

12207

FINAL REPORT

ON THE

SETTLEMENT OF THE MORADABAD DISTRICT.

By H. ALEXANDER, Esq.,

Settlement Officer.



ALLAHABAD:

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Note by H. S. Reid, Esq., Senior Member, Board of Revenue,
North-Western Provinces, on the final settlement report of
the Moradabad District.

✓ THE Moradabad district forms a part of the province of Rohilkhand. It has an area of 2,303 square miles. Its boundaries are :—The Tarai and Bijoor districts on the north ; the river Ganges (separating it from Meerut and Bulandshahr) on the west ; the Budaun district on the south, and the Rampur territory on the east.

✓ Its average level above the sea is 670 feet, the district having a slope of about 65 feet from north to south. Its only rivers worthy of notice besides the Ganges are the Rámanga and Sot ; the latter drains the centre of the district.

✓ The course of the Rámanga which, when it enters the district from the north, flows south-west is turned eastwards by the high land which forms the watershed between it and the Ganges.

✓ 2. The district is composed of six parganas—Hasanpur, Bilari, Sambhal, Moradabad, Amroha, Thákurdwára.

There are also six natural divisions commencing from the Ganges on the west ; there is first the Ganges khadir (low lands) which includes the western portions of the Hasanpur pargana, and extends to the second division, the bhur tract, which forms the eastern part of Hasanpur and of Sambhal. The third division, the north centre, includes the eastern watershed of the Hasanpur bhur tract, and terminates at the Rámanga khadir. The Amroha pargana falls in this division, and Bilari and the eastern part of Sambhal in the fourth ; the south centre, the most productive part of the district, the soil being mostly a naturally fertile loam ; the soil of the rest of the district being more or less sandy (bhur) excepting the alluvial lands in the Ganges khadir. The fifth division, the Rámanga valley, is comprised chiefly in the Moradabad pargana. The river is very shifting in its course ; in the hot weather it is little more than a fordable stream, but in the rains it attains a breadth of upwards of a mile opposite the city of Moradabad, and pours down an enormous volume of water, which floods the neighbouring country. The last division takes in pargana Thákurdwára and the northern part of Moradabad ; on the whole a poor and malarious country and containing large tracts of clay land.

3. (Irrigation carried on is chiefly from "percolation" wells, which are ordinarily 12 to 14 feet deep, and derive their water from the upper part of the coarse sand stratum.) They collapse in the rains, and the water supply frequently fails in the hot weather. (The depth of the spring wells from the surface varies from 40 to 80 or 90 feet. *Reh*, locally known as *kallar*, is found in and defertilizes the clay lands of the Ganges alluvial tract. The country is poorly wooded excepting round old towns.)

The soil, which is generally light and sandy, though not naturally fertile, is capable of being well worked up, and with a good rainfall (the average rainfall being larger than that of most districts in the North-Western Provinces) yields good crops. On the whole the climate is fairly healthy excepting in the Tarai and parts of the Ganges khadir ; thermometer ranges from about 68° in the cold weather to about 90° in the hot.

✓ 4. The town of Sambhal is mentioned in the Purans as the spot where the incarnation of Vishnu is expected to appear at the termination of the Kali Yug. The historic period commences about 1150 A. D. when the Ahirs were a formidable

power in the district. About 1180 Prithi Raj, the celebrated Chauhan king of Delhi, erected strong forts at Sambhal and Amroha. The Hindu power was overthrown by Shahab-ud-din Ghorî, and Sambhal was conquered by Kutub-ud-din Aibak. In the anarchy which ensued the Ahirs and the Katherya Rajputs gained ground, and continued for two hundred years to struggle with the Muhammadan powers. The Emperor Babar is said to have visited Sambhal, and to have converted the Hindu Hari Mandir into the Jama Masjid of that town. In Akbar's reign the present district of Moradabad was part of the Delhi Subha, and formed the Sarkar Sambhal which included also the Bijpur district and a portion of Budaun and Rampur. The Katheryas gave trouble about 1630 A.D., when they were put down by Rustam Khan Dakhani. Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the hero of Rohilla story, joined Ali Muhammad Jan, another adventurer, and after his death attained considerable power. He fought with Ahmed Shah Durani against the Maharattas. He was defeated and slain in battle in 1774 A.D. by Shuja-ud-Daula, Nawab of Oudh, aided by a British force. In 1801 the province of Rohilkhand was ceded to the British by Nawab Sadat Ali.

5. The map referred to at para. 14 of the report has not been sent up. At the time of the cession the Pathans and Sheikhs had pushed the Katheryas up to Thakurdwara. The latter were again dispossessed to a certain extent by the Rohillas. The Tagas and Brahmans were driven out of Sambhal by the Sheikhs, Pathans, Jats and Baniyas. Most of the present zemindars in that pargana, Mr. Alexander considers, to be new men with the exception of the Sayyids in the north and north-east and the Bargujars in the south. The last named tribe were the chief zemindars in Bilari. The Amroha pargana has been held by the Sayyids since the time of Firoz Toghlak, that is for upwards of 500 years. They have settled colonies in Sambhal and Hasanpur, and are the most important and powerful landholders in the district. Half of the Amroha pargana had been made over to them revenue-free before the cession. The Vishnois have acquired considerable property in the same pargana. Hasanpur was owned by Pathans, Baniyas, Tagas and Chaudris (Tagas converted to Muhammadanism in Aurangzeb's reign).

6. The first and second settlements of the district were made in 1803 and 1806 for three, and the third in 1809 for four, years. The last was followed by quinquennial settlements up to 1837-38, the year of famine, in which the people of the district suffered very severely. The earlier settlements appear to have been moderate, and the district, on the whole, was prosperous except in Thakurdwara, where, "owing to a mistaken idea that the *mukaddami* tenure was merely equivalent to a farming lease, the principle of settlement with the highest bidders, seems to have followed and with very disastrous results."

The 9th settlement, which immediately preceded that under report, was commenced in 1840, under Mr. Dick, in pargana Thakurdwara, and was completed by Mr. Money in 1843. During the currency of the last settlement an attempt was made in 1859 by the Collector, Mr. (now Sir John) Strachey, to better the condition of the Thakurdwara villages by holding them under direct management, but with very partial success. In 1860-61 and 1868-69 the district was visited by droughts which resulted in very severe scarcity, and in that latter year there was very great loss of life from starvation.

7. In his fourth chapter, Mr. Alexander has sketched the condition of the principal proprietary and cultivating classes at the commencement of the present settlement. In Amroha the Vishnois had retained their property while the Sayyids had lost ground. In pargana Sambhal the Ahirs and Thakurs had parted with many villages to the Brahmans and Baniyas. In pargana Hasanpur the Pathans had rather more than held their own, while the Tagas had given way to Jats and Thakurs, while both the Hindu and Muhammadan Tagas (Chaudris or nau-Muslims) had been supplanted by Sheikhs, Baniyas, and Kayasths, and to a smaller extent Brahmans had extended their possessions.)

8. Of the non-proprietary population the principal classes were Chauhan in Thākurdwāra and north Moradabad ; in Amroha Thakurs, Jāts, Vishnois, and Sheikhs ; in Hasaupur Sheikhs, Mulahs, other low Muhammadans and Khagis ; Baghbans, and Chamars have been brought in by the wealthier zemindars ; in the south of Sambhal Ahirs and Bargujars, and round the town of Sambhal, Sheikhs, Afghans, Ahirs, Bargujars, Jāts, and Muhammadans, with small colonies of Baghbans and Chamars in pargana Bilari.

9. The population of the district was recorded at the census of 1872 at 1,122,125 of whom 751,779 were Hindus, and 369,949 Muhammadans, Christians numbering 397. The agricultural population amounted to 664,834, of whom 481,262 were Hindus and 183,572 Muhammadans ; the non-agricultural to 457,291, (Hindus 274,017, and Muhammadans 183,274). The population per square mile ranged from 285 in Hasanpur to 735.01 in Bilari, the average for the whole district being 487.24. By Mr. Alexander's own showing not much dependence can be placed in the returns for agricultural and non-agricultural classes, the whole population of the towns of Moradabad and Amroha (97,896) being put down as non-agricultural, whereas a very considerable proportion of the above are either cultivators or proprietors. The following figures of the census of February last have been kindly supplied by Mr. Edmund White :—

Pargana.	Male population.	Female population.	Total population.
Moradabad	121,217	109,499	230,716
Sambhal	129,717	117,438	247,155
Bilari	121,161	108,346	229,507
Amroha	89,795	82,339	172,134
Hasanpur	87,464	74,643	162,107
Thākurdwāra	58,622	51,153	109,775
•Total	607,976	543,418	1,151,394

10. At page 25 Mr. Alexander has extracted from a note prepared by Mr. Donald Smeaton, late Settlement Officer of Moradabad for the Famine Commission, some interesting information regarding the status of the muafidars and the zemindars in the revenue-free estates, styled *milks* (properties), which abound in the Amroha pargana. In many instances the zemindari rights have passed over to the muafidars. But even in such cases, the rights are separately registered, the owners "registering themselves not as plenary proprietors of a revenue-free estate, but as muafidars enjoying as such the whole agricultural profits after deduction of one-tenth, and as zemindars in enjoyment of a tithe of the rental along with the monopoly of spontaneous products of jungle, waste, and pond, and of the house-rent of non-agricultural tenants. This duality of property, interesting as a relic of the past, is very cumbrous, and under certain conditions, which may arise at any time, is a source of perpetual inconvenience and often of oppression to the tenantry. The muafidars may at any time sell the whole or part of the zemindari rights to a stranger." Mr. Smeaton then proceeds to show how the tenants are harassed by the double tenure.

11. Mr. Alexander considers that the landed proprietors of the district were decidedly well-to-do just before the present settlement. But the reasons he gives for his opinion have little connection with persons other than the sharers in *milks*. The cultivators he divides into—1, Padhans or privileged tenants (of whom there are 20,000) being either the old zemindars in muafi, or nazrana villages whom the muafidar or nazranadar had deprived of their proprietary rights, but had induced to remain on by the concession of certain privileges, of which payment of a low rent was one, or *thanets* who, though not genuine Padhans as above described, have been granted similar concessions. 2, Occupancy tenants numbered at 360,000. 3, Ten-

ants-at-will 155,000. These statistics, however, Mr. Alexander regards with suspicion for the reasons given at page 28. Certainly, those reasons justify very grave suspicion of the accuracy of the Hasanpur and Amroha figures.

12. A considerable portion of the report is taken up with discussing the advantages and disadvantages (or rather of the latter only) of the *batti* system under which rents are taken in kind either by "division or appraisement." There can be no manner of doubt that the system is suited only to backward tracts, or to a country where rents are precarious. The matter which has to be determined is—"How far is the substitution of cash rents for the grain rents prevailing in certain parts of Moradabad feasible and advisable?" The landlords are opposed to the change. It is easier for them to secure more than their stipulated share of the value of the crop where the rent is not paid in cash. The money rent is a fixed amount which they must recognise. There are many ways in which the landlord can get more than his fair (or stipulated) share of the crop, or of the value of the crop. It is commonly more for the interests of the cultivator than of the landholder that a money rent should be substituted. The landlords and tenants of the grain rent paying tracts of the Moradabad district are no exceptions to the general rule. Perhaps, if they weighed the matter with more freedom from prejudice and less aversion to change, the zemindars would admit that the change would be for their advantage wherever the crops were fairly secure in ordinary years. But unfortunately they cannot discuss the question dispassionately, or divest themselves of the feeling that their honor (*izzat*) is involved in maintaining the system they and their forefathers have always followed. In the Amroha pargana, where grain rents prevail, the condition of the tenants is depressed. In Hasanpur, on the other hand, where money rents are hardly known, the tenantry are more comfortably off than they are on the average in the North-West Provinces. The contrast exhibited by Amroha and Hasanpur is due to the character of the landlords in the two tracts. In Amroha there is a deal of oppression. In Hasanpur, where the average population is only 285 against 451 in the former pargana, the cultivators are far better treated, and as long as they keep on good terms with their landlords they are allowed very many privileges which can be conceded only in a backward tract. Experience has shown that any attempt to force the zemindars to commute, results in very great damage to the tenant. Commutation should be proceeded with most cautiously and after weighing the circumstances of the individual estate. Both the Commissioner of Rohilkhand and the Board of Revenue have held that Mr. Alexander was led by his anxiety to protect the tenants by putting a stop to a system he viewed with great disfavor to force cash rents on the landlords against their will; and his benevolent intentions often resulted in injuring those he wished to serve. Mr. Donald Smeaton would not have gone as far as his successor, had he remained in charge of the settlement.

13. Mr. Alexander has classed in the order of their relative importance the principal agricultural products of the district as follows:—

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Sugar-cane. | 4. Cotton. |
| 2. Wheat. | 5. Bajra. |
| 3. Rice. | 6. Barley and gram. |

The area under sugar-cane is estimated at rather over 45,000 acres and the average profits of cane cultivation at about Rs. 25 per acre. Wheat is grown in 270,000 acres estimated to yield 250 millions maunds of grain. The average area (taking one year with another) under rice, the most precarious of all crops, is 80,000 acres.

Mr. Smeaton estimated the outturn in a bad year (one of drought) at 150,000 Government maunds, and at 2,200,000 in a favorable year. Rice is exported from Moradabad and Chandausi by rail, and to Meerut and Delhi on ponies, mules, and bullocks. Cotton is grown in 40,000 acres, and the estimated outturn of a fair year comes to from 60,000 to 80,000 maunds of cleaned cotton.

Cotton cloth is made in many towns and villages in the district. Hasanpur is known for its excellent *dosuti*. The cloth is hawked about the country by *beoparis*. Rámpur and Badaun cotton is exported from Chandausi and Bahjoi by the Oudh and Rohilkhand railway to Bareilly and Lucknow. Bajra occupies a larger area than any other crop except wheat. The average cultivation for the last three years (excluding 1877-78, the year of drought) was 130,000 acres. It is commonly grown with *moth*. In para. 22 (page 54) Mr. Alexander has pointed out the untrustworthy character of crop statements. In reading the figures given in the last column but one of the area statement of the Moradabad district for all the principal crops (page 55), it must be remembered that one of the four years for which the average area is given is 1877-78, when the kharif crops, where they did not fail altogether, gave a very short yield. *Ghee* is exported principally from Bahjoi on the Oudh and Rohilkhand railway, the trading centre nearest to the *bhur* tract of Sambhal and south Hasanpur, where large herds of milch buffaloes are kept by Abirs. The owners receive advances from the Baniyas on undertaking to supply them with a certain quantity of ghee. But the grazing grounds are being reduced by extending cultivation. Hides are exported from this same *bhur* country. Salt is imported largely from Rajputana through Agra and Háthras. The salt which comes from the Punjáb is also brought by rail to Chandausi or Moradabad. Mr. Alexander calculates the average salt requirements of the district at 100,000 maunds, while the railway statistics show a gross import of 300,000 maunds, and a net import, after deducting re-exports, of nearly 200,000 for 1878-79 and the same for 1879-80. These exports by rail are chiefly consignments to Bareilly and Oudh, while the surplus of the net import is the salt sent on by road to the Tarai, the east of Bijnor, Rámpur and Budaun. The import by road from Delhi and Meerut is inconsiderable compared with that by rail. Piece goods are brought into the district from Háthras and Delhi; tobacco from Oudh and Budaun; iron from Nipal, and brass from Calcutta. "Besides the main imports, there is a pretty brisk trade in lac, red pepper, spices and potatoes from the hills, carried chiefly by the *beoparis*, who in return take back salt, country cloth, and tobacco; their dealings are, however, on a small scale."

A statement of export and import trade from and to Moradabad and the other four stations on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway in the Moradabad district, kindly furnished by Mr. Payne, is given at pages 58 and 59 of the report.

14. The principal road in the district is the metalled one from Meerut to Moradabad, which crosses the Ganges at Gurmukhtesar. The only other metalled roads are (1) from Moradabad to Káládhungi at the foot of the Kumaun Hills, and (2) from Moradabad to Bareilly. There is a heavy traffic on the unmetalled road which runs *via* Kandarki and Bilari to Chandausi and thence on to Budaun. The opening of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway in 1872 and 1873 has given a very great impulse to the trade of the district. There are five railway stations in the district. The increase in trade has been followed by a very marked rise in the prices of agricultural produce. Mr. Alexander has selected two periods (a) 1845—1857, (b) 1860—1878. He explains, in his note to the "statement of the prices current of some of the principle staples for two periods before and after the mutiny" (page 62), that the periods are not the same for all parganas, and "that in Hasanpur and Amroha the prices of the second period are rather higher than in the other parganas, owing to their taking in two years later." He also distrusts the figures given for the pre-mutiny period, owing partly to the confusion between *kucha* and *pucca* maunds in the earlier returns. "Still," he writes, "taking the whole district, the average must be approximately correct, and this shows increase of about 70 per cent. in the edible grains, 60 per cent. in goor, and 50 per cent. in cotton."

15. In Chapter VII. the settlement officer gives a brief sketch of the occupations of the non-agricultural classes, whom he divides into—1, Government Servants; 2, Traders and Shopkeepers; 3, Skilled Artizans; 4, Labourers, beggars, and strollers

(a queer assortment!) He describes in some detail the relations between the money-lender and the cultivator. The common rate of interest is 2 annas in the rupee for 6 months, or roughly 25 per cent., or half of that amount in the case of approved customers and fair security; loans for marriage and funeral expenses, purchase of cattle, &c., are charged at much higher rates of interest, going as high as 1 anna per rupee per mensem, or where the advance is in the form of grain, 50 per cent. for the half year, at the end of which the loan is to be repaid. In agricultural villages, shopkeepers and all artisans but carpenters and blacksmiths were found to pay house rent and certain fees to the zemindars—such fees have not been recognized by the settlement officer—carpenters and blacksmiths being looked upon as village servants to some extent are paid fees in the form of a certain quota of grain at each harvest or a certain sum for every plough and sugar-cane mill. The Amroha pottery and the Moradabad brass work, which are in great demand beyond the limits of the district, are fully described in paragraph 4. The labourers were estimated at the last census (1872) at 150,000, and included those labouring at the time on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, then under construction. The agricultural labourers are paid either in cash (average 2 annas per day) or in cash and grain (1 anna a day and food).

The duties and earnings of a typical labourer of the lower class are set forth in para. 7. Mr. Alexander considers that of late years there has been a considerable diminution in the numbers of the agricultural population, resulting from the rise in the cost of food (but agricultural labourers are more usually than not paid in grain), the scarcity of 1877-78, and the fever which followed in 1879-80.

