

21 DEC 2009

No. 692-58-2, dated Simla, the 7th May 1914.

From—F. NOYCE, Esq., I. C. S., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture (Land Revenue),

To—The Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of Mr. Hullah's letter No 231—XI-4-107, dated the 26th March 1914, forwarding the final report on the Settlement of the Wardha district, and to say that under Section 53 of the Central Provinces Land Revenue Act, the Governor General in Council is pleased to confirm the assessment of the district.

2. The Government of India are glad to observe that the question of nazarana is receiving your attention. I am to add that they have read Mr. Smith's excellent report with much interest.

No. 352—XI-4-107.

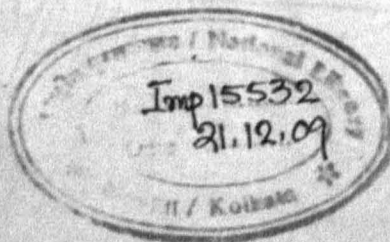
Nagpur, the 28th May 1914.

Copy, with copy of this Department's letter No. 231—XI-4-107, dated the 26th March 1914, forwarded to the <sup>Commissioner of Settlements, Central Provinces,</sup> Mr. A. K. Smith, I. C. S., for information ( ) For Commissioner of Settlements only. (with reference to his letter No. 2904—1-74, dated the 25th November 1913).

E. GORDON,

*Under Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,  
Central Provinces.*

Govt. Press, Nagpur. — No. 748, Civil Sectt.—8-7-14—300.



**CENTRAL PROVINCES ADMINISTRATION.**

**Survey and Settlement Department.**

FROM

J. HULLAH, ESQ., I. C. S.,

THIRD SECRETARY TO THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER,

*Central Provinces,*

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

REVENUE AND AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT.

*Nagpur, the 26th March 1914.*

SIR,

I am directed to forward, for the information and orders of the Government of India, the final report on the Settlement operations in the Wardha district, together with a copy of letter No. 2904-1-74, from the Commissioner of Settlements, forwarding the report under date the 25th November 1913.

2. The previous settlement, which expired in 1910-12, was made by the late Rai Bahadur Purushottam Das during the years 1891-94 for a period ranging between 16 and 18 years in the different tahsils of the district. Operations for regular settlement were begun in 1909 under the sanction of the Government of India conveyed in Mr. (now Sir Robert) Carlyle's letter No. 105-493-2, dated the 26th January 1909.

3. Since the last settlement the district has had a very prosperous history. With the exception of the eastern portion of the Hinganghat tahsil, it suffered very slightly from the famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900, and though a certain amount of emigration in these years caused a temporary drop in population, the lost ground has been regained and the figures of the last census now show an increase in population of 19 per cent over those of 1901. Meanwhile prices have continued to rise, particularly the price of cotton which is now the most important crop of the district. This crop and juar account for 76 per cent of the total cropped area of the district as against 53 per cent at last settlement, the increase in area being at the expense of wheat and linseed, and paragraph 70 of the report shows that as a result of this change and of the greatly enhanced profits of cotton-cultivation the distinction between wheat land and other land, which was the main feature in the soil-classification of the last settlement, has been abandoned in the present settlement. Cultivating profits again have increased substantially, and in the case of cotton, the profits on which the Settlement Officer estimates at Rs. 22 per acre, the increase has been remarkable. Even in the case of rabi crops the rise in cultivating profits is amply sufficient to justify the enhancement now imposed.

4. In paragraph 10 of Mr. Slocock's letter No. 341—XI-4-17, dated the 29th October 1908, forwarding the forecast report, it was proposed to adopt a standard rental enhancement of 20 per cent over the district as a whole. It was at the same time remarked that a 30 per cent standard would not be excessive, as it was then anticipated that the actual rent enhancement might exceed the forecast. The actual enhancement imposed varies from 21 to 27 per cent in the three tahsils, while for the district as a whole it amounts to 25 per cent. The most striking variation from the forecast has occurred in the case of malik-makbuzas, whose payments have been enhanced by 50 per cent for the district as a whole against the original forecast of 25 per cent. But this divergence is justified by the fact subsequently disclosed that these proprietary plots have largely passed into the hands of wealthy money-lenders who sublet them at high competition rates. That the enhancement is not excessive is proved by the fact that in the cotton tracts the average rate of sub-rents for leases of *sir* land has more than doubled since the last settlement and the all-round acreage incidence of rents in all parts of the district is less than half that of the sub-rents. Moreover, the malguzars have been levying heavy *nasaranas* for reletting holdings, and have realized in this way over 8½ lakhs of rupees on 56,655 acres of land relet. The premia thus taken are equal to 1.7 times the rent reserved.

5. The total assets of the district, as revised and announced, are compared below with those forecasted :—

	Rs.	As forecasted. Rs.
Tenants' payments ...	10,06,606	9,95,000
Valuation of home-farm and land held by privileged tenants ...	3,40,291	3,35,000
Siwai ...	48,341	50,000
Total Malguzari assets ...	13,95,238	13,80,000
Malik-makbuzas ...	78,267	63,585

On the revised assets the Settlement Officer has assessed a kamil-jama of Rs. 8,40,666, which falls at 55 per cent as compared with 59 per cent taken at last settlement, and yields an increase of Rs. 1,75,767 or 26 per cent on the existing kamil-jama. Of this amount, a sum of Rs. 26,624 is assigned, leaving a net realizable demand of Rs. 8,14,042, an enhancement of Rs. 1,69,012 or 26 per cent on the present realizable revenue. The total cash payments (malik-makbuzas and tenants combined) have been increased by Rs. 2,27,122, so that the malguzars have gained substantially by resettlement as compared with their position immediately before resettlement. In paragraph 99 the Settlement Officer shows that as compared with their position after the last settlement, which was considered by the Government of India to err on the side of leniency, the malguzars have gained greatly by the present settlement. In the circumstances the assessment is a very moderate one, and the Chief Commissioner feels no hesitation in recommending it for the confirmation of the Government of India. The total cost of the settlement is estimated at Rs. 2,01,706, and will be recovered by less than two years' revenue enhancement.

6. The previous settlement expired on the following dates :—

Wardha tahsil, except one group ...	1st July 1910
„ „ Nachangaon group...	1st July 1911
Hinganghat tahsil ...	1st July 1911
Arvi tahsil ...	1st July 1912

In paragraph 13 of Mr. Slocock's letter No. 341—XI-4-17, dated the 29th October 1908, it was proposed that the term of settlement should be fixed at 20 years, but orders were reserved on this point until the final results were reported, in paragraph 4 of Sir Robert Carlyle's letter No. 105-493-2, dated the 26th January 1909.

Having regard to the fact that the rents, even after the enhancement imposed by the Settlement Officer, are much below the rent which might fairly be demanded, a long-term settlement is undesirable, and Mr. Crump considers that the standard term of 20 years adopted for the Central Provinces in Revenue and Agriculture Department's letter No. 27-383-2, dated the 16th December 1895, is suitable. I am accordingly to recommend this term for the sanction of the Government of India.

7. As regards the Settlement Officer's observations in paragraphs 56, 57 and 58 on the subject of *nazarana*, I am to say that the Chief Commissioner has the question, which is one of considerable importance, under his consideration, and that it will probably be found necessary to deal with it by legislation in connection with the revision of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act.

8. Mr. Smith has carried the settlement of the district through in an expeditious and economical manner, and his report is interesting and shows an intimate acquaintance with the people and the district. Mr. Crump has much pleasure in bringing his services to the notice of the Government of India.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. HULLAH,

*Third Secretary.*

No.  $\frac{2904}{1-74}$

FROM

H. E. HEMINGWAY, ESQ., I. C. S.,

COMMISSIONER OF SETTLEMENTS,

*Central Provinces,*

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER,

SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT DEPARTMENT,

*Central Provinces.*

*Nagpur, the 25th November 1913.*

SIR,

I have the honour to submit the Final Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Wardha district.

2. The Wardha district is situated in the south-west of the Provinces on the Berar border in the undulating plain which lies to the south of the Satpura mountains. Except for some hills in the north-east of the district the surface is gently undulating or flat, and the soil mainly good to medium black cotton. The only river of importance is the Wardha, which divides the district from Berar. The district is divided into three tahsils for administrative purposes, namely, Arvi in the north, Wardha in the middle and Hinganghat in the south. It is traversed from east to west by the Great Indian Peninsula line from Nagpur to Bombay; and from Wardha junction there is a broad gauge line running south to Chanda. Railway communications are in fact good; but feeder roads are very badly required, and at present nearly the whole of the valuable cotton crop finds its way, as best it can, along miserable cart tracks over the heavy black soil. The principal markets are Wardha, Pulgaon and Hinganghat which are all on the railway, but a certain amount of the produce of the north of the district finds its way to Katol in the Nagpur district.

3. About two-thirds of the soil in the district is capable of growing either rabi or kharif, but the high prices of cotton and juar, especially the former, have caused a great extension of these crops at the expense of wheat and linseed, the principal rabi crops. Cotton now accounts for 43 per cent of the cropped area as against 27 per cent at Settlement, and juar accounts for 33 per cent as against 26 per cent at Settlement. Meanwhile the combined wheat and linseed areas only cover 17 per cent of the cropped area as against 36 per cent at Settlement. This change would have been pushed further if the cultivators had not found that the eastern portion of the Hinganghat tahsil was not suited for ~~kharif~~ owing to the heaviness of the soil and rainfall. In the rest of the district the change is fairly complete; but the fact that such a large percentage of the land can grow rabi should be borne in mind, as it makes the position of the cultivator so much stronger. Should the heaviness of the monsoon injure his kharif, he can always plough it up, and sow the land with wheat and linseed.

4. The district was first regularly settled in the years 1862—1866 when the American war and the arrival of the railway had raised prices to a phenomenal extent. The rise in prices was considered to be purely temporary, and little or no change was made in the revenue of the district. Rent fixation was left to the malguzars and tenants for the most part, but the malguzars, with few exceptions, left the rents as they stood before re-settlement, owing to a feeling that they had been treated very generously by Government and evil would befall them were they less generous to the tenants (paragraph 218 of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's

Report). During the currency of the first regular Settlement the great majority of tenants' rents remained untouched; but there was some rent enhancement, and in some cases new tenants were admitted on quite high rents, some of which were reduced by Rai Bahadur Purshottam Dass, who made the second regular Settlement (1891-94). The rent-rolls were also complicated by the fact that malguzars were in the habit of leasing out "khudkasht" on full competition rents for a year or two at a time. The tenants of these holdings were of necessity recorded as ordinary tenants under the Tenancy Act, and their rents to a certain extent exaggerated the rise in the acreage rate. Rai Bahadur Purshottam Dass found that ordinary rents had apparently risen by 51 per cent, and the all-round acreage rate had risen by 23 per cent. At the same time he found that prices had risen by 150 per cent, taking as his starting point the prices ruling before the American war, as these were really the prices on which the 30 years' Settlement was based. He naturally did not include the high ordinary rents mentioned above in the assets on which revenue was to be assessed, but reduced them to a reasonable figure, at the same time enhancing the rents of the protected tenants. As a result of his revision rents compared as follows with those of the 30 years' Settlement.

			Per cent.
Absolute-occupancy	...	...	+30
Occupancy	...	...	+33
Ordinary	...	...	+47
All-round	...	...	+42

5. During the currency of the 30 years' Settlement the occupied area had increased by 14 per cent so that what with this expansion and the rise in the acreage rates the gross assets of the malguzars had risen very largely. As announced by Rai Bahadur Purshottam Dass the gross assets had risen from Rs. 6,71,995 to Rs. 11,14,512, and though he reduced the fraction of assets taken as revenue from 79 per cent to 59 per cent, the revenue of the district was raised from Rs. 5,31,553 to Rs. 6,63,835. The Settlement Officer only raised cash payments from Rs. 7,58,535 to Rs. 8,69,249, so that the malguzars lost Rs. 21,568 by re-settlement.

6. With the exception of the eastern portion of the Hinganghat tahsil, which suffered like other wheat tracts in the famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900, the district has had a very prosperous time since Rai Bahadur Purshottam Dass' Settlement. The famines certainly caused a temporary drop in population, which must have been mainly due to emigration; but the emigrants have returned and the subsequent increase has been above the normal; for whereas the population only rose by 4 per cent between 1881 and 1891, and fell by 4 per cent between 1891 and 1901, the increase between 1901 and 1911 was as much as 19 per cent.

7. Meanwhile prices have continued to rise. The price per khandi (720 lbs.) of unginmed cotton at the last Settlement was Rs. 50 and the average price since then up to 1911-12 was Rs. 65-12-0. But the lowest price touched since 1904-05 is Rs. 68 per khandi at Hinganghat, and the average price at Wardha since 1905-06 is nearly Rs. 83 per khandi. The rise in the price of the other staples is smaller. In the case of wheat Mr. Smith (paragraph 41 of his report) only gives figures up to 1910, and the average for the period 1906-1910 inclusive (excluding 1908 a year of distress) is just over Rs. 19 per khandi of 411½ lbs. as against Rs. 13 at Settlement. In the case of juar the average price from 1906-1910 inclusive (again excluding 1908) is 14½ seers per rupee as against 19 seers per rupee at Settlement. The price of linseed fluctuates too much to be discussed to any useful purpose; moreover linseed now only covers 6 per cent of the cropped area of the district as against 15 per cent at Settlement.

8. In paragraphs 52 and 53 Mr. Smith has worked out the profits of cultivation at present and at the previous Settlements. The rise in cultivating profits is common to all crops but is most marked in the case of cotton, which now stand at Rs. 22 per acre as against Rs. 13-5-0 per acre at last Settlement and

Rs. 3-5-0 per acre at the first Settlement. The rise in juar is apparently not so marked, being only from Rs. 5 at the first Settlement to Rs. 10-13-0 at the second Settlement and Rs. 12-15-0 at present: but Mr. Smith omits the rise in the value of the juar stalks, as these, like wheat straw, are hardly ever bought and sold. There must, however, be some extra profit from these items, and more in the case of juar, to account for the decline in the area under wheat as compared to juar: juar fodder is not only better, but also the produce per acre is greater. Taking the grain alone into consideration wheat is more profitable to grow than juar; and the increase in cultivating profits is greater, the figures being as follows: at the first Settlement Rs. 4-8-0 per acre; at the second Settlement Rs. 9-11-0 per acre; at present Rs. 13-2-0 per acre. The profits of wheat cultivation are not to be compared with those from cotton, and hence the cry of the tenants of the western portion of the Hinganghat tahsil that their rents could not be enhanced because they could not grow cotton: as a matter of fact the rise in the cultivating profits of wheat has been such as to justify a very considerable enhancement of rents: but the far greater increase in the profits of cotton cultivation has obscured this fact, especially in the eyes of the growers of wheat.

9. Mr. Smith's figures for cultivating profits are strongly confirmed by the cropping statistics of the district, and also by the varying rise in the acreage rate of sub-leases and of nazaranas in different parts of the district. In paragraph 33 Mr. Smith gives an interesting table showing the percentage of the cropped area covered by each of the four principal crops—wheat, linseed, cotton and juar at each Settlement. Since last Settlement the wheat percentage has fallen from 21 to 11 and that of linseed from 15 to 6; whilst the cotton percentage has risen from 27 to 43 and that of juar from 26 to 33. At present cotton and juar account for 76 per cent of the cropped area of the district.

10. Sub-leases are dealt with in paragraph 54 of the Report. In the best cotton tract of the district, namely, the Arvi and Ashti groups of the Arvi tahsil, the acreage rate of sub-rents has risen from Rs. 4-1-9 at Settlement to Rs. 9-3-0 at attestation for sub-leases of *sir*, and for sub-leases of tenants' land from Rs. 3-4-6 to Rs. 7-14-9. Meanwhile in the Hinganghat tahsil which contains the rabi tract of the district, the acreage rate of sub-rents of *sir* has only risen from Rs. 1-15-6 at last Settlement to Rs. 2-14-0 at attestation, whilst sub-rents of tenancy land have risen from Rs. 1-7-8 per acre to Rs. 2-4-2 per acre. In paragraph 56 Mr. Smith shows that nazaranas in the Arvi and Ashti groups average Rs. 54-7-10 per acre, whilst in the Hinganghat tahsil they average only Rs. 6-2-3 per acre.

11. A word of explanation is required about nazaranas. Mr. Smith gives their history in paragraphs 57 and 58 of his report: briefly it is as follows:—Up to the time of the second Settlement no malguzar worried himself about the effect of raising rents when he had the chance; but at the second Settlement it became obvious that the more a malguzar had raised rents the heavier his Settlement would be. The malguzars then hit on the plan of capitalising the increased value of the land when reletting a holding, and simply gave it out on the old rent on receipt of a nazarana corresponding to the increase in its value. In this way the new tenant was weakened, for he had either to spend most of, if not all, his available capital, or else write a bond for the amount of the nazarana; and in addition to this Government was deprived of its share in the rise in the value of the land. The tenant was made in every case to sign an agreement making him responsible for any enhancement of the rent of the holding imposed at Settlement, and this safeguarded the malguzar against any action by the Settlement Officer under Section 63 of the Tenancy Act.

12. Mr. Smith proposes a method of dealing with this evil, for evil it undoubtedly is, but the weakness of his suggestion is that it is to no one's advantage to say that a nazarana has been given or taken. I would suggest that the simplest method of dealing with the evil, which is common in most districts, would be to make any agreement between the tenant and the malguzar that the former should be responsible for the rent enhancement imposed at Settlement illegal, so that the tenant who could prove that he had paid a nazarana would have a strong inducement to make the fact known at Settlement; he would be saved from enhancement by so doing. At the same time paragraph

216 of the Settlement Code should be amended so as to enable the Settlement Officer to fix the rent of the holding at a figure to be deduced from the nazarana paid, for the purpose of calculating the assessable assets of the mahal; thus Government interests would also be safeguarded.

