulan.
6	Peepulkota.	17	Manpoora.	28	Oondel.
7	Julkoowan.	18	Matnee Khoord.	29	Bhaosingpoora.
8	Deolan.	19	Pubalee.	30	Poondy.
9	Rujoor.	20	Kupooria.	31	Selda.
10	Raekhootwal.	21	Mandla.	32	Kheree.
11	Raepoor.	22	Nahulbail.	33	Girungaon.

33 mouzahs, 24 in Bamgurh and 9 in Khundwa. Extreme north-east

corner of tehseelee. Very wild and jungly. Average of villages 1,667 acres, of which 344 are cultivated, and 790 culturable waste. Besides which there is an unlimited amount of land fit for cultivation in the neighbouring excess wastes :—

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	3	2	49	46

Plough area 21 acres, with an average of two and four-fifths head of cattle per plough, besides plough bullocks. Each soul of the agricultural population has to work 7 cultivated acres, and 22 per cent belong to the unsettled classes. Average collections have been—

1st Farming Settlement	Rs. 2,798
2nd „ „	„ 2,506
3rd „ „	„ 2,492
Khalsa period	„ 2,761
Year preceding Settlement	„ 2,797

Settlement rental for 22 villages Rs. 4,413, with Rs. 413 assets not assessed. Juma with huca 65 per cent of gross assets. Cultivation has since increased by only 10 per cent, but rental is less than then, the average rate having fallen from 9 annas 4 pies to 8 annas 1 pie. I assumed a rise of 10 per cent, and soil rates as follows :—

1st Class	Rs. 3 0 0
2nd „	„ 2 0 0
3rd „	„ 0 12 0
4th „	„ 0 4 0
Well irrigation	„ 2 6 0 in addition.

The gross rental thus obtained for the 22 settled villages, with sewie, is Rs. 5,734; and juma, at 60 per cent for land and half for sewie assets, is Rs. 3,400. Detailed assessments Rs. 3,495, an enhancement of only 7 per cent, falling at 6 annas 4 pies on cultivation. The 5 farmed villages in the same way, at half assets, give Rs. 298; detailed assessments Rs. 250, falling at 7 annas 5 pies on cultivation, the quality of their soil being a good deal better. Total enhancement of revenue paying villages 11 per cent, and falls at 6 annas 5 pies on cultivation, and at 1 anna 1 pie on Malgozarée.

The Maafee villages have been assessed at Rs. 560.

CHUCK VIII.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Rujhola Khoord.	13	Buroda Abeer.	25	Beelunkhera.
2	Kakora.	14	Hurunmal.	26	Buriā Sukna.
3	Bilode.	15	Nankhera.	27	Koosumbia.
4	Dabkea.	16	Bablee.	28	Oomurda.
5	Gowaree.	17	Rajpoora.	29	Chirbail.
6	Godbaree.	18	Usturia.	30	Dabhee.
7	Jamlee.	19	Kheree.	31	Googawan.
8	Urdulan.	20	Buroda Buzroog.	32	Dewal.
9	Mandwa.	21	Boliakheree.	33	Charkhera.
10	Ghatee.	22	Mirzapoor.	34	Burkhera.
11	Unjungaon.	23	Khujooree.	35	Rajgurh.
12	Heerapoor.	24	Nahurkola.		

35 mouzahs, all of Khundwa pergunnah : occupying the extreme south-west corner of the tehseel, and comprising the greater part of tuppās Ghatee and Rajgurh. 33 are regularly settled till 1874, and 2 Maafee. Enclosed on south and west sides by the Aser hills, adjoins Holkar's territory on north-west, and by second chuck on north-east. Villages average 1,451 acres, 268 only are cultivated, and 378 culturable, the rest barren waste. This tract lies very high, and all the soils are inferior in fertility to the same classes elsewhere. There is little available waste at hand outside the Malgoozaree areas.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	4	3	50	43

Two per cent irrigated. Plough area 23 acres only. 2 head of cattle per plough, besides plough bullocks. There are $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres to each soul of the agricultural population; 37 per cent of whom belong to the unsettled tribes, particularly Bheels. Average collections have been—

1st Farming Settlement	Rs. 3,537
2nd " "	" 4,425
3rd " "	" 3,079
Khalsa period	" 4,213
Year preceding Settlement	" 4,392