16. A very small proportion of the population of the school-going age attend the schools; only 4,777 in a population of 1,122,125 given by the settlement officer. The details are as follows:—

In Government English Schools.	...	...	181
Ditto Vernacular ditto	...	...	534
Halkabandi ditto	...	...	3,239
Girls' ditto	...	...	150
Municipal, aided by Government, School	...	...	18
Municipal, unaided ditto	...	...	49
Mission (girls and boys) ditto	...	...	606

17. The present is the tenth settlement of the Moradabad district. The first settlement was made in 1803, and was for three years only. The next settlement was also triennial, and the third quaternial. The fourth of 1813 being extended from time to time up to 1842, excepting in the case of the Thákurdwára pargana. They were followed by quinquennial settlements. The ninth settlement was for 30 years. The jummas of the several settlements were:—

1st Settlement (1803-1805)	...	Rs. 7,34,703
2nd " (1806-1808)	...	" 7,50,177
3rd " (1809-1812)	...	" 7,95,085
4th } (1813-1842)=	...	" 8,91,779
5th }		
6th }		
7th }	Average.	
8th }		
9th 1842	...	" 11,51,414

The jumma has risen to Rs. 12,01,468 during the currency of the ninth settlement, owing to the inclusion of several Bijnor villages in the Moradabad district. In the earlier settlements estates were farmed to a considerable extent, and it was not, Mr. Alexander states, till the quaternial settlement, that the right of the proprietors to engage was recognised. The information given regarding the working of the earlier settlements is meagre. The long extract from a report by Mr. Crosthwaite relates only to the Thákurdwára settlement. The first settlement in which an attempt was made to

ascertain accurately the areas of estates coming under assessment was the eighth, made by Mr. Rowland Money. The assessments which preceded Mr. Money's were "based on the figures of previous demands, and the estimates (*dauls*) of kanúngos and other native officials, checked by a very hasty supervision on the part of the European officer who made the assessment." The district had been "trigonometrically" surveyed, so that the total areas of the villages were known. *Amins* were deputed to prepare field maps of the cultivated area. It is not clear that what Mr. Money (whom Mr. Alexander, through Mr. Smeaton, quotes) meant by saying "that the professional returns were fabricated to make them agree with the *khasra* surveys," for the former preceded the latter. In only one-half the district was an interim professional survey of the total cultivated and total uncultivated lands of each village attempted. Thus wrote Mr. Smeaton, but it can only be inferred from his remarks regarding that half of the district that the total cultivated area was not surveyed, according to him, under the "old plan"; only the waste lands were surveyed professionally, and their area being deducted from the total area by the professional survey, gave the amount of cultivation plus lately abandoned land. Anyhow the surveys that were made, by the professional and the native surveyor, were of very little value for assessment purposes, for Mr. Money has recorded that, notwithstanding his efforts to secure a correct survey, "the actual amount of cultivated land in the pargana is unknown." It is not stated what pargana is referred to. Mr. Smeaton evidently accepted Mr. Money's remarks as applying to the whole district. In paragraphs seven to ten of his ninth chapter, Mr. Alexander has given Mr. Smeaton's account of the mode in which the eighth settlement was carried out by Mr. Rowland Money and Mr. R. K. Dick.

18. The settlement appears to have worked fairly well with the exception of that of pargana Thakurdwara; that it was tolerably light towards its close is evident from the enhancement which the revised assessments exhibit. The severer coercive processes for the collection of the revenue demand have been seldom resorted to during its currency. The selling price of land in the last decade was much higher than in the first, but it must be noted at the same time that "transfers (Mr. Alexander believes) have been more frequent than ever during the last ten years before settlement." Owing mainly to the resumption of revenue-free grants (giving a net increase of Rs. 64,131) and partly to the transfer to Moradabad of some Bijnor villages, the *jama* of Mr. Money's settlement (Rs. 11,51,414) stood at the expiry of its term at Rs. 12,01,468.

19. Moradabad is one of the first districts in which the cadastral survey, by the revenue surveyor, was substituted for the field survey, made under the supervision of the Settlement Officer. The cadastral survey commenced in 1870, and settlement operations in 1872. Details of the progress of the work are given in Mr. Alexander's ninth chapter. The settlement was commenced by Mr. Crosthwaite, carried on from 1875 to 1879 by Mr. Donald Smeaton, and completed by Mr. Alexander in 1880. The cost of survey and of settlement are calculated by Mr. Alexander at (1) 4½ lakhs and (2) 9 lakhs, the total cost being in round numbers 13½ lakhs.

20. There can be no doubt that the revision of the settlement has been made with very great care and labour. Mr. Crosthwaite and Mr. Donald Smeaton are officers of distinguished ability and energy, and their work was very thorough. Mr. Alexander has brought to the work great diligence and devotion. No pains were spared to secure a correct classification of soils, the true extent of the soil areas, the prevailing rent-rates and fair assumed rent-rates to form the basis of assessment, while the revenue surveyor has given a correct record of the area of the fields which form the cultivated area. The details of the system under which the several processes, including that of the formation of the record-of-rights were carried out, are given at some length in Mr. Alexander's eleventh and twelfth chapters. The records-of-rights have probably been prepared with more labour and accuracy in the Azamgarh, Moradabad, and Banda settlements than in any of the other districts in these provinces.

21. Mr. Alexander's thirteenth chapter is devoted to "assessment and the method of calculating soil rates." The assessment of the district, with the exception of part of Hasanpur, was effected by Messrs. Crosthwaite and Donald Smeaton. On looking at the soil rates, the absence of any special rate for the *gouhan* (homestead) lands will be observed. Why no special rate was framed for the homestead lands, which invariably have a higher letting value than any other lands in the village, is explained in paragraph 2. The propriety of dispensing with a separate rent-rate for *gouhan* is not satisfactorily disposed of. It may be noted that Mr. Alexander apparently forgot all about his promise to "show further on" why the "terms irrigated and unirrigated were objectionable." The artificial soil distinctions of *manjha* and *hár* (the middle and the outer zones) very frequently have no influence on the adjustment of soil rent rate.

22. Leaving Mr. Alexander to tell his own story regarding the process pursued by Mr. Crosthwaite and Mr. Smeaton in ascertaining the true rent rates and in applying the assumed rent rates derived from them to lands paying rent in kind, it will be as well to contrast the Moradabad assumed rent rates with those adopted in the other Rohilkhand districts. It is to be regretted that Mr. Alexander has not given the varying soil rent rates actually adopted in assessment in place of giving only the average soil rate, and that he has omitted to record the special rates for *gouhan* and suburban lands (in these points as well as in many others, Mr. Alexander's report is lamentably deficient). In the following statement the highest and lowest rent rates for each class of soil are given for the other Rohilkhand districts. In some instances there are ten or more different rates shown for the same soil.

	Dumat first.	Dumat second.	Matiyar first.	Matiyar second.	Bhur first.	Bhur second.
Bareilly ...	5 12 0	3 8 0	4 6 0	2 15 0	3 8 0	1 8 0
Bijnor ..	*10 9 8	2 10 0†	3 11 7	2 10 0	3 13 0	1 11 0
Budaun ...	4 0 0	1 8 0	4 8 0‡	2 0 0	3 0 0	1 8 0
Sháhjahánpur	5 0 0	1 8 0	4 0 0	1 12 0	2 8 0	1 2 0
Moradabad ...	4 11 7	3 5 2	4 7 1	2 15 1	1 15 9	1 1 0

The application of (1) the average district rates given above (for Moradabad) brings out a rental of Rs. 33,35,749; (2) the average pargana soil rates, of Rs. 33,34,974, and (3) the detailed soil rates actually employed, Rs. 33,30,220, the difference between the rental resulting from the application of (1) and (3) being Rs. 5,529 on a rental of over 33 lakhs.

23. The average recorded rental for ten years from 1270 F. to 1279 F. is Rs. 26,43,426, the rent rolls ranging from Rs. 24,24,689 in 1270 F. to Rs. 30,88,529 in 1277 F. The very great difference between the deduced rentals and the recorded rental is attributed by Mr. Alexander to the true rentals being understated, the allowance required for *sír* and rent free lands and privileged holdings, the rents assessed on waste land, the effect of the lower rentals of the times anterior to the rise in prices, in lowering the average recorded rental. Mr. Smeaton and Mr. Alexander consider the Patwáris papers cannot be trusted to furnish accurate statistics of the assets in any one year though they may form an index of progress or retrogression. Mr. Alexander holds that "a large amount may be added to the recorded *nikasi* for the income intercepted by managers and underlings, and for the varying and illegal cesses or benevolences levied from the tenants by the landlords themselves (but not recorded in the *nikasi*) before the real total of the tenant's payments is arrived at." He argues that the assumed rent rates are not high, from the fact that the zemindars in commutation cases affirmed they are too low. Probably, if they were too high, there would be few applications for commutation on the part of the tenants.

1 Manured sawai (which answers to Dumat).

2 Unmanured sawai.

3 Irrigated.

Mr. Alexander has included in his rental calculations both the revenue paying (khalsa) and revenue free (muáfi) lands ; separating the two, the deduced rental of the former is Rs. 28,73,030 and of the latter Rs. 5,19,925.

24. The aggregate of the jummas fixed by the settlement officer (Rs. 14,30,688) is less, by Rs. 5,827, than half the deduced rental (Rs. 14,36,515). It is Rs. 2,79,274 in excess of the original jumma of last settlement (Rs. 11,51,414), and Rs. 2,29,220 above the amount (Rs. 12,01,468) that same jumma had reached at its close. Notwithstanding these large enhancements, Mr. Alexander " considers that, on the whole, the revised assessment is, if anything, light, especially in the west of the district, where the enormous area of the bhur tract rendered it necessary to be lenient, in order to allow for fluctuations of seasons."

25. The increase in the jumma now obtained is due to :—

1. Extension of cultivation.
2. More accurate record of the cultivated area.
3. Rise in prices of agricultural produce and the increased value of land.

The increase in the total area is estimated at 27,969 acres, and of 220,809 (=793,991—573,182) in the cultivated ; (a) revenue free, (b) barren, (c) old waste, and groves show a decrease of (a) 47,651, (b) 101,754, and (c) 66,760 acres, while the area of " new fallow " has risen by 23,325 (=78,138—54,813) acres.

Mr. Alexander points out that " a considerable portion of the increase shown under cultivation is only a paper one, being brought out by the more accurate record of the cultivated area." At the same time he thinks that the real increase in cultivation may be estimated at about 25 per cent., while the increase in the jumma is only 19 per cent. The land more lately brought under cultivation is of inferior quality (it may be assumed) than that cultivated at last settlement, when, moreover, the revenue was assessed at two thirds of the rental assets in place of one half, as under present rules. On the other hand, the prices of the better part of the agricultural produce have risen by about 60 per cent. While, including enhancements of rent made in the present settlement, cash rents show an increase probably of at least 35 per cent. The incidence of the revenue, excluding *nazarana*, has fallen from Rs. 2-0-1 to 1-13-4 on the cultivated area, while of three other Rohilkhand districts—Bareilly, Bijnor, and Budaun (no figures are given for Sháhahánpur), the two first show a higher average revenue rate per acre on cultivation.

				Rs. a. p.
Bareilly	...	...	...	... 2 1 1
Bijnor	...	...	...	... 1 15 2
Budaun	...	...	...	... 1 3 9

These figures should dispel any fear, based on the considerable enhancement in the revenue, that the revised assessments made in parganas Moradabad and Thákurdwára, by Mr. Crosthwaite, and in Belari, Sambhal, Amroha, and the greater part of Hasanpur, by Mr. Smeaton, and in the rest of Hasanpur, by Mr. Alexander, are excessive.

26. The distribution of the assessment among the co-sharers was entrusted in the earlier part of the settlement to the Deputy Collector, who was instructed to proceed strictly on the basis of the soil rates, unless all the sharers expressly agreed to have the distribution made on some other principle. But Mr. Smeaton and Mr. Alexander took the work afterwards into their own hands. Their procedure is described in chapter XV. In place of taking, in the case of pargana Hasanpur, the figures of the year of inspection (1877-78) in which a quarter of the cultivated area had become fallow, owing to the drought, the Settlement Officer took the average cultivation of the two years of survey (1875-76) and of inspection plus 10 per cent. and made out the *kismwar jummandis* accordingly. Care was taken in the distribution, not only of the jumma, but also of the *nazrana* and all the cesses.

27. The dates of the land revenue instalments appear to have been fixed with great judgment and on sound principles, of which the leading one was that the cultivators and the proprietors should have time to get in their harvests before the rent and revenue became due. Owing to the extent of the area, in parts of the district, over which grain rents prevail, the kharif instalments for the same were deferred to December or January in place of November, and the rabi instalment was moved on from May to June. In parganas Sambhal and Hasanpur, the presence of Indian corn and rice necessitated one early kharif instalment. Special kists (February and April) were fixed for Hasanpur with reference to the sawai income derived from the sale of thatching grass and of grazing fees in the alluvial (Ganges) tract, while the May instalment in the same pargana was specially suited to the low lying villages affected by inundation from the Ganges and in which the income from the kharif crops was very inconsiderable. In sugar-cane-growing villages a special two annas instalment is fixed for March.

28. The peculiar feature (in a revenue point of view) of the Moradabad district is the nazrana payment levied on revenue-free maháls; holders of revenue-free lands appear in the first instance to have paid a *nazar* to the Amil (the native Local Governor) for his good will. The payment has been stereotyped and is now appropriated by Government. Nazrana is paid on not less than 237,273 acres which with the lands to which statements I. and II. at pages 110, 111, and 112 relate, would be assessed, Mr. Alexander estimates, at 3 lakhs of rupees, were the land khalsa (revenue-paying), while the nazrana charge is about one sixth of that sum, viz., Rs. 25,581. The area held revenue-free is said to have diminished by 22,159 acres since the time of last settlement. Mr. Alexander considers the area resumed to be understated. In addition to the muáfi lands in which nazrana is paid, there are, in parganas Bilari, Thákurdwára and Sambhal, estates (the area of which is not given) of which, out of the full jumma, Rs. 15,296-13, Rs. 7,034-12 have been released in reward for loyal services, apparently in the mutiny. Again, 19,652 bighas 6 biswas (the area should have been given in acres) are revenue-free grants for religious or charitable purposes; 13,985 acres have been exempted from assessment as grove lands.

29. The accounts of the 2,925 villages of the Moradabad district are kept by 807 patwáris and 18 assistants, overlooked by 18 supervisor kanúngos; there are in addition 7 registrar kanúngos. The patwári cess amounts to Rs. 94,515, of which Rs. 81,636, and Rs. 4,800 are spent in the pay of the patwáris and of the supervisor kanúngos, and Rs. 1,600 go towards defraying the cost of the establishment of the Director of Agriculture and Commerce, North-Western Provinces. The expenditure is Rs. 200 in excess of the receipts. There is a surplus amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 3,009 in all the parganas but Hasanpur, which shows a deficit of Rs. 3,229, "occasioned," Mr. Alexander writes, "by the low revenue obtained on the bhur land, and also on a considerable area of the alluvial land along the Ganges, and also by the necessity for a strong staff to deal with the very large area of the pargana. It is met from the surplus obtained from the parganas by the patwári fund. But the deficit is not met by the surplus from other parganas; a considerable number of the patwáris reside out of their circle, and "it was not till very severe measures were taken that even nominal obedience to the order directing residence within their circle was secured." Mr. Alexander gives the reasons (and they are valid enough from the patwáris' point of view) of the patwáris' backwardness in carrying out the order of residence. It would be as well that the zemindars should be legally responsible for providing the patwári with a proper house within the circle, and were they alive to their own interests they would do so, for the absence of the patwári at times he is urgently required must cause great and frequent inconvenience. But the erection by Government of patwáris houses out of the limited fund raised by the patwári cess would absorb too large a portion of the fund, and is not to be thought of. The residence of the patwári within his circle is specially necessary where rents are paid in kind, for his attendance is required when the crops are divided or appraised.

30. Chapter XVIII. of the report is taken up with "case work and conduct of subordinates." A little over 68,000 cases have been disposed of during the course of settlement, one-third of which consisted of disputes (the majority of which were decided in the plaintiff's favor) regarding entries of proprietary or tenant right in the newly formed records. Applications for settlement were numerous. The enquiries into *muafi* claims were long and tedious in the Amroha parganas. Boundary disputes (2,500), specially in the Ganges and Rámanga villages, were difficult of decision; of 6,500 rent cases, 4,000 were for enhancement, 500 for abatement and 2,000 for commutation. In regard to Mr. Alexander's views regarding the latter cases it may be doubted whether the country in which grain rents prevail is ripe for such a complete change in the system under which rents are fixed and collected, but there can be no doubt of the soundness of Mr. Alexander's opinion, that it is a mistake to confine the time of commutation to that during which a settlement is going on. The present rule on this subject would be right enough if our settlements were quinquennial, but is not applicable to long term (30 years) settlements. The number of cases decided being 68,000 (in round numbers) and 1,200 appeals being instituted, of which one fourth were allowed, the percentage of successful appeal is rightly put by Mr. Alexander at less than one half per cent.

31. In his concluding chapter Mr. Alexander has discussed the subject of money rents and grain rents. He has shown how the latter have in the case of land growing certain crops (sugar-cane, cotton, chari, garden, and *kusum*) developed into cash rents, and how the grain rents, which were originally light, have come to be enhanced either directly in the case of new tenants, or by the imposition of additional charges in the shape of *kharch* (expenditure incurred in watching and dividing the crop), *khakrana* (allowance for the dirt which the landlord assumes has got mixed up with his share of the crop!), *Nazar* (given to the landlord's *karinda* for his trouble in supervising the division of the crop), *biyaha* (a benevolence raised when a wedding occurs in the landlord's family!), *wozan kushi* (weighment fee), *dhala*, (extra payment levied when the crops turn out better than was expected. No provision appears to have been made for a corresponding abatement in the rent when the crop has turned out worse than had been expected). Both Mr. Smeaton and Mr. Alexander have been moved to righteous indignation by the exactions of the zemindars in tracts in which grain rents prevail, though the former has admitted, more unreservedly than the latter, that many parts of these tracts are not ripe yet for commutation. During the course of the settlement the rents of about 85,000 acres have been commuted.

32. At pages 128 and 129 Mr. Alexander has recorded the result of experiments made regarding the outturn per acre of the principle staples. He estimates the average outturn per acre as follows:—

1. Bajra—6 maunds.
2. Rice—a little below 13 maunds of grain and 24 maunds of stalk.
3. Cotton—he hazards no average, but the result of his experiment in 3 parganas ranged from 5 to 7 maunds.

4. Wheat—the lowest yield 7 maunds in unirrigated *bhur*, the highest 14 maunds of grain and 22½ maunds *bhusa*, on manured land usually irrigated. The average outturn of the experiments in the Morabad pargana was 10 maunds of grain and 18 of *bhusa* in 1283 fasli, and in 1284 fasli 8 maunds 32 seers grain. Attempts to obtain correct returns and estimates of the average outturn per acre of crops are seldom successful.

33. In 1855 a project was put forward for the irrigation of Western Rohilkhand by an Eastern Ganges Canal. After a few surveys and reports had been made the mutiny broke out and operations were suspended.

In 1867 the project was revived and plans were drawn up. During the famine of 1868-69, which pressed severely on Bijnor and compelled the Government to

provide work for the suffering population, the excavation of 18 miles of the Sambhal branch of the canal was sanctioned. Apparently nothing further was done till 1872, when a revised estimate was made, and the opinions of district officers on the necessity of, and other points connected with, the projected canal were called for. All the officers consulted were opposed to its construction. In 1876, the Local Government recommended the indefinite postponement of the project, after upwards of 2 lakhs of rupees had been expended. In November, 1877, the scheme was indefinitely postponed by the Government of India.