13. But to return to the economic condition of the tenants. In paragraph 4 above it has been shown that the result of the second Settlement was to raise rents to a pitch 42 per cent above that at the 30 years' Settlement. Since then the rent-rate has stagnated, for the malguzars have almost invariably utilized their scanty opportunities for raising rents to take nazaranas instead. It is therefore quite obvious that any enhancement now imposed will not even absorb the balance of statistically justifiable enhancement which was not imposed at last Settlement much less will it touch on the further enhancement justified by the large increase in cultivating profits which has taken place since last Settlement.

14. The present Settlement has been conducted on the ordinary lines laid down by the code, with certain developments of the procedure adopted at last Settlement. These developments are dealt with in paragraphs 67-71 of the report, and need not be touched on here. The most interesting feature was the attempt to distinguish between fields according to their accessibility. The absence of such a distinction was undoubtedly a weak point in the old classification of kharif growing land, though of not so much importance in rabi land. The result of the re-settlement tahsil by tahsil is as follows on tenants' payments :—

		Per cent.
Wardha tahsil	...	+27
Arvi tahsil	...	+27
Hinganghat tahsil	...	+21
Whole district	...	+25

In paragraph 86 Mr. Smith gives a statement showing the average rent of an acre of Morand I in each group before and after revision. The lowest after revision is Rs. 1-1-7 in the Girar group of Hinganghat, and the highest is Rs. 2-13-1 in the Ashti group of Arvi. In that neighbourhood sub-rents run to Rs. 7-14-9 per acre, and nazaranas to Rs. 54-7-10 per acre. In view of what has been written above these enhancements are exceedingly moderate, and have as Mr. Smith points out in paragraphs 101 and 103 of his report, caused practically no discontent: they could not possibly cause any hardship. The enhancements on malik-makbuza payments are much more severe, being as follows :—

		Per cent.
Wardha tahsil	...	+61
Arvi tahsil	...	+45
Hinganghat tahsil	...	+42
Whole district	...	+50

The reason for this difference is that the malik-makbuza holdings had largely fallen into the hands of money-lenders, who were sub-letting them on high sub-rents, and Mr. Smith, in such cases, made free use of Section 216 of the Settlement Code, which permits the Settlement Officer to fix rents above the deduced rents in cases where this is justified by the sub-rent.

15. Home-farm has been valued at the sanctioned village unit-rate in each mahal, less any deductions on account of improvements.

16. Siwai is of only minor importance in this district. The principal items are as follows :—

		Rs.
Mangoes	...	5,155
Mahua	...	3,514
Tadi	...	15,781
Timber	...	5,321
Grass and grazing	...	11,522



Owing to changes in the excise system the value of mahua has fallen in the Wardha district, whereas the value of tadi has risen. In the old days a contract was given for all the tadi of the district but now the shops are separately auctioned, and there is an opening for competition.

17. The assets as revised are as follows:—

		Rs.	As forecasted by Government of India. Rs.
Tenants' payments	...	10,06,606	9,95,000
Home-farm	...	3,40,291	3,35,000
Siwai	...	48,341	50,000
Total malguzari	...	13,95,238	13,80,000
Malik-makbuzas	...	78,267	63,585

18. The standard fraction of malguzari assets to be taken as revenue was fixed at 55 per cent under the orders of the Government of India, and the Chief Commissioner estimated that with a standard of 55 per cent the Settlement Officer would actually only take 54 per cent of the revised malguzari assets as revenue. Before the Settlement was nearly completed Mr. Chitnavis carried his resolution in the Viceroy's Council to the effect that only half the increase in malguzari assets should be taken as revenue. As a result of a somewhat strict application of this rule the actual fraction of malguzari assets taken as revenue is 55 per cent. The revised malguzari kamil-jama of the district works out at Rs. 7,71,250 as against a forecast of Rs. 7,46,000. Owing to the heavier enhancements imposed on malik-makbuzas, and to the fact that the drawback allowed to malguzars for the trouble of collection was reduced in the latter groups, the revenue actually obtained from malik-makbuzas was Rs. 68,210 as compared to a forecast of Rs. 54,000. The gross revised kamil-jama of the district amounts to Rs. 8,40,666, an enhancement of Rs. 1,75,767 or 26 per cent on the present kamil-jama. The total cash payments (malik-makbuzas and tenants combined) have been increased by Rs. 2,27,122, so that the malguzars have gained substantially by re-settlement as compared to their position immediately before re-settlement. In paragraph 99 Mr. Smith shows that as compared to their position after last Settlement, which was considered to err if anything on the side of leniency, the malguzars have gained very greatly by the present Settlement. Of the revised kamil-jama Rs. 26,624 is assigned to private persons or charitable objects, and the net realizable demand is Rs. 8,14,042, an enhancement of Rs. 1,69,012 or 26 per cent on the present realizable revenue. The difference between the kamil-jama now assessed and that forecasted is only Rs. 40,666 or 5 per cent, and calls for no remark.

19. Deferred enhancement has been allowed in 34 cases, and the revised realizable revenue will be reduced somewhat in its earlier years. The stages by which the full demand will be reached are as follows:—

		Rs.
First 5 years	...	8,11,802
Second 5 years	...	8,13,377
Remaining years	...	8,14,042

20. There have only been 81 appeals by tenants against their rents, and 8 appeals by malguzars against the revenue assessed. Of the tenants' appeals 3 only were successful, and of the malguzars only 1.

21. The revised assessment took effect from, and will run to, the following dates in each tahsil:—

Wardha	{ 70 villages from	1-7-11 to 30-6-1931.
	{ Rest from	1-7-10 to 30-6-1930.
Arvi	from	1-7-12 to 30-6-1932.
Hinganghat	,,	1-7-11 to 30-6-1931.

22. Of Mr. Smith's work as Settlement Officer I am not in a position to speak, but his report shows in every line his intimate knowledge of the district, and sympathy with the people. He speaks highly of his Assistant Settlement Officers Messrs. Chhotelal Gowardhan Bhutt, Lakshman Aba Kurzadkar and Lala Chhotelal Verma. Mr. Muhammad Zaki was too junior and inexperienced to do much except in the last year of the operations, but Mr. Smith says he promises well.

23. The cost of the Settlement works out at Rs. 2,01,706 or Rs. 90-13-9 per square mile. The increase in realizable revenue is Rs. 1,69,012 so that the cost of the operations will be repaid in  $1\frac{1}{4}$  years.

24. The appendices to the report are not in the form required by Section 300 of the Settlement Code, as Mr. Smith wrote the report before the paragraph was amended.

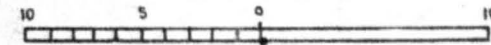
I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

H. E. HEMINGWAY,  
*Commissioner of Settlements,  
 Central Provinces.*

Scale 1 inch = 8 Miles



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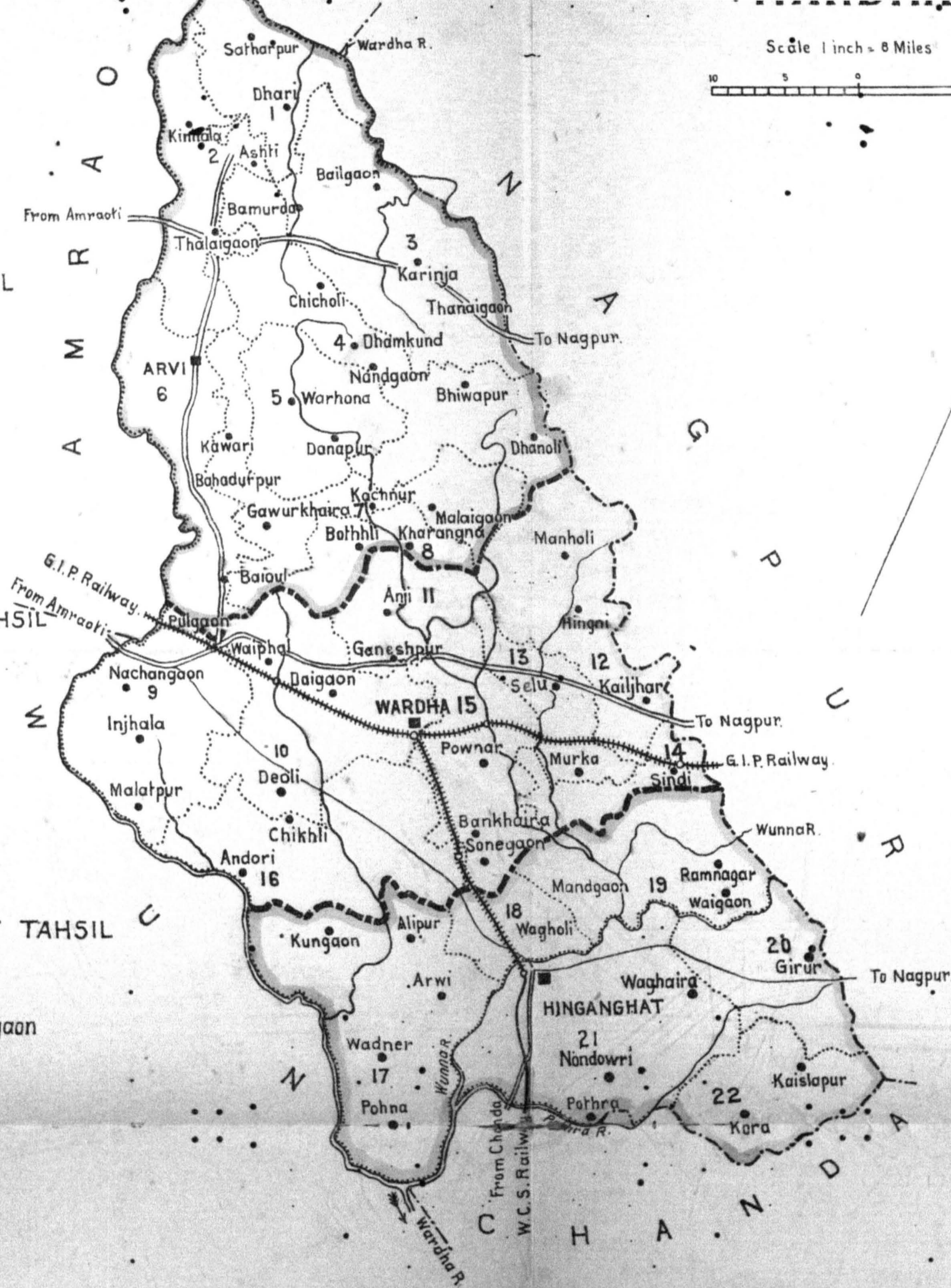


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# REPORT ON THE LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT OF THE WARDHA DISTRICT EFFECTED DURING THE YEAR 1908-1912.

## PART I.

### CHAPTER I.—PHYSICAL FEATURES.

The district lies between  $20^{\circ} 18'$  and  $21^{\circ} 21'$  north latitude and  $78^{\circ} 30'$  and  $79^{\circ} 15'$  east longitude. It forms a triangle with its apex towards the north-west. The base rests on the Chanda District, the eastern side is bounded by Nagpur, while on the western side the river Wardha separates it from Berar.

2. The north of the district consists of a hilly region, formed by spurs projecting from the great Satpura Chain. The hill ranges run generally in a south-easterly direction. For the most part they are rugged and stony, but after the rains they are covered with abundant grass, affording pasture to large herds of buffaloes and cattle. In the Arvi tahsil, however, many of the hills are clothed with small teak and other timber, and the valleys between are rich and fertile. In the north a succession of *ghats*—abrupt escarpments in the trap rock—mark the steps by which the country rises from the bed of the Wardha river to the confines of Nagpur District. The best known are the *ghats* of Talegaon, Chicholi, Dhamkund and Thanegaon. The central cluster of hills includes the hills of Malegaon (1,726 feet above sea level), Nandgaon (1,874 feet) and Jaitgarh (2,086 feet)—the highest point in Wardha which forms the watershed of the district. From the north and west of this range numerous small streams make their way towards the river Wardha, while from the south and south-east the Dham, the Bar and the Yesoda streams flow down the length of the district in a south-easterly direction. But, except the Wardha, with its affluent the Wana, the district does not contain any river of importance. To the south the country spreads out in an undulating plain, intersected by water-courses, and broken here and there by isolated hills, rising abruptly from the surface. In general, the lowlands are fairly well wooded, the commonest trees being the mango, tamarind, nim and pipal, with clumps of date-palm fringing the water-courses. In the west of the tahsil of Hinganghat the country is singularly bare, while towards the east the remains of a tract of jungle extend.

3. The great sheet of trap which covers Berar underlies the whole of the district. The stratification is regular and continuous, and the angle of inclination generally small. The usual succession is black soil resting on nodular trap, between which and the underlying trap a fresh-water formation intervenes. The black soil varies in depth from 10 feet to a few inches, the average thickness being about 2 feet. It is generally found intermixed with nodular limestone, the exposed fragments of which are collected and burnt for mortar. At Girar the plain is strewn with curious coprolitic concretions, resembling nutmegs, which have issued from the soft rock beneath. Six centuries ago, the Musalman Saint, Shaikh Khwaja Farid, dwelt on the top of the hill, and the story runs that these concretions are the petrified cocoanuts of two travelling traders who mocked the holy man, on which he turned their whole stock-in-trade into stones. Owing to the sameness of the geological formation, Wardha has not any variety of mineral products. No ores or coal have yet been found. The black basalt supplies good building stone, and in a few places quarries of flag-stones have been opened.

The river Wardha rises in the Satpura hills between Nagpur and Betul. It flows south-east, parting the Nagpur, Wardha and Chanda Districts from Berar and His Highness the Nizam's Dominions. The bed of the river is rocky and deep, and in the monsoon becomes a furious torrent. In the hot months it is nearly everywhere fordable. At Pulgaon the Great Indian Peninsula Railway

crosses the river on an iron bridge, constructed of fourteen sixty-foot girders, resting on masonry piers. The valley of the Wardha, famous for its cotton, lies between the river and the jumble of hills in the north-east corner of the district.

4. The district is divided into three tahsils—Arvi, Wardha and Hinganghat. Except in the wheat tract (to the south-east of the Hinganghat tahsil) cotton and juar are the crops to which the ryot looks for his living. A little rabi may be sown where cotton and juar could not be planted or came to nothing; but three-quarters of the district is devoted to the kharif staples. The exclusive cultivation of cotton and juar is carried to its greatest extreme in the north-west of the district, and as one proceeds south-eastwards the character of the cropping gradually becomes more varied. Rabi becomes more and more common until, south of the Great Indian Peninsula main line and east of the Warora branch railway, cotton and juar begin to be almost a rarity. The country in the extreme south-east is a sea of wheat and linseed with patches of gram or rabi til. The contrast between the look of the country about Mangrul in the south-east and at Arvi in the north-west is striking.

5. The Arvi tahsil is divided into two very distinct tracts considerably differing in character. The valley of the Wardha river between the hills and the river is the most productive part of the district. Even in a bad year like 1907-08 crops were little short of normal. The valley corresponds to the Settlement groups of Dhari, Ashti and Arvi and is entirely devoted to cotton and juar. The soil is level and of excellent quality and the people are as prosperous as it is possible for Kunbis and Telis to be with their family festivals, their law suits and their consequent debts. The hilly portion of the tahsil, corresponding to the groups of Karanja, Dhamkund, Wadhona, Kachnur and Kharangna, was at the 30 years' Settlement a really jungly tract inhabited by Gonds and wild beasts. Of late years the hills, except in Government reserves and the village forests of one or two enlightened malguzars, have been cleared of all but scrub and the valleys are all under cultivation. In spite of the hilly character of the country there is plenty of good soil and although less abundantly prosperous than the valley and more apt to suffer if the rainfall is short, the crops in this hilly tract are in most years quite good and the cultivators are by no means ill off. The villages are valuable for their grazing, timber and other forest products, which are scarce and dear in the rest of the district. The main crops are cotton and juar, though a little irrigated wheat is grown about Karanja and rabi is generally less uncommon than in the valley.

6. The line of hills turns sharply to the north-east above Rasulabad on the southern boundary of the Arvi tahsil and its skirts form the boundary between the Arvi and Wardha tahsils as far as Ridhora. From Ridhora the boundary of the Arvi tahsil turns almost due north while the line of hills continues its north-easterly course leaving in the Wardha tahsil, north of Hingni, a hilly corner exactly similar to the hilly part of Arvi. Apart from this corner, which forms the northern part of the Keljhar group, the Wardha tahsil is an undulating plain broken only by rivers and by rising ground about Keljhar and in the Anji group. Except in the Sindi group at the south-east corner, which belongs to the wheat tract, the Wardha plain is mainly devoted to the kharif staples, cotton and juar, and the best part (between Anji, Elikeli and Selu) is equal in productiveness to the Wardha valley. The hilly corner, north of Hingni, and a few villages between Hingni and Keljhar are on poor soils, but in the main the Wardha tahsil is exceedingly fertile, producing abundant cotton, juar, wheat and linseed and rarely suffering from anything like scarcity.

7. The Hinganghat tahsil is divided into two portions. The western part as far as the Warora Railway is a continuation of the Wardha tahsil and similar to it in all its features. The eastern part consists of heavier soil almost entirely devoted to rabi. Wheat and linseed are less certain crops than cotton in years of short rainfall and the rabi tract is gradually contracting while cotton cultivation spreads. In 1907-08 and 1908-09 the wheat tract had a good crop with produce at famine prices and prospered, but of late years wheat villages are falling behind kharif villages.



8. The district is thus divided into three more or less homogeneous tracts:—

- (i) The wheat tract consisting of the groups of Wagholi, Mandgaon Waigaon, Girar, Hinganghat and Kora in Hinganghat and the Sindi group in the Wardha tahsil.
- (ii) The hilly tract to the north-west consisting of the Karanja, Dhamkund, Wadhona, Kachnur and Kharangna groups in Arvi and part of the Keljhar group in Wardha, devoted principally to kharif, low rented and fairly prosperous.
- (iii) The Wardha valley in Arvi, nearly all the Wardha tahsil and the western group of Hinganghat, a plain undulating except in the Wardha valley, and devoted almost entirely to cotton and juar. This is the most prosperous part of the district.