Settlement rent-roll Rs. 5,814. Juma assessed, with Zemindars' hucs, &c., Rs. 4,424, or 76 per cent of rental. But a very large area (2,139 acres of land) was left with the Malgoozars unassessed, also valuable

sewie assets, so that really the juma, as it would now be reckoned, amounted to only 53 per cent of the gross assets. Since then both cultivation and rental have increased by 7 per cent; leaving the average rent rate unchanged at 7 annas 7 pies. I assumed a rise in rents of only 10 per cent here, to 8 annas 4 pies per acre. Soil rates are —

1st Class	..	..	..	Rs. 2 8 0
2nd "	..	..	..	" 1 6 0
3rd "	...	..	..	" 0 9 0
4th "	...	..	...	" 0 3 0
Water rate	...	..	...	" 2 0 0 additional.

The gross assets thus formed, with sewie, Rs. 8,246. Deduced juma at 60 per cent of land and half sewie assets, Rs. 4,880; or, counting Zemindar's enams as part of their profits, Rs. 5,374. The detailed assessments amount however to rather less than this, Rs. 5,170, being an enhancement of 16 per cent, and falling at 5 annas 10 pies on cultivation, and 2 annas 5 pies on Malgoozaree. The two Maafee villages have been assessed at Rs. 165.

CHUCK VIII—(*Gondwana*).

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Ghoteeghat.	4	Raepoor.	6	Kurwanee.
2	Sendwal.	5	Gooly.	7	Bootee.
3	Kharee Khoord.				

Seven villages, dotted about in the vast wilderness which forms the extreme south-eastern corner of the Khundwa tehseel, in the part of Peplode pergunnah called Gopdwana (because there are no Gonds in it probably, Korkoos having been mistaken for them). Average area 1,642 acres, 171 cultivated, and 830 culturable.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	3	19	26	52

31 per cent of the crops are wheat and gram, and 18 per cent of the remainder is rice, which is here of fine quality. They are far from any market, however, and get very little for their produce from the traders who come for it. Fourteen acres per plough, with three head of cattle to spare per plough. 2½ acres per head of population. All belong to unsettled tribes, Korkoos and Nahals. I assessed at almost exactly half the acknowledged rental, retaining the existing juma, Rs. 165, which falls at 2 annas 2 pies on the cultivated area.

ASSESSMENT OF PERGUNNAH SELANEE.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Enpoon.	15	Ghoslee.	29	Hurbuspooora.
2	Bhogawan.	16	Goonjlee.	30	Endhaoree.
3	Bukhergaon.	17	Muthaila.	31	Ekhund.
4	Baorea Boozroog.	18	Netungaon.	32	Bilora Boozroog.
5	Boraree.	19	Nurlae.	33	Dhaorea.
6	Bilora Khoord.	20	Borara.	34	Dobikea.
7	Tokee.	21	Bhilaya.	35	Kelwan Boozroog.
8	Jutpoora.	22	Palree.	36	Kelwan Khoord.
9	Soolgaon.	23	Peeplee.	37	Godurpoora.
10	Kurolee.	24	Songir.	38	Londee.
11	Kothee.	25	Suktapoor.	39	Muslae.
12	Kutar.	26	Kharee Khoord.	40	Moondie.
13	Ghogulgaon.	27	Kharee Boozroog.	41	Motukka.
14	Gowl.	28	Kanumkhara.	42	Morghuree.

This tract, including tuppa Bilora, lies in the Nerbudda valley, adjoining Poonassa pergunnah. On the east and south it bounds with the 5th Khundwa chuck, and to the west with Holkar's Sunawud pergunnah. It is remote from the railway, and all the great centres of trade, excepting Sunawud in Holkar's territory, which is a considerable grain mart, spoilt however with oppressive dues.