34. The Moradabad district was afterwards selected, together with Cawnpore, for the State well experiment, the working of which was entrusted to Mr. Alexander. The question, whether the experiment, which does not promise to be successful, shall be continued, is before Government, and need not be further noticed here.

The last revised assessments, those of pargana Hasanpur, were declared in 1287 fasli (=1879-80); they should be sanctioned, if they are approved by Government, for thirty years from that year.

In conclusion, the services of Messrs. Charles Crosthwaite, Donald Smeaton, and Alexander, in connection with the revision of the Moradabad district, may properly be recommended to the notice of Government. Mr. Alexander speaks in high terms of the assistance he received from Mr. Darrah, an officer of great promise.

May 13th, 1881.

(Sd.) H. S. REID.

ERRATA.

Page 15, line 22, for Bareilly, read Bareli.

" 17, " 9, " service, " seven.

" 19, " 38, " "for though Brahmins are mixed up with them in the map,
the number of villages held by the latter is trifling,"
read, though Brahmins are mixed up with them in
the map.

" 20, " 8 " Ahirs, read Ahers.

" 20, " 16 " Shifáat, " Shafaat.

" 22, " 9 " Chauhán, " Chuhán.

" 27, " 14 " "that I think to note," read that I think necessary to note.

" 37, " 37 " holding, read mahál.

" 38, " 18 " conclusions, read conclusion.

" 40, " 27 " seer, read sír.

" 44 " 1 to foot note, for Aghole read Aghol.

" 44 " 2 " " banda " panda.

" 45 " 35 for years; as, read years. As.

" 46 " 33 " a grant, " Agraul.

" 54 " 38 " 100 " 1,000.

" 57 " 10 " Delhi generally; they, read Delhi; generally they.

" 57 " 20 " unusual, read universal.

" 62 " 2 " seers, read sír.

" 68 " 27 " "although amongst the zamindars, and more especially
amongst the Government servants, there are &c.,
read, although amongst the zamindars there are, &c.

" 69, line 6, omit "table showing the result of assessment parganawar."

" 69, " 33, for quarternial, read quaternial.

" 77, in total of statement for 74,184 read 73,834.

" 81, in column of remarks, line 4, for "column also if; read column; also if."

" 81, line 12, for Lithographed khatiauni, read Lithographed* khatiauni.

" 81, add foot note as follows:—The khatiauni slips are identical with the
"parcha jamabandi form" above.

" 83, line 34, for initiated, read rendered useless.

" 86, " 7, for proprietors read properties.

" 96. In statement heading, column 2, line 3, for muafi read siwai.

" 96, line 3, for years, read years.

" 96, " 3, in foot note, for bbuls, read babuls.

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FROM

E. B. ALEXANDER, Esq., C.S.,

Settlement Officer, Moráddábád,

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE,

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

Dated Moráddábád, the 1st January, 1881.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to submit the final report on the settlement of Moradabad. As you are aware, I only took up the work when it was more than half completed, and I therefore labor under a certain amount of disadvantage. This is, however, perhaps compensated by the greater freedom with which I can discuss the settlement operations carried out, or at least planned and commenced by my predecessors, Messrs. Crosthwaite and Smeaton.

2. My aim in the present report has been to show their work and its results as clearly as possible without making my description too long—an error which I more especially wish to guard against on account of the expense which the very large number of copies of the report printed must entail. I have therefore abridged my description of the physical features and of the history of the district as much as I considered possible, and I have also avoided putting in a good deal of detailed information, and some statistics about the several parganas which can be found in the rent-rate reports separately printed. The Members of the Board have already decided that these rent-rate reports are not to be reprinted with that now submitted, but as fifty copies were printed when they were first sent up, they will always be available for reference.

3. The sequence which I have followed in writing the final report is that which seemed to me most natural. I have first given a brief description of the natural features of the district, followed by a sketch of its history, sufficient to show how the present inhabitants peopled it, and how, after it came under our rule, the present administrative divisions were formed. Next I have endeavoured to give a rather more detailed account of the different classes of the population, and of their occupations, noticing more especially the relative condition of the landowners and tenants, and the principal products of the district. I have then sketched the history of the present settlement operations taken chronologically, and following on this I have endeavoured clearly and rather minutely to describe the system which we followed in all the more important parts of our work. The concluding chapters of the report are occupied by the record of results, and by a note on the muáfi area, which is of special importance in this district. I have kept for a supplementary chapter the detailed account of the batai system on which rents are taken over a large area, because though the subject is of too great importance to be omitted altogether, it was not of such primary and direct importance to the settlement as to render it necessary to break the sequence I had marked out for myself by its earlier insertion.

4. I have not touched on the settlement of pargana Kashipur in this report: first, because it is not within the Moradabad district, and secondly, because, the work having been completed by Mr. Smeaton before I joined the district, I have no

personal knowledge about it, and it was, I thought, better to refer any one seeking for information on the subject to Mr. Smeaton's rent-rate report.

5. For similar reasons I have not discussed the survey, except as it directly affected our work. Mr. Smeaton, I think very rightly, at once took up the position that the two departments were distinct, and that, as far as possible, we should leave the survey work alone. The work was also nearly completed when I joined, so I was really not competent to discuss it.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

E. ALEXANDER,

Settlement Officer.

FINAL REPORT

ON THE

SETTLEMENT OF THE MORADABAD DISTRICT.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE DISTRICT.

1. *Area.*—The district of Moradabad, as now constituted, lies between north latitude 28—2 to 29—16 and east longitude 78—09 to 79—03.

Its area is 2,303 square miles, as shown in the statement below :—

Total area in acres.	DETAIL OF BARREN AREA.					CULTURABLE AREA.				CULTIVATED AREA.				Total cultivated area.
	Village sites.	Tank and rivers.	Roads.	Other kind.	Total.	Baghs.	New fallows.	Old waste.	Total.	Irrigated.			Unirrigated.	
										By wells.	Other sources.	Total.		
1,474,002	15,555	45,860	24,102	66,139	151,652	14,367	88,322	270,315	372,994	49,240	57,747	106,987	842,369	949,366

Its shape is square but with a very irregular boundary line, which might have been made less intricate, as, except on the west, where the Ganges forms the boundary, it is almost entirely artificial.

The border districts are the Tarái and Bijnor on the north, Meerut and Bulandshahr on the west, Badaun on the south, and the Rámpur territory on the east.

2. *Levels.*—The average level is about 670 feet above the sea, the highest point being 742 feet in the north of Thákurdwára, and the lowest 605 feet in the south of Bilári. The surface of the country slopes considerably from north to south, and distinctly, though less markedly, from west to east; but an examination of the map accompanying will show that there is a slight rise again to the north-east after the valley of the Rámghanga is passed.

3. *Rivers and natural divisions.*—The course of this river furnishes, indeed, the main clue to a comprehension of the physical geography of the district. Just before it enters this district its course is south-west, and it approaches the Ganges nearer than it does at any other point till that where they rapidly converge south of Badaun.

The streams which join its left bank on its passage through this district have the same tendency to a south or south-west course, but shortly after the Rámghanga enters the district, it begins to feel the effect of the high land which forms the watershed between it and the Ganges, and after an ineffectual attempt to resist this, and cut its way through the high land, it has to yield and bends round in a more and more easterly direction till it flows out into the Rámpur territory.

The drainage in the north centre of the district follows it, and after a slight struggle to flow southwards, turns rapidly east to join it; but in the south, owing to the way the river has been edging off to the east, its influence is hardly felt, and there is thus a large tract in the centre and south centre over which the drainage is unable to make its way, either to the east or to the west (in which direction it is stopped by the high land marking the watershed of the Ganges), and which has thus to find its

The Rámghanga.

The Sot.

way almost due south by several small channels of which the Sot is the only one which can be called a stream. This river is formed by the pent up drainage above described, and rises north of Amroha, passing right across the Sambhal pargana: it always has some water in it, but is almost stagnant for a portion of the year.

The bhúr tract.

Beyond the line of the Sot the country rises perceptibly into the great bhúr tract, which cuts off the Ganges khádir from the rest of the district, and corresponds in great measure with the country on the opposite bank of the river, in Bulandshahr and Meerut. The following description of this tract is taken from Mr. Smeaton's report on pargana Hasanpur. "The bhúr tract is a vast and somewhat undulating plateau, the soil of which is sandy. Ridges of loose soft sand alternate with extensive flats of more cohesive soil in which there is a very slight admixture of loam. Technically, I imagine, the soil would be styled siliceous with a thin mixture of alumina. Each sandy block is separated from the other by a narrow winding channel or 'chhoia,' which is the natural waterway for the drainage of the little watershed. In very many of the villages in the tract the three features are found together, the high bleak sand, the level flat, and the 'chhoia.' In some villages are found only the loose sand and below it the 'chhoia,' and in a few unlucky villages only the sand and no 'chhoia' at all. The sand on the ridges being loose, is liable to be blown away by heavy gusts of wind; and often the result of a storm in May or June is to remove huge volumes of it and deposit them where some natural obstacle interferes with their further progress. In seasons of plenteous rain, a perfect jungle of tall thatch grass (munj patel) springs up on these shifting banks and affords grazing for cattle and materials for roof thatch. On such banks of sand freshly deposited, and during the formation of which small supplies of natural manure have been blown in by the wind, the cultivator can often rear a tolerable harvest, such as moth, with here and there cucumbers. But the harvest is at best a precarious one, and is absolutely dependent, of course, on abundant and timely rain. The level flats are not intrinsically much more fertile than the loose uneven sand. It is the greater cohesiveness of the particles, and the consequent uniformity of level, which enables them to acquire more value; for, while on the loose irregular ridges manure would be liable at any moment to be dispersed in clouds of sand by the wind, on the flats the firmness of the soil permits of the application of manure without the risk of sudden and violent removal. Hence flat blocks of bhúr have a value in the cultivator's eye considerably higher than that of the shifting slopes.

"The water level is very variable. On the shifting banks it is, of course, lowest and hardest to find. On the flats it is found at from 10 to 15 feet from the surface. In the 'chhoias,' where the soil is firm and retains moisture, the water level is near.

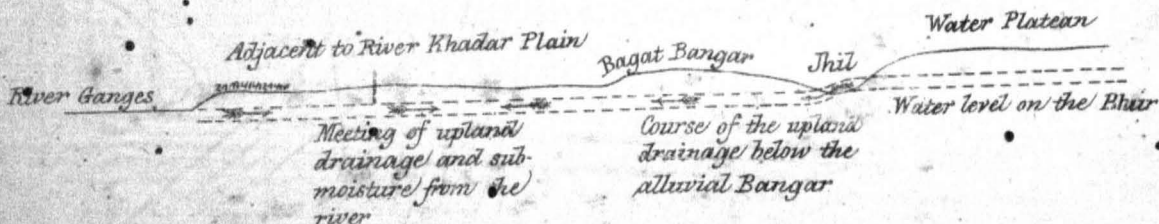
"In all seasons the country looks bleak and cheerless, and when the rains have been insufficient or untimely, as they have been for the past two years, the whole aspect is gloomy in the extreme. Groves are scattered at long intervals, and there are many villages with none at all. The shelter which elsewhere the mango tope affords to the hamlet is here often supplied by the bamboo thicket, an excellent substitute in many ways, and, seen from a short distance, very graceful with its soft and feathery foliage, but wanting in the deep, cool, restful green of the mango grove. The bamboo, however, has this recommendation to the country people, it is even more impervious to wind and dust than the mango, and the timber is always useful.

"Ponds are rare, and there can scarcely be said to be any jhils at all. The porous character of the soil prevents much natural storage of moisture. The 'chhoias,' of which mention has already been made, are, of course, dry in the cold and hot seasons; they are only flood channels. They all run in nearly parallel directions though very irregularly. They generally end by dissipating themselves over a broad flat, or filling up a series of little depressions, or uniting in a single current; they sometimes burst down over the bluffs into the jhil which fringes the khádir.

"Within this great bhúr tract are two little oasis, one on the north-east and the other on the south-east corner. They are continuations of the Amroha north-west tract and the Sambhal Udla tract respectively. The former is part of the low-lying country trending away down to the Amroha river system, and is composed of alternating runs of loam and clay, with here and there patches of sandy upland. The latter is an offshoot from the strip of spongy undrained country in Sambhal, lying enclosed between the bhúr on the one side and the Sot nadi on the other. In calling this latter an oasis the term is, of course, used relatively. It is an oasis compared with the sterile bhúr which overlaps it.

"The bhúr tract runs north and south, and maintains a tolerably uniform breadth throughout, tapering slightly towards the remote south. On the inner or eastern side the soil is much firmer and more level than it is on the western edge, where it rises slightly and becomes very uneven immediately close to the long winding marsh called the Bagat Jhíl. The dip from the bhúr to this winding marsh is very sudden; and judging from the bold aspect of the sandy bluffs, and the scoured appearance of the lower strata, it seems probable that the Ganges may at one time have flowed immediately below. The alluvial country begins here. From the deep and narrow bed of the jhíl, the country gradually slopes away westwards and upwards rising gently to a crest about half way between the bhúr cliffs and the river sand. Thence it descends again and blends with the great khádir plains beyond. This part of the alluvial country (which I have styled the Bagat Bángar from its proximity to, and dependence on, the jhíl below) is scarcely, properly speaking, khádir at all. It is well raised above the deep jhíl on the east and the open flooded plains stretching away on the west. It is a sort of alluvial watershed, and is easily distinguished by its dense covering of dhák jungle. The khádir plain rises almost imperceptibly from the gentle depression where the alluvial bángar blends with it, and after reaching an elevation so slight as to be scarcely perceptible to the untrained eye, sinks down again as gradually, meeting as it sinks the first signs of direct river influence in soft alluvial soil. Rising again, the land becomes more sandy; patches of jháo or tamarish begin to appear, and after a short interval the river edge is reached. Such is a very general description of what may be called a section of the country running east and west across the pargana. Of course, no one section actually taken would be the same as another. Here the jhíl is wide and shallow, there deep and narrow; here the dhák forest is thick and dark, there it dwindles away down to a few isolated shrubs; here the river brink is within a stone's throw of the easternmost dip of the great khádir plain, there a wide reach of grass jungle, sometimes preceded, sometimes followed, by jháo thickets, varied by little sandy creeks and banks, has to be traversed before the river is found. But the illustration given will sufficiently indicate what I desire to make clear, the inter-dependence of the various tracts of country and the undulating character of the alluvial half of the pargana. The following may be taken as a sketch of the section above described.

*The khádir
of the Ganges.*



"The great bhúr watershed on the west must have waterway for its drainage; hence the depression of the jhíl. The jhíl, however, would not have attained its

present dimensions had there been none but the upland drainage to carry off. It acts also as an escape-valve for the river flood water, which, in seasons of excessive rains, finds its way through the khádir and across the dhák bángar by tiny narrow runnels, or, occasionally, where the face of the country admits, in broad shallow sheets.

"In the hand sketch above given, I have endeavoured to show what I imagine must be the course of the sub-soil moisture throughout the entire section. The water level in the bhúr tract is low; its *locus* is probably about the point where the bhúr commences its sudden descent into the jhíl. Its moisture in the rainy season, descending rapidly to the channel of the jhíl, and there meeting the river surplus, forces its way through a natural syphon below the alluvial bángar, deposits its detritus as an increment to the bángar, and meets the volume of river moisture just where the khádir plain clearly begins."

From the above description it will be seen that the Ganges khádir forms quite a distinct tract from the rest of the district. There can, indeed, I think, be little doubt but that the narrow winding jhíl which forms its eastern boundary was once the main channel of the Ganges* and the khádir country represents the land which the river has won from the opposite bank in its gradual progress west and has thrown up behind it in this altered form.

The course of the Ganges in some measure assimilates to that of the Rámanga, having on its approach to the district a rather south-westerly tendency and being gradually pushed east by the high opposing bank after cutting its way through it to the extent marked by the khádir land. Like the Rámanga, the Ganges is a very shifting river and increases immensely in volume as soon as the rains set in. The jhao bushes which clothe its sides somewhat save the very desolate appearance which its large wastes of sand would otherwise present at all other seasons.

Other divisions. The
north centre.

Besides the Ganges khádir and the bhúr which have already been described, there are four principal divisions of the district, of which the next in order is the north centre, including the eastern watershed of the northern bhúr and terminating at the Rámanga khádir. This is uniformly high and sandy in the west, though level and firmer than the main bhúr tract; but east, and especially north-east, of the point marked by the town of Amroha, its character is completely altered by the turn in the drainage lines already mentioned. The surface becomes very uneven, sinking into marked dips at each of the small streams which intersect it at short intervals, and the ridges between are much scored by the water running off them, and are often clothed with a stunted thorny bush jungle locally known as "kair."

The south centre.

Passing south, these signs of fluvial action become fainter and the country opens out into broader plains of good soil, usually bounded by ridges, or half rings of bhúr, which crop up at intervals becoming less and less marked as the fourth or southern tract is traversed. In Bilari and the extreme east of Sambhal there is very little bhúr. The soil is almost all a good *dumat* naturally fertile, and very level between the valleys of the Gangan and the Sot, which form the boundaries of this tract on the north-east and south-west. This is the most productive portion of the district, and the only one in which spring wells are in common use. Elsewhere, indeed, such wells are very exceptional, only masonry, sunk at a very great expense, having hitherto been able to tap the spring; but in this tract kucha wells supply sufficient water to enable cultivators to work a bucket on them.

Mr. Smeaton notices that the soil over a large portion of the Bilari pargana is so moist that, unless the rains have been very scanty, irrigation is hardly required except for sugarcane. The reason of this is probably the widening out of the drainage system to the east above this tract, which leaves it a broad plain, intersected by no river of any size, and with a very gentle slope, so that the water is not rapidly run off, as it is further north.

* Note.—Mr. Carmichael takes the same view in his report on the Badaun settlement.

The fifth natural division is the valley of the Rám-ganga. On entering the district the action of the river beating towards the south-west has scooped out a broad tract of low-lying khádir land separated from the north centre tract by a line of bold ridges intersected by ravines, and of a very rugged appearance; further south as its strength is spent the river flows through a narrowing valley till it joins the Dhela and again spreads out above and below Morádábád city.

The valley of the Rám-ganga.

Farther south the hitherto clearly defined line between the khádir and the uplands is lost, owing to the approach of the Gárgan, and the land on the right bank becomes similar to that almost all along the left—low-lying and undulating and sandy.

Compared to the khádir of the Ganges that of the Rám-ganga is bare. No jhae and comparatively little of the heavy thatching grass growing on it. In the north, however, where the tract is wide, the portions which are protected from the rush of the floods and get the advantage of the deposit from the backwaters, are more fertile than any of the land immediately along the Ganges.

The Rám-ganga is very shifting in its course, and the rapidity and violence with which it swells in the rains renders it dangerous to crops and habitations near its banks as well as a most formidable obstacle to traffic.

In the hot weather it becomes a brook, fordable in most places and easily crossed by a small bridge of boats opposite Morádábád; but almost immediately after the rains begin, it rises with great rapidity, pouring down an enormous volume of water which, opposite Moradabad, is frequently more than a mile in width and flows at the rate of five miles an hour.