#### CHAPTER II.—THE PEOPLE.

9. The area of the district is 2,404 square miles of which 184 square miles are Government forest. At the last Settlement (1892—94) the area of the settled villages was taken as—

Tahsil.	Acres.	Square miles.
Wardha	503,672	786.99
Hinganghat	456,843	713.82
Arvi	456,025	712.53
Total	1,416,540	2,213.34

In 1866, at the time of the 30 years' Settlement, the population of the district was 344,000 and in 1872 it had increased to 355,000 or by rather more than 3 per cent. The population at subsequent enumerations was—

Tahsil.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Wardha	155,485	158,215	152,565	177,534
Hinganghat	110,600	111,465	94,801	116,090
Arvi	121,136	131,174	137,737	166,172
Total	387,221	400,854	385,103	459,796

In the Arvi tahsil there is still some waste land to break up, and this is the only part of the district where population was not reduced by the famines. Hinganghat suffered most.

10. According to the Census of 1911, the total population of the district is 459,796 souls or 207 per square mile and the population is distributed as follows over the three tahsils:—

Tahsil.	Population.	Per square mile.
Wardha	177,534	225
Hinganghat	116,090	162
Arvi	166,172	232

Thus the increase or decrease in population compared in each case with the last preceding enumeration is—

1872	...	Increase of	...	3 per cent
1881	...	"	...	9 "
1891	...	"	...	4 "
1901	...	Decrease of	...	4 "
1911	...	Increase of	...	19 "

11. The principal castes are in order of numerical importance—

Castes and occupation.	Number.	Per cent.
Kunbis	86,753	19
Mahars	69,171	15
Gonds	40,694	9
Telis	45,012	10
Malis	20,746	5
Musalmans	15,881	3
Brahmins	12,106	3
Gowaris	15,823	3
Bhoys	11,705	3

With occupations, saving those connected with agriculture, I have nothing to do directly. The agricultural population is shown to be 76 per cent of the total population of the district made up as follows :—

	Number.	Per cent.
Landholders	7,122	2
Tenants	129,668	28
Farm servants	53,247	12
Field labourers	148,574	32
Herdsmen	8,999	2
General unskilled labourers	1,466	...
Total	349,076	76

The bulk of the villages are held by Kunbis, Brahmans, Marathas and Marwaris, while the tenants are mostly Kunbis, Brahmans, Telis, Malis or Gonds. Farm servants and field labourers will be either Mahars, Gonds, or impoverished Kunbis and Telis; but it is remarkable what a large proportion of the field labourers and farm servants own tenancy rights in land. These are often clear of debt and could without much difficulty fit themselves out with a pair of bullocks and the necessary seed to start cultivation on their own account. They prefer however to make a little pocket money by letting out their fields and earn a living as ploughmen (Awatia), farm foremen (Awari), or even by casual labour. The persons lumped together as "general unskilled labour" are in the cold weather often employed in or about the cotton gins as porters, carters and such like. In the hot weather the gins close and they go back to their villages and are taken on as extra ploughmen, and in the rains they sell their services to the highest bidder for the weeding, sowing and other agricultural jobs of the busy season.

12. The fact is that the decrease in population following upon the famines, the cotton boom and the improvements in agricultural methods (presently to be referred to) has so much increased the demand for casual labour that the wages of copies are now at least double what they were in 1894. The Kolam, Gond, and above all the Mahar are no longer the poor and downtrodden persons described at the end of paragraph 34 of Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas's Settlement Report. The fact that a man is a Mahar is indeed regarded as a sign that he has some command of ready money, as I often found when I used to sell mangoes and such like by auction for the Court of Wards. The better sort of Mahar now declines to be the village drudge his father was and finds it pay to resign the share in the hides of dead cattle, which as a "Pandhri Mahar" he might claim from the Kotwar in return for odd jobs performed for the community. He now does some petty dealing in cotton, takes a few fields as sub-tenant and can afford to pay a good price for them because (so says malicious rumour) he only needs the land to account for the piles of cotton in his barn, which are really stolen at night from his neighbours' fields.

13. The tenants of the district were at attestation carefully classed according to their prosperity or poverty into the following five classes:—

- Tenants.
- A Well-to-do, lending money or grain or owning land as malguzar.
  - B In substantial cultivating circumstances, free from debt, or with debt inconsiderable in proportion to assets.
  - C In average circumstances, with ordinary debt, but free from mortgage or special risk of losing the holding.
  - D In reduced circumstances, having fallen in the world, and become deeply indebted or having mortgaged.
  - E Living from hand-to-mouth (Nadar), such as Gonds or ryots without bullocks, and of the status of day labourers.

I subjoin a table showing for each tahsil the proportion of the total number of tenants which fall into each class:—

	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.
Wardha ...	1,604	3,446	9,422	2,336	By a mistake on my part tenants who should have been classed E where in these tahsils classed D.
Per cent.	10	20	56	14	
Hinganghat ...	611	3,154	5,331	1,712	By a mistake on my part tenants who should have been classed E where in these tahsils classed D.
Per cent.	6	29	49	16	
Arvi ...	778	1,792	6,606	1,078	1,129
Per cent.	7	16	58	9	10
Total ...	2,993	8,392	21,359	5,126	1,129
Per cent.	8	21	55	13	3

The small tenants, who let out their holdings on sub-rents and themselves prefer working as labourers to farming their holdings, were in Wardha and Hinganghat tahsils classed as D, but in Arvi were more correctly included among E class tenants. This is why there are no E class tenants in the two tahsils first named. Taking them all round the tenants of the district are now as prosperous (I suppose) as any in India and it would be interesting, but too long and difficult, to multiply statistics showing how their standard of living has improved of recent years. It is now rare to see a tenant who does not possess an ample supply of the white cotton clothing affected by the inhabitants of the

Maratha country, a coloured *pagri* to tie on his head, a serviceable pair of shoes on his feet and even an umbrella to shelter him from sun and rain. It is now universally admitted that the minimum sum a respectable Kunbi can spend on his son's marriage without appearing stingy would twenty years ago have represented nothing but sinful extravagance. Above all the sums spent on the national amusement of litigation have increased out of all knowledge. Of the latter statement sufficient proof is to be found in the fact that twenty years ago there was only enough Court work to support 10 pleaders in the head-quarters town while in 1910 there were 25 pleaders in full practice—all earning a living—and six or eight rapidly becoming wealthy.

14. The castes into which the tenants of the district are divided are shown in the following table:—

Tahsil.	Kunbi.	Teli.	Mali.	Brahmin.	Others.	Total.
Wardha ...	5,623	3,131	1,395	1,122	5,537	16,808
Hinganghat ...	3,954	1,720	320	516	4,298	10,808
Arvi ...	3,111	896	1,070	508	5,798	11,383
Total ...	12,688	5,747	2,785	2,146	15,633	38,999

Good cultivators are found among every caste but are commonest among Kunbis, Malis and Telis and rarest among low castes like Gonds and Mahars. Brahmans and Marwaris as a rule care more about getting high sub-rents by subletting their land than about farming; but even among these there are honourable exceptions. The caste most typical of the tenants of the district is the Kunbi and it is common everywhere, and most usual in the Wardha tahsil, to find a family of Kunbis as *malguzars* (or *Patels* as they prefer to be called), and the bulk of the tenants belonging to the same caste. Here the tradition of the *Patel* being no more than the head *ryot* among his fellow *ryots* will be still alive and vigorous, and in most of such villages landlords and tenants live together in a friendly and harmonious manner and help one another with loans of grain, carts and cattle as need arises. The *Teli* is a less amiable character generally a much sharper business man with an eye to making a bit by dabbling in grain, or cotton speculating, or to establishing a grain dealing or money-lending business. He drinks more and has a more quarrelsome disposition, and is apt to be unpopular with his neighbour in so much that it is regarded as unlucky to meet a *Teli* when starting out upon any undertaking. A *Mali* is quiet and peaceful, a *Gond* simple, honest, hardworking and easily cheated, and a *Mahar* has all the unamiable traits to be expected in a caste which has been despised and downtrodden for ages. It is a quaint sight to see an ancient *Mahar* woman with a beef bone in her hand defying the emissary of some Court of Justice to come on and execute his warrant, process, or whatever the paper in his hand may be.

15. There can be little doubt that the general body of tenants in the district are much less in debt and much less tyrannised over and robbed by the money-lender than they were at the outset of Settlement. The impression created by reading the Settlement Report of Rai Bahadur Purushottomdas is very different from the impression left upon my mind after more than four years in the district. Debt is of course prevalent but in my belief not often burdensome. It is one thing to farm with borrowed capital and quite another to be in danger of sinking down to the condition of the money-lender's bond slave. Ruinous practices, such as *lawani* (or selling crops before harvest at prices far below their real value) are described in the last Settlement Report (paragraph 41) as very prevalent, whereas I found this way of wasting the cultivator's substance to be very much the exception. Litigation is after all a pastime, and money is wasted upon it as such; and the general impression of thriftless extravagance left on

the mind by my predecessor's report is hardly the impression which most people would nowadays carry away after a sojourn among the tenants of Wardha. I give below a table contrasting the indebtedness of the ryots as found by Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas and as now ascertained by individual enquiry, in the villages:—

Table.	Number of indebted tenants.							Rs. Over 500.	Total.	Total number of tenants in the District.
	Below 50.	Not exceeding								
		Rs. 100.	Rs. 200.	Rs. 300.	Rs. 400.	Rs. 500.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
At last settlement ...	1,043	1,317	1,247	500	500	510	602	5,719	15,001	
Percentage to total No. of tenants.	7	9	8	3	3	3	4	38	...	
WARDHA.										
At present ...	755	913	1,137	648	409	290	1,070	5,223	16,808	
Percentage to total No. of tenants.	4	5	7	4	2	2	6	31	...	
At last settlement ...	821	976	1,055	649	346	197	351	4,395	11,171	
Percentage to total No. of tenants.	7	9	9	6	3	2	3	39	...	
HINGARHAT.										
At present ...	932	1,062	1,050	544	299	205	570	4,663	10,808	
Percentage to total No. of tenants.	9	10	10	5	3	2	5	43	...	
At last settlement ...	925	1,134	993	582	332	513	679	5,156	13,484	
Percentage to total No. of tenants.	7	8	7	4	2	4	5	38	...	
ARVI.										
At present ...	663	905	1,190	720	483	425	850	5,233	11,383	
Percentage to total No. of tenants.	6	8	10	6	4	4	8	46	...	
At last settlement ...	2,797	3,427	3,395	1,731	1,178	1,320	1,632	15,270	39,596	
Percentage to total No. of tenants.	7	9	8	4	3	3	4	38	...	
TOTAL.										
At present ...	2,349	2,880	3,377	1,912	1,191	920	2,460	15,116	38,699	
Percentage to total No. of tenants.	6	7	9	5	3	2	6	39	...	

16. The landlords of the district are members of numerous castes, but the great bulk are members of only four or five castes, *viz.*, Kunbis, Telis, Brahmans, Marathas and Marwaris. So many mahals are held by mixed bodies of proprietors, that it is difficult to draw up tables to show at a glance how the proprietary right is distributed among the various agricultural, pastoral and non-agricultural classes. There are, however, in the district 603 mahals held by single proprietors and 813 held by homogeneous bodies of malguzars, while 433 mahals are held by mixed bodies. The following series of statements shows how the mahals held

by homogeneous bodies or single proprietors are distributed among the various classes :—

*Homogeneous Malguzari Bodies and Single Proprietors.*

I.—AGRICULTURAL CASTES.

Castes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
Kunbis	650	2,866	567	2,578
Telis	52	130	49	103
Malis	22	110	16	29
Lodhis	2	6	2	6
Rajputs	40	88	37	91
Mahars	3	8	1	10
Others	2	2	1	2
Total	771	3,210	673	2,819

II.—ABORIGINAL AND PASTORAL CLASSES.

Castes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
Gonds	2	6	1	4
Gaolis	6	7	4	7
Dhangars	4	8	3	7
Bhoys	22	127	16	103
Dhusars	7	19	7	19
Total	41	167	31	140

III.—PARTLY AGRICULTURAL AND PARTLY NON-AGRICULTURAL.

Castes.	Last Settlement		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
Musalman	25	105	26	132
Marathas	98	195	104	162
Total	123	300	130	294

*Homogeneous Malguzari Bodies and Single Proprietors.*

IV.—NON-AGRICULTURAL.—A. LITERATE AND MONEY-LENDING.

Castes.	Last Settlement		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
Maratha Brahmins	508	1,367	462	1,329
Gujrathi Brahmins	3	3	3	3
Hindustani Brahmins	4	11	5	10
Chitnavis	13	19	7	11
Gosains	8	17	6	7
Banias	10	22	6	16
Marwaris	47	96	42	52
Kalars	9	22	7	9
Bairagis	2	3	2	4
Vidurs	12	50	10	14
Buttis	3	3	2	3
Total	619	1,593	552	1,458

IV.—NON-AGRICULTURAL.—B. INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.

Castes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
Sonars	14	58	12	67
Simpis	1	1	...	...
Kasars	1	9	6	6
Mhals	3	15	3	20
Koshtis	2	5	5	9
Kumbhars	...	...	1	2
Total	21	88	27	104

VI.—NON-AGRICULTURAL.—C. OTHERS.

Castes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
Others	2	11	3	26
TOTAL NON-AGRICULTURAL	642	1,692	582	1,583

*Abstract of Homogeneous Malguzari Bodies and Single Proprietors.*

Classes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
I.—Agricultural	771	3,210	673	2,819
II.—Aboriginal and pastoral	41	167	31	140
III.—Mixed classes (Marathas and Musalmans)	123	300	130	294
IV.—Non-agricultural	642	1,692	582	1,588
Total	1,577	5,369	1,416	4,841

The rest of the mahals in the district, 433 in number, are held by mixed bodies of malguzars and the following set of tables show how many of the proprietors belong to each caste. Some of the malguzars who have already appeared once in the previous lot of tables come over again in these:—

*Mixed Proprietary Bodies.*

I.—AGRICULTURAL CASTES.

Castes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
Kunbis	85	1,116	142	1,786
Telis	13	132	21	212
Malis	8	211	9	314
Lodhis	2	3	2	3
Rajputs	6	11	11	44
Mahars	...	...	3	9
Others	1	1	1	1
Total	115	1,474	189	2,369

II.—ABORIGINAL AND PASTORAL CLASSES.

Castes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
Gonds	1	6	2	13
Dhangars	...	...	1	1
Bhoys	2	6	3	16
Total	3	12	6	30



## III.—PARTLY AGRICULTURAL, AND PARTLY NON-AGRICULTURAL.

Castes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
Musalmans	22	72	17	63
Marathas	17	51	15	67
Total	39	123	32	130

## IV.—NON-AGRICULTURAL.

Castes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
1	2	3	4	5
A.—LITERATE AND MONEY-LENDING.				
Maratha Brahmins	53	235	91	484
Gujrathi Brahmins	...	...	2	4
Hindustani Brahmins	...	...	1	4
Chitnavis	2	5	5	18
Gosains	5	12	6	21
Banias	4	12	6	11
Marwaris	41	154	60	341
Kalars	3	7	5	29
Vidurs	1	1	5	28
Buttis	1	1	3	5
Total	110	427	184	945
B.—INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.				
Sonars	3	5	3	17
Simpis	...	...	1	2
Kasars	6	10	10	22
Koshtis	7	40	4	30
Lohars	...	...	1	1
Total	16	55	19	72
C.—OTHERS.				
	4	5	3	5
TOTAL NON-AGRICULTURAL	130	487	206	1,022

*Abstract of mixed Proprietary Bodies.*

Classes.	Last Settlement.		Present.	
	Mahals.	Proprietors.	Mahals.	Proprietors.
I	2	3	4	5
I.—Agricultural	115	1,474	189	2,369
II.—Aboriginal and pastoral	3	12	6	30
III.—Mixed classes (Marathas and Musalmans)	39	123	32	130
IV.—Non-Agricultural	130	487	206	1,022
Total	287	2,096	433	3,551
GRAND TOTAL OF HOMOGENIOUS SINGLE AND MIXED PROPRIETORS.	1,864	7,465	1,849	8,392

17. There is of course the greatest difference between a malguzar such as the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis or Dewan Bahadur Ballabhdas, the Jubbulpore financier, and the ordinary prosperous Kunbi. The line is not always easy to draw, but it is interesting to observe that the following numbers of mahals are held in whole or in part as portions of several large estates:—

Chitnavis family	...	2 complete mahals and shares in 5 more.
D. B. Ballabhdas	...	9 " " " 8 "
Raja Bahadur Raghuji Rao Bhonsla.	22	complete mahals.
Kuar Lachman Rao Bhonsla.	11	" "
Seth Narsingdas Mohta	...	5 complete mahals and shares in 6 more.
Bhagwant Atmaram Dhongde.	22	" " " 38 "
Ghatate	...	9 " " " 8 "
The Buti Brothers	...	6 " " " 6 "
Ashti Deshpandes	...	0 " " " 31 "

As to the balance of the malguzars of the district it is difficult to make any general statement or to produce any concise figures. Three per cent of the 8,392 malguzari shares, into which the villages of the district are divided, are held by poor persons equivalent only to D class tenants—that is to say poor and embarrassed, likely to lose their shares by foreclosure and sometimes obliged to accept employment as field labourers. Another 11 per cent are held by small yeomen who possess no more than one or two pairs of bullocks and are in debt to a certain extent, but not sufficiently to cause any serious embarrassment or risk of their shares being lost—these we may regard as equivalent to C class tenants. Of the balance, 18 per cent are held by good sound yeomen with debt small in proportion to their means or altogether clear of debt, and 45 per cent by persons well enough off to be called rich and equivalent to A class tenants. These include rather a mixed lot of persons varying from the owners of the big estates, already referred to, to yeoman owners of a single mahal who can afford to do a brisk money and grain lending business in their own neighbourhood. The holders of 23 per cent of the malguzari shares are for some reason or another (generally absence at attestation) unclassified. Taking them all round there can be no doubt that the malguzars of the district are a most prosperous set of persons, and a very large proportion belong to the flourishing yeoman class who are the backbone of the country. It is a pity that no figures were collected at last Settlement with which the figures above might have been compared.