The pergunnah has been *Khalsa* since 1846, excepting 10 villages let on farming leases under the orders of 1847. Of 49 villages in the Debjara, 42 are cultivated, of which 12 are in jageer.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Percentage of soils	1	10	62	27

Three and three-fifths per cent of the whole cultivation is irrigated; with an average of 7 head of cattle per plough, besides plough bullocks. There are 3½ acres of cultivation to each soul of the agricultural population, of whom only 17 per cent belong to the "unsettled" classes. Rents have not been altered since the Panchayat assessment in 1846, when they were not *excessive* in any part of Nimar; and in the meantime the gross rental by Putwarees' papers has increased from Rs. 3,609 to Rs. 7,412, or more than double, which has nominally been found to lead to a great lowering of rent rates. Looking to the natural advantages of the tract, and its statistics, I think that a considerable rise in rents may now be fairly looked for. Holkar has just revised his assessments in Sunawud, and imposed rates very much higher than anything we should think of in Nimar, so that there is no danger of any of our cultivators going across the border, though I should look for a considerable immigration from his

territories to ours. The average rent rate (including Maafee villages) is at present 11 annas, and I have estimated for a rise of 25 per cent to 13 annas 9 pies. Soil rates are—

1st Class	..	..	..	Ra.	3	8	0
2nd "	..	..	..	"	2	12	0
3rd "	..	..	..	"	0	10	0
4th "	..	..	..	"	0	4	0
Water rate	..	..	..	"	2	0	0 in addition.

In the 19 *Khalas* villages these rates give Rs 5,814 gross assets from land, and Rs 146 sewie. I have taken two-thirds of former and half latter as Government share; giving a juma of Rs. 3,955, which was maintained in the detailed assessments of villages. This is an enhancement of 2 per cent on the present net collections under *Kham* management, and will fall at 8 annas 11 pies on the cultivated acre. In the farmed villages, which are greatly inferior in quality of soil, the assets are Rs. 1,549, and Rs. 24 sewie. Juma Rs. 790, which became Rs. 780 in the detailed assessments,—an enhancement of 83 per cent on the present demand, which will become payable as the leases fall in. Nevertheless the incidence of the new assessment on cultivation is only 5 annas 7 pies.

Total result of assessment of Malgoozaree villages is an enhancement of nearly 10 per cent, and a revenue rate on cultivation of 8 annas 2 pies, and on whole culturable area of 3 annas 5 pies per acre. The 12 Maafee mouzahs have been nominally assessed at Rs. 1,780.

ASSESSMENT OF PERGUNNAHS KANAPOOR AND BERIA.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Umerpoora.	15	Taklee.	29	Khanpoora.
2	Burood.	16	Jaekher.	30	Kherree.
3	Beria.	17	Chitawud.	31	Londée.
4	Beria Khoord.	18	Delgaon.	32	Mehgaon.
5	Bhootia.	19	Dhungaon.	33	Neemkherree.
6	Bhoolgaon.	20	Dabhur.	34	Neelkunt.
7	Bijgehun.	21	Rahurkote.	35	Nugawan.
8	Bhogawa Sipancee.	22	Ravere.	36	Umba.
9	Bhogawa Nipancee	23	Sagwee.	37	Bagda Boozroog.
10	Balabad.	24	Sailda.	38	Bagda Khoord.
11	Phungaon.	25	Shahpoora.	39	Jamnia.
12	Pachla.	26	Kanapoor.	40	Dalchee.
13	Tumolea.	27	Kakuria.	41	Gorarea.
14	Tajpoora.	28	Katora.	42	Luchora.

I grouped these pergunnahs into a single assessment chuck, there being

no perceptible distinction, between them in natural or other circumstances. They occupy the open portion of the Nerbudda valley, in the extreme north-west corner of the district. They are surrounded and intermixed with villages of Holkar's Sunawud and Murdana pergunnahs in every direction. 51 villages were settled in 1852 for 20 years. Nine of these have since become waste, and five have been alienated in Jageer, leaving 35 revenue paying mouzabs in the two pergunnahs. Of these 31 are settled direct with the cultivators, on the so-called joint responsibility system (*vide* para. 226). Average area of villages is 1,199 acres, of which 448 are cultivated, and 272 culturable waste.

	I.	II.	III.			IV.
			1st	2nd.	Total.	
Percentage of soils	1	5	29	34	63	31

Irrigated 2 per cent. Average plough area 18 acres, with 4 head of cattle per plough, besides the plough bullocks. There are 4 cultivated acres to each soul of the agricultural population; only 3 per cent, of whom belong to the unsettled classes. The average collections from the 35 Malgoozaree villages have been:--

1st Farming Settlement	...	:	Rs. 11,405
2nd " "	...	...	" 12,806
3rd " "	..	..	" 10,406
Khalsa period "	...	..	" 12,804
Year before Settlement	...	..	" 13,524