Beyond the khádir to the north and north-east lies the sixth division of the district, taking in pargana Thákurdwára and part of Morádábád. It is intersected by numerous streams of which the Dhela is the most important; and in the western portion there are large tracts of clay called jháda. Setting aside the extreme south-east, which assimilates to the country between the 3rd and 4th divisions, this is a rice growing tract, liable to injury from excessive flooding, and not requiring irrigation except for cane. The best portion is the south and south-west, the north being denuded and somewhat resembling portions of the third tract, especially in the prevalence of low kair jungle, which seems always to mark a poor denuded soil. There is very little jungle now left, though the tract borders on the Tarái and the climate still retains a bad name for malarious fever. In the rainy season, however, a large area is covered by thick grass and reeds, which give the country a wild appearance.

The sixth division.
Thákurdwára and eastern Morádábád.

4. Speaking generally and excluding special tracts like the khádir, the surface soil of the district is light and sandy, clay being comparatively rare, and almost everywhere pure sand is found a few feet from the surface. The upper stratum of this sand is generally coarse and holds the percolation water, and the lower stratum is fine and white with little water in it. Below this white sand is a layer of clay and kunkar found at very varying depths and of varying thickness, and below this is the spring. In parts of Hasanpur this seems to be as deep as 80 and even 90 feet, whilst in other parts of the same pargana and of Amroha it is found within 40 feet. At present, however, the number of wells which have been sunk to the real spring level in the district is so small that no accurate information about the lie of the lower strata is obtainable.

Soils.

Springs.

Almost universally the shallow percolation wells, dug to a depth of about 12 or 14 feet, and deriving their water supply from the upper portion of the coarse sand stratum are employed. Owing to the sandy nature of the soil, these wells almost always collapse in the rains, and in years of drought the percolation supply sometimes fails, and then it is no use constructing them. Even in a good year the amount of water they yield, is, as a rule, insufficient, and the number of them required almost prohibits the irrigation of any large area.

Percolation wells.

Stone and kunkar.

No stone is found within the district except a few pebbles washed down from the hills, but kunkar is abundant, especially in the west, where it is found of excellent quality and in large mines.

Lakes and jhils.

5. There is no lake of much size or importance in the district. The Púrappur jhil about six miles east of Amroha, is, perhaps, one of the largest, but, like all the others, it is shallow and dries up in the hot weather. The long narrow jhil running along the edge of the bhúr in Hasanpur has been already noticed. It forms the boundary for some distance between pargana Sambhal and the Budaun district, and there is a good deal of wild jungle and swamp land along it there. The high sandy nature of the soil is against the formation of lakes or jhils in the rest of the district.

Jungle.

6. Very little tree jungle is now left. In the Hasanpur bāngar tract there are some large patches of dhák still standing; but elsewhere, even in Thákurdwára, the progress of cultivation has cleared the good land, and the bad is not sufficiently strong to sustain anything more than the scrubby thorn known as kair, which seems to be very nearly utterly useless.

Reh.

7. Reh is practically unknown except in the Ganges khádir, where it is prevalent. It always seems to affect most land with a good firm clayish soil, which is not constantly flooded, but after a thorough soaking in the rains is exposed to the influence of the sun, and in drying exudes the reh, which, on reaching the air, becomes detached from the moisture, and is left in deposit on the surface of the ground.

Locally called "kallar."

It is locally known as "kallar," and is most prevalent in the southern portion of the khádir tract, where it does very serious injury to what would otherwise be some of the best land in the district.

Timber.

8. The country cannot, on the whole, be called well wooded. The bhúr tracts are extremely bare, the existing groves having evidently been reared with much care and trouble, and nothing apparently growing spontaneously except the thatch grass. Over the rest of the district, though round old towns, like Amroha and Sambhal, there are a very large number of mango groves, (each generation having gone on increasing the area under them), the general look of the country is bare, and there are very few trees of any size even in the groves.

General impression of the quality of the soil.

9. The general impression derived from a study of the district is that it is not naturally very fertile, but that where worked up and carefully cultivated for some time, the soil acquires considerable productive powers, as is, I believe, commonly the case with a soil in which there is a good deal of sand. Much evidently depends on the rain-fall in a country like this, and, owing to the proximity of the hills, the average is rather above that of the Doab districts. The following table shows the average for each pargana during ten years, and also the average for the whole district:—

L

Average of ten years rain-fall for each pargana in the district from 1865-66 to 1874-75.

Pargana.				Average.	
1.	Morádábád	...	...	41	Inches.
2.	Bilari	...	...	44	"
3.	Thákurdwára	...	...	45	"
4.	Sambhal	...	...	36	"
5.	Amroha	...	...	42	"
6.	Hasanpur	...	...	36	"
verage of the district				40½	Inches.

The next shows the detail for seven years parganawar.

II.

Detail of rain-fall from the year 1868-69 to 1874-75.

Pargana.	1868-69	1869-70	1870-71.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74	1874-75.	Total.	Average.
Moradábád ...	19	29	46	44	42	49	54	283	40
Bilari ...	22	36	48	42	45	47	72	312	45
Thákurdwára, ...	20	35	67	50	62	39	62	335	48
Sambhal ...	21	36	53	40	36	33	30	249	36
Amroha ...	22	31	34	46	50	61	48	295	42
Hasanpur ...	20	27	31	42	40	39	53	252	36
Total ...	21	32	46	44	46	45	53	287	41

This, if reliable, makes out that the bhúr tract gets less rain than the rest of the district, which is probable enough, considering how bare it is of trees.

The most noticeable thing about the rain-fall is, perhaps, that a much larger amount falls outside the regular rainy season than is usual in most districts of the North-Western Provinces. Rain is always expected about Christmas, and there are nearly always storms with rains in March, April, or May. Hail is also common if the storms begin early in the year, and sometimes cause extensive injury to the crops.

10. The climate is good except in part of Thákurdwára where the Tarái influences it, along the valleys of the Sot and Gárgan, where the excessive moisture and the bad drinking water render fever prevalent, and in parts of the Ganges khádir, where the flood water of the river collects in the lagoons and hollows and makes the country very unhealthy for some time after the rains cease.

Climate.

From a note which was kindly furnished by Dr. Saunders, in 1878, it appears that the diseases most prevalent in the district are—

1. Fever.
2. Bowel complaints.
3. Small-pox.

the first accounting for over 60 per cent. of the deaths.

11. The mean temperature seems to be about 68 for the six cool months (November to April), and about 90 for the other six, the thermometer being, of course, in the shade. The proximity of the hills does a great deal to prevent a continuance of oppressively hot weather, and the hot wind does not in ordinary years blow for any length of time, or with the same fierceness as in more southern districts.

Temperature.

The rains usually commence about the end of June, and are brought in by an easterly wind which puts a stop to the hot wind from the west.

In the cold weather frost is not uncommon and occasionally in the end of December and in January is sharp enough to do considerable damage to the more sensitive crops.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

BEFORE entering into any description of the divisions into which the district is parcelled out for administration purposes, or of the communications and other artificial human works, it will be best to trace out the past history, trying in doing so to show how the present district was constituted.

Traditional period.

Ehagwat, Chapter VI.

2. The earliest glimpses of the past are connected with the two ancient towns of Sambhal and Amroha, the former of which is mentioned in the Puráns as the spot where the incarnation of Vishnu is expected to appear at the termination of the Kali yug.*

"At the time," says the translation furnished me by Babu Shankar Singh, "when the space of human life will be reduced to less than 30 years, when mankind will be utterly dishonest, fakírs become worldly, and relations eager to rob each other; when cows will be made use of like goats, and medicines will have become effectless; when trees will bear no fruit and rain cease from the earth, then the Narkalank incarnation will appear in the world at Sambhal." Without going into the question of the date at which the Puráns were written, it is clear from this extract that the town is of great antiquity. Of the exact date of the foundation of either place not even a guess can be given, and indeed before the time of Pirthí Ráj (circa 1150-1200), the history of the whole country is nothing more than a confused mass of traditions. As in so many other localities there is a confused account of the sovereignty of certain aboriginal races (they are confused with the Ahars, who, however, came much later) who held the country before the advent of the Tomars, who appear to have been the earliest Rájput invaders. They came in about 700 A.D., and the seat of the local Tomar sovereignty was fixed at Sambhal.

Commencement of the historic period.

3. It seems to have lasted here till about 1150 A.D., when the really historic period commences, but was not by any means a paramount sovereignty; the Ahers* or Ahírs, who are stated by Mr. Carmichael in his report on Badaun to have been the traditional founders of that city, having very considerable power in the district, though nothing definite is known about them. At that time when the historic period begins the Chauháns had just got the best of the Tomars in the struggle for the sovereignty of the upper portion of these provinces (thus preparing the way for the Muhammadan conquest), and in about 1180, the celebrated Pirthi Ráj, a Chauhán, but born from a Tomar mother (daughter of the last Tomar king) ascended the throne of Delhi. He, probably in view of the Muhammadan troubles, built a strong fort at Sambhal on the site where the tahsíl now stands, and established another at Amroha, which is said to take its name from his sister Rani Amba: and this is the first historic mention of both these places, though they very probably were inhabited at a considerably earlier period.

Muhammadan conquest.

4. Between 1185 and 1195 the quarrels between Pirthí Ráj and Rája Jai Chand of Kanauj, culminating, according to local tradition, in a great battle just outside Sambhal, in which the latter was routed, destroyed the forces which the Hindús so badly needed to meet the invasions of Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori.

The latter promptly took advantage of this opportunity, and, falling on the two rivals, routed them one after another, and thus destroyed the Hindu monarchy of the Rájputs, which had lasted about 500 years.

5. The conquest of Sambhal seems to have been effected by Kutb-ud-din Aibak, but this was not a permanent and complete occupation of the country. All that seems to have resulted was a removal of the only strong Hindu power, causing a state of

* NOTE.—The Ahers are now considered different from Ahírs, and as agriculturists rather than graziers, but both are probably descended from the same ancestors.

anarchy in which all kinds of petty chiefs usurped supreme authority in different localities.

Period of anarchy.

This seems to have given the Ahers an opportunity of spreading over the country and occupying Bareli, which was called tappa Aherán, during this century. A little later the Katherias first came into notice. Their exact origin is uncertain. Mr. Moens, in his Bareli report, gives a long account of the various traditions and seems to hold that they were a remnant of the Surajbansis of Ajudhia, who were driven out of that country when the Arian invasion was pushed back by the aboriginal races. Between the latter event and their appearance in Rohilkhand there must, however, be a gap of several hundreds of years, and it is in fact mere conjecture as to who they really were.

6. It seems probable that they came with real or pretended authority from the Muhammadans to seize on the country occupied by the Ahers, and the history of the next hundred years is merely an account of their attempts to assert their independence and of the incursions of the Muhammadan troops to vanquish and re-subject them. From the extracts given by Mr. Moens it seems that the name of *Kather* was at that time confined to the country east of the Rámanga, that west being called Badaun, Sambhal, and Amroha, in each of which places there appears to have been a Muhammadan Governor and a garrison.

Rise of the Katherias.

In 1345 A.D. an invasion of Sambhal by a Muhammadan force from Oudh is mentioned, the Governor having refused tribute, but being speedily crushed.

7. The result of all this fighting and wasting of the country seems to have been that the whole country between Sambhal and Badaun, and Badaun and Bareli, was a mere waste by the time of Timur, after whose invasion the Katherias seem to have recommenced asserting themselves under Nur Singh and maintained a pretty equal struggle for about 30 years, till they were crushed by Saiad Mubarak Sháh in 1424.

Poor condition of the country.

The country, however, did not have much rest as the Muhammadan Governors of Sambhal seem to have been constantly revolting and the royal troops had to march against them and reduce them.

8. Bábar in about 1525 made his son Humáyun Governor and Jagirdár of Sambhal; and at this time the country immediately near Sambhal seems to have attained to some degree of prosperity, as it is mentioned in Badauni that the zamindars had been persuaded to cut down part of their jungles and to pay in revenue. Bábar seems to have visited Sambhal himself, and the Hindús state that it was on this occasion that a temple of great antiquity, known as the Harmandir, was converted into a mosque under the title of Jama Masjid, an inscription to the following effect being set up:—"When the Emperor Muhammad Bábar came to Sambhal, he ordered Mirza Hindú Beg to build a mosque there, the date of completion of which according to the numbers of the letters of the last verse is 933 Hijri.

Stronger government under Bábar.

جامع اصفيه فضل و كمال

1. Learned and perfect in everything.

رافع السويه مكي و مكي

2. Wielding the weapons of power and religion.

بساط اچند امن و امان

3. Spreader of the wings of safety and peace.

باني اصفيه علم و عمل

4. Founder of the buildings of learning and acts or doings.

شاه جم جسا محمد باب

5. King Muhammad Babar, whose dignity is like Jamsháh,

حفظ الله له عز و جل

6. God Almighty may protect him,

شمع دولت چو برفروخت بهند

7. When he lighted the lamp of wealth in India,

روشن از پرتو آن شد سنبل

8. Sambhal was brighter from its light;

از پئے ساختن این مسجد

9. For the erection of this mosque,

10. May it be free from loss and injury ;
 11. Gave order to his meanest servant,
 12. Who is one of the noble and wealthy ministers,
 13. Full of wisdom and intelligence (*Hindu Beg*),
 14. Example of good manners.
 15. When by order of the Emperor of the world.
 16. This building was completed.
 17. The year, date, and month was found.
 18. The 1st day of the month of 'Rabi-ul-awal.'
- ی ک م ا ز ش ۳ ر ر ب ی ع ا ل ا د ل
 ۳۰ ۶ ۱ ۳ ۱ ۷ ۱ ۲ ۲ ۰ ۰ ۰ ۵ ۳ ۰ ۰ ۷ ۱ ۳ ۰ ۲ ۰ ۹ ۰
- سنه ۹۳۳ هجری =

Sambhal is said to have been Humáyun's favourite residence till 1532, when he succeeded Bábar as Emperor.

Increased power of the Katherias.

Again crushed.

Introduction of Akbar's revenue system.

9. During the troubles with Sher Sháh and the struggle which ensued before Humáyun was restored the Katherias seem to have recovered power, for in 1553 Rája Mitr Sen Katheria was acting as Governor of Sambhal. Akbar, however, on his accession made over the jagir to Mirza Muzañffar Husain, and though the latter seems never to have interfered with Mitr Sen, a new Governor, Mubáriz Khan, some years later defeated and ejected him. The chief seats of the Katherias seems up to this time to have been at Lakhnaur in the Rámpur territory and at Kabur and Aonla in the Bareli district. They now seem to have established themselves at Bareli and Chaupála, the latter pretty nearly corresponding with the present site of Morád-ábád.

10. During the reign of Akbar the country seems to have had some peace, and it is from this time (*circa* 1600) that the revenue divisions, which in a modified form still exist, were introduced. As well known, the empire was divided into fifteen súbahs, and that to which the country comprised in the present district was attached, was known as súbah Delhi. The sarkár or sub-division was called Sambhal, showing clearly what an important place the town must have become. Sarkár Sambhal, as shown in Elliott's map (Glossary, page 203), included the present district of Morád-ábád and Bijnor, a considerable portion of Badaun and a share of Rámpur. The list of the parganas, as given by the same authority, is as follows :—

Sarkár Sambhal.

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Amroha.* | 20. Dhabársi.* |
| 2. Azampur.* | 21. Dudila. |
| 3. Islámpur Bahru.* | 22. Rájpur. |
| 4. Ujhári.* | 23. Rajabpur.* |
| 5. Akbarábád. | 24. Sambhal.* |
| 6. Islámpur Durga.* | 25. Seoharah. |
| 7. Islámabad. | 26. Sirsi.* |
| 8. Bijnor. | 27. Sahspur.* |
| 9. Bachhraon.* | 28. Sirsawah. |
| 10. Biroi. | 29. Sherkot. |
| 11. Bisarah. | 30. Sháhi. |
| 12. Chándpur. | 31. Kundarki.* |
| 13. Jalálabad. | 32. Kiratpur. |
| 14. Chaupálah.* | 33. Kachh (Tigri).* |
| 15. Jhalu. | 34. Gandaaur. |
| 16. Jadwar. | 35. Kabar. |
| 17. Haveli Sambhal.* | 36. Ganaur. |
| 18. Deorah. | 37. Kharkari. |
| 19. Dhaka.* | 38. Lakhnaur. |

Sarkár Sambhal.

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 39. Liswah. | 44. Nahtaur. |
| 40. Mughalpur. | 45. Nadhana. |
| 41. Majbolah.* | 46. Narauli.* |
| 42. Mandawar. | 47. Hathmanali. |
| 43. Nagina. | |

Those marked by an asterisk are the parganas which now form part of the Morádábád district, and it is noticeable that the division of the sarkár into the dasturs of Sambhal and Cháandpur agrees still fairly well with the present division between this district and Bijnor.

11. In about 1573 the sarkár was troubled by the revolt of Ibrahim Husain and others, who were of royal blood, and had received jágirs in the western portion and who tried to seize on Sambhal, but were defeated by Husain Kuli Khán, the Governor, who chased their followers out of the district, after which there seems to have been complete quiet for over fifty years.

12. In about 1630, in the reign of Sháhjahán, the Katherias began to give trouble again. The Rájá of Kumaun complained of their inroads into his Tarái estates, but tradition has it that the final touch was put to the Emperor's anger by a plaint from a Kiath who had been in the service of Rájá Rámsukh of Chaupála, and who alleged that after long and faithful service he and his brother had been seized and robbed of all they possessed and his brother put to death, because they wished to go to Delhi to take service there. Whatever the cause, Rustam Khán Dakhani, whose name is still known almost all over the district, was commissioned to humble the Rájá, and according to tradition more by fraud than force, obtained entrance to the Katherias' fort and expelled them, founding a fort of his own close by, with a mosque attached.

Re-appearance of the Katherias.

13. Tradition says that Rustam, having compelled a number of agriculturists and traders to settle round his fort, called the place Rustamnagar, and was proceeding to extend his own authority, when he received a sharp order to return to Delhi and explain his proceedings.

Foundation of Morádábád by Rustam Khán.

On his arrival the Emperor had him informed that he had exceeded his instructions in killing Rájá Rámsukh and turning out all his family, and then asked him in a severe voice by what name he had called the new colony. Rustam Khán, seeing his position was serious, promptly replied—Morádábád, in honor of the Emperor's youngest son, and then went on to justify his conduct till he gained not only forgiveness but approval, and was given the title of Nazim of Morádábád.

It may be noted here that the former name of Chaupála had been taken from the fact of the former town being formed by joining the habitations of four villages, Bhadaura, Nawábpura, Mánpur and Dehri, all of which still exist, though since Rustam Khán's visit the city has chiefly extended in Nawábpura, in which the ruins of Rustam's fort and his mosque (still in good repair) are situated. The mosque bears an inscription:—

نموده در مسراده آباد مسجد
که بد بس کافرو هندو در آنجا
شه عسادل شهاب الدین غازی
پرستم خان عطا فرمود آنرا
بنا فرمود عالی قسدر خانے
در آن جا مسجدے رعنا و زیبه
بناد دین خود را کرد محکم
بدنیا دین خود را کرد برپا

1. There was no mosque in Morádábád.
2. As there were only Káfirs and Hindús in that place,
3. The just King Shahab-ud-din Ghazi, sur-named Sháhjahán,
4. Bestowed that place to Rustam Khan.
5. The illustrious Rustam Khan built
6. A beautiful and splendid mosque there,
7. Made the foundation of his religion strong,
8. And established his religion in the world.