## CHAPTER III.—AGRICULTURAL TENURES.

18. The origin and history of proprietary and cultivating tenures in general was given once for all in the opening paragraphs of Chapter V of the last Nagpur Settlement Report and it would be a waste of time here to repeat it. The following table abstracted from Table VI of the district assessment statement shows the proportion of the whole occupied area of the district which was at each of the three regular Settlements in possession of each class of cultivator, whether tenant or proprietor:—

	Held by malguzars as homefarm or by privileged tenants.	Held by malik- buzas.	Held by revenue-free grantees.	Held by absolute- occupancy tenants.	Held by occupancy tenants.	Held by ordinary tenants.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
30 years' Settlement ...	14	3	3	21	15	44
Last Settlement ...	18	5	1	15	37	24
At attestation ...	20	5	less than one per cent.	14	35	26

The real security of ordinary tenants' rights under the Central Provinces Tenancy Act is now so well recognized, and there is now for practical purposes so little difference between ordinary and occupancy right that the purchase by ordinary tenants of occupancy right for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times the rent is now something of a rarity in the two southern tahsils, and here there is a distinct decrease in the proportion of land held by occupancy tenants. The Arvi tahsil is more old fashioned, and here the demand for occupancy right still goes on, partly because it is considered more respectable than ordinary right and partly from a vague idea that it is more secure. Malik-makbuza rights can now seldom be created and it was (until a recent decision of the Judicial Commissioner's Court) supposed to be illegal for the malguzar of a village to hold land in the village in malik-makbuza right. So malik-makbuza land bought or otherwise acquired by the malguzar was (or rather ought to have been) recorded as *khudkasht*. I fear, however, that dishonest patwaris often refrained from so altering the record, if it were made worth their while and if a malguzar was clear sighted enough to see the value of retaining land in his own name as malik-makbuza so as to be able to let it out and reclaim it at the expiry of the lease. Absolute occupancy right is of course more liable to similar extinction by merger and could only be protected by a *benami* transaction which recorded as the absolute-occupancy tenant some relation or dependent of the malguzar.

The really striking part of the table is the increase in land held by malguzars in their homefarm or as a provision for their immediate dependents, for it is almost entirely on the extent of homefarm to be transferred to the purchaser that the market value of malguzari property depends. I shall go into the question of the market value of land in a subsequent chapter.

19. The value of malguzari rights are so much complicated by the amount of homefarm which goes with them, that any comparisons of present and past sale prices is apt to be both puzzling and misleading. Again the amount and value of the rights to be transferred has been further altered by the Tenancy Act of 1898, which has practically put a stop to the transfer of cultivating rights in *sir* land. The result of the Act is that dangerous subterfuges have to be practised, if the incoming malguzar is not either to see the vendor remain as occupancy tenant of his *sir* land or to acquire nothing better than the unstable *khudkasht* right in the lands hitherto held as *sir*.

The wily malguzar is, however, finding means of circumventing the Act either by selling the malguzari right in his village and at the same time giving a perpetual lease of his *sir* land, or (if the end of Settlement is far enough ahead) by first giving a perpetual lease of his *sir* land to the purchaser and then joining with him to get the land recorded as occupancy in the purchaser's name. He will then transfer the village and leave the purchaser to bribe the patwari into letting the purchaser's name remain as tenant of the land though he is at the same time malguzar. When the Settlement comes the purchaser will deplore the ignorance of the patwari and beg that his 12 years' occupancy may be allowed to count towards the acquisition of *sir* right—always supposing that any sub-tenant's name has been in the interval kept out of the annual village papers.

The two complications to which I have alluded render the comparison of past and present prices of malguzari shares so untrustworthy and so misleading that I propose to give no figures of malguzari sales, which would always be open to misconstruction and misinterpretation.

20. It may, however, be interesting to subsequent enquirers in future days, when all legal questions have been finally decided and all persons are thoroughly acquainted with their rights and duties under the law, to describe some of the naive methods by which all men try to get land into their own hands, and by which malguzars attempt to prevent the accrual of tenancy right.

Every Kunbi (and many of higher castes who should know better) is firmly persuaded that the first step to ousting a trespasser and securing possession of a field, to which he considers he has a right, is to get a false entry made in the village papers showing him to be already in possession. This is why there is always a crowd of poor dear people at every village inspection, with petitions (written or verbal) to show how they or their remote ancestors were dishonestly deprived of their fields. They want their claims gone into then and there and an order passed that they are to be recorded as the tenant in possession and the intruders as their sub-tenants. They do not often expect the inspecting officer to act as process-server as well as munsif, or to eject in person the trespasser and give them possession. The object of their applications is to get their names on the papers. They will then get a copy, show it to their money-lender, and thus persuade him that their chances of getting the land back are good enough to warrant a loan for legal expenses.

Again everybody believes that a tenant can be ejected without process if his landlord refuses to take rent for three years. This is why so many rental money orders are issued, in order that the tenant may be able to prove that the rent was at least tendered. But one often finds that some strong tenant has for years and years been firmly in possession of a holding, while the landlord has been stubbornly refusing to collect the rent in the hope that this may strengthen his own hands, if the holder ever falls into embarrassment, and facilitate ejection.

21. The favourite dodge of a malguzar, who has by surrender or ejection got hold of a piece of tenancy lands, and does not fancy it being labelled *khudkasht*, to be lost to him if he ever lets it out, is to get himself or some relative recorded as tenant of the land. This device is difficult to defeat, if the malguzar is only one of a body of shareholders, for he will quote a ruling of the Judicial Commissioner's Court that he may legally be a tenant of the proprietary body to which he himself belongs. If the land be recorded as *khudkasht* at Settlement he will abstain from letting out the land and bring a suit for correction of records under Section 83 of the Land Revenue Act. The defendants (the other malguzars) will not defend it; and, if Government do not apply to be made defendants, the plaintiff practically secures *sir* right without the qualifications laid down. It is at crises like these, and in cases of disputed succession, when the last holder dies when there is no field work going on, that the dishonest patwari finds his opportunity to have his "mouth sweetened", as he says. Deliberate falsification of papers I believe to be extremely rare; but when a tenant dies between harvest and ploughing time, and neither of the rival heirs

can strictly be said to be in possession of his land, the person that can persuade the patwari to enter him as in possession has a great advantage when it comes to raising money for litigation or to convincing the police (in case of broken heads) that the other side are the aggressors. The Wardha tenant is, however, getting clever enough to keep an eye on the patwari's papers and run to the petition-writer whenever he considers himself aggrieved by an entry. This is why it was (till the pay was raised quite lately to Rs. 12 a month) getting so difficult to recruit a decent class of men as patwaris. I have often thought that the remarks column of the jamabandi might be filled up by allowing the patwari to enter in it (either on his own motion or under the direction of some body of local notables) the name of the person considered to be entitled to possession *if everybody had their rights*. Such a procedure might serve to protect from falsification the columns of the village papers that really matter, and would often be a comfort to some dispossessed claimant who would like to think that his shadowy claim had some vague recognition in the Government papers.

#### CHAPTER IV.—TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS.

22. The southern part of the district is well served with railway communications, for the Great Indian Peninsula main line runs right across the middle of the district from west to east with stations at Pulgaon, Dahigaon, Wardha, Paunar, Tuljapur and Sindi, besides several sidings just coming into use. From Wardha, the head-quarters town, there runs southwards the railway to Chanda, serving the south of the Wardha tahsil through a station at Sonegaon and, through the Hinganghat and Nagri stations, the Hinganghat tahsil. The great lack of the district is good metalled roads. The only made and metalled road of any great importance or value is the road running along the Wardha valley 37 miles from Pulgaon railway station to Ashti in the north of the Arvi tahsil. Along this road passes the bulk of the produce grown in the Arvi tahsil. Besides this there is 18 miles of metalled road from Waigaon in the south of Wardha tahsil, through head-quarters, to Anji on the borders of the Arvi tahsil and this is to be continued as funds permit to Arvi town in the north and to Hinganghat in the south with a westward extension (already made and partly metalled) to Deoli and Pulgaon. The present road from Arvi to Anji is thronged with cotton carts all the cold weather, but is in no way made or metalled and is grievous to see or use. This extension will be a great boon, and I was often assured by Kunbis in the villages that the Government ought to give them a road if it raised their rents and then nobody would complain. The north-east of the district is worst off for communications and carts have to struggle from the Karanja tableland along the most desperately bad tracks to reach Arvi (*via* Talegaon) or Wardha down the Dhamkund *ghat* and by way of Wadhona and Anji. This will be set right by the metalled road now being extended year by year from Nagpur *via* Kondhali to join the Pulgaon-Ashti road at Talegaon. If the metalled roads now running from head-quarters and from Paunar railway station to Selu could be extended to the foot of the Arvi hills, and if Pohna in the south, the Girar pargana in the south-east and the neighbourhood of Salod Fakir in the south-west could be linked up, the first two with Hinganghat and the last with Pulgaon, by good macadamized roads, the benefit to trade and to prices would be incalculable.

23. Roughly speaking the trade of most of the Hinganghat tahsil centres on Hinganghat and the trade of nearly all Arvi at Pulgaon, while the central part of the Wardha tahsil and the Dham valley below the hills in Arvi tahsil sends its stuff to Wardha market. The produce of the western part of the central tahsil goes to Pulgaon, and for much of the eastern part the market is at Sindi, which also draws the crops from the north-east of the Hinganghat tahsil. A certain amount of cotton, etc. goes from the extreme north-east to markets in Nagpur and Amroati district—Katol, Kondhali and Morsi,—while an equivalent amount of Berar cotton struggles across the Wardha river to Arvi, Pulgaon, and even Hinganghat. Roughly speaking, however, the exports and imports of produce may be said to balance each other for the district as a whole, and the crops grown in the district may

be taken as brought to one of the markets in the district for disposal. This point is of some importance when I come, in the next chapter, to discuss production and prices.

24. All the available statistics on the subject of prices are given in the following chapter, and I shall here only make a few general remarks—principally on the subject of cotton prices. It will be noticed that the prices of cotton at the different markets (Wardha, Arvi and Hinganghat) run very even and that Arvi prices are generally a little higher than prices at Wardha or Hinganghat. It is true that the Arvi khandi of cotton contains  $20\frac{1}{2}$  maunds and that the general khandi is 20 maunds, but I have reduced Arvi prices to a khandi of 20 maunds, which explains the frequent occurrence of odd annas. Now Arvi is 22 miles from the railway and a cart carries about 3 bales of pressed and ginned cotton, being the amount of ginned cotton produced by about 3 khandis of raw cotton. The rate of carting *varies*, but is about Rs. 6 a cart-load from Arvi to Pulgaon. It would naturally be expected that the Arvi prices would run 10 or 12 annas *lower* than the other markets which are on the rail; but they are often higher here than elsewhere.

This difference in price has often puzzled me. The Arvi merchants say that there is more price cutting between the gins here than elsewhere, so that ginning is cheaper and the merchant can afford to pay a little more for the raw stuff. They also say that there is more competition for cotton among the dealers, which runs prices up. But Arvi cotton is supposed to be poorer in quality than that grown further south and this should counterbalance the competition between gins and merchants. My own belief is that the higher price is due to the malpractices of the market.

25. As malpractices I class the customs, common to all markets, of demanding from the producer subscriptions to Hindu charities and free samples of the cotton brought to market. The sample is demanded nominally to find out by examination the quality of the cotton; but for this purpose a mere handful would be enough, and any real examination would be impossible with the crowds of carts that throng the market in a good year. The cultivator always says that the broker takes about a rupee's worth of cotton as a sample, and of course the purchaser pays, because if he did not pay for a whole cart-load including the sample, the farmers would take their stuff to another market where they were better treated. The markets compete for the cotton and in 1907-08 Arvi got such a bad name that the cotton began to go straight to Pulgaon, or to the markets in Nagpur District until better counsels prevailed. Again there are in the market towns "Gaurakshans" or societies for preserving the lives of worthless cattle, and other religious funds are always being started. These funds generally levy a cess on every cart-load of cotton (from 15 maunds to a khandi according to the roads), which is sometimes demanded from the buyer, but more often from the seller and is then cut from his price by the merchant. If the buyer pays this cess, it depresses the price and, if the seller pays, it will, of course, increase the price. It is needless to speculate on the ultimate destination of the money collected. The charities do not benefit much in any case and are always dying and being reorganized, so the amount of the cess and the method of collection are always being varied and it is a hopeless task to try and ascertain the net prices of produce disregarding such imposts. All I can say is that the Arvi market is supposed to absorb most, so prices have to be higher to compensate for it.

26. All the merchants believe, or pretend to believe, that it is good for the trade of their mart to have cotton quoted at a price higher than that for which it is really selling. They say that over-high prices (where quoted) tempt farmers to send their cotton to a particular mart, and the temptation is, therefore, always before them to increase the amount of the produce demanded as a sample and the amount subtracted

from the price for charity, and to make it up to the farmer by raising the price offered for each khandi. This is why the Arvi khandi is half a maund bigger than that in vogue elsewhere. The merchants do not see that the advantage can only last till the news of the new impost gets to the villages, and till the Kunbis have time to discount the price; but the buyer thinks it does him good on the Bombay market to have high cotton prices quoted from his own special market as if the Bombay cotton brokers had less sense than the Kunbi. All these arguments I used to hear when the Hinganghat Municipality introduced a bye-law to limit the amount that was to be taken from each cart as a free sample.

I cannot make any attempt to disentangle, from the cotton prices quoted, the real price of cotton and the value of perquisites. I can say, however, that it is not large and does not really vary very much from market to market or from year to year. A rough estimate is enough, and I would knock off about a rupee a khandi, from the prices quoted in the next chapter, for trade perquisites, charities, etc.

27 While we are dealing with malpractices I may be allowed to tell a story that went the rounds of the district a few years ago and may be familiar elsewhere. It seems that a new cotton dealer came to one of the markets with a brother. The brother used to go and sit along the road by which the cotton carts came in and persuade the men to bring their cotton to the firm's yard. When cotton was selling at—say Rs. 70 a khandi, he would offer Rs. 80 and the farmers, who had found out the price from the neighbours they met coming away from market, followed him gladly enough. When they got to the yard the bargain would be confirmed and the cotton pulled off the cart and weighed. Then payment would be tendered at the price agreed on, but in Company rupees of 1840. Of these rupees the Kunbi is desperately suspicious, and the seller would naturally refuse to take them and demand the newer coinage. The answer of course was "I offered you Rs. 80 a khandi. Here are your Rs. 80. If you want a different kind to what I offer you—well you can take Rs. 65". After endless haggling the Kunbi would have to close with the offer rather than spend money and waste time in getting men to reload his cart. The Teli, who told me the tale, vowed that he was cheated in that way once and only once. The next time he brought his cotton to market he allowed the brother to capture him again, went once more to the yard and was again offered 80 Company rupees. This time he made no objection, pocketed the money and drove away, but was visited at the inn by the merchant's emissary and offered 80 new rupees for the 80 old ones, which had been collected no doubt by the firm at endless expense of time and trouble, and which could hardly be replaced. This offer he refused and in the end the old rupees necessary to work their swindle were bought back from him by the firm for double their face value.

#### CHAPTER V.—(a).—METHODS OF AGRICULTURE AND CROPS PRODUCED.

28. If I were to set myself to describe the crops or the methods and procedure of the agriculture of the Wardha District I should in the end find that I had only repeated what has already been written in paragraphs 93 to 101, 107 to 110 and 112 to 124 of the last Nagpur Settlement Report. It will be sufficient to indicate the changes that are gradually being introduced, and these are not numerous.

The most notable and satisfactory improvement in agricultural methods, which I have to lay stress upon, is the general levelling up that has taken place. By levelling up I mean that the good farmers are all still farming in much the same way that their fathers and grand-fathers pursued, but that the smaller men, especially low caste farmers like Gonds and Mahars, are gradually assimilating their methods to those of the best Kunbi cultivators. This is especially

noticeable in the Wardha and Arvi tahsils, for in Hinganghat tahsil the standard of farming is much lower and a great deal of the levelling up has still to take place.

29. In the northern tahsils summer-ploughing is more assiduously and generally practised and I could detail many villages where it is generally agreed that, before the famine of 1897, scarcely anybody ever thought of ploughing up their fields till the first shower of rain had fallen. "Here the ground is very hard," they used to say, and used to idle about the villages most of the hot weather. At the time of Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas's Settlement we find it placed on record that ploughing began in earnest at the "Tij" (about the middle of May) and that until then plough-cattle were not put on corn at all. This is still the state of affairs in the bulk of the Hinganghat tahsil, and there even when ploughing does begin, it is rare to see the "*nagar*" used. Hoeing with a "*bakhar*" or bullock-hoe is all the tilling that most fields get, and from the time cotton-picking finishes at the end of January up to the break of the monsoon it is possible to gallop a pony across lots from village to village without troubling about roads or paths. But as soon as one gets over the border into the Wardha tahsil this easy way of abbreviating marches is speedily stopped. After *Holi* (middle of March), and even before then, the face of the country becomes more and more broken up with fields that have been ploughed up with the four-bullock "*nagar*" till they are impassable to any horse and are covered with great hard clods like unburnt bricks. These soon break up under the sun and the wind and are then gone over with the *bakhar* as often as the farmer can manage it. To this subject I shall return shortly when I discuss the agricultural stock of the district.