Settlement rent-roll Rs. 16,800 (12 per cent above the former rental). Juma assessed with Zemindars' hucs, &c, Rs. 11,127, *i. e.*, two-thirds assets, a reduction of 16½ per cent from the revenue of the last *Khalsa* year. This reduction was, as regards 31 of the villages paying 93 per cent of the juma, made in favour of the actual cultivators, who had to pay 8 per cent Mehntana to their Sudder Malgoozars. They therefore gained 10 per cent on their former payments. This assessment fell at 12 annas on the cultivated acre. The Lieutenant-Governor North-Western Provinces, called this a very light assessment (page 169, para. 3, printed volume), but he misread the statistics then submitted, including the area, but omitting the juma, of five Jageer villages in calculating the incidence of the assessment. It was not however an excessive, though probably a full assessment. The cultivated area has now increased 7 per cent; but little additional rental is shown, the cultivators themselves holding the revenue engagement, so that the average rate has fallen from Rs. 1-2-11 to 11 annas 7 pies. It is now much lighter than in the adjoining villages belonging to His Highness Holkar. The actual payments of the cultivators are now 25 per cent less than under the last farming Set-

dement, 18 per cent less than under *Khalsa* management, and 8½ per cent less than at the time of Settlement. Most of the cultivators being also proprietors, I assumed, to begin with, a rise in revenue, not in rents. I calculated that the juma should rise to the sum paid during the *Khalsa* period of management, for the lands under cultivation at time of Settlement; and that an additional enhancement in proportion to the subsequent extension of cultivation would also be fair. This gave a total rise of 28 per cent on the existing demand. This requires a nominal rise in the rental of 47 per cent; so that the assessment may be at half assets. Soil rates assumed:—

1st Class	...	..	...	Rs.	5	0	0
2nd "	"	"	"	"	3	8	0
3rd "	{	1st	"	"	2	10	0
		2nd	"	"	1	2	0
4th "	"	"	"	"	0	6	0
Well Irrigation	"	"	"	"	3	0	0 additional.

Gross rental from land Rs. 26,536. Sewie Rs. 597. Deduced revenue at half assets, Rs. 13,566. Total detailed assessments Rs. 13,620, an enhancement of 28 per cent; falling at 12 annas 6 pies on cultivation, and 8 annas 11 pies on Malgoozaree. The 7 Jageer villages have been assessed at Rs. 900.

MISCELLANEOUS CHUCKS

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Linga.	4	Nandia.	6	Rajpoora Vikhar.
2	Reechee.	5	Pangra.	7	Mulgaon.
3	Reechphul.				

This chuck is composed of 7 mouzabs omitted from assessment in their regular places among the other chucks. They are all either free-hold enam or Maafee, and were left out originally on account of their being waste or nearly so, but afterwards included on account of their tenure. The assessment (Rs. 555) is therefore a nominal one, and I need not here enter on the grounds on which it was based.

No.	Village.	No.	Village.	No.	Village.
1	Nadkhera.	2	Singajee.	3	Mandhatta.

These three villages are also Maafee and entirely waste. They have been nominally assessed at Rs. 24.

APPEN

Abstract General Assessment

S T A T I S

 V I L L A G E A R A .
 A G R I C U L T U R A L
 R E S O U R C E S .