Year 1046 Hijri.

دئے تاریخ او هر نکتہ دانے
 شده در بحر فکر از طبع رعنا
 ز دانیان یکے زان بحر معنی
 برون آورد لؤلؤ مصفا
 درخنده دُرے این است بشنو
 ز احرارے نه از خضر و مسیحا
 که رستم خان ز الطاف الهی
 بنای خاتم دین کرد بالا

9. For the date of its erection every wise poet,
10. Dipped down in the sea of his mind.
11. One of the wise men from the sea of knowledge.
12. Brought out a brilliant pearl.
13. That brilliant pearl is this, listen;
14. From Ahrari,* not from Khizr or Masiha,
15. Rustam Khán, by the favour of God,
16. Exalted the edifice of the faith on a lofty foundation.

Year 1046 Hijri.

giving the date of 1629 A.D., corresponding with 1046 Hijri, for its completion.

Rustam Khan seems to have held his post till the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign (about 1670), when he was killed in a skirmish.

14. From that time till the date when Saádat Ali Khán became King of Oudh (A.D. 1735) nothing of consequence seems to have occurred. It is to be hoped that the country enjoyed a fair measure of peace, though there were probably a good many of the local disturbances so common in all reigns except Akbar's. In Saádat Ali's time the troubles began again, in the hostilities between the notorious Dáúd Khán and other zamindárs whose possessions he coveted, and continued during the hostilities between Azmat-ul-la, newly nominated Governor of Morádábád (A. D. 1730), and the Rája of Kumaun, during which the treachery of Dáúd Khán lost him his life. Ali Muhammad Khán, whom Mr. Moens states to have been a Ját converted to Muhammadanism and adopted by Dáúd Khán, succeeded to the latter's influence, and profiting by the troublous times which preceded the downfall of the Mughal empire, established himself at Aonla, and then uniting with another adventurer, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, who is said to have been the son of Dáúd Khán's former master, he rapidly extended his power, till in 1742 he was strong enough to defeat the imperial forces which had been sent against him on the complaints of the amils and farmers to whom the country was now being made over, and established himself in Morádábád, Sambhal, and Sháhjahánpur.

Fresh troubles. Dáúd Khán.

Rise of the Rohillas. Háfiz Rahmat.

In 1746, however, the whole country uniting against him, Ali Muhammad was captured, but contriving to render himself useful to the Emperor in the last stages of the decline of the Delhi sovereignty, he succeeded in making his peace and obtaining his appointment as Governor of Kather, dying, however, soon after his return, though not before he had inflicted much injury on the country in taking his revenge on the chiefs who had leagued against him.

15. He was succeeded in 1750 by Háfiz Rahmat, the principle of election apparently obtaining amongst these Afghan adventurers who formed the main strength of Dáúd Khán, Ali Muhammad, and Háfiz Rahmat's following, and who now began to be generally called† Rohillas; under him their encroachments were carried further than ever, and they became a source of dread to the King of Oudh, Safdarjang, who was also at the same time vazír at Delhi under the Emperor Ahmad Sháh. He made a vain attempt to occupy them by getting them to quarrel with the Afghans of Farukhábád, but in 1751 both parties uniting defeated him and proceeded to parcel out the country amongst themselves. Morádábád seems to have fallen to Sad-ullah Khán, a son of Ali Muhammad, whilst Rahmat Khán occupied Bareilly and part of Badaun.

*NOTE.—Ahrari, the close relations and connections of Muhammad. The meaning is to extol the Muhammadan religion in comparison with the Jewish and Christian.

†NOTE.—The word Rohilla from which the division has taken its name seems to be derived from a small tract in Afghánistán called Roh. It is curious that the Rohillas should have obtained so firm a hold on the country as to give it a name universally recognised, when they were only foreigners who held it for less than fifty years.

16. Very soon, however, the arrival of the Mahrattas reduced affairs to the former confused state of continual fighting, wasting, and insecurity.

Invasion by the Mahratta.

This lasted till 1758, when the progress of events near Delhi drew away the Mahrattas and Safdarjang and left the Rohillas to enjoy their conquests, which seem to have included the whole of sarkár Sambhal.

17. When Ahmad Sháh Duráni approached Delhi, the Rohillas under Háfiz Khán joined him and fought on his side at Pá nipat, after which they obtained some further extension of their possessions and certificates confirming them in what they held.

The Rohillas side with Ahmad Sháh Duráni.

18. It now seemed as if they had come to an end of their difficulties, but no sooner had they got clear from that set of troubles than another began in the ravages of the Mahrattas, who were with difficulty got rid of in 1770, by the promise of 40 lakhs of rupees guaranteed by Hafiz Rahmat and Shuja-ud-daula. The latter had previously (in 1764) lost the battle of Buxar and fled to Bareli to attempt to raise the Rohillas against the English force, but had failed, and was secretly badly disposed towards Háfiz Rahmat, with whom, however, he pretended to make common cause, when in 1773 the Mahrattas re-appeared to demand payment of the 40 lakhs.

Second inroad by the Mahrattas.

Their force seems to have come up along the right bank of the Ganges till they got to near Abár, where they crossed and attacked Sambhal, which they quickly took and plundered. They then spread over to Morádábád, laying waste the country all round; but hearing that Shuja-ud-daula and Háfiz Rahmat had joined and were advancing against them with an English force which had been furnished to the former in accordance with the treaty made after the battle of Buxar, they retreated, pursued as far south as Etáwah by the allies.

Retreat of the Mahrattas.

19. Directly the Mahrattas had disappeared, Shuja-ud-daula showed his ill-feeling by demanding from Háfiz Rahmat the payment of 30 lakhs due to him on the bond which he had taken from Háfiz Rahmat when he guaranteed payment of the 40 lakhs to the Mahrattas. Háfiz in vain pleaded the fact that Shuja-ud-daula had incurred no expense, the Mahrattas having been got rid of without any payments except those Háfiz had himself made as earnest-money. Shuja-ud-daula was eager to attack him, having secured the services of the English force, and having also succeeded in winning over many of the principal chiefs amongst Háfiz's followers; accordingly on the 23rd April, 1774, a battle took place, in which Háfiz was killed and his army routed and dispersed.

Claims of Shuja-ud-daula against Háfiz Rahmat.

Defeat and death of Háfiz Rahmat.

20. The country was ravaged far and near after this by Shuja-ud daula's troops, till some months afterwards a peace was patched with Faiz-ul-lah Khán, the second son of Ali Muhammad, securing him a considerable jágir, which formed the nucleus of the present State of Rámpur, but leaving all the government of the country in Shuja-ud-daula's hands, who accordingly nominated Governors to Bareli, Morádábád, and Etáwah.

Shuja-ud-daula nominates a Governor for Morádábád.

The first Governor thus named to Morádábád seems to have been Asalat Khan, who was succeeded by Chaudhari Mahtáb Singh Vishnoi, and under both of these men the district seems to have enjoyed a respite from the evils it had so long suffered under.

Revolt and death of Ghulám Muhammad.

Bareli and Rámpur were, however, less fortunate, being the scene of the last contest between the Rohillas under Faiz-ul-lah's son Ghulám Muhammad, and the forces of the Vazir Asaf-ud-daula (who had succeeded his father Shuja-ud-daula in 1775). In this contest Ghulám Muhammad was killed, and the family jágir, reduced considerably, was made over to Ahmad Ali, son of Faiz-ul-lah's eldest son, whom Ghulám Muhammad had murdered.

Miserable condition of Rohilkhand at the time of cession.

Opposition was now at an end, but the amils to whom the revenues were now farmed seem to have harassed the country very nearly as much as the predatory troops who had so often passed over it before, and in 1799 (as Mr. Moens shows) a large portion of Rohilkhand was a mere desert.

CHAPTER III.

UNDER THE BRITISH RULE.

In the end of 1801 the province of Rohilkhand was made over to the British by Nawáb Sádat Ali, the successor of Ásaf-ud-daula, but I am unable to find any particulars regarding the manner in which the occupation was made or the first proceedings towards establishing the Government.

Localisation of the proprietary classes within the Morádábád district at time of cession.

The map attached, which has been made up from information collected through the registrar kanúngos of each tahsili, shows, with, I hope, some accuracy, the localisation of the different castes of proprietors at the time of the cession, though only for the present district, which, it will be remembered, formed but a portion of the charge then put under the Collector of Morádábád.

As compared with the proprietary list given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* before referred to, it seems to show that the Patháns and Shekhs had got the better of the Katherias in pargana Moradabad (formerly Chaupála), and this agrees well with the accounts of Rustam Khán's expulsion of the Katherias already given.

Pargana Morádábád.

The latter seems to have pushed up into the present pargana of Thákurdwára, and though they were dispossessed again to a considerable extent by the Rohillas, at the time of cession they were still numerous.

Thákurdwára.

Sambhal.

In Sambhal the Shekhs and Patháns, Baniás and Játs, appear to have dispossessed the Tagas and Brahmans, who the *Ain* notes as zamindárs in this pargana, though its accuracy in this instance is very doubtful.

Ever since Pirthi Chand's fall this pargana seems to have been broken up into clusters of villages held by many different castes mostly liable to kaleidoscopic transformations as each wave of conquest passed over the country, and I believe that, except the Saiads in the north, north-east, and the Bargujars in the south, most of the present zamindárs are new men, and that very little indeed can be now traced of the proprietors who held before the cession.

Bilári.

In Bilári and the extreme south of Sambhal the Ahars still held a few villages, though most of them had been pushed down into Badaun, where they still retained some power. The chief zamindárs in Bilári seem, however, to have been the Bargujars. The true origin of this family is not known: one tradition makes them out descendants of Anang Pál, in which case they would be Tomars; and another identifies them with the Surajbansi Rájás of Ajudhiya, but neither can be proved and neither accounts for the name.

They seem to have first settled in Bulandshahr, near Anúpsahr, in the time of Bábar, and to have pushed out into Sambhal about the same time that the Katherias occupied the Bareli district. They held the pargana of Majhola in the south of Sambhal in Akbar's time, and are still numerous there. It is not unlikely that they are often confused with the real Katherias in the misty accounts of the chroniclers of Sambhal.

Amroha.

Amroha was still chiefly in possession of the Saiads, who had settled there as long ago as the time of Firoz Tughlak, 450 years previously. The rights of these Saiads seem almost always to have been respected by the different Muhammadan conquerors, and by different grants half the pargana had been made over to them revenue-free before the cession.

Colonies had also been settled in parts of Sambhal and Hasanpur, and the Saiads were undoubtedly the most important proprietary body in the district.

The Vishnois had however acquired a considerable property in the east of the pargana, the tract in which it lay being, however, very probably outside the limits of the original pargana of Amroha.

In the extreme west, what is now known as pargana Hasanpur was held partly by Patháns who settled there in Sháhjahán's time, and partly by Baniás, Tagas, and Chaudhris. The Tagas, who are conjectured to be the descendants of Brahmians who lost their caste and took to an ordinary agricultural life, seem to have held a good portion of the pargana in Akbar's time, and in Aurangzeb's reign a large number were induced to turn Muhammadáns, when they took the name of Chaudhris. These Nau-Muslims were chiefly found in the north of the pargana. The Tagas in the south mostly remain Hindús, very likely owing to their greater distance from Amroha and their generally more inaccessible situation.

Hasanpur.

2. The first settlement seems to have been made in 1803, for three years, probably as elsewhere on the system of lease to the highest bidder. No details are available regarding it except that it was not very successful, as in 1803 a severe scarcity affected the district, and before the people had recovered from this, another calamity fell on them in the shape of the freebooter Amír Khán (or Mír Khán as he is commonly called). He was born at Tarína Sarái in Sambhal, and having an accurate knowledge of the neighbourhood, brought his band of freebooters, who are said to have numbered 10,000 horsemen, into the district, and after plundering Sambhal moved on in a leisurely manner towards Bareli—this was in the beginning of 1805—and hearing that an English force had just marched up to Bareilly, he turned and made for Morádábád instead. There, however, he was unexpectedly kept at bay by the handful of English residents assisted by some barkándáz and sowárs, and hearing that the Bareli force was coming on to Morádábád, he retired, crossed the Ganges, and made off to join the Maráhtas.

1st settlement.

Inroad of Mir Khan.

In a letter, dated 24th September, 1805, to the President of the Board of Revenue, the Collector of Morádábád relates how heavy arrears having accrued in 1804, owing to the failure of rain both in 1803 and 1804, the irruption of Mir Khan's Horse in 1805 threw the whole country into utter confusion and rendered it necessary to employ a military force to collect the revenue. He adds that, incredible though it might seem, Mir Khan had in the 29 days he was in the district visited and plundered almost every village of any size, and he winds up by asking for a suspension of no less than 6½ lakhs.

3. In 1806 another triennial settlement was made, and the Collector, in a letter dated 4th November, informs the Board that he has had careful enquiries instituted, and as far as possible made the settlement with the real proprietors.

2nd settlement.

Up to this time the district seems to have included, besides its present area, the district of Bijnor and a large portion of Badaun and a part of Rámpur and Bareli. But at the commencement of 1806, the Badaun parganas lying in the extreme south-east were transferred to Bareli, to which Aonla is still attached.

The new settlement seems to have worked fairly, but in this district, as in almost every other at the introduction of our rule, the law of sale seems to have done great injustice and ruined many of the zamindárs, who fell victims to the sharp practices of the court underlings.

4. In 1809 a new settlement was made for four years, which seems to have been chiefly remarkable as the commencement of the enquiry into revenue-free tenures, which proved such a troublesome piece of work to complete. Attention seems to have been paid to agricultural improvements, a large sum being advanced in 1812 to extend the cultivation of sugarcane.*

3rd settlement.

Takávi advances.

* NOTE.—Advances seem to have been made with a liberality which is unknown now, large sums, amounting in some cases to as much as a lákh, being spent in encouraging sugarcane cultivation or in purchasing seed and cattle for distressed cultivators.

5. In 1813 a new settlement was made for five years, and the annals of the district for several years are made up of nothing more exciting than decisions on claims to hold revenue-free, orders for farm or sale of estates, and praises of the tahsildars who got in the revenue promptly.

4th settlement extended.

Changes in the district.

The quinquennial settlement was extended for five years more in 1818, but before this term elapsed the district was reduced in size, first by the creation of a district roughly corresponding with the present Bijnor as a separate charge, under the title of northern Moradabad in the end of 1817, and again by the formation of the Badaun collectorate at the end of 1822, which made a southern boundary line very nearly agreeing with that still existing. So that after 1822 the district merely included a portion of Rampur and the Káshipur and Jaspur parganas in the Tarai besides its present area.

Further extensions of quinquennial settlement.

The quinquennial settlement was again extended in 1823, and once more in 1828, and during the twenty years which passed since its introduction to the passing of Regulation IX. of 1833, the work of enquiry into the tenures of the district and especially into claims to hold revenue free went on steadily.

Evil effects of a mistaken system of settlement in Thákurdwára.

6. Over the whole district except Thákurdwára the assessment originally made seems to have been moderate and to have been extended from time to time without very much alteration; but in Thákurdwára, owing to a mistaken idea that the mukaddami tenure was merely equivalent to a farming lease, the principle of settlement with the highest bidder seems to have been followed and with very disastrous results. As before described the pargana was the last refuge of the Kátherias, and their Rája was at one time talukdár of the whole. The Rohillas, however, had crushed him before the cession, and when we took it over there was no one with any very clear proprietary title, though the mukaddams who had paid the revenue to the Rája, and afterwards to the Rohillas, were equitably entitled to settlement.

In 1828 a fresh series of leases were given in the pargana, and misled by two years of high prices the mukaddams entered into a competition with the speculators, which resulted in their obtaining the leases, but at such ruinous terms that within two years the whole pargana was in arrears, which, being unwisely pressed for, threw almost all the mukaddams into debt and ruined many of the villages in which the people had not even the means of ordinary cultivation left them.

Progress in the rest of the district.

7. The rest of the district was meanwhile rapidly advancing in prosperity. Large sums seem to have been advanced as takávi, especially in Bijnor, and in 1831 the survey began, which was completed in 1836.

The police administration seems also to have been revised in 1834, and greater security for property was thus provided. The quinquennial settlement was again extended in 1832-33 and in 1837-38, whilst attention was especially directed to the subject of the revenue-free grants, into which a long and complete enquiry was made by special Commissioners nominated for the purpose.

Famine of 1837-38.

8. In 1837-38 the district suffered from severe scarcity almost amounting to a famine, which was aggravated by the want of communications, so that a large number of people died who would now almost certainly have been saved.

About the same time the pargana of Seroli was transferred to Bareli, this being the last change south of the Rampur territory.

Revision of settlement.

9. In 1840 the 9th settlement began under Mr. Dick in Thákurdwára, and was completed by Mr. Money in 1843—a very short time, considering the size of the district and the period (30 years) for which the assessment was to last. This was the last settlement previous to that now under report, and the system followed in it will be described in detail in the proper place; it is only now mentioned as an item in the history of the district.

Immediately on the conclusion of the settlement the administrative divisions were completely revised and the numerous small parganas whose villages were often inter-mixed were amalgamated and made into seven large parganas or tahsils, of which six still existing form the present district, whilst the seventh has been transferred to the Tarai.

Administrative divisions
of the district re-organ-
ised.

In this process the district of Bijnor seems to have been finally separated from Moradabad and the boundary settled as it now exists. It had been a separate charge since 1817, but does not seem to have been called Bijnor district till now.

The following list shows the former parganas included in each of the service now formed —

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Former.</i>
1. Hasanpur ...	Part of Azampur Bashta, Bachhraon, Kachh Tigri, Hasanpur, Dhakka, Ujhari, Dhabarsi.
2. Amroha ...	Amroha, Rajapur, and part of Seohara.
3. Thakurdwara ...	Islampur Bahru, part of Seohara, and Mughalpur.
4. Bilari ...	Deora Seondara, Narauli, Kundarki, Sahspur.
5. Moradabad ...	Chaupala and Sarkara.
6. Sambhal ...	Sambhal, Haveli Sambhal, Nidhana, and Baijoi, Sirsi and Majhola.
7. Kashipur ...	Bazpur Jaspur, Kashipur, with villages from Thakurdwara, Sarkara, Moradabad, and Afzalgarh.

10. During all this period the district seems to have enjoyed profound peace except for a disturbance, which occurred at the Moharram of 1840, when 14 persons were killed in the fray, and another disturbance at Amroha consequent on the revenue-free portion of the estate being confused with the khalsa and assessed, an error which was not remedied till 1856.

General progress of the
district.

In 1853 a rather serious riot took place between the Sunnis and Shi'as at Moradabad, but all these were merely local quarrels and did not in any way affect the general prosperity of the district. Only in Thakurdwara, where the warning given by the results of our assessment in 1828 seem to have been disregarded in 1840, was the general condition unsatisfactory, and measures were being proposed for the relief of that pargana when the mutiny broke out.