30. Weeding of *kharif* is scarcely alluded to in the last Settlement Reports of Wardha, and from the Nagpur Settlement Report I gather that two weedings of cotton were considered sufficient. Nowadays *juar* gets two weedings but cotton is carefully weeded three or even four times, and the exorbitant cost of weeding is one of the loudest complaints of the *rayat*, and one of the main arguments on which he relies to demonstrate the impossibility of expecting him to pay more rent than he is already paying. Really careful weeding of cotton is in many places quite a new idea and Khan Bahadur Ghulam Mustafa of Arvi is fond of telling how, when first he started farming 15 or 20 years ago, the Gonds and Mahars used to come four *kos* to weed his cotton fields for an anna a day. In those days August and September were anxious months for the labourer. Food was dear, because *juar* sowing was going on, and work was scarce and hard to get. Nowadays 2½ or 3 annas a day is the least the cooly women will work for, and they often get this much for little more than half a day's work. The difference between a neglected cotton field and a field which has been carefully weeded is too striking to be missed by the most careless observer.

31. Seed selection is (except in Hinganghat tahsil) now aimed at by all except the smallest and poorest farmers. *Malguzars* and the bigger cultivators refuse to use the seed obtained from the gins and have the produce of the best picking of their best fields ginned by hand at home. It is becoming quite a business for dealers to buy up good unginned cotton from farmers with a little reputation (*e. g.*, from the Nachangaon Court of Wards) for a rupee or two above the general market price, to get the seed ginned out by hand, and then to sell it to the farmers at prices two or three times as high as the careless cultivator pays for seed from the gin. Anand Rao Meghe of Borgaon (close to Wardha town) has got quite a large area under the new *buri* cotton introduced by the Agricultural Department and sows it in fields which are too heavy and low-lying to grow the mixed crop of country cotton known as *jari*. Neighbouring cultivators are beginning to follow his example and the area of *buri* should rapidly increase.

32. In agricultural improvements the Hinganghat tahsil as usual lags behind and I give a table showing at a glance the improvements found in each tahsil and judged to be



of sufficient magnitude (costing that is' over Rs. 50) to justify abatement of rental enhancement or valuation :—

Tahsil.	Total No. of villages.	No. of villages where improvements found.	Area judged to be affected by improvements.	Abatements of rent and valuation conceded.
			Acres.	Rs.
Wardha ...	468	279	4,904	2,810
Arvi ...	486	336	9,663	4,325
Hinganghat ...	412	111	671	402
Total ...	1,366	726	15,238	7,537

But besides these big improvements,—which include irrigation wells and more or less permanent embankments on a considerable scale—the northern tahsils are full of tiny works, probably costing nothing except in the tenant's time and trouble—that must in the aggregate add a lot to the productiveness of the land. I mean the one or two cart-loads of boulders piled up to stop an incipient wash-away, the *kaccha* earthen banks and excavations that regulate the drainage of surface water, the little channels made to straighten the course of tiny nalas, the grubbing up of bushes and roots that cumber the fields and systematic cross-ploughing to eradicate *kans*.

But in improvements great and small the Hinganghat tahsil is yet very backward, and is therefore still a pleasanter place for the frequenter of short cuts to camp in. In the northern tahsils it is a waste of time to try and save a detour by cantering straight for the village one is aiming for. Sooner or later (and generally sooner) one is brought up sharp by some nala, that has been artificially straightened and deepened and carefully lined on both sides by a bank of big round boulders several feet in height, or is stopped by a similar bank of stones built round the low end of a field to collect the soil and to prevent erosion. The effect of such works is difficult to estimate when they are seen for the first time after being in position for years and achieving a great part of what they were meant to do; but I can point to two instances in the homefarm of the Court of Wards at Agargaon. In 1905 the manager, whom I regard as a good farmer, persuaded the Deputy Commissioner to take up two big and costly works in two of the fields belonging to the estate, which were badly cut up—by water-courses. I was in charge and shook my head over the very high cost—well over Rs. 1,000 for each, while the local people were rather inclined to smile. But when I visited these fields at the time of attestation I could hardly believe my eyes. The water-courses had almost gone, the inside of the stone walls we had built round the bottom end was filled nearly up to the top with good soil, the bushes were gone and the whole fields were covered with flourishing crops. Best of all the Kunbis had ceased to smile, and agreed that the estate had already got most of its expenditure back in 5 years while the works would, with occasional patching, last indefinitely.

I observed with satisfaction that in spite of their pretended apprehensions of enhancements to be made at Settlement the work of embanking land, digging wells and water-courses and generally improving their fields was being carried on all during attestation by the tenants of all but the idlest villages.

33. It is a common-place to descant on the vast strides which cotton has made in recent years and the comparative unimportance, since the cotton boom began, of *rabi* cultivation. The fact that at last Settlement it was thought worthwhile to have a separate classification of land capable of bearing wheat, speaks for itself of the importance then attached to *rabi*. Nowadays it would not be easy—except in the south-east of the Hinganghat tahsil—to see a hundred acres of *rabi* in a morning's ride and in many places a field of *rabi* could not be found without some looking for. The

following table shows the relative importance of the four main crops of the district at each of the three Settlements.

	Percentage of total net cropped area under each of the following crops.					
	Wheat.	Linseed.	Two main rabi staples.	Cotton.	Juar.	Two main kharif staples.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
30 Years' Settlement	21	9	30	27	37	64
Last Settlement	21	15	36	27	26	53
Now	11	6	17	43	33	76

The reason for this alteration in cropping is twofold. The first and most important reason is the enormous rise in cotton prices of late years, and the second is that the years have lately been drier than they used to be and better suited to *kharif* than to *rabi*. The old fashioned monsoon lasting till near the end of October and followed by heavy rains at Christmas was not favourable to cotton. The young plants were apt to get waterlogged and the October and Christmas rains spoil the opening bolls, besides which the ground got swampy and impassable before much *kharif* could be sown and the cultivators had to wait till the rains began to cease and then sow *rabi*. In light monsoons of late years tenants (except in the wheat tract) sow all the cotton they can, putting in juar where the land must have a rest from cotton, and go on sowing *kharif* till a heavy fall of rain stops all sowing. The rest of the land is left for *rabi* and as the heavy black soil gets impassable soonest, this is the portion generally left for the wheat, which it best suits.

Even the wheat tract is yearly contracting and all land, which is not obviously too heavy, is put in the first instance under cotton. In a dry year a capital crop is produced; but in most years the soil gets too full of water, the cotton dies off and has to be ploughed in and replaced with wheat or linseed, and when the Settlement Officer comes to the village the honest Kunbi emphatically argues that he cannot grow cotton, and therefore ought to escape enhancement. This argument will be dealt with presently; but we should now consider the outturns which may reasonably be looked for by the cultivator for each of the principal crops of the district, given fair soil, a fair year and fair farming.

(b).—OUTTURNS OF DIFFERENT CROPS.

34. The only crops of any real importance to the district are cotton, juar, wheat and linseed; and I do not propose to consider the outturns to be expected from any others. To do so would be to encumber my report with statements that are very difficult to check or criticise and at the same time can inspire little confidence.

35. Far the most important crop in the district is cotton, and it is particularly difficult to get any very reliable information as to the real outturn that can reasonably be looked for over a series of years. Crop experiments are peculiarly unreliable, because only the first picking is expected to be carried out by the experimenting officer and the rest are left to the Revenue Inspector to make, and a day's carelessness or forgetfulness may cause an irresistible temptation to conceal the omission by more or less deliberate fudging.

I have, however, compiled a table (Appendix A) showing certain statistics for a number of years of the area under cotton in the district, the net exports and consumption by mills and an estimate of the quantity of cotton locally consumed. I should explain that since 1897, by which year the ginning and pressing factories at Pulgaon and Arvi were working, the district has been in a measure self-contained in the matter of cotton production and export. I mean to say that little or no

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cotton is imported to or exported from the district without appearing in the railway figures of export and import, or in the consumption of the three spinning and weaving factories. It is of course true that a certain amount of cotton is tempted to come from Berar across the river to Arvi by the Arvi prices, and that there is some import by road to Hinganghat and Sindi from Yeotmal and Nagpur. The imports to Hinganghat and to the south-west of the Wardha tahsil appear, however, in Appendix A; the imports to Sindi are balanced by the cotton grown in the villages, on the eastern boundary of Hinganghat tahsil, which belong to Nistane of Takalghat or the Deshpandes of Ashta (both in Nagpur District), and thence sent to the malguzars' head-quarter villages for disposal in the Nagpur District markets; and the imports to Arvi are balanced by the cotton from the villages on the north-east boundary of the district that goes to Katol or Kondhali in Nagpur. The Wardha river on the north and west and the strip of rocky and jungly country that shuts in most of the east of the district serve as sufficient obstacles to bring the vast bulk of the cotton grown in the district to the railway stations or factories of the district, and to exclude from them any but a small quantity of cotton grown outside the district. Little or no cotton is stored in the district from one year to another and it is reasonable to suppose that the net export of cotton from the district, *plus* the quantity used in the mills and locally utilised (but *minus* ascertained imports by road) divided by the acreage under cotton in the district, does represent with something near to accuracy the outturn of the district for each acre under cotton. If this be granted the quantities of unginned cotton produced per acre in the district have been as follows:—

			lbs.
	1897-98	...	414
	1898-99	...	351
	1899-1900	...	237 (famine).
• •	1900-01	...	459
	1901-02	...	492
	1902-03	...	489
	1903-04	...	396
	1904-05	...	429
	1905-06	...	336
	1906-07	...	402
	1907-08	...	273 (bad year).
	1908-09	...	396
	1909-10	...	315

36. The average outturn per acre under this calculation is then 384 lbs. Besides this we have certain results from the Court of Wards' cultivation in the district (which will by next Settlement give a conclusive answer to the vexed question of cotton-outturns) and the verbally collected opinions of cultivators to help us. The statistics are abstracted as follows:—

(i)	Estimated outturn per acre of the whole district	384 lbs. an acre.	
	(Appendix A) average of last 13 years.		
(ii)	Nachangaon Estate (Court of Wards), 1904-05	... 360	” ”
(iii)	Do. do. 1905-06	... 389	” ”
(iv)	Do. do. 1906-07	... 317	” ”
(v)	Do. do. 1909-10	... 337	” ”
	Average of 4 years	... 351	” ”
(vi)	Ellikelli Estate (Court of Wards). 1904-05	... 266	” ”
	1905-06	... 266	” ”
(vii)	Do. do. 1909-10	... 293	” ”
	Average of above 8 items	... 326	” ”

## (c).—PRICES.

41. The enormous increases in the value of agricultural produce are of course the only justification for the rental enhancements effected at last Settlement and now. The following table shows the average price (per local *khandi*) of cotton and of wheat for each quinquennium. The second and the chief reason for the recent change in the character of the cropping is, of course, the steady rise in the price of cotton, now maintained for a long time, and the stationary value of rabi staples. The following table shows the average price per *khandi* of cotton and of wheat for each quinquennium since 1825. Figures up to 1892 were obtained by Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas from the account books of the oldest firms in the district. Subsequent figures for wheat are based on the official returns for the three tahsils reduced to an average. In the case of cotton figures were supplied by the oldest ginning factories and dealers in Wardha, Arvi and Hinganghat. Prices of cotton are for the winter months only, when transactions between cultivators and dealers mostly take place.

Wholesale price of produce per *khandi*.

Odd annas less than 8 annas omitted. Over 8 annas counted as a rupee.

Year.	Unginned cotton khandi = 20 maunds of 18 seers or 720 lbs.	Wheat khandi = 20 kurus of 8 pails; pail = 100 tolas; khandi is 411 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
1825-30	13	5
1831-35	15	6
1836-40	18	7
1841-45	15	6
1846-50	18	6
1851-55	17	6
1856-60	19	5
1861-65	56	12
1866-70	48	20
1871-75	49	12
1876-80	45	13
1881-85	45	10
1886-90	47	11
1891-95	50	13
1896-1900	49	17
1900	60	20
1901	52	20
1902	49	16
1903	66	15
1904	70	13
1905	59	13
1906	72	18
1907	73	19
1908	76	25
1909	77	21
1910	101	19

42. The price of cotton, on which the district now depends, was thus fairly steady at Rs. 15 to Rs. 18 per *khandi* up to the American Civil War which brought the price up to Rs. 56. After the War the price dropped, but not to its old level, for the effects of railway communication and the development of the export trade kept prices steady at about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times the old figure. From

1866 to 1900 the average price was Rs. 47 a *khandi*. From 1901 to the present prices have been variable owing to increased speculation but with a strong upward tendency. The average price in the "cotton season" works out at Rs. 69. The years from 1900 to the present are the years of the "cotton boom." The following are the prices of raw cotton from October to February inclusive for every year since October 1899 abstracted from the books of reliable firms:—

Year.	Month.	Hinganghat.	Wardha.	Arvi.
1899-1900	October	56	65	63
	November	56	66	65
	December	61	67	66
	January	64	68	67
	February	62	70	69
1900-01	October	54	58	56
	November	61	60	59
	December	60	61	57
	January	58	56	51
	February	52	53	47
1901-02	October	49	52	50
	November	50	50	51
	December	51	48	52
	January	50	51	52
	February	47	52	53
1902-03	October	49	50	53
	November	50	50	52
	December	49	50	52
	January	52	51	49
	February	53	52	55
1903-04	October	62	60	58
	November	73	61	68
	December	87	75	85
	January	84	83	82
	February	80	85	83
1904-05	October	62	65	69
	November	63	65	67
	December	60	61	58
	January	50	52	47
	February	50	49	51
1905-06	October	57	62	56
	November	65	71	67
	December	73	75	74
	January	76	73	76
	February	70	70	72
1906-07	October	69	70	71
	November	72	71	72
	December	70	75	69
	January	69	70	64
	February	68	72	57
1907-08	October	76	70	73
	November	77	76	74
	December	76	74	74
	January	73	72	71
	February	74	74	65

Year.	Month.	Hinganghat.	Wardha.	Arvi.
1908-09	October	75	76	68
	November	75	77	68
	December	74	76	67
	January	73	75	64
	February	78	80	67
1909-10	October	80	85	84
	November	79	84	81
	December	85	90	87
	January	92	92	93
	February	96	96	95
1910-11	October	103	105	99
	November	105	107	106
	December	121	120	123
	January	124	130	132
	February	125	130	128
1911-12	October	82	80	81
	November	80	81	82
	December	80	78	78
	January	81	80	80
	February	89	88	88
1912-13	October	90	91	90
	November	105	106	104

These figures give the following averages for the years :—

Year.	Hinganghat.	Wardha.	Arvi.
1899-1900	60	67	66
1900-01	57	58	54
1901-02	49	50	52
1902-03	50	51	52
1903-04	77	73	75
1904-05	57	58	58
1905-06	68	70	69
1906-07	69	72	67
1907-08	75	73	71
1908-09	75	77	67
1909-10	86	89	88
1910-11	116	118	118
1911-12	82	81	82

43. The following table shows the course of prices since Settlement for juar and linseed. Juar is mainly grown for local consumption as food and to supply cattle-fodder and its price is more important in considering cultivating

and living expenses than in respect to the profits of cultivation. Linseed is of course almost entirely grown for export :—

Years.	Rate in seers per rupee.		
	Linseed.	Juar.	
1	2	3	4
	Seers.	Seers.	"
1891-95	8½	19	
1896-1900	8	16½	
1900	6¼	11	
1901	6¼	18½	
1902	6	19½	
1903	9	23	
1904	11¼	21¼	
1905	9¾	17¾	
1906	7½	14	
1907	7	14	
1908	6	10	
1909	6	13	
1910	4½	16½	

Famine years are omitted in calculating averages except in the case of cotton, the price of which is little affected by drought.

Averages and forecast of prices. 44. The average prices since Settlement are then as follows :—

Cotton Rs. 65-12-0 per <i>khandi</i>	Juar 16½ seers per rupee
Wheat Rs. 17-8-0 " "	Linseed 7½ " "

(d).—AGRICULTURAL STOCK.

45. The improvements in agricultural methods and the moderate increase in cultivation in the district, since the last Settlement was made, connote, of course, an increase in the number of plough-cattle. I cannot discover any complete figures of the number of cattle of all sorts at the time of last Settlement, but we have statistics of the plough-cattle, etc., which compare as follows with the figures collected at my attestations :—

	Last Settlement.		Present Settlement.	
	Plough-cattle.	Bakhars.	Plough-cattle.	Bakhars.
Wardha	34,426	17,192	37,907	18,732
Hinganghat	30,900	15,449	31,558	15,713
Arvi	30,268	15,134	33,123	14,988
Total	95,594	47,775	102,588	49,433

The agricultural returns for 1910-11 show altogether 128,299 bulls and bullocks, but these include of course bulls kept for breeding and young steers (unbroken or half broken) not yet in regular work. It will be noticed that there are far more pairs of plough-oxen than bakhars in Arvi tahsil, which agrees with the facts already noticed that the use of the *nagar* or four-bullock plough is here far more common than further south, and also connotes the very brisk carting trade along the Pulgaon-Ashti road. The present number of *nagars* and carts was as follows at the time of my attestation:—

	Nagars.	Carts.
Wardha ...	5,995	11,610
Hinganghat ...	7,610	8,698
Arvi ...	4,082	11,133
Total ...	17,687	31,441

Cart-bullocks are of course often pressed into service for ploughing and plough-bullocks are often used in carts. As to the enormously greater number of *nagars* in Hinganghat all I can say is that they may be kept but can seldom be used. I suppose that being necessary for what they are regarded as a more or less ornamental part of a farm equipment. But these figures are, as may be imagined, not very trustworthy and people are apt, when questioned, to include, in their ploughs and carts, old worn out implements that are never used and to forget newly purchased things. I give them for what they are worth.