	V I L L A G E A R A .																							
	Malgoozaree area		Cultivation.		Description of soil		Capa- ble of cultiva- tion.		Land now oc- cupied.															
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
	Total area.	Irrigated.	Unirrigated.	1st class.	2nd class.	3rd class.	4th class.	Total cultivation.	Lately abandoned.	Fit for cultivation.	Total Malgoozaree.	Resumed Maafes.	Lakhiraj and Oobaree.	Barren waste.	Cultivated by proprietors.	Cultivated by hereditary cultivators.	Cultivated by tenants-at-will.	Sayer sewie.	Number of houses.	Number of persons (agricultural).	Number of persons (non-agricultural).	Number of wells in use.	Number of ploughs.	
	4 445	2 079	152 715	4 341	8 285	80 608 1st 213 2nd	64 348	157 795	38 367	122 509	318 671	3 388	10 933	86 126	22 123	91 628	44 144	657	6 291	19 452	33 523	27 683	1 072	8 758
	73 885	419 118	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079	2 079
	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681	681
	58 350	34 083	58 350	1 411	984	2 547	7 852	51 009	12 439	53 425	1 809	18 587	5 505	29 159	1 907	139	657	6 291	19 452	33 523	27 683	1 072	8 758	
	15 769	11 603	15 769	5 251	15 769	11 603	5 251	15 769	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603
	59 031	36 431	59 031	6 621	7 852	4 556	7 852	51 009	12 439	53 425	1 809	18 587	5 505	29 159	1 907	139	657	6 291	19 452	33 523	27 683	1 072	8 758	
	15 769	11 603	15 769	5 251	15 769	11 603	5 251	15 769	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603
	691	4	691	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	10 819	10 933	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819
	41 316	18 587	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316
	10 072	5 505	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072
	59 991	29 159	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991
	12 968	1 907	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968
	417	139	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417
	8 755	6 291	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755
	17 263	6 944	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263
	9 475	9 615	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475
	192	491	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192
	3 531	2 345	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531	3 531
	170 718	73 885	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718	170 718
	58 350	34 083	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350	58 350
	1 411	984	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411	1 411
	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547	2 547
	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332	15 332
	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965	5 965
	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603	11 603
	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431	36 431
	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556	4 556
	51 009	12 439	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009	51 009
	117 892	53 425	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892	117 892
	691	4	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691	691
	10 819	10 933	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819	10 819
	41 316	18 587	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316	41 316
	10 072	5 505	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072	10 072
	59 991	29 159	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991	59 991
	12 968	1 907	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968	12 968
	417	139	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417	417
	8 755	6 291	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755	8 755
	17 263	6 944	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263	17 263
	9 475	9 615	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475	9 475
	192	491	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192
	3 531	2 345	3 531	3 531																				

	3. Morakka					2. Kundwa	
	.. Settled villages ..	Total villages ..	Mastee villages ..	Quit-rent villages	Unsettled villages	.. Settled villages ..	Total villages ..
	(35)	(375)	(5)	(34)	(55)	(291)	(135)
	Unsettled villages	(74)	..	..	..	..	..
..
..
..
..
5 912	9 619	66 592	..	882	3 938	61 772	56 579
6 692	13 620	92 161	269	5 803	5 084	81 035	63 851
78 218	38 886	5 27 178	3,552	46 069	76 753	400 804	179 737
2 307	719	13 554	..	737	1 915	10 902	9 651
295	..	361	..	34	21	306	3 451
17 996	14 657	104 501	443	10 493	16 803	76 762	53 697
33 627	4 969	182 783	2,147	22 943	37 153	1 20 540	33 844
5 873	1 127	45 875	227	1 341	5 311	38 050	6 211
426	613	6 855	1	179	246	6 469	564
17 694	16 801	173 209	734	10 342	15 304	146 829	67 239
18 120	17 414	180 104	725	10 521	15 550	153 298	67 853
57 620	23 510	408 762	3,109	34,805	68 014	312 634	1 12 908
0 1 4	0 5 7	0 2 9	0 1 3	0 2 2	0 1 1	0 3 2	0 5 8
0 1 10	0 6 8	0 3 7	0 1 5	0 2 8	0 1 5	0 4 2	0 9 1
0 5 11	0 12 6	0 8 2	0 5 10	0 8 10	0 5 2	0 8 5	0 15 1

No.	THESERT.	NUMBER OF VILLAGES.	DETAILS of COLUMN 27 of GENERAL STATEMENT.				JUMA of last five years' Settlement (Column 29 of General Statement).	Proposed juma.	Total area.	MINHAR.			Total Malgozaree area.	Rate of proposed juma on total area.	Do. on Malgozaree.	Do. on cultivation.	REMARKS.	
			First five years' Settlement.	Second do.	Third do.	Fourth do.				Lakhiraj.	Resumed Maafees.	Barren waste.						Old.	New.	Irrigated.	Unirrigated.	Total.
		Quit-rent villages (17)	..	..	..	..	Rs. 255											
		Mafee villages (9)	..	..	..	..	Rs. 1 186											
		Total villages (135)	..	..	..	..	Rs. 2 010											
		Settled villages (372)	..	..	..	..	Rs. 493 003											
		Rs. 111 677											
		Rs. 493 003											
		Rs. 12 802											
		Rs. 3 393											
		Rs. 104 712											
		Rs. 134 948											
		Rs. 42 922											
		Rs. 7 429											
		Rs. 186 797											
		Rs. 194 226											
		Rs. 372 096											
		Rs. 0 3 8											
		Rs. 0 4 9											
		Rs. 0 9 2											

* This column cannot be filled up, as a number of the villages have never been settled before.