Thakurdwara excepted

11. The European residents seem nearly all to have escaped to Naini Tal or Meerut, and by the request of the British Government His Highness the Nawab of Rampur took possession of the district up to April, 1858, when our rule was re-established. Some further changes were then made in the district boundaries: Jaspur and some villages of Kashipur and Bazpur were transferred to the Tarai, and some villages from pargana Thakurdwara and Moradabad were made over to the Nawab of Rampur, with the other territory assigned to him from Bareilly as a reward for his loyalty in 1857. The present Nawab, His Highness Kulb Ali Khan, is great-grandson of Ghulam Muhammad (Ahmad Ali's line failing in 1846), and thus a direct descendant of Ali Muhammad Khan, the first ruler of Rohilkhand. The district does not seem to have suffered very much from the mutiny, and the memory of the events which took place during it does not seem at all fresh in the mind of the ordinary cultivators who form the bulk of the population.

The mutiny of 1857.

British rule re-establish-
ed, 1858.

Changes in the district
boundary.

12. In 1859 the scheme proposed by Sir John Strachey for the amelioration of affairs in Thakurdwara was tried, and a very large portion of the pargana was held kham tahsil, but the success obtained was very small, and in 1863 the attempt was abandoned.

Further experiments in
Thakurdwara.

13. In 1860-61 another year of scarcity occurred, and this seems to have been severely felt, though it hardly amounted to an actual famine.

Scarcity of 1860-61.

That which occurred in 1868-69 was of greater severity, and, had it not been for the improved means of communication would have been more disastrous than any of

Famine of 1868-69.

the previous. The rains almost entirely failed in 1868, so that by November all the rice-growing tracts, like Thākurdwāra, were in difficulties, and little or no rain falling in the cold weather the rabi harvest almost entirely failed in the bhūr tracts of Hasanpur and Sambhal, where, as usual, the shallow percolation wells failed when most required. The distress, till the end of 1869, when favourable rains brought a good kharif crop, was very severe, and a considerable number of the landless labouring class died of sheer starvation.

Transfer of pargana
Kāshipur to the Tarāi.

14. In 1870 pargana Kāshipur was transferred to the Tarāi, and the district limits thus became fixed as they now stand. The re-survey under Revenue Survey Department began in the next year, and as this formed the preliminary to the present settlement, it is better to close the history at this point with a brief sketch of the position of the chief proprietary and cultivating classes as they then stood.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PROPRIETARY AND CULTIVATING CLASSES AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT SETTLEMENT.

IN northern Morádábád and Thákurdwára the Thákurs had lost ground as proprietors, though, as already noted, it does not appear that their proprietary right was ever recognised by our Government in many of the villages which they are shown in the map as holding at the time of cession. Their place had been taken by Játs, Baniás, Kaiaths, Khattris, Patháns, Shekhs, and Saiads; a mixture of races and castes accounted for by the results of the farming system and our law of sale. A considerable number of the so-called Shekhs were, however, really Nau-Muslims, being the descendants of Thákurs who had been converted in Aurangzeb's reign.

Thákurdwára
and
Moradabad.

2. In Amroha the Saiads and Vishnoís had lost ground to the Baniás, Khattris, and Shekhs. According to the map the former had on the whole held their ground better than the Vishnoís, who lost 62 out of 142 villages, but I am doubtful if in this instance the information given is correct, as Mr. Smeaton distinctly contradicts it in para. 22 of his rent-rate report. The true explanation probably is that several of the villages shown on the map as *owned* by the Vishnoís at time of cession were only *farmed* by Mahtáb Singh (the Governor of Morádábád). The actual property of the Vishnoís has not, I fancy, diminished.

Amroha.

3. In Sambhal and Bilári the Thákurs had parted with a good many villages to Bráhmans and Baniás; a natural result of the expensive idle manners of life into which the principal men fall when cut off from the excitement of war by our rule and left with no occupation sufficiently interesting to keep them out of sensual pleasures.

Bilári.

The Ahers had also lost to the same castes, though, owing to the kanúngos treating Ahers generally as if they were different from Ahírs, and then confusing them in particular villages, it is rather difficult to say exactly how many villages had changed hands.

4. In Hasanpur the Patháns had rather more than held their own, but the Tagas and Chaudhris (Nau-Muslims) of the northern portion had been to a large extent supplanted by Shekhs, their estates being taken from them by various devices for which our law of sale afforded every facility; and the Tagas had also lost ground in the south of the pargana to the Játs and Thákurs, whilst even in the villages they did not altogether alienate, Baniás had in most cases obtained mortgages over a considerable part. The cause of their declension seems to have been their excessive litigiousness, which soon led them into difficulties and afforded easy opportunities for sharp men connected with the Courts to involve them in their meshes. The characteristic is still as noticeable as ever, and there is little doubt but that the Tagas, who seem at one time to have had very considerable power in this pargana, have lost their chances and will ere long own hardly a village in it.

Hasanpur.

5. The Baniás and Kaiaths, it will be seen, had extended their possessions very considerably, for though Bráhmans are mixed up with them in the map, the number of villages held by the latter is trifling. The Vishnoís, who still own a large piece of the Amroha pargana, have been separated from the Baniás and appear to be land-owners of old standing, as they are commonly stated to have occupied their estates in the time of Akbar, and the Vishnoí Governor of Morádábád shortly before the cession is said to have been a man of old family and considerable influence. The Baniás must further be separated from the Khattris, who own a large number of villages in pargana Bilári and many separate villages or portions of them throughout the district. The rise of both these castes whose estates are chiefly in Thákurdwára,

Baniás and Kaiaths.

Bilári, and the south of Sambhal, is comparatively recent, and their present importance is in great measure due to the British rule.

Much the same may be said of the Kaiaths, whose property lies principally in the Moradabad, Amroha, and Bilári parganas.

Gosháins.

6. In pargana Hasanpur a cluster of villages near Gajraula is held by a Gosháin zamindar whose predecessors seem originally to have settled in Sambhal and to have moved up into this quieter locality during the stirring times when the Bargujars and Ahárs and Muhammadans and Katherias were perpetually wasting the country in the south.

Saiads.

7. Of the Muhammadan landowners the Saiads of Amroha are by far the most important, and their history has to some extent been already given. The following detail of the divisions commonly recognized amongst them is given by Deputy Collector Munshi Ganga Parshad in some note he prepared for the Gazetteer—

“The Saiads of Amroha are known by the following appellations or surnames, viz.—

“ (1.) *Shifáat pote*, so called from their being the offspring of a person named Muhammad Shafáat.

“ (2.) *Majá pote*, are descendants of Saiad Majid-ud-din, *alias* Saiad Maja.

“ (3.) *Dánishmand*, so called because their ancestors were wise and clever persons.

“ (4.) *Bagle*, because these birds used to sit in great numbers on the trees and in the ponds close to their abadi. Some people say that their ancestors had long necks like those of the bird Bagla.

“ (5.) *Barh pagge*, because their ancestors wore long turbans.

“ (6.) *Guzri wále*, the inhabitants of the bazar Guzri, or perhaps descendants of its founder.

“ (7.) *Chheoray wále*; *chheora* is a pond, and the Saiads who resided there were called Chheoraywalay.

“ (8.) *Hakkani*, or jurors, because they generally acted as arbitrators in the time of the emperors.

“ (9.) *Mutawalian*, because their ancestors acted as Mutiwalis or Superintendents of mosques or religious endowments.

“ (10.) *Kali pagri wále*, because their ancestors served as soldiers in regiments of infantry and wore black turbans as uniform.

“ (11.) *Kazizade*, are the descendants of the Kazis.

“ (12.) *Bakhshi wále*, are the descendants of Rafi-uz-Zamán, bakhshi or paymaster of Dunde Khán's army.

“ (13.) *Saddu wále*, are the attendants of the shrine of Shekh Saddoi, and, generally speaking, the residents of the mohalla in which the shrine is built.

“ (14.) *Ghulam Ali wále*, are the descendants of Saiad Ghulam Ali.

“ (15.) *Lakre*, so called from a tradition that one of their ancestors had taken out a large beam of sál wood from a wall with one hand, though some say they were originally dealers in wood.

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"(16.) *Bare darbār wāle*—are the sons and descendants of the eldest son of Sháh Wīlayat Saiad Muḥammad Mir Adal, who belonged to the Baradarbār."

Owing to their dislike of engaging in any trade or of cultivating their lands themselves, and to their increasing number and expensive habits, the Saiads have, as a rule, become involved, and owing to the different constitution of society under our rule they have also lost much of their former position and influence. There are still amongst them men of energy and intelligence fit to occupy high posts under Government, but as a body they seemed doomed to go on waning, and unless they turn over quite a new leaf, they must ultimately see their estates pass from them, and this in spite of the high rents they obtain from their tenantry and the very large extent of land which they hold revenue-free.

8. The Patháns of Hasanpur seem to have settled there in Sháhjahán's time, the country round about being desolate, and they have steadily extended their possessions and are still an energetic well-to-do community.

Patháns.

9. The Nau-Muslims or Chaudhris, who still occupy a good many villages in pargana Hasanpur, and who were at the time of cession large landowners, are the descendants of the Brahmans and Tagas, who in Akbar's time held the whole of the northern portion of what is now Hasanpur and who were converted in the time of Aurangzeb. They have now lost much of their lands and all their influence.

Nau-Muslims.

10. The Shekhs and Afgháns, who are scattered over the district, are, with the exception of some of the residents of Morádábád, men of no family, the remnants of the swarms of Muhammadan invaders who passed and repassed across the district, but the number of villages they now hold makes them of some importance.

11. Turning to the non-proprietary population we find the principal classes are Chauháns, with Múlas, and other low Muhammadans in Thákurdwára and north Morádábád, with a sprinkling of the Katheria Thákurs in the south-east corner.

Cultivators and agriculturists.

In Amroha, Thákurs, Shekhs, Játs, and Vishnois predominate, the last named being only found in the east and the Játs almost exclusively in the west, where there is a very large colony of them running from the north-east of Hasanpur along the border of the pargana right down to Sambhal.

In Hasanpur the old tenants, Khágís, Gújars and Tagas, have to some extent been supplanted by Shekhs, Múlas and other Muhammadans, and also by Bághbáns and Chamárs brought over and settled down by the more wealthy zamindars. Khágís are, however, still very numerous, and it is to be regretted that they should have been mixed up with the other castes on the map.

Round the city of Sambhal, Shekhs and Afgháns are most numerous, as is natural since it was one of the chief Muhammadan centres ever since the time of Shaháb-ud-din Ghorí. In the south of the pargana the Ahárs and Bargújars are the principal inhabitants; the former, though they had lost their proprietary rights remaining as cultivators both in this pargana and in Bilári.

Játs and Muhammadans cultivate the northern half of the Bilári pargana, and every here and there small colonies of Bághbáns and Chamárs are met with. The Chamárs are in fact ubiquitous in this district as elsewhere and abound in every pargana, and though originally introduced rather as labourers and menials than as tenants, they now hold a considerable area.

12. It will be seen from this sketch that, as a rule, the proprietors differ in race and caste from the cultivators, the principal exception being the Vishnoi proprietors in the east of Amroha, the Bargújars in the south of Sambhal, and a considerable number of the Ját villages, in which not unfrequently the zamindars are themselves the cultivators of the greater portion.

The proprietors usually different from the cultivators in caste if not in race.

Chauhāns.

13. Regarding the Chauhāns, who are numerous in Thākurdwāra and are also met with in pargana Hasanpur and Amroha there seems reason to believe that they are not as usually supposed *Chauhān Thākurs*, but a much lower caste, probably aboriginal like the Bhārs, whose name is taken from their practice of killing and eating rats (*Chuha hārar*); there may be a few real Chauhāns confused with them, but the bulk certainly seem utterly unlike the Chauhāns of other districts, and the fact of their being mostly found in the north seems to support the belief that they are a remnant of the aboriginal tribes who took refuge in the Tarāi country when driven out of the south by the Thākurs and Ahārs, and that their proper name is *Chauhān*.

Jāts.

14. The Jāts seem to have extended very considerably since the date of Pānipat. The desolate condition of the country gave them good opportunities of selecting favourable spots for settling down on though their tendency to amalgamate helped the colonies from spreading very much away from each other; but very little is known about them except that they came from across the Ganges at different times.

Khāgis.

15. The Khāgis, who are only found in large numbers in Hasanpur, seem like the Chauhāns to be remnants of the aboriginal races who sought shelter in the wild jungle near the Ganges. Some of them state they are really Lodhas, but there is no proof of this, and it is also extremely uncertain who the Lodhas really are. The Khāgis are looked down on by all the genuine Hindu castes and are a dark-looking, wild set of people, whose appearance favours the theory of their being aborigines just as that of the Chauhāns does. They are great rice-growers, and are found in large numbers in the villages at the edge of the jhāl tract of Hasanpur.

Shekhs.

16. Amongst the Muhammadan cultivators the Shekhs are naturally the most numerous, including all those who have no particular title, and also some who ought more correctly to have been shown separately.

Khokars.

Such are the Khokars, who settled at Sambhal on their conversion to Muhammadanism by Bābar, having formerly been Rājputs and inhabitants of the Bulandshahr district.

Mūlās.

The Mūlās also may be mentioned, one branch being of the same origin as the Chaudhris of Hasanpur, that is, converted Tagas, though for some reason unknown the term Mūla is looked on as one of contempt by the Chaudhris, who do not like being called by it at all. The other branch, found principally in Thākurdwāra and Morādābād, are said to be the descendants of a Katheria Rājput who turned Muhammadan to obtain an estate in which his brother refused to allow him a share.

Both Mr. Crosthwaite and Mr. Smeaton note them as the lowest of the Muhammadan classes, and it is certain that the term is one of no honorable character, though why they should be looked on as lower than other Nau-Muslims is impossible to discover.

Tūrks.

Tūrks are also comprised in the Shekhs; they are not uncommon as cultivators in the Amroha and Sambhal parganas, and seem to be a finer and more manly set than the Nau-Muslims. They appear to have come to the district long ago with some of the early colonies of Saiads. The classes more correctly comprised in the term Shekh include individuals very widely separated by both position and even race, but, as a rule, they are of low origin, and contain the greater part of the *riff-raff* of the large towns.

17. The statement which faces this paragraph shows the numerical strength of the castes which are important for their influence or numbers arranged parganawar. Nothing need be added to the remarks already made, except to note that the miscellaneous Muhammadans shown in pargana Morādābād are merely persons who have been entered by their trade designations instead of by the common term of Shekh, whilst those in Sambhal are the Khokars already alluded to.

Statement No. II., showing the population (parganawár) of all the Castes in the Moráddábád district according to the Census of 1872.

(Chapter IV., paras. 16-17.)

Pargana.	Total population.	Chamár.	Bághbán or Málía.	Ját.	Brahman.	Baniá.	Chauhán.	Khági.	Kahár.	Thákur.	Ahír.	Gadarya.	Ahár.	Kumbhár.	Gújar.	Lodha.	Taga.	Kaiath.	Miscellaneous Hindús.	Total Hindús.	Shekh.	Pathán.	Saiad	Mughal.	Miscellaneous Musalmáns.	Total Muhamadáns.	Christians.
1. Moráddábád.	230,794	30,113	16,376	5,959	8,162	5,474	3,226	1,379	6,524	9,623	2,505	4,258	2,996	3,955	362	7,318	177	3,811	25,048	137,966	83,466	5,065	2,627	842	1,200	93,200	328
2. Bilári ...	216,116	40,849	17,358	8,377	11,084	9,258	1,216	2,127	9,129	9,460	9,306	4,865	3,037	3,264	315	3,281	158	1,586	25,946	160,616	51,035	3,154	983	328	...	55,500	...
3. Thakur-dwára.	112,913	15,307	6,470	3,761	4,591	2,262	13,288	810	2,852	1,504	6,771	2,261	768	1,619	459	112	207	1,288	8,921	73,251	37,637	1,100	284	641	...	39,662	...
4. Sambhal,	227,011	37,808	13,323	9,627	11,430	7,275	527	8,297	6,499	7,643	3,560	5,032	15,409	3,393	1,336	1,431	3,577	1,204	15,800	153,171	63,988	4,605	4,185	381	643	73,802	38
5. Amroha	175,711	25,931	10,234	14,342	5,976	6,103	8,658	411	2,233	444	5,116	4,551	...	2,646	3,216	345	1,686	1,343	12,469	105,704	58,354	4,292	6,704	626	...	69,976	31
6. Hasanpur.	159,580	25,547	11,002	9,302	6,501	8,889	4,545	18,928	2,213	587	2,794	2,226	899	2,461	7,654	469	5,200	982	13,672	121,771	31,771	4,545	1,105	388	...	37,809	...
Total ...	1,122,125	175,655	74,763	51,268	47,744	39,261	31,460	29,952	29,450	29,261	30,052	23,193	23,109	17,338	13,342	12,956	11,005	10,214	*101,856	751,779	326,251	22,761	15,888	3,206	1,843	369,949	397

* Note.—The miscellaneous Hindu castes are chiefly different trades, such as confectioners, carpenters, sweepers, oil-men, &c., &c.

No. III.—Statement showing the Population of Morádábád district according to the Census of 1872.

(Chapter VI., para. 18.)

Pargana.	Area in square miles.	AGRICULTURISTS.				NON-AGRICULTURISTS.				Total population.	Density per square mile.	Percentage of Hindús and Muhamáadans.	Percentage of agriculturists and non-agriculturists.
		Hindús.		Muhamma- dans. .		Hindús.		Muhamma- dans.					
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1. Morádábád ...	314.36	46,330	37,873	22,794	20,412	30,703	24,861	24,928	22,894	230,794	735.01	61.39	54.45
2. Bilári ...	332.94	51,148	45,500	14,806	13,993	34,925	29,013	14,284	12,417	216,116	649.00	74.26	58.42
3. Thákurdwára ...	238.19	25,327	21,557	9,822	9,010	14,196	12,171	11,344	9,426	112,913	474.42	65.35	58.42
4. Sambhal ...	468.68	56,779	48,306	18,951	17,918	25,949	22,328	18,870	18,101	227,011	484.	68.32	63.37
5. Amroha ...	388.87	35,315	29,723	18,944	17,257	22,778	18,888	16,446	16,360	175,711	451.	60.40	58.42
6. Hasanpur ...	560.08	45,179	38,426	10,023	9,582	20,922	17,244	9,648	8,566	159,580	285.	76.24	65.35
Total ...	2,303.18	259,878	221,364	95,400	88,172	149,472	124,545	95,520	87,754	1,122,125	487.24	67.33	59.41

Occupations and other statistics taken from the census.

Majority of the population Hindús.

Percentage of males and females.

Large non-agricultural population.

18. The next statement carries us a step further than we have yet gone and opens up the enquiry into the occupations of the people. I at first hesitated to enter on this subject before closing up the historical portion of the report, but after consideration it seems to me that the sequence is natural, and the enquiry is too closely connected with the history of the district to be properly separated from it by a description of the settlement operations which will come better afterwards.

19. The first point to notice is the large portion of Hindús in the population, a rather surprising fact when we consider that the district had so long been Muhammadan, not merely as a conquered country, but as a tract colonised by several bands of Muhammadan settlers, and constantly garrisoned by Muhammadan troops and swept over by their armies. It shows how little the descendants of the early Muhammadan colonists spread when we remember that out of the present population shown as Muhammadan, half, or probably more than half, are the descendants of Hindu converts, and it says a good deal for the Muhammadan organisation that they were able to hold the country even as firmly as they did.