46. We see then that the number of acres under crops compared as follows with the number of pairs of bullocks available at re-attestation and at Settlement;—

(Number of cropped acres to each pair of bullocks.)

	Acres. At last Settlement.	Acres. At re-attestation.
Wardha ...	21	20
Hinganghat ...	20	20
Arvi ...	17	18

47. The price at various times of a pair of plough-cattle is not so easy to determine as might be supposed. The increase in price is in the minds of the people exaggerated immensely, and they compare the highest price paid nowadays for a fancy pair of trotting bullocks with the lowest price paid 50 years ago for ordinary plough-oxen, and derive from the comparison an agreeable sense of ill-usage. It is stated, in the last Nagpur Settlement Report, that the price of a good pair of plough bullocks in the sixties ran from Rs. 70 to Rs. 150; but Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas gives figures showing that Rs. 40 was an average price. At the time of last Settlement the price is stated in the Wardha Report as Rs. 60 and in the Nagpur Report as Rs. 80 to Rs. 100. The Wardha figures were probably thrown out, because nearly a quarter of the bullocks returned as sold at the Deoli Cattle Market were either young stock or worn out beasts that fetched Rs. 15 or less. I collected a similar set of figures, at the time of writing the preliminary report, and they showed an average price of Rs. 110 a pair. These figures have unfortunately been mislaid; but they were open to the same objection as those collected at last Settlement, and I finally concluded that Rs. 110 to Rs. 160 was about the range of prices for ordinary decent plough-cattle, and that a fair average was Rs. 120. This estimate has never been disputed by the persons I have consulted, and I still consider it to be as near the truth as we are likely to get. If we take the Nagpur figure of Rs. 90 as representing the price at the outset of Settlement, we get an increase of 33 per cent in the cost of a pair of yoke-oxen, such as will do all that the Kunbi requires for 8 years or so.



This does not necessarily mean that the cultivator has to pay Rs. 120 for the same sort of pair as he could have bought for Rs. 90 at the time of last Settlement; but also connotes better farming, in that he now does more ploughing and more hoeing and cannot, therefore, be suited except with a better pair of beasts.

(e) EXPENSES OF CULTIVATION.

48. When I was compiling the Preliminary report of the district I collected a certain amount of information on the subject of the undoubted increase, within the last 18 years, in the cost of cultivation. Since the outset of Settlement operations I have continually been on the look-out to correct and supplement the impressions previously recorded, and as a means of so doing an abridgment of the paragraphs of the preliminary Settlement report, which dealt with the outgoings and receipts of agriculture, was, by the Settlement Commissioner's orders, translated into good plain Kunbi Marathi, and was printed and distributed to all persons who were considered likely to be able to give a sensible opinion on it, or who desired to be furnished with copies. The figures thus circulated seem to have excited a good deal of interest, and I had many subsequent applications for copies, from pleaders among others who required some figures to guide them in estimating mesne profits. This little pamphlet was discussed with a great many persons, and it is some satisfaction to recall that none of them took any exception to the calculations of cultivating expenses, and the solitary objector to the acreage outturns (of cotton) found that he was talking of an acre of cotton-tur mixed, and that his calculation of the outturn of an acre of pure cotton was within  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. of mine. The native reverence for the printed word has of course something to say to this acceptance of my figures; but if they had been seriously wrong we may take it that they would have evoked some criticism. I do not think I can do better than repeat with a little amplification the conclusions previously submitted.

49. I may begin by repeating that the rayat's cultivating expenses do not by any means all consist of cash outlay. Ploughmen hired by the year, labour for weeding, and bullocks purchased are paid for in cash. The keep of bullocks consists of *tur* and cotton-seed in the working season, with possibly a little *mahua* and salt added, and *juar* stalks or grass all the year round. For the salt the rayat must pay cash and, having probably sold his cotton unginninged, will have to buy back cotton-seed from the ginning mill to feed his beasts. The *tur* and *juar* stalks will be the produce of his own farm, and the *mahua* will have been collected by his children or servants. *Tur*, *juar*, fodder and *mahua* are not additions to his bill for farming expenses, but deductions from the quantity of produce he had to dispose of after harvest. Thus the rise in the market value of the produce consumed by his cattle means nothing to the rayat.

In exactly the same way the *value* of the grain required by the cultivator to pay his labourers has risen; but the rise has made no difference to him. Just as cattle eat no more now than at the time of 30 years' Settlement, so the rates of grain-wages to labourers are almost the same as they were 40 years ago. Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas in 1892 found that the daily dole of grain to casual labourers had been unchanged for many many years, though cash wages had doubled, and the rates he quotes are in force to this day, although wages in cash have again risen by 100 per cent. The reason is plain. Weeding is and always has been paid in cash and in slack times, from sowing to harvest and from harvest to ploughing time, the casual labourer has always earned cash by cutting wood and grass and latterly by working in the mills. This is enough to fit him out in clothes and provide him with luxuries such as drink. As the price of these things and of grain has risen cash wages have risen; but the cooly eats no more than his father. Thus when he is paid in grain, he gets the same wages and at harvest the same proportion of what he cuts. Seed again is more valuable, but costs the rayat no more. Seed is not often bought. The *malguzar* and large tenants sow seed they have themselves kept since the last harvest. The smaller tenant borrows and repays with interest from the next harvest. In either case to provide seed is a deduction from one harvest or another and the rise in value does not affect the cultivator.

50. It follows that the cultivating expenses of the rayat may be divided as follows:—

- (i) *Outgoings wholly or partially in cash* which consist of wages to ploughmen engaged by the year, extra labour for weeding, cost of renewing worn out bullocks and cotton-seed for feeding bullocks. The amount of these few items is comparatively easy to find out and has very much increased.
- (ii) *Outgoings in kind*.—Including all extra labour for ploughing, sowing, harvesting and watching crops, and also pulse and fodder for bullocks, dues to village servants and gifts to servants and ploughmen on holidays. The money value of these items has much increased but as already suggested the cost to the cultivator is no more now than 40 years ago.

It now remains to determine as nearly as possible the amount of cash outgoings. I take juar as worth Rs. 12 a *khandi*, the normal rate in the villages, though in a year of scarcity it fetches Rs. 18 or more.

*Ploughmen*.—Engaged by the year are paid partly in cash and partly in grain in varying proportions. Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas found that the annual wages of a ploughman in 1861 were about Rs. 24 all told which had risen to Rs. 36 in 1892. I have taken the average of a large number of ploughmen's wages and find that the average pay of such a man is 6 *kurus* of juar a month and Rs. 22 a year in cash which is equal to Rs. 65 a year, with juar at Rs. 12 a *khandi*. If paid in cash the wage is from Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 a year. The Court of Wards pay Rs. 6 a month or Rs. 72 a year. A fair figure is Rs. 65.

*Weeding*.—The estimates of the last Settlement for weeding charges are—

	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
Juar	1861	...	0 6 0	an acre	1892	...	0 9 0
Cotton	1861	...	0 13 6	„	1892	...	1 4 0

At present I base my estimates on the figures given in paragraph 18 of the inception report, *vis.*:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Juar	...	...	1 0 0 an acre.
Cotton	...	...	3 0 0 „

This rate fluctuates very much and is not to be depended upon.

*Bullocks*.—I have already stated that Rs. 120 a pair is a fair price for bullocks.

*Cotton-seed for bullocks*.—A pair of bullocks fed in the manner now usual in Hinganghat, and apparently universal at Settlement all over the district, will require 7 maunds of cotton-seed between the beginning of summer-ploughing and the rains, and this quantity was worth Rs. 1-8-0 in the sixties and Rs. 3 in the early nineties. The same quantity would now be worth about Rs. 6; but a good farmer would spend 8 or even 9 rupees a pair on cotton-seed or cake for each pair of bullocks, by starting to feed them up earlier.

*Miscellaneous*.—This includes salt, rope, thorns for fencing, petty improvements like stones piled to stop small bits of erosion, and such like. I make a rough estimate of 4 annas an acre in 1863, 8 annas in 1893 and about Re. now-a-days.

51. I now proceed to set out in tabular form a rough estimate of cash outgoings on cultivation for a "plough" of land at each of the three regular Settlements. The plough is estimated according to the amount of work actually done by a pair of bullocks as shown in paragraph 46 above, and almost certainly overstate the amount of work done by one pair of bullocks at the first two Settlements:—

	Rabi, 20 acres.			Juar, 19 acres.			Cotton, 19 acres.		
	1863.	1893.	Now.	1863.	1893.	Now.	1863.	1893.	Now.
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
Ploughman ..	40 0	60 0	108 8	27 8	42 12	77 4	28 8	42 12	77 4
1/2 cost of a pair of bullocks ..	8 8	19 0	25 0	6 0	13 12	18 0	6 0	13 12	18 0
Cotton seed for bullocks ...	2 8	5 0	13 8	1 12	3 8	9 8	1 12	3 8	9 8
Miscellaneous ...	5 0	10 0	20 0	3 8	7 0	14 4	3 8	7 0	14 4
Weeding ...	...	...	...	7 0	10 12	19 0	16 0	23 8	57 0
Total ...	56 0	94 0	167 0	46 12	77 12	138 0	55 12	90 8	176 0
Total per acre ...	2 13	4 11	8 6	2 7	4 1	7 4	2 15	4 12	9 4

These cash estimates are of course only approximate, and any estimates of the value of outgoings in kind are even more open to dispute, but consist of the following items:—

(a) *Corn for bullocks in rains*.—About  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *kurus* of *tur* or *lakh*, worth at Settlement Rs. 3 and now Rs. 4. *Juar* and wheat straw may be disregarded as being scarcely ever sold or bought.

(b) *Seed*.—Present value—

	Rs.	a.	p.
<i>Wheat</i> for 20 acres	...	37	8 0
<i>Linseed</i> for 20 acres	...	10	0 0
<i>Juar</i> for 19 acres	...	2	13 0
<i>Cotton</i> for 19 acres	...	5	15 0

(c) *Extra labour for sowing* (same areas).—Value.

<i>Wheat</i> }	...	1	12 0
<i>Linseed</i> }	...	2	8 0
<i>Juar</i>	...	2	0 0
<i>Cotton</i>	...	2	0 0

(d) *Cutting expenses*.—Value.

<i>Wheat</i> one-twentyfifth part of the crop	...	17	0 0
<i>Linseed</i> do. do.	...	11	6 0
<i>Juar</i>	...	8	8 0
<i>Cotton</i>	...	29	11 0

## PART II.

## CHAPTER VI.—RENTS BEFORE REVISION AND LAND VALUES.

54. The proposition which I hope to establish in this chapter is that rents, both before revision and even after their recent enhancement, do not in any sense represent the annual value of the land in the open market; but only absorb from half to fifth of what the land would be paying but for the tenancy legislation of the province and of what is actually paid by the only representatives known in the Central Provinces of the tenant-at-will. The ordinary tenant is by the Tenancy Act just as effectually protected against ejection or arbitrary enhancement of rent as are the classes usually known as "protected tenants", and in some ways his tenancy (being non-transferable) is the safer.

Competition rents are scarcely ever found except in the payments of sub-tenants and tenants of sir, and the following table shows their pitch in different parts of the district. It must, of course, be remembered that the land sublet is of all kinds and descriptions and that the rents vary very greatly from village to village. Still the area held on annual leases is large enough to give an instructive average. I omit all land let for any reason "without rent" and also all land let for a share in the produce (batai) :—

Portion of district.	Period.	Sir let out on terminable leases.		Sublet on terminable leases by tenants and malik-makbuzas.		All-round acreage rate of rents in the same tract.
		Area.	Acreage rate.	Area.	Acreage rate.	
Wardha tahsil ...	Last Settlement.	11,343	2 4 7	87,035	1 13 4	1 0 0
	1909-10	5,064	5 0 6	52,226	3 9 3	Before revision 0 15 10 Revised 1 4 0
	Arvi Tahsil ...	Last Settlement.	3,267	4 1 9	24,090	3 4 6
Groups of Arvi and Ashti.	1910-11	1,048	9 3 0	11,689	7 14 9	Before revision 1 10 2 Revised 2 0 4
	Rest of Arvi tahsil ...	Last Settlement.	4,593	2 2 6	24,955	1 10 8
1910-11		2,384	4 11 9	18,107	4 1 11	Before revision 0 11 2 Revised 0 14 6
Hinganghat Tahsil ...	Last Settlement.	8,922	1 15 6	74,036	1 7 8	0 12 11
	1910-11	7,994	2 14 0	51,770	2 4 2	Before revision 0 12 8 Revised 0 15 5

55. The enormous prices of cotton in the last two years have, of course, inflated these sub-rents, and I am far from saying that they could be paid and leave a decent living for the tenant over a series of years. Many of them represent nothing whatever except speculations in cotton, in which the sub-tenant hopes for a good crop and a price high enough to enable him to pay the high sub-rent and leave him with a nice profit at the end of the year. The sub-rent is in the south of the district often collected in advance, but near Arvi seldom until after harvest, so more is offered, and if price or crop fall seriously short the sub-tenant hopes to elude payment of part or all of what he agreed to pay. He is indeed often allowed to compound by paying in kind half the crop *minus* seed and cost of harvesting. Still there can be no doubt that the ordinary tenants of the district, whose all-round revised rents vary from Re. 0-13-11 an acre in Hinganghat to Rs. 1-1-5 an acre in Wardha and Rs. 1-0-2 an acre in Arvi tahsil, would, if they had really been tenants-at-will, have long ago been ejected or would be paying something like the acreage rates set forth above. There is no wonder that lawyers flourish, and that landlords, to oust their tenants, or tenants, to oust their neighbours from their holdings, are ready and willing to pay legal expenses of extraordinary heaviness in comparison to the area at stake.

These sub-rents are also a useful check on the estimates of cultivating profits set forth in the preceding chapter. Of the land in the district  $1\frac{2}{3}$  per cent is sub-let for cash and 1 per cent on *batai* or sharing of the crop. The latter method is supposed to be the more profitable, if the subletting tenant lives within reach of the field sublet and can see that he gets a fair share, or if he is a *Sahukar* with a grain-lending business, who can in case of dispute debit the sub-tenant in his books with the difference between what he gets and what he claims and charge him with interest thereupon. The *bataidar* agrees to give the tenant-in-chief in Arvi tahsil half, and elsewhere one-third to one half, of value of the crop *minus* seed and interest on seed and *minus* cost of cutting. Now at the time the tenants, who wanted to sub-let in the Arvi and Ashti groups of Arvi tahsil, were letting out their fields for the year 1910-11 it was generally expected that Rs. 80 a khandi would be the price of cotton, and many dealers in Pulgaon lost money by selling short at that price. Now crops are fairly certain to be up to the average in a magnificent tract like the Wardha valley, so a man who sub-let on *batai* could fairly expect on a "plough" of land (about 16 acres) that the crop would be worth Rs. 449. Seed and interest would be about Rs. 6-8-0 and picking about Rs. 28 say Rs. 35. Allow Rs. 4 for pilfering, and the *bataidar* might be expected to pay half—Rs. 449 *minus* Rs. 39—Rs. 205 on 16 acres or nearly Rs. 13 an acre. If the tenant sub-let for cash he would lose if he got less than say Rs. 12 an acre. The average cash subrents in the two groups were Rs. 8 an acre, and the difference is the margin that the sub-lessee demanded in case of a bad crop or a bad price. As a matter of fact, there was only about half a crop but the price was about 110 at selling time, so such a sub-letting tenant would by *batai* have got about Rs. 10-12-0 an acre. In the south of the district the *bataidar* generally pays a third instead of half except in the finest land, so *batai* profits are smaller and cash sub-rents lower.

56. It has been shown that rents remained practically stagnant from the outset to the close of the period of the Settlement which has just expired. Land surrendered by the tenant or otherwise acquired by the *malguzar*, and other *Khudkasht* fields not required by the *malguzar* for his own cultivation have almost invariably been let on the rent fixed thereupon at Settlement. A fine, premium or *nazarana* has, of course, been levied by the *malguzar* to cover the difference between the Settlement rent and the value of the land. I give a table as the most succinct manner of showing the value of the land. It must be remembered that the table includes all admitted *nazaranas* since Settlement (concealment of *nazarana* I do not believe to be common) and thus represents an average of values both before and since the commencement of the cotton boom. The "rent reserved" has, of course, been now enhanced under the ordinary rules.

Portion of district.	Area let out on <i>Nazarana</i> .	Rent reserved.	Premia levied.	Acreage rate of premia levied.	Multiple of rent reserved represented by premia.	Value of land per acre, adding $\frac{1}{10}$ of <i>Nazarana</i> to rent reserved.
	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.
Wardha tahsil ...	18,934	17,163	2,64,603	13 15 7	15	2 4 10
Arvi tahsil (groups of Arvi and Ashti).	3,960	6,293	2,15,786	54 7 10	34	7 0 7
Rest of Arvi tahsil ...	17,166	10,866	2,84,389	16 9 1	26	2 4 8
Hinganghat tahsil ...	16,595	15,433	1,01,898	6 2 3	7	1 8 8
Total ...	56,655	49,755	8,66,676	15 4 9	17	2 6 6

We may thus say (very roughly) that, if the full market value of the land had been at this Settlement levied as rent, the all-round acreage incidence of rents in Wardha tahsil would have been about Rs. 2-5-0 an acre instead of Rs. 1-4-0, in the best part of Arvi Rs. 7 an acre instead of Rs. 2-0-4, in the rest of Arvi tahsil Rs. 2-5-0 an acre instead of Re. 0-14-6, and in the Hinganghat tahsil Re. 1-9-0 an acre instead of Re. 0-15-5. I may take it that the proposition laid down for proof, at the beginning of the chapter has been fully demonstrated.

57. The whole question of *nazarana* is both interesting and difficult. <sup>General observations on the subject of *nazarana*.</sup> There can be no doubt that the premia realised are (in a way) a fraud on the public revenues and on the general tax-payer, upon whom the ultimate effect is exactly the same as the result of the cruder device (now almost extinct) of rent-concealment. It is just as legitimate to try every means for discouraging the artificial depression of new rents as for preventing the falsification of old rents, and I may be pardoned for offering a few general remarks and a suggestion on the subject of *nazarana*.