GRAND TOTAL.

(203) Unsettled villages ..	..	..	..	..	51 399	57 116	251 025	12 289	763	60 996	68 865	14 473	899	73 710	74 599	177 937	0 3 7	0 5 2	0 12 3
(46) Quit-rent villages ..	..	..	..	..	1 182	8 589	85 104	823	44	24 758	42 826	1 766	267	14 020	14 887	59 479	0 1 7	0 2 4	0 9 3
(24) Maafee villages ..	..	..	..	..	..	2 138	37 814	393	7	21 224	11 278	543	109	4 260	4 339	16 190	0 0 11	0 2 1	0 7 10
(645) Villages total of the District ..	..	..	..	..	139 157	179 530+	867 846	20 307	4 147	211 600	277 917	59 704	8 694	279 337	268 081	625 792	0 3 4	0 4 7	0 10 0

† A reduction of Rs. 455 has been subsequently made from the assessed revenue of Khalsa villages on account of the release, free of rent, of certain service enam lands in Zeinabad pergunnah. The area of these lands has been deducted from the Malgookaree area in this Statement, and throughout the statistics of the report, but sanction to the reductions of jama had not been obtained in time to correct the figures showing the amount and incidence of the assessed jama.

APPENDIX J.

Annual Juma Statement of the whole District of Nimnar.

Total Villages (631)		Quit-rent (46)		Malgouzar Villages (575)		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Juma of the last year of the last Settlement.																						
1 56 824	15 3	2 647	6 0	1 54 177	9 3																							
1 55 750	11 4	2 647	6 0	1 53 103	5 4	A. D. 1868.																						
1 55 967	7 6	2 647	6 0	1 53 320	1 6	A. D. 1869.																						
1 56 145	3 1	2 647	6 0	1 53 497	13 1	A. D. 1870.																						
1 56 225	5 8	2 647	6 0	1 53 577	15 8	A. D. 1871.																						
1 58 967	14 11	2 647	6 0	1 56 320	8 11	A. D. 1872.																						
1 59 031	9 3	2 647	6 0	1 56 384	3 3	A. D. 1873.																						
1 67 157	7 3	2 647	6 0	1 64 510	1 3	A. D. 1874.																						
1 69 328	10 3	2 647	6 0	1 66 681	4 3	A. D. 1875.																						
1 70 337	12 3	2 647	6 0	1 67 690	6 3	A. D. 1876.																						
1 71 078	13 9	2 647	6 0	1 68 431	7 9	A. D. 1877.																						
1 71 193	14 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 546	8 0	A. D. 1878.																						
1 71 262	14 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 615	8 0	A. D. 1879.																						
1 71 330	14 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 683	8 0	A. D. 1880.																						
1 71 407	2 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 759	12 0	A. D. 1881.																						
1 71 430	6 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 783	0 0	A. D. 1882.																						
1 71 440	6 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 793	0 0	A. D. 1883.																						
1 71 440	6 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 793	0 0	A. D. 1884.																						
1 71 440	6 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 793	0 0	A. D. 1885.																						
1 71 440	6 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 793	0 0	A. D. 1886.																						
1 71 440	6 0	2 647	6 0	1 68 793	0 0	A. D. 1887.																						
REMARKS.																												
23																												

* 24 Khafee villages and resumed Khafee plots, not included in this Statement.
 Note.—A reduction of Rs. 455 should be made in the figures for each of the above years for the reasons stated in the remarks in the Statement forming Appendix G, and H.

ERRATA.

Page 18	line 13	for	Malm-mahra	read	Manumara,		
"	"	"	14	"	Kondouhon	"	Kondouhu.
"	"	"	39	"	Ashapooree	"	Asapooree.
"	78	"	18	"	Jabai	"	Tahir.
"	81	"	37	"	Amount	"	Amanut.
"	82	"	3	"	"	"	"
"	86	"	21	"	"	"	"
"	88	"	3	"	arrived	"	aimed.
"	132	"	39	"	Jungle-Kusrah	"	Jungle-Kuhrah.
"	274	"	14	"	different	"	difficult.
"	276	"	34	"	Manee	"	Maund.