20. The percentage of males to females has been commented on by Mr. Plowden in the census report and need not be commented on here, though it is worth noting that the proportion of females is considerably higher amongst the Muhammadans than amongst the Hindús.

21. But the most interesting fact brought out is the very large proportion of the non-agricultural to the agricultural population. The census figures have slightly exaggerated this by showing the whole population of Morádábád (63,000 persons) and Amroha (34,896) as non-agricultural, whereas a very considerable number, quite one-fourth of the former and one-third of the latter, are either zamindárs or cultivators; but after correcting this slip, the percentage is still extremely high for a district like this, in which, except Chandausi, there is no trading centre of any importance.

For the whole district the percentage is .41, decreasing from .45 in Morádábád and .42 in Bilári to .35 in Hasanpur, as shown in the statement. As shown in the census and the pargana rent-rate report, the proportion is highest of all for Amroha (.49); but this is, I am convinced, wrong, and even after the correction above mentioned, which reduces the proportion to .42, I believe many persons are included as non-agriculturists who derive at least part of their income from the land. There is, however, no doubt a considerable population of servants and dependents, hangers-on of the Saiad landowners, beside the shopkeepers of Amroha and Kánt, so the proportion may be about 40 per cent. In Morádábád and Bilári the percentage is raised by the large

number of persons engaged in shopkeeping or trade at Morádábád and Chandausi, but the explanation of the high percentage for the district is that the bulk of the non-agricultural population, as shown in the census, consists of Chamárs, Kahárs, and other low caste persons introduced by the Thákur and Saiad proprietors, who were much too great men to plough their own land or even allow their family to perform any menial occupation. The low castes, as usual, multiplied very much quicker than their employers, and a large population of them has thus arisen.

It is in my opinion a mistake to lump all these people together as non-agriculturists, for not only have a very large number of them some land which they hold either as ghair-maurusi or (oftener) as shikmi tenants on their own behalf, but even supposing them merely to act as ploughmen on monthly wages, their living is derived from agriculture, and they would in England be called agricultural labourers. A certain number of persons also who have been recorded as bankers or tradesmen, or carters, really held landed property, as purchasers or mortgagees, either in a mahál, or at all events, in one or more of the numerous milks* in which the district abounds.

Allowing, however, for all this, it is certain that there must at the time of the last census have been a large population cultivating no land, or at all events not nearly enough to support them without other earnings, and who were thus dependent on small daily (or monthly) wages for their subsistence, and this population has, like so many rather scantily-fed and roughly nurtured classes, a tendency to increase in numbers at a very rapid rate, and must therefore always threaten to form a very serious difficulty in our future administration.

22. For reasons which I give later on, I believe however that this population has somewhat diminished, but as the further enquiry into the occupations of the non-agricultural population must take up considerable space, it is better first of all to finish my remarks on the agriculturists. The castes of the principal proprietors have already been discussed, and from a note which Mr. Smeaton prepared for the Famine Commission I take the following particulars :—

23. The number of proprietors may roughly be put at 120,000, and though, as above noted, I believe this calculation omits a considerable number of persons erroneously shown as non-agriculturists, but really holding proprietary right as purchasers or mortgagees, on the other hand it includes many who, though always called zamindárs, are hardly proprietors. These persons hold subordinate rights in the muáfi maháls, but are seldom or never found in the revenue-free milks, which indeed are often attached to khalsa maháls. The origin and nature of the tenure is clearly described by Mr. Smeaton in his Amroha rent-rate report, and his remarks apply equally to revenue-free maháls held by other persons than Saiads both in Amroha and in the other parganas also.

Number of proprietors.

* 'Zamindárs' in muáfi villages.

"The position of the Saiads then, after the royal grant, was that of assignees of the Government revenue of the tract which included large part of the present Amroha pargana. Instead, however, of resting satisfied with the share of produce which the State had hitherto taken, the new-comers resolved to assume absolute possession of the villages. Acting on this resolution the Saiads seem to have divested the headmen of all authority and assumed to themselves the direct management. But as the Saiads did not live on their properties, they found it prudent not to abrogate altogether the

* Note.—A milk is like a sub-property, but has been long separate from the rest of the village, and is very often held by owners who have nothing to do with the owners of the mahál and do not even trace back their property to any grant from them.

Note 2.—The number of maháls in which this double tenure prevails is as follows:—

Morádábád	11	maháls.
Thákurdwara	23	"
Bilári	6	"
Sambhal	17	"
Amroha	387	"
Hasanpur	77	"

influence of the old headmen. They accordingly, it is said, allowed them the enjoyment of certain dues and privileges. These dues consisted in certain house-rents, the produce of the waste, fish of ponds, coupled with what was probably about a tithe of the agricultural assets. These concessions of course secured the loyalty of the headmen and gave them a direct interest in the improvement of the estates. Previous to the coming of the Saiads, and while yet the villages were under State management, similar privileges seem to have been enjoyed by these men in consideration of their representative character and influence. It is not certain whether the Saiads maintained these intact, or whether after having stripped the headmen of all their privileges they afterwards restored them. It seems more probable that the ancient *régime* was really never seriously interfered with, and that the Saiads, after taking their villages in direct management, saw it to be to their profit as absentee landlords to make friends of the headmen; and that accordingly they maintained to them their privileges while curtailing their authority. This, then, would seem to have been the beginning of what is called the 'zamindari' tenure in the muafi estates. The headmen who had been representatives of the present community, and referees in all matters relating to their villages before the Saiad grant, became a species of pensioners under the Saiad régime divested of power, but allowed to retain its substantial privileges. They were styled 'zamindars.' Possibly the title may have been current before the advent of the Saiads; but certainly it became more appropriate afterwards, when what had been a species of honorarium under the State was transformed into a valuable perquisite under the Saiads involving no obligation; in other words, an inferior right in the land co-existent with that of the muafidars.

"We find therefore in Amroha that every muafi village has its zamindari body. The two tenures are always found together. And the zamindars have remained to this day in enjoyment of precisely the same sort of income as that set apart for them at the original adjustment. The muafidars, however, in numbers of villages have acquired the zamindari rights. But even where the two classes of rights are now united in the same persons, the holders do not consolidate them; they maintain them separate, registering themselves not as plenary proprietors of a revenue-free estate, but as muafidars, enjoying as such the whole agricultural profits after deduction of one-tenth, and as zamindars in enjoyment of a tithe of the rental along with the monopoly of spontaneous products of jungle, waste, and pond, and of the house-rent of non-agricultural residents. This duality of property, interesting as a relic of the past, is very cumbrous, and under certain conditions which may arise at any time, is a source of perpetual inconvenience and often of oppression to the tenantry. The muafidars may at any time sell the whole or part of the zamindari rights to a stranger. As long as the new-comer is on friendly terms with the muafidars things go on smoothly enough. But quarrels between them mean endless annoyance to the tenants. The purchaser of the zamindari insists on his right to realize his dues independently of the muafidars, and he proceeds to collect his tithe from the tenants without the intervention of the muafidar. Each party makes as large collections as he can, and the unfortunate tenants, thus subject to two separate squeezings, are, as a matter of course, often well nigh sacrificed between the two.

"Even when the zamindari and muafidari rights are in the same hand, the peasantry sometimes suffer. For it frequently occurs that the shares of the muafi do not correspond with the shares of the zamindari held by the proprietors. In such case disputes are not uncommon.

"The zamindari tenure exists both in the pure muafi villages and in the nazafanadar muafis, to which I have alluded previously."

Area held by each caste of proprietors not ascertainable.

24. It is impossible to show with any accuracy the number of mahals or the area held by the different castes of proprietors. I made an attempt to do so, but soon found that owing to the number of mahals held by mixed proprietors, and also

to the fact that a caste of great importance in one pargana is often unnoticed in another where it is lumped with many others under the heading 'miscellaneous.' I could make out nothing sufficiently accurate to be worth printing in addition to the maps already entered (at pages 14 and 19), which are, I hope, sufficient to give a fair approximate idea on the subject.

25. From the answers submitted to the Famine Commission in 1878 it appears that the bulk of the district is held in zamindari tenure, but I think it is a mistake to apply the term zamindari to a tenure where the village has been split up into a large number of small plots now called milks,* but without doubt originally portions of the village held in bhairachara tenure. Such tenures are not at all uncommon in Amroha and Sambhal, and when deducted from the zamindari will materially lessen the area shown under it.

Tenures.

26. The subject of tenures has been discussed fully in the pargana rent rate reports, all that I think to note now is that in this district, though there are a considerable number of zamindars of good position and fair wealth, on the other hand there are a number of small proprietors, especially amongst the Muhammadans, few of whom cultivate their land with their own hands. The produce of such land has thus to support two sets of mouths with numerous dependents, and any increase in the number of proprietors presses on the cultivators, the natural inclination of the owners being to wring more out of the tenants in order that they themselves may, in spite of increased numbers, still live up to the same standard as before.

On the whole the proprietors of the district were, however, decidedly well off at the period I am now treating of, that is just before the present settlement; the large number of co-sharers in many of the milks† being able to subsist fairly comfortably owing to their either being revenue-free or assessed very leniently.

Proprietors generally well off.

27. Of the cultivators about 20,000 are classed as 'privileged,' though this does not signify that they hold at a fixed rent or are privileged in the legal sense of the term. The great bulk of them are in fact padhans, a term which apparently primarily means headmen, but has now come to include two different classes of men. The first and oldest seem to have been akin to the zamindars in muafi villages already mentioned, and just as the latter, after being deprived of their rights by the assignees of the revenue, received concessions to keep them in the village and induce them to assist in managing, so the padhan was originally one of the former proprietors of a khalsa village which had been seized on by right of conquest, or under sanction of some more plausible authority, such as farm or purchase, for arrears of revenue, and he was in the same way induced to stop on and use his influence on behalf of the new master by the concession of certain privileges, of which the chief was the payment of a considerably lower rate of rent than ordinary tenants.

Cultivators.
Padhans.

When thus originated the padhanship was almost invariably hereditary, though not divisible like proprietary right, and if the padhan had sons of a sufficient age, one of them succeeded to his position and privileges.

Unfortunately for the descendants of these hereditary families they have always been confused with another totally different class of men, who without any ex-proprietary right or any hereditary claim to the padhanship have been made headmen by the proprietors in the absence of a genuine padhan, and have been granted similar concessions merely as wages under the tacit contract by which they became the proprietor's agents. The concessions made to such persons, who are more properly called thanets, are rarely allowed to become hereditary. Probably the proprietor merely selected the particular man on account of his bodily strength or overbearing character, which enabled him to keep the other tenants in order, and, unless his heir happened

Confused with thanets.

* See note on page 25, para. 21.

† See note on page 25, para. 21.

two has just the same qualities, he would not be allowed to succeed. The fact of these non-hereditary appointments being also called padhānships joined to the singular disregard of all rights not proprietary which has throughout characterised the British administration up till quite recently, has led to the non-recognition of the genuine padhān's rights, which should really have been protected just as those of the zamindārs in the muāfi estates, and probably would have been had the term used to denote them had the same ring of 'property' in it. Even now, though the proprietors have long looked coldly on the hereditary padhāns, and have often succeeded in breaking the succession, there must be a very considerable number left, and a recognition of their right to hold at a lower rate of rent just as the ex-proprietary tenant's right has at last been allowed, would go far to remove a slip which must be acknowledged to have wrought hardship if not injustice. I think it would be fair to require any claimant to the right to prove three successions by hereditary right—that is, his own and two before which must be continuous; and if he can do this, his right and that of successors to hold at ex-proprietary rates should be allowed. The succession should of course be restricted to one person, who might either be the eldest son, or the son chosen by the widow and sons on a majority of votes.

Maurusi and ghair-maurusi tenants.

28. Of the ordinary tenants about 70 per cent. or roughly 360,000, including their families, have right of occupancy, and about 30 per cent. or roughly 155,000, are tenants-at-will. But such statistics must be looked on with great suspicion. First, because every year they shift more or less; and next, because though it is possible to make out a fairly correct percentage of the number of persons entered as having, and not having R. O. in the record of rights, those records give no clue to the numbers of their families, and it is not at all certain that the proportion will be exactly the same. A considerable number of the tenants shown as holding without R. O. will either themselves have been recorded in other mahāls or villages as holding R. O., or if not so entered themselves, they will have a brother or a son or a father thus recorded with whom they really hold. In such cases the maurusi holding is almost always the largest; indeed, the ghair-maurusi is very likely only a field or two held in another village, and the tenant's family ought to class as maurusi, whereas it must in our defective calculations be shown on both sides of the account.

Maurusi area about 66 per cent in district.

As far as I can make out considerably the larger portion of the land is held with right of occupancy, and I should think it must be about two-thirds a proportion which is very closely followed in all parganas,* but Amroha and Hasanpūr, where the maurusi land is less, owing in the first pargana to the tenants more frequently absconding or dying of want under the harsher régime of the landholders, and in Hasanpūr partly to the same causes, but chiefly to the changes in holdings which so often take place on the bhūr, where the light soil must be left fallow after a few years' cultivation. In the Amroha pargana a scarcity such as that of the kharif of 1285 fasli is sufficient to cause a large number of empty houses, as I know by personal observation, and the general position of the cultivation has long been extremely miserable.

Lower in Amroha than elsewhere owing to the tenants more frequently absconding or dying.

Mr. Smeaton in his rent-rate report on pargana Amroha goes clearly into this subject. He says:—

"In other parganas I generally found that forces favourable to progress had been greatly predominant. The case is different in Amroha. Stimulating and retarding causes have here been more equally matched. Hindrances to improvement unknown or only here and there felt in other parganas have been chronic here. It will be neces-

*Name of pargana.	Percentage of maurusi area.	Percentage of ghair-maurusi area.
1.—Moradabad	68	32
2.—Bilāri	70	30
3.—Thākurdwāra	67	33
4.—Sambhal	73	27
5.—Amroha	57	43
6.—Hasanpur	60	40

sary to examine these in detail in order to determine in what direction Amroha has been moving during the last thirty years, and at what stage of progress or retrogression it has arrived.

"Two characteristics of this pargana which have to be borne in mind are—first, that it is a tract of country most of which is held free of revenue; and second, that the Saiads were in former times, and still are the leading proprietary body. I have already indicated the views taken by the Saiads of their rights and obligations as landlords, and of the position of their tenants. Now I have to point out what the effects of these views have been. At last settlement, in so far as I can ascertain, nearly three-fourths of the pargana were owned by the Saiads. Since then they have lost nearly half of their property through extravagance.* Their places have been taken by Mahajans and Vishnois chiefly.* But even still the Saiads are, as a body, the most influential proprietors in the pargana. Some of their customs, both good and bad, are still retained by their successors; many of course have disappeared. The custom of taking rent in kind which prevailed all over the Saiad properties is still current. Money rents are not common. The proprietors' shares are generally one-half, two-fifths, and one-third of the crop."

Harsh treatment of the tenants in Amrohs.

"Where grain collections are made with a decent amount of honesty and liberality, and where thorough supervision is maintained over the underlings or middlemen through whom they are made, or, better still, where the principal, in a spirit of fair dealing, makes them himself, the system of grain rentals may be unexceptionable; indeed, in certain tracts and among certain classes of tenantry it may be the best. *But nothing can be more demoralizing to a people industrious and thrifty by nature than such a system badly managed*, or, worse still, worked with the sole object of extorting as much as can be squeezed from the tenant. Now my experience leaves me in no doubt, that the custom of grain-rents has been much abused in Amroha. In the ancestral Saiad estates I found unmistakeable evidence of long standing abuses. As remarked in a former part of this report, the Saiad look upon the land as their absolute property, and seem to consider themselves entitled to its whole produce, barring only a share sufficient to feed the tillers of the soil. I do not think I exaggerate in saying that they ignore any rights in land save their own, and that consequently they refuse to recognise any claim by a tenant to profit. Everything above and beyond the bare food of the cultivator is, in their opinion, theirs by right. Their practice has been all along and still is in strict accord with this theory. They pay but little regard to the convenience of the tenantry at harvest time. The grain is not unfrequently allowed to lie for days and weeks on the threshing-floor, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the cultivators to have the division made. When after much dunning the landlord consents, the village is beset with a host of underlings. These men with their servants and bullocks live on the village till the last grain of the harvest is duly accounted for and are not in a hurry to depart. When the division has been completed, the tenant generally finds a much larger hole made in his grain-heaps than he had anticipated; and if you ask him whither it has all gone, he is just as bewildered as you are and just as unable to tell. Havildar's wages, weighing expenses, 'village expenses,'—that fiction so dear to landlords,—transit expenses, 'nazr-bhent,' food of attendants, make away with most of what would have been the tenant's little profit. Where 'kankut' is the custom, the burden on the cultivator is still greater. He has to bear the cost of a couple of landlord's agents, sometimes also the landlord himself, a couple of 'kantias' or appraisers, a couple of chainmen, and the patwari, with their servants and bullocks. This is of course during the process of estimating the crop. Then, if the landlord takes the grain and not a money equivalent, there is the division to be gone through on the threshing-floor. Not unfrequently however, the landlord takes the money value of his share of the grain; when he does,

* NOTE.—This is not quite borne out by the information I have collected. The Saiads have lost some ground, but nothing like half their property, and the Vishnois have not made much advance.—

he prices the grain at two seers or so less in the rupee than the current market rate. Add to this that the estimates made of the crop are in nine cases out of ten in excess of the actual outturn, and it will be seen that the Amroha tenant's lot is, indeed, a very hard one.

Money rents are not common. Where current, the procedure is analogous. Working on both fears and hopes, the Saiad proprietors, muāndārs chiefly, force up the rates by a variety of devices. At one time they wheedle the tenants into paying a lump sum on the plough (*halsāri*); at another under the pretence of relaxing the plough rate, of which the tenants are weary, they revert to a fixed rate (always enhanced, on the *bigha*. Not unfrequently, with a degree of cunning which almost does them credit, they affect to take the villagers into their confidence; they make over the whole of their lands to the cultivating community, represented by three or four headmen, at a lump sum in excess of any previous rental. This artifice I found to be not at all an uncommon one. The tenantry are informed that their landlord has been graciously pleased to elevate them to the dignity of independent lessees at a certain rental. The people, deeming their freedom from perpetual interference cheaply bought by an enhancement of their rental, and elated by the concession of a *quasi*-independence, gladly accede, leaving the distribution of the big rent for amicable adjustment over their *lukas* in the *chaupāl*. The lease agreement is generally a stamped document, sometimes for a fixed period, sometimes with no period specified. As long as the tenants hold on and pay without breaking down and taking to their heels, the watchful landlord keeps them to their agreement. When at last the burden becomes intolerable, and the crash comes, and the villagers pray to get back their old holdings with their separate quotas of rent, they find their landlord has been too much for them. Restore them to their holdings he will, but on very different conditions to those under which they held before the fatal lease. The lease their landlord rules—and his ruling with its semblance of legality is law to them—has cancelled all old occupancy rights, and the cultivators are at his mercy. A re-distribution of lands is made—another arrangement patched up—the needful enhancement never being lost sight of—and things go on again for a while.