Before the last Settlement *nazarana* on new leases was scarcely invented or was used only as a wasteful but more or less legitimate means of raising ready money by parting with future income, and it is at this practice that Section 63 (3) of the Tenancy Act is aimed. After the announcement of last Settlement it was soon observed by the malguzars of the district that it paid them to let out abandoned fields at the same rent as had been fixed at Settlement; though this represented only a fraction of the rental value of the land, and to take a substantial premium to cover the difference, instead of letting out the land for what it would fetch. By this means the next Settlement Officer would be able to assess revised revenue only on a part of the full rental value of the land so let out, and would be deprived of a ready argument for raising the valuation of the malguzar's own home-farm. The method had an additional advantage, in the eyes of a grasping malguzar with a money-lending business, in that the payment of a *nazarana* must weaken the tenant and may compel him to pay part of the premium by a money bond or by a mortgage on his other holdings. On this bond such a malguzar will draw heavy interest for years and may be able to utilise it to dispossess the tenant eventually of his other holdings as well as the land newly leased, which is then available for letting out again for another heavy premium to a new victim.

58. I have seen many of the deeds by which a tenant acquires, by paying *nazarana*, tenant-right in a new holding on the rent fixed at Settlement, and such documents invariably contain the stipulation that the annual rent agreed on is to be paid till the expiration of the current Settlement and that thereafter the tenant is to pay whatever rent may from time to time be fixed at subsequent Settlements. Now the effect of such a contract is only to secure the tenant's possession at the low rent for the unexpired portion of the Settlement current when it is drawn up, and one way of checkmating the process would be to direct the patwari to divide the *nazarana* paid by the number of years which the Settlement still has to run, and to add the quotient to the annual rent payable and enter the total in column 6 of the khasra as the rent of the field. Thus, if the Settlement had 10 years to run and a field with a rental of Rs. 10 were let out on a premium of Rs. 300, the rent entered would be Rs. 40 with a note of course that Rs. 30 of the rent due till Settlement had been paid in advance and only Rs. 10 was payable annually till the Settlement was revised.

The obvious drawback is that there would be an immediate temptation to the patwari, and perhaps the sub-registrar, to falsify the amount of premium paid, in collusion with the malguzar. In this falsification the tenant would, of course, heartily join. Nobody now troubles much to conceal *nazarana* and we do not want to corrupt our patwari staff or to lose a valuable indication of the value of land.

But the practice of levying *nazarana* would soon disappear if it were made known that at the next Settlement the revenue of the village would be increased either by—

- (i) 90 per cent of the enhancement in rents actually imposed at Settlement by the Settlement Officer, or

- (ii) half the difference between assets as ascertained at the last Settlement and as determined by the Settlement Officer.

*Whichever of the two should be greater.*—It would then be to the malguzar's interest to raise during Settlement as many rents as he could to a figure beyond which the next Settlement Officer would be unlikely to enhance, in order that for the term of the ensuing Settlement he might have only 50 per cent instead of 90 per cent to pay on the enhancement. We should not then hear malguzars gravely assert that premia are levied from altruistic motives to secure the tenants in their holdings at a low rent and to protect them from the rapacity of the next Settlement. Rents would gradually settle down into some relation to what the land can fairly pay for a term of years, and a half assets Settlement could be given without a loss to the public revenue. This suggestion I offer with great diffidence and its weak points will doubtless be seen when it comes to be examined.

#### CHAPTER VII.—HISTORY AND PAST REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

59. The political history of the Nagpur country is briefly summarised in paragraph 6 of Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas Settlement Report, and is given at length in Chapter II of the Nagpur report. It is needless for me to go further into the matter. The character and development of revenue administration under the Marathas and up to the time of the 30 years' Settlement can likewise be studied in paragraphs 128, 131, 135, 138, 218 and 232 of the Nagpur Report and more briefly in paragraphs 44—47 of the last Wardha Report.

60. The 30 years' Settlement was carried out just as the Wardha District was being definitely separated from Nagpur, and the boundaries of the old Wardha sub-division extended and adjusted. The Settlements of the two districts were carried out according to the old boundaries and roughly the north-eastern half of Arvi and the eastern part of Wardha and Hinganghat tahsils (corresponding to the Girar, Keljhar, Kondhali and Ashti parganas) were dealt with by the Settlement Officer of Nagpur. The remainder of the district was settled by Sir Charles Bernard and Mr. Rivett-Carnac and it is to this part only that the 30 years' Settlement report refers. The principles upon which the 30 years' Settlement was made, the methods of land valuation and their defects are described in paragraphs 334—340 of the Nagpur Report and in paragraph 48 of Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas report. It is needless for me to say more than that the 30 years' Settlement was begun in 1862 when the rise in prices owing to the American Civil War had already set in and when the railway was about to tap the district. It was apparently then supposed that the inflation of prices would only be temporary and it was not foreseen that the railway would be enough to maintain prices at a level little less than that of the war years. For this reason no attempt was made to raise the tenants' rents or the Government revenue to correspond with the rise in the value of agricultural produce. It was considered that the land revenue of the district was already high enough and the Settlement was undertaken for administrative reasons to equalize the incidence of rent and revenue. This is why the 30 years' Settlement was so popular with every body concerned.

61. The last Settlement of the district was effected by the late Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas during the years 1891—94; but owing to the succession of poor harvests, which include the famine years 1896-97 and 1899-1900, the submission of the final report was delayed and the orders of the Government of India confirming the Settlement were received as late as in 1903. Under these orders the last Settlement in the district was made current up to 1910—12, *i. e.*, for a period of 16—18 years. The land revenue assessment amounted to Rs. 6,63,835 absorbing 59 per cent of the assets and giving an actual increase of 27 per cent over the former revenue assessment. This moderate enhancement successfully bore the test of the cycle of bad years culminating in the famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900, except as regards the Hinganghat tahsil which was somewhat hard hit. The condition of this tahsil was very carefully watched and a remission of rental

arrears amounting to Rs. 8,969, and corresponding revenue of Rs. 4,825, was granted in 53 villages. The relief given by this remission was further considered inadequate to compensate for the deterioration caused by the famine, and an abatement, to remain in force for a period of three years beginning from 1902-03 aggregating Rs. 6,062 in the tenant's payments and Rs. 5,468 in the land revenue, was granted in 62 out of the 413 villages of the tahsil, which showed a decline of 15 per cent or more in the cropped area. In 58 of these villages which had sufficiently recovered, abatement had already ceased, while in the remaining 4 villages which were still unstable, the Administration ordered the continuance of abatements up to the end of the term of Settlement.

62. The Settlement of 1892-94 was the first attempt to raise rents and revenue on the ground of the rise in value of produce. Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas considered it safe to assume a rise of 150 per cent in the general value of produce. This rise had been accompanied of course by a rise in the cost of living and in cultivating expenses, and rents had risen during the term of the 30 years' Settlement by 36 per cent. After considering all the circumstances the Settlement Officer raised the existing rents by 15 per cent all round. The all-round acreage rate at the 30 years' Settlement was Re. 0-10-7, which had risen to Re. 0-13-1 during Settlement and was raised to Re. 0-15-0 by Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas. Thus a rise of 150 per cent in prices brought only a rise of 40 per cent in rents between the outset of the 30 years' Settlement and the announcement of that just expired. In the different tahsils the rental enhancements effected by Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas were as follows:—

	Malik-makbuzajamas raised			Absolute occupancy tenants raised			occupancy tenants raised			Ordinary tenants raised			Tenants all round raised		
	From	To	That is by	From	To	That is by	From	To	That is by	From	To	That is by	From	To	That is by
	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.
Hinganghat	1 1,160	13,604	22	38,762	50,352	30	102,545	128,280	25	70,080	74,695	5	212,937	251,327	19
Wardha	1 7,307	19,997	15	67,233	86,803	29	130,530	167,698	23	50,872	76,014	...	280,935	331,115	18
Arvi	1 6,602	17,505	6	38,545	44,801	16	92,901	108,082	17	80,150	79,947	(-)	220,605	233,730	6
Whole district	4 5,069	51,076	13	144,840	181,956	26	331,976	404,960	22	236,951	251,256	(-)	713,467	818,172	15

Thus in the Hinganghat tahsil—now at any rate the least prosperous part of the district—the proportional enhancement was highest, apparently because most of the regular wheat land was in this tahsil to be found.

63. The pitch of rents as found by the last Settlement Officer in six sample groups and as left by him are indicated in the following table; but it must be remembered that the acreage rates in the columns headed "from" are only averages and the rates in the columns "to" are the standards which were laid down for guidance in fixing actual rents and valuation of home-farm. The difference between these standards and the rents eventually fixed are shown in Statement VI appended to the final report of last Settlement and need not be repeated.

Group	Morand I Gohari Sadharan.		Kali II Gohari Sadharan.		Morand I Mutfarkat.		Morand II Gohari Sadharan.		Morand II Mutfarkat.		Kharli Mutfarkat.	
	From	To	From	To	From	To	From	To	From	To	From	To
HINGANGHAT TAHSIL.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
(1) Mandgaon...	1 5 5	1 11 2	1 5 1	1 14 7	1 9 1	1 4 5	1 0 1	1 4 5	10 9	0 13 7	5 4	6 10
(2) Kora WARDHA TAHSIL.	0 11 10	0 14 5	0 13 4	1 0 2	0 7 5	0 9 0	0 8 11	0 10 10	4 5	0 5 5	2 0	3 7
(3) Arvi	1 15 4	2 0 0	2 3 3	2 4 0	1 7 6	1 8 0	1 7 6	1 8 0	15 8	1 0 6	7 10	8 0
(4) Andori	1 1 11	1 8 0	1 4 2	1 11 0	0 11 2	0 15 0	0 13 5	1 3 0	0 9 0	0 9 0	4 0	6 0
ARVI TAHSIL.												
(5) Dhari	2 5 1	2 3 2	2 10 10	2 7 7	1 7 10	1 6 0	1 12 7	1 10 5	1 6 5	0 13 2	9 0	8 10
(6) Dhamkund	1 5 9	1 3 2	1 8 6	1 5 7	0 13 7	0 12 0	1 0 4	0 14 5	8 2	0 7 2	5 5	4 10



64. The result of Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas revision of rents and of home-farm and miscellaneous income valuation was that the assets of the district as overhauled by him stood as follows:—

	Rs.
Payments of tenants ... ..	8,18,172
Valuation of home-farm, &c. ... ..	2,13,813
Siwai income ... ..	31,450
Total pure malguzari assets ... ..	<u>10,63,435</u>
Gross malik-makbuza jamas ... ..	51,076

Taking then a little over 58 per cent of malguzari assets (Rs. 6,19,143) and 87½ per cent of malik-makbuza jamas (Rs. 44,692) as the Government share in the joint concern the kamil-jama (or revenue apart from revenue assignments) of the district was fixed at Rs. 6,63,835 being 59½ per cent of the total gross assets. The figure levied at the 30 years' Settlement on the district as now existing had been Rs. 5,22,989 being 79 per cent of the assets as then ascertained.

Comparison of assets and Land Revenue as revised in the Settlement just completed.

65. The revenue history of the district is fitly completed by an abstract showing the results of the revision of Settlement now under report.

The assets as revised on the principles now to be explained and as finally sanctioned by the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner are as follows:—

	Rs.
Payments of rayats ... ..	10,06,606
Valuation of home-farm and land held by privileged tenants ... ..	3,40,291
Siwai income ... ..	48,341
Total pure malguzari assets ... ..	<u>13,95,238</u>
Gross malik-makbuza jamas ... ..	78,267

Of pure malguzari assets a fraction of 55 per cent (Rs. 7,71,250) and of malik-makbuza jamas 87 per cent (Rs. 68,210) was claimed as the Government share, and the kamil-jama of the district, which I found at Rs. 6,64,899 was raised by Rs. 1,74,561 or 26 per cent to Rs. 8,39,460 (+ Rs. 1,206).

#### CHAPTER VIII.—PRINCIPLES OF RE-SETTLEMENT.

66. The soil unit system peculiar to the Central Provinces was of course invented by Sir B. Fuller when the revision of the 30 years' Settlement in the various districts was taken in hand, and was elaborated by the different Settlement officers of the last round of Settlements. Of these Settlement Officers Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas was one. The system has now outlived the prejudice of those to whom it was unfamiliar and the enthusiasm of its early exponents, and it is not for me to explain or defend it or to discuss how far the advantages set forth in paragraphs 236—275 of the Nagpur Settlement Report are counterbalanced by the undoubted complication of statistical work which it entails. The Settlement under report was carried through on exactly the same principles as are set forth in paragraph 59 of the final report of the last Settlement. The system was, however, as explained below, simplified by the abandonment of the distinction between wheat land and land suitable only for minor crops, and a further complication was introduced in the zone system.

67. The zone system is first alluded to in the Nagpur Settlement Report (paragraph 410) as one of the reforms desirable in Settlement procedure, and the idea is to divide villages

into three zones or *pattis* (two or even one zone being sufficient for very small villages) according to accessibility from the *basti* (township) where the cultivators live.

These zones were labelled as follows:—

*Khar or Gaon patti* being the inner zone close about the village site.

*Har patti*, or middle zone a moderate distance from the village site.

*Siw patti* or distant zone.

The *Har patti* was then taken as the normal and for it the gross number of soil units (obtained by multiplication of soil areas by soil factors) was used as it stood for calculation of deduced rents. For the *Khar or Gaon patti* the gross number of soil units was raised and for the *Siw patti* lowered by a fixed percentage, and the *net* soil units so obtained were used as the basis of the deduced rent. This idea of a sliding scale for rents according to accessibility of fields from their homes was difficult to explain to the *rayats*; but once understood was received with something as near enthusiasm as can be expected for any device connected with re-settlement.

68. The proper percentage of addition or deduction for the *Khar* and *Siw pattis*, respectively, was a little difficult to determine. It is generally agreed among the cultivators whom I consulted that the advantages of the *Khar patti* and the disadvantages of *siw patti* are much less in *rabi* than in *kharif* land, which is why the practice in the northern districts is so often reversed and the outlying fields reserved for wheat while the nearest fields go under cotton.

The principal advantages of a handy field are that it is easily manured, easily watched at night to prevent thefts and damage by animals, it is quickly reached by ploughmen or weeding and picking women, and their work is easily supervised. But manuring, as locally understood, is of much less importance for *rabi* than *kharif* crops. Cotton and *juar* are at night often stolen by enterprising *Mahars* and freely visited by pigs, while stealing from a field of standing wheat is readily detected. There are hardly any *Sambhar*, *Chital* or *Nilgai* to ravage the wheat fields at night. Pigs do not trouble wheat much and antelope only feed by daylight. So night watching is of less importance for *rabi* land. As to accessibility for labourers the case is the same. There is no weeding of *rabi* and women are not employed in the wheat fields till harvest. Thus the distant cotton field "where the women take two hours to come and want to go home two hours before dusk" (as the *Kunbi* says) suffers more than the equally distant *rabi* field by comparison with the fields close to the *basti*. A 25 per cent addition for *khar* and deduction for *siw patti* was accordingly adopted for *Arvi* and *Wardha* tahsils where *rabi* is insignificant. Indeed some *Malguzars* of *Arvi* tahsil seemd to think that 33 per cent would not be too high. But in *Hinganghat* even in the western part *rabi* is still important and I found that most cultivators, who were really trying to help and not to hinder, put the deduction and addition at one-sixth to one-fifth or (as they say) "a field worth Rs. 1-12-0 near the village will be worth Rs. 1-8-0 if you pick up and put it down half way to the boundary and only Rs. 1-4-0 if put down right on the boundary." Opinions of course vary, but after much consultation I concluded that for the *Sindi* group and for the *Hinganghat* tahsil 20 per cent was about the right proportion to add for the *khar patti* and subtract for *siw*.

69 I should explain that in deciding on the exact boundaries of different zones I considered obstacles in the way to them, such as a railway line or a bad *nala*, and did not rely entirely on distance. A really bad obstacle, like a river or a railway fence, was made the boundary of a zone however near to the *basti*. I tried to follow natural landmarks in defining boundaries, but when there were none there was nothing for it but to take so many chains from the village site and make the next field boundary the zone boundary as well. I made the zones include *whole fields only* by following field boundaries in fixing zone boundaries.

To conclude—the effect of the zone system is that a field of 20 acres of Morand I Sadharān (factor 32), in a village where the sanctioned unit-rate is 1'00, would be valued as follows:—

According to the zone in which it fell—

	Gaon patti.	Har patti.	Siw patti.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Wardha and Arvi ... ..	50	40	30
Hinganghat • ... ..	48	40	32

70. The sub-division between wheat land and *mutafarikat* land was perhaps the weak point in the soil classification of the last Settlement. At that time wheat was nearly as paying a crop to grow as cotton (*vide* paragraph 52 above) and about equal to juar, but with prices as they now are cotton is 30 or 40 per cent more profitable than wheat. The area under wheat is little more than half what it was at Settlement, while the area under cotton has risen by two-thirds. It is manifestly absurd to judge the value of land by its capability to grow wheat, when wheat is a less profitable and a less popular crop than cotton. It is only in the extreme south-east of the district that a cultivator looking for land troubles his head whether it will grow wheat or not. The ordinary tenant judges the value of a field by its power to grow cotton. Wheat land and *mutafarikat* land are alike placed under cotton and juar; and, although a low-lying level wheat field has the advantage that its slower drainage makes it better able to retain soluble organic matter, this advantage is in the case of *kharif* crops neutralized (except in years of drought) by its excess of moisture. *Kharif* crops are now more paying than *rabi* and in ordinary years do best in soils which is loose in texture and fairly well drained. In fact, wheat land and *mutafarikat* land are to the ordinary cultivator practically of the same value, for the *kharif* crops on the one are just as good as on the other. This proposition is borne out by the crops of cotton and juar produced by the fields of the Nachangaon Estate of which records for several years have been preserved. It was found impossible to reduce these to a table which could be understood at a glance, but the result of the recorded crops and of enquiries in the fields from cultivators is that the bulk of the "*mutafarikat*" land of the district is about equal in productiveness to "*pathar*." wheat land. In fact a great deal of the land classed at Settlement as "*mutafarikat*" does as a matter of fact grow decent crops of wheat when its turn comes in a suitable year, and if it will not produce a paying crop of wheat the reason is generally clear. *Khardi* fit for wheat is rare or non-existent (only 191 acres was so classed at last Settlement) and if soil of superior classes will not grow wheat it is simply because the land is too sloping and quickly drained, in other words too "*pathar*" to suit wheat. The puzzling fields so common in the northern districts, which look as if they could grow wheat, but as a matter of fact will not, because of a sour sub-soil or some other obscure defect known only to the cultivator, are in this district not to be found. It was therefore decided to abandon the distinction in classification between wheat land and *mutafarikat* land, and to have fields classed by position and soil only, except in the case of garden land which retained a separate class of factors.