“ Even rack-renting if conducted on a regular and understood system may be borne after a fashion. When to it is added a state of perpetual change, and when tenants are never certain what their landlord's next whim may be, the evil is aggravated. In whole tracts there really has never been any sort of fixity in the mode of taking rent or in the cultivator's tenure. As I have just described, the *pyr-batai* of this year is transformed into *kankut* next year. After a short period money rents are introduced. On these again a variety of changes are rung. The *bigha*-rate of one year vanishes into a '*halsāri*' or plough-rent next; and then a lump lease to the whole tenant body closes the round, ending generally with the destruction of all rights of occupancy previously acquired.

“ But this is not all. Lessees, generally strangers, are frequently let loose upon the people. My experience of these persons is not in their favour. They have not even the lingering spark of scruple which may sometimes have restrained the rapacity of their principals; they do not know, and do not care to know, the people; and in their turn they work through a hired agent, with what results it is not difficult to guess.

“ The effect of this sort of treatment is to impoverish and depress the people. It would be a miracle if the Amroha cultivators, patient and industrious as they are, enjoyed the prosperity and independence of their Bilari and Sambhal brethren. In these tracts the tenant is stimulated by the prospect of a fair return for his labour. He has a tenure, too, which is respected by his landlord. He may be called a happy man. The goad which urges the Amroha tenant is far oftener despair. He sticks doggedly to his plough, and holds on at his well for sheer love of life and nothing more. The aspect of his field may differ but little from that of a Jāt's field in Sambhal, just as the handiwork of a life-prisoner may differ but little from that of the free independent mechanic.

"The Amroha cultivators are more indebted than those of any other pargana which I have yet seen. The consequence is that at harvest time the money-lender comes in after the landlords, and still further diminishes the slender heaps of grain.

"A people so burdened in time of plenty cannot but succumb in seasons of scarcity. I was much struck with this during the recent drought. While in Bilári and Sambhal, even in the Ohúr tracts, I found the cultivators still hopeful and labouring manfully, in Amroha I met with heedlessness, idleness, and despair. In numbers of villages the people told me they would stay on and die, but work and be hopeful they would not.

"The result of this over a period of thirty years would naturally be to push back the area under cultivation at every period of scarcity; so that with slow recovery after each such period the progress in cultivation over the whole thirty years would be comparatively small. And so it has been. Amroha, as we have seen, has made less progress by far in extending cultivation than the adjoining parganas except Thákurdwára.

"Bad as the general condition of the people at the present time is, it must, I imagine, have been worse at last settlement. The Saiads, thirty years ago, had double the number of villages they have now. The decadence of this class has given material relief to the pargana; and therefore I suppose it may be said that some degree of progress, or at any rate absence of retrogression, has resulted. But the influence of the Saiads has been too great, the infection of their landlordism too strong. Their successors have not radically changed the old régime, only modified it. And many of the other Muhammadan and Vishnoi proprietors still cling to a modified form of the Saiad-tyranny. The Vishnois are not as a body what their traditions would have led me to hope. They have, I believe, inherited the property which their ancestor, Chaudhri Mahtab, at one time Amil of Amroha, held in farm. Although not rack-renters, still they share to a considerable extent the superciliousness of the Saiads, and do not show that interest in their tenantry for which one would have looked.

"Another natural result of what I have just described is that population has been checked. In Sambhal, Bilári, and Morádábád the people had increased rapidly since 1848. Here we find that the population has sensibly decreased since 1848.

The figures are as follow:—

Year.					Population.
1848	...	...	...	...	190,956
1852	...	...	...	...	176,994
1863	...	...	...	...	157,813
1872	...	...	...	...	175,711

During the first eighteen years, if we accept the figures, the population rapidly declined, and only within the last dozen years has it recovered partially. I am not in a position to say how the decline during the first two periods occurred, whether from greater mortality or emigration. The probability that both causes had a hand in the result is heightened when it is considered how much misery must have existed."

29. The large percentage of maurusi tenants might be taken as proof that the tenants in the other parganas are well off, but I am compelled to say from close observation that, though they are undoubtedly better off than in Amroha, they are on the whole depressed and much worse off than the tenants I have seen in the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces. The historical reasons for this fact have already been given. As a rule the zamindárs differ from the tenants in caste and very often in religion and race. The tenants are also to a very large extent Hindús of low castes, who have for many generations been looked on by their landlords rather as serfs than as men with rights which cannot be infringed as long as they pay their rent. There is a marked difference in the position of the sturdier Muhammadan tenants (like the Tárks in a few villages in the north of Sambhal and the south of Amroha) and

Depressed condition of the tenants in other parganas also.

Reasons.

the low-caste Hindús. The former have always stood up boldly for their rights and the landlords were afraid to bully them, knowing that they are capable of turning if driven too far, whilst the latter, as Mr. Smeaton has noted, though they might shirk and even threaten occasionally, ended by submitting even though they died under the burthen.

30. I am now speaking of the condition of affairs in the district just before settlement began, and I reserve entirely my opinion of the results of the settlement operations till I have described those operations in some detail. This must be remembered when I say that, next to the historical relations between the tenants and their landlords, the chief cause of the depression of the former has been the system of taking rents by estimation of the crops instead of in cash.

Evil influence of the system of taking rents by estimation of the crop.

31. I purposely say *estimation* and not *division* for though in loose phraseology rents are commonly said to be taken by "batai," as a matter of fact they have almost always been taken by "kankút" that is, an estimation of the standing crops, and this very frequently has been accompanied by a further estimation of the *value* of the zamindár's share *in cash*, the tenant being required to pay the sum so fixed.

Now to make this system of estimation work fairly it is obviously essential that the crop should be appraised by some impartial and just arbitrator who would favour neither party, but as a matter of fact it has usually been made either by the landlord, or more frequently by his karinda alone, or really by him, and nominally by the patwári and headman of the village. The patwári who was paid by the landlord at a percentage on the rental could hardly be called impartial even if he was not, as usual, completely under the power of the landlord, and the headman's estimate, if it disagreed with the landlord's, would be almost invariably rejected.

Practically under this system the landlord fixed his own rent, and as a rule he would put it as high as he thought the tenant could pay after leaving him a bare subsistence.

Evidence on this point.

32. I do not found this opinion on my own experience alone, though all I have seen in enquiries extending over some thousands of villages has convinced me of its truth. I give the following extracts to show that my predecessors held a similar opinion.

In his rent-rate report on pargana Morádábád (paras. 4, 11, and 31) Mr. Crosthwaite says:—

Para. 4.

"The villages are as a rule inferior in appearance and wear; are of greater poverty than in those parts of the Doáb with which I am acquainted. There is as a rule less care and labour given to the soil, *especially in those villages in which the rent is paid in kind*, and the whole style of agriculture is less advanced."

Para. 11.

"The Muhammadan zamindárs are the most influential, and as a rule the land-owners are absentees; they manage their villages sometimes through the Padbáns, but generally through agents and to some extent through lessees. In too many instances there is anything but good feeling between the tenant and land-owner. The condition of the peasantry has been compared unfavourably with that of the people of the Doáb. The condition of the zamindárs is better. They have almost all been receiving large profits, especially in the batai villages. *The large area under batai has kept down the average condition and standard of living of the peasantry*, and those who have money are afraid to show it for fear of exciting the rapacity of their zamindárs."

Para. 31.

"I am convinced that under the batai system the cultivators are not getting a fair return for their labour and capital, and are in a most abject state of poverty, while the zamindárs are getting more than their fair share of the produce."

In his rent-rate report on Thákurdwára Mr. Crosthwaite says—"the peasantry are equal in prosperity to those of Morádábád. There is no unusual poverty or distress. The

tahsildár told me he believed the asámis were very well off as a rule ; *but there is a very large area on batai.* There is a loud demand for commutation on the part of the peasantry, and I registered claims for nearly half the villages in the pargana before I left."

In his report on pargana Bilári Mr. Smeaton says (page 18, para. 26):—"The cultivators have greatly benefited by the light assessment. *A very important circumstance in their favor has been that their rents have been paid in cash from the beginning.* They have been saved from the worry of batai (kankút), which their brethren in other parganas have had to bear and are still bearing. Their crops have been their own, not held merely at the beck of a rapacious landlord."

In his Sambhal report (page 8a, para. 13) he also says, talking of the Kather tract :—"Three of the four causes which have been so favourable in Bilári are found here. First, that Kather soil is fertile ; second, *rents have been for long paid in money ;* third, the soil is fit for sugarcane cultivation."

His remarks with regard to pargana Amroha have already been quoted at length, and in his Hasanpur report, whilst stating the condition of the tenants to be fairly comfortable, and noting that it was necessary to proceed cautiously in commutations, he adds (para. 10, page 17) :—"On the other hand, the conditions on which the peasantry now live and till the soil are adverse to any solid progress. As long as a landlord can come to the field on the threshing-floor and take away half the tenant's harvest, so long will the tenant grudge any labour beyond which is necessary to raise his food. The great incentive to industry is wanting. He knows that the more he toils the more he will have to yield to his landlord. In the Bilári pargana, rents are in money, and the rates paid are (now) undoubtedly high ; but a Bilári Ját would laugh any one to scorn who would suggest a change to even the most lenient batai."

In his Aligarh report (page 141) Mr. Smith, an officer of considerable experience, says :—

"Mr. Thornton, in his report on the last settlement very rightly called batai equally sign and cause of inferiority of produce. It is a sign, because in this part of the country certainly no good cultivator will consent to the terms involved, which most frequently mean a surrender of more than half the produce to the landlord, and because, as a fact, the custom only exists in the least fertile portions of the district: it is a cause, because no cultivator cares to devote much time or labour to his fields when he is conscious that so comparatively small a portion of the resulting produce will fall to his share. *The invariable tendency of batai is to produce careless and thriftless cultivation.*"

So also Mr. Markham in his Bijnor report (page 87) :—"Where the land is owned by powerful and wealthy taluqdárs the latter mode of collecting the land rents (*i. e.*, amaldári*) prevails. It is much less expensive to the zamindár, and when it is at all fairly done, it is more acceptable to the tenant also, as he is relieved from the costly presence of the harpies of the landlord. *Amaldári, is however, I am sorry to say, an engine of great tyranny and oppression in the hands of almost all the zamindárs who practice it.* They get much more than their fair share of the grain rents by its means, and are so absolute in their villages that the tenants can only groan and give in."

33. In order to put the matter fairly, I will now quote Mr. Moens' defence of the batai system, given at pages 119-122 of his report on the settlement of the Bareilly district :—

Mr. Moens' defence of batai.

"42. It is a common outcry against the batai system that it checks the development of the country by preventing all agricultural improvement and throttles the

Advantages and disadvantages of the batai system.

* NOTE.—Amaldári means much the same as kankút, but a distinction is sometimes made in this district, the former being applied to an estimation of crop and value where the landlord takes the value in money, and kankút to an estimation of crop followed by payment in grain.

industry of the tenant, who will not devote extra labour to tillage, irrigation, and the cultivation of the crop, when he is to share the proceeds of this extra labour with the landlord, who has contributed nothing. These allegations are to a certain extent correct, and there are other serious drawbacks to the system besides. For instance, it directly tends to promote fraud and cheating of every description. The cultivators endeavour and generally succeed in abstracting considerable quantities of grain before it comes to division. To check this the landlords are compelled to protect their own interests by employing men to watch the crops from the time they ripen. The tenant cannot cut his crop when it is ready; he must wait till the landlord is ready and able to supervise the operation through his shahnas or watchers, and so with every subsequent process till the actual division. The tenants are thus taught to depend not so much on the exercise of their own industry as on the success of their plans to defraud the landlord, who is compelled very often to exact more than his proper share by way of reprisals. The batai system gives a tyrannical and grasping zamindár such power over his tenants that their condition often becomes one of the almost pure serfage. 'One of the greatest evils of batai,' wrote Mr. Boulderson in 1830, 'is the necessity indeed of watching the crops till the division takes place. This not only compels a heavy expense, but it creates incessant weary, harassing interference between landlord and tenant, making a constant sore and irritation where a good feeling is particularly requisite. Very considerable portions of the produce of the land are yearly lost under this system. If a landlord wishes to ruin a tenant, he has only to hold off from dividing the crop till rain comes down and rots it, or the same effect may follow from his not being able to attend or depute an agent. This often occurs with regard to the rabi crop. In this year very large quantities of grain have been either totally destroyed or greatly damaged by an unexpected heavy rain without the fault of either party. Only, however, the batai estate suffered where the division delayed the cultivator in storing or selling his produce. (The same loss happened from the same cause in April and May, 1871.)' 'If the tenant thinks the landlord too hard upon him, he absents himself from the division of the crop and goes and petitions the Collector, being certain thereby of harassing the landlord, and being for the time at least reckless whether he involves himself also in loss by the destruction of the produce.'

"43. I fully acknowledge the truth of every word of the above extract. I have myself found rice cut in October, and still undivided, and not even threshed or winnowed, in February. It lay rotting while the wretched cultivators were almost starving on grain borrowed at ruinous interest. Yet after all such cases are very exceptional, and an easy remedy for them will shortly be provided by law. Still I maintain that the batai system has very great counterbalancing advantages:—

- "(1.)—It is the existing system, the 'dastur,' with which the people are familiar, and according to which rights in the soil have been fixed from time immemorial.
- "(2.)—The rate of division being customary over large tracts, the tenant is freed from all danger of competition. 'None but a fool or foe' would agree to cultivate at rates exceeding those which are the custom of the village.
- "(3.)—While the cultivator is thus secured in his tenure, the landlord receives a fair profit on any improvements he may make from the increased produce he receives.
- "(4.)—Under the system the rents are self-adjusting, the value of the landlords' and tenants' share rises and falls simultaneously with prices, while if the crop partially fails the loss is shared by both parties. If it fails entirely, the tenant loses his seed, but is not crushed by having to pay a rent for the land which has yielded him nothing.
- "(5.)—The tenant is never actually turned on the world with a load of debt due to the money-lender.

"(6.)—If his cattle die, the landlord usually assists him to replace them.

"(7.)—Under a batai system he usually borrows from his landlord and at a lower rate of interest than he would have to pay to a money-lender, while the latter is far more pressing and exacting in his demands for repayment.

"(8.)—The system creates a tie of self-interest between landlord and tenant. The landlord is more directly concerned in the well being of his tenants and the good cultivation of his estates. He exerts himself to promote the cultivation of the better crops for the sake of the increased produce of the nijkari crops sown subsequently in the manured fields. He exerts himself to provide irrigation at the right time, because he knows his share of the produce will be increased at once thereby, and his supervision and authority direct the tenants, and better results are produced for all than where each petty cultivator of six or seven acres has to look out for his own interests unaided by the influence and capital of the zamindár. This is always strongly exemplified in years of drought, when the batai villages always get more water than the money villages. In those years the zamindárs of the batai villages fed their cultivators; those of the money-paying villages left them to starve. They knew the places of the dead would soon be filled up by immigrants from other districts, and they actually profited by the deaths, for they demanded and got increased money rents for the vacant fields.

"44. From the above it may easily be seen that I am opposed to the provision of Act XIV., 1863, by which either party can claim a forced commutation of rents from kind to money, and this after what I believe to have been a larger experience of such commutations than any other officer in these provinces. My reasons are the following :—

"(1.)—I think it unjust to the landlords *to whom we have given proprietary rights*, to change the ancient custom on the demand of one party only to the rent contract. It is unfair to them to prescribe the special form in which they shall take their rent, without giving them any voice in the matter.

"(2.)—Their 'hukumat' or authority is destroyed, and with it their interest in the villages, and they receive in exchange a mere rent charge. Their income is fixed and is hardly to be increased by any act of their own, and all incentives to energy and self-control are removed.

"(3.)—An entirely new right is created in the favor of the tenant at the expense of the landlord.

"(4.)—The tenants have no capital, and the landlord's security for the rent is impaired. The tenant reaps all the benefit of a good year and high prices and absconds in a bad year, leaving the landlord to bear the entire loss.

"(5.)—As soon as the customary share by batai is commuted to a money rate, competition sets in with all its evils, and the customary tenant is converted into a cottier, to be rack-rented wherever population is dense enough to create a demand for land to cultivate. In Bareilly nearly all the Act X. litigation is in money-rented villages.

"(6.)—Forced commutations create a bitter feeling of animosity between landlord and tenant. The usual process in Bareilly as soon as a suit was filed for commutation was this: the landlord as soon as possible ousted the cultivators from all land which they held as tenant-at-will. They deprived them of all grazing land, and pounded their cattle whenever they could catch them on the waste land. The village servants were prevented from working for them; suits were laid for immediate settlement of all out-

standing advances for seed and takávi. The 'khandsári' was induced to sue for balances due on advances for *ras*, and the division for current harvest was deferred till the crop was ruined. In Aspur Richhola in Nawábganj, and in more than one village in Jahanabad, the zamindár burnt the houses of the *asámis* who sued, and for want of sufficient evidence escaped without punishment in the Criminal Courts. Many of the cultivators who fought on to a commutation were compelled, when prices fell in the next year to go back to batai. Their landlords were too strong for them.

"(7.)—Forced commutation cannot endure for long against the continued opposition of the zamindár where the latter is as strong as he usually is in the batai parganas of Bareilly, and they are ruinous in the long run to the tenants, who in the first bad year are compelled either to quit the village or to return to batai utterly impoverished by the struggle they have gone through.

"(8.)—On this subject of forced commutation the Board remarked in 1834, in their report on Mr. Boulderson's settlements as follows:—'Where batai rents prevail the cause is usually to be found in the actual state of wealth and commerce of a district, and the Board believe that any attempt to effect a conversion to money rates, however desirable such a change may be in principle, before the state of things in a district admits of the payment of rent generally through wholesale grain merchants, bankers, or that class of people who have constant money dealings with the cultivators of the soil, must fail.' (Board, North-Western Provinces, to Government, No. 436, dated 14th November, 1834). The Board were, to a great extent, correct in their prediction, and I much doubt the permanency of my own commutations in the northern parganas for the same reasons.

"(9.)—There is no need to force commutations: when the country is ripe for money rents the kind rates are gradually converted by the consent of the parties. In 1830 Mr. Boulderson wrote that the rents over four-fifths of the district, or 80 per cent. of the cultivated area, were taken in kind. At the revision of settlement by me I found 64·3 per cent. of the land cultivated by tenants paying money rents, instead of only 20 per cent., and this does not take into account commutations effected by me. In 1830 Mr. Boulderson wrote thus of his own commutations (he was an ardent opponent of the batai system):—'It is too soon yet to state that I have succeeded in changing generally batai to money tenures. The change must stand the test of experience of some years before such an assertion can be made. Hitherto, with the exception of one or perhaps two of the estates settled, the ryots have accepted pattas at money rates and are very careful in retaining and acting on them. No person who has not, like myself, experienced the difficulty of persuading them to try what they were ignorantly afraid of, and that of contending against malguzárs equally ignorant, who at first strenuously resisted the measure, can partake with me in the satisfaction I have felt in being able to accomplish even to the extent I have what I consider to be a really beneficent measure to both parties.'

"Yet in 1834 we find the Board writing:—'As the practice of paying rent in kind has, we understand, been very generally adhered to by the ryots, the Collector's arrangements with regard to rents have been in a great measure imperative.' Thus most of the tenants had reverted to batai in four years, and the change shown above has come on gradually since