71. Besides the introduction of Mr. Craddock's zone system and the abandonment of the distinction in valuation between wheat land and minor crop land, the only alterations made for the present revision in the system, on which the last Settlement was made, were some minor simplifications in office procedure to save time, and the valuation separately of every separate field in the district. At last Settlement valuation was made holding by holding, and the fixation of rents field by field naturally added greatly to the labour of re-settlement.

CHAPTER IX.—METHODS AND PROCEDURE IN REVALUATION OF LAND AND IN REVISION OF RENTS.

72. At the outset of the cold weather of 1907 I was posted as Assistant Commissioner to the district, where I had previously been stationed for 8 months in 1904-05, to read up the revenue history of the district, familiarize myself with local conditions and generally to prepare myself for the work of Settlement. I was also to write an Inception Report for the district and it was intended that I should at the same time direct the map correction then being carried on under the supervision of Jawahir Singh, Settlement Superintendent. Unfortunately 1907-08 was a year of scarcity bordering upon actual famine, and I was kept busy attending to rental suspensions and the like, besides being employed in looking after the Court of Wards and in other district work. The result was that the direction of map correction had to go to the wall. I was only able to spare a fortnight on inspecting map correction exclusively, and left thus to himself Jawahir Singh proved a failure and a fraud. The Patwaris were not properly instructed and some maps of villages excellently surveyed at last Settlement were spoilt. Map correction had all to be overhauled again when attestation began and the time and money spent in 1907-08 was practically wasted. In the end I made up small parties of patwaris and kept them at work checking the maps ahead of the attesting parties. The labour and expense of an entirely new survey, which was necessary before Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas Settlement could be taken in hand, and the preparation of new records were, of course, saved us because the maps and papers had been kept up and annually revised during the course of Settlement.

73. One is struck at every turn by the easy character of the operations just completed in comparison to the laborious task which faced Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas. He had to pick up threads, which had been dropped from the announcement of the thirty years' Settlement till the district was resurveyed and records remade for his resettlement; while I had only to see that the village maps and papers, annually revised in the natural course of affairs, were thoroughly overhauled and where necessary corrected. My predecessor had to make a fresh classification by soil and position of all the land in the district, while I found my soils ready classed and had only to see that possible errors were watched for and put right. The same guide was available for positions, except that *Mudfarikat* land had to be sorted into position classes and "Saman" written where necessary for *Lawan* and *Sadharan*. I was thus spared much of the difficulty in securing uniformity in classing, to which Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas alludes in paragraph 63 of his report, and I was perpetually amazed at the speed with which the work of last Settlement had been completed, and at the comparative slowness of our own progress. Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas never had more than three Assistants and 32 Additional Revenue Inspectors and began his Settlement operations, which were closed on 31st October 1895, in May 1891 just as survey was complete. I began with two trained Assistants and one under training in December 1908, and had in the first year 29 Additional Revenue Inspectors. The second year of the Settlement I had three trained Assistants with one under training, and in the third year four. In these two years I had 42 Additional Revenue Inspectors. The numbers and areas of villages attested each year were:—

•	•	•	1908-09	...	244 villages being	...	440 Square miles.
			1909-10	...	565	..	935 "
			1910-11	...	557	..	845 "

and operations were not finally closed till the end of December 1912 though I myself being on special duty in the Raipur District from 8th November 1911 proceeded on furlough in February 1912, leaving the operations to be wound up by Pandits Chotelal Bhatt and Daji Kashinath, Assistant Settlement Officers.

From the conclusion of resurvey to the end of announcement Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas took with his smaller staff  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years, while my work took 4 years. The fixation of a separate rent on every separate field in the district complicated

and lengthened matters, but our comparative slowness is no doubt due to the degeneracy of the generation. I may also hope that fewer inaccuracies will as years go by be detected in the papers of the Settlement just completed.

74. It is needless for me to enlarge upon how the Additional Revenue Inspectors were divided up into parties each under an Assistant Settlement Officer, how they were set to class by soils and positions every field of each village and to record in the *Khasra* the crops grown, rents paid and persons in possession, how the party officers helped them along the path of accuracy by means of the rein of explanation and the whip of hard words, or how the process of attestation was concluded by a final visit of inspection on my part to see that the party officer was proceeding on the same lines as other parties and that in his classification of soils, zones, and tenants he was attaching to words and tokens the same meaning as myself. These proceedings have been repeatedly described and no new features were introduced in the Settlement under report. The overhauling of jamabandis brought to light the usual innumerable persons, with claims to land dating from the time of Raja Vikramajit, who had long lost possession of their lands and looked to the Settlement Officer as to a free Civil Judge empowered, without costs and without evidence, to restore their names to the list of tenants and thus to recreate mysteriously their rights in the lost acres and to discomfit the present possessor. With such all that could be done was to listen patiently to their grievances and explain that their claims were "dead of hunger" as the Kunbi says.

75. The groups into which the district had been divided at last Settlement were for the purposes of the present Settlement maintained, except that in the Hinganghat tahsil the amalgamation of two groups into one was in two cases found possible. The district is (as already noted) divided into three distinct tracts and within each tract the villages are sufficiently homogenous to make the exact limits of groups a matter of comparatively small importance. I should have perhaps made a few changes if I had been splitting up the district myself for the first time; but it was considered important to be able readily to compare the statistics and circumstances of each group now with what they had been at Settlement.

The simplification of land classing caused by reducing the number of positions from 7 to 4 and by omitting the distinction between wheat and *Mutafarikat* land, together with the complications introduced with the zone system and the ideal of a separate rent for each separate field, made it possible and necessary to simplify work in office in the rains by introducing during the field season some radical changes in the *fard zamin*, which enabled us to abolish the intermediate *chitha* and *khatoni* stage between *fard zamin* and *rayatwari abstract*.

76. In recent Settlements it had been customary to obtain the sanction of the Government of India to the inception of Settlement proceedings in a very brief report showing that the circumstances of a district had so much changed for the better, owing to wider cultivation or better prices, that the rents of the tenants and the revenue paid by proprietors could be raised (without injurious effects on the cultivators) sufficiently to make it worth while to incur the cost of resettlement. This proposition once accepted it was necessary to submit to the Government of India a detailed report for each tahsil setting forth for sanction a standard of tahsil rates for rents and a scale of revenue with a forecast of the results of their use. Until the sanction of the Government of India was received to this Tahsil Report, detailed proposals for each group could not be submitted. This procedure was found to entail a good many delays; and in the Settlement recently concluded the series of reports was altered. The Preliminary report was made more elaborate and the developments of cropping more carefully discussed, an attempt was made to show the course of prices since Settlement, and the effect that the recent increases (coupled with increased cost of farming) had had upon the profits of cultivation, and upon these discussions was based a proposed scale of enhancement. The

system of resettlement to be followed was briefly discussed, and a forecast of the result of resettlement to Government and to the proprietary body of the district was made.

77. After the Preliminary district inception report no further reports were submitted to the Government of India till the assessment of a tahsil was complete, when the statistics of the tahsil and the results of revision of Settlement were as briefly as possible reported for sanction. The intermediate steps, the determination of factors to show the relative value of land of different soil and in different positions, the fixation of unit-rates (or the acreage valuation of various soils) and the distribution of assets between the malguzars and Government were carried out under the orders of the Settlement Commissioner and the Local Administration upon the factor report, group rent-rate reports and group assessment reports which I submitted from time to time.

78. But the manner, in which the re-settlement of the district has now been made, is in the main the same as that in which the operations of the last Settlements of both Nagpur and Wardha were conducted. The changes in procedure are developments rather than radical or far-reaching alterations in system, and little has really been changed. Such alterations in method as have been made I now proceed to recapitulate. They are:—

- (a) The introduction of the *Zone System*, or sliding scale of land valuation based on accessibility.
- (b) The fixation of a *separate rent* on every field instead of on every separate holding.
- (c) The *simplification* of land classing by the reduction of position classes from 7 to 4 and by the abandonment of the distinction between "wheat land" and "mutafarikat" land suitable only for minor crops.
- (d) *Changes in the procedure in submitting reports* for the Government of India, by the elaboration of the Preliminary or Inception report and the deferment of the Tahsil report till the completion of re-assessment.
- (e) Some *changes in the procedure in office calculation*, really very trifling and technical and alluded to only in the hope of making things clear to the next Settlement Officer.

79. The first step in any method of land valuation is to classify the lands to be valued according to productiveness. For this purpose the fields were classed according:—

- (a) to their *soil*.
- (b) to their *position*, that is to say practically to the flatness or otherwise of their surfaces;
- (c) to their *accessibility* by means of zones.

The zone system has been already carefully explained and I have now to deal only with soils and positions. The eight classes used for soils are precisely the same as were utilized at Settlement, and I cannot do better than transcribe the descriptions given by Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas:—

*Kali*.—Is a rich black soil of first rate productiveness. It is composed of very small particles and contains little or no sand or grit (*chunkunkri*). It becomes fine powder if rubbed in the hands. Its clods are, when dry, extremely hard, and, on the other hand, melt away rapidly into fine sticky (*chikan*) mud when moistened with water. In the hot weather it is split up into deep cracks.

*Kali awal*.—Contains little or no grit of any kind.

*Kali doyam*.—Contains some grit or pebbles, and sometimes stones of considerable size are found upon its surface, which do not, however, lessen its productiveness.

*Morand*.—Differs from *Kali* in being composed of larger particles, which do not stick together so closely. Its clods are not so hard and, when melted, it does not turn into fine mud. It does not crack so much as *Kali*. It generally contains limestone grit (*chungkunkri*.)

*Morand awal*.—Is black or nearly black in colour and contains much less limestone grit than *Morand doyam*.

*Morand doyam*.—Is as a rule of a much lighter colour than *Morand awal*, and resembles *Khardi*, except that it is deeper.

*Khardi*.—Is a poor kind of *Morand*, which is seldom more than a span deep. It is often much mixed with sand, when it is of a greyish colour.

*Retari*.—Is yellowish soil containing much sand. When a good quality it is very well suited for rice.

*Bardi*.—Is very poor reddish-coloured soil of very little depth, and much mixed with stones. It generally grows *kodon*, *kutki* and *til* but *juur* is sometimes sown on it.

*Kachhar*.—Is good land, situated on the banks or below the banks of a river or stream and overflowed during the rains. It can produce wheat as well as *bhata* and other vegetables. Only good land was recorded as *Kachhar*. Poor land situated on the banks or below the banks of a river or stream was recorded as *Retari*.

80. In addition to the soil class one or other of the following particulars were also recorded, against each block of homogeneous land, under the name of the *position class*.

*Saman or level*.—Used for fields that are really flat and capable of absorbing all or nearly all the rain falling upon them.

*Pathar or sloping*.—Used for fields sufficiently highlying or sufficiently sloping to cause them to be quickly drained and less retentive of moisture than could be desired.

*Sadharan or ordinary*.—Used for fields that were not level enough to be classed as *Saman*, but too flat to be called *Pathar*. This class comprises the bulk of the land in the district.

*Wahuri or channelled*.—Used for land subject to erosion or other damage by the flow of water over it.

Besides these positions it was necessary to distinguish as *Khari* the fields immediately round the village site which are automatically manured either by the drainage of the village or by the people using them for their evacuations. There are one or two deserted village sites, which had been ploughed up and were similarly classed as *Khari*. Irrigation is quite unimportant in the district and is practically confined to garden land. Irrigated wheat is found in the *Karanja* group of *Arvi* tahsil, but seldom or never except in land which is generally used for garden crops. Garden land, which is found near *Arvi* paying enormous rents (Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 an acre) was separately classed as *Khari* or *not Khari* and as irrigated (*abpashi*) or unirrigated (*barani*.)

The above enumeration exhausts the nomenclature of land classification, and Table III of the District Assessment Statement shows the area in each tahsil which was found to fall in each class and position. The classification of land in the *separate* tahsils has been shown in the Tahsil Assessment Reports and need not be shown again.

The most common soil, and a very good soil it is too, is *Morand I Sadharan*, which covers 31 per cent of the whole cultivated area of the district, and this soil and position is the centre of the table of soil factors on which the valuation of the land is based.

81. The factors employed for the different classes and positions of soil are very little changed from those employed at last Settlement, and I give factors used both at last Settlement and now in the table below, showing against each factor the corresponding acreage rate in rupees with a unit-rate of 1'00.

Factors.

Soil class.	Factor and rate.	Positions used at present Settlement.						Positions used at last Settlement.						Remarks.			
		Saman.	Sadharan.	Parbar.	Wahuri.	Garden Land.		Ordinary and Bandhia.	Lawan.	Bandhan and irrigated.	Pathar.	Wahuri.	Ran.		Garden Land.		Minor crops (including rice land.)
						Bari irrigated.	Bari unirrigated.								Irrigated.	Unirrigated.	
Kali I	Factor	44	40	33	28	50	33	40	45	50	33	27	From 30 to 40 per cent according to the extent of damage suffered.	50	33	...	
	Rate	2 13 0	2 8 0	2 0 0	1 12 0	3 2 0	2 0 0	2 8 0	2 14 0	3 2 0	2 0 0	1 11 0		3 2 0	2 0 0	...	
Kali II	Factor	40	36	28	24	50	32	36	42	45	30	24	From 30 to 40 per cent according to the extent of damage suffered.	50	32	38	
	Rate	2 8 0	2 4 0	1 12 0	1 8 0	3 2 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 10 0	2 13 0	1 13 0	1 8 0		3 2 0	2 0 0	1 12 0	
Morand I	Factor	36	32	26	20	50	32	32	36	40	26	21	From 30 to 40 per cent according to the extent of damage suffered.	50	32	24	
	Rate	2 4 0	2 0 0	1 10 0	1 4 0	3 2 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 8 0	1 10 0	1 3 0		3 2 0	2 0 0	1 8 0	
Morand II	Factor	38	34	16	12	40	20	24	29	32	22	20	From 30 to 40 per cent according to the extent of damage suffered.	40	20	16	
	Rate	1 13 0	1 8 0	1 0 0	0 12 0	2 8 0	1 4 0	1 8 0	1 13 0	2 0 0	1 5 0	1 4 0		2 8 0	1 4 0	1 0 0	
Khandi	Factor	30	16	8	6	40	20	14	17	18	12	10	From 30 to 40 per cent according to the extent of damage suffered.	40	20	8	
	Rate	1 4 0	1 0 0	0 8 0	0 5 0	2 8 0	1 4 0	0 14 0	1 2 0	1 2 0	0 12 0	0 10 0		2 8 0	1 4 0	0 8 0	
Bardi	Factor	...	4	...	...	40	20	...	...	...	...	...	From 30 to 40 per cent according to the extent of damage suffered.	40	20	5	
	Rate	...	0 4 0	...	...	2 8 0	1 4 0	...	...	...	...	...		2 8 0	1 4 0	0 5 0	
Retari	Factor	...	6	...	...	40	20	...	...	...	...	...	From 30 to 40 per cent according to the extent of damage suffered.	40	20	6	
	Rate	...	0 5 0	...	...	2 8 0	1 4 0	...	...	...	...	...		2 8 0	1 4 0	0 6 0	
Kachhar	Factor	...	32	...	...	50	32	30	...	...	...	...	From 30 to 40 per cent according to the extent of damage suffered.	50	32	...	
	Rate	...	2 0 0	...	...	3 2 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	...	...	...	...		3 2 0	2 0 0	...	

NOTE.—For Khari add 50 per cent for Kali I, II and Morand I and 75 per cent for the rest soils.

Zones.—  
 For Guon Patti—25 per cent.  
 " Har Patti unchanged.  
 " Siw Patti—25 per cent.

In all groups of Hinganghat Tahsil and Sindi group of Wardha Tahsil the addition and deduction for guon and siw patti has been made at 50 per cent.

NOTE.—For Khari add 75 per cent for Kali I, II and Morand I and 100 per cent for the rest soils.

For Morand I, II and Bardi, Mutafikat the factors were reduced to 20, 12 and 4 respectively for the Eastern portion of the Hinganghat Tahsil and the Wardha and Arvi Tahsils, except that for the Arvi Tahsil the factors for Morand II Pathar and Wahuri were reduced to 20 and 16, respectively, while the factors of Kali II, Morand I, Morand II and Khandi, Mutafikat were raised to 32, 28, 20 and 12, respectively, in the case of the Ashli group (rich) of the Arvi tahsil.



It will be noticed that *Kachhar* (which is always flat and by riversides) besides *Retari* and *Bardi* (which are too poor to be minutely sub-divided) are given no position class either at last Settlement or now, except when they are garden land. The only changes of any extent which have now been made are in the valuation of *Wahuri* (damaged by water) land, and all classes of *Morand II*.

82. Besides these soils and positions there were at Settlement two extra positions,—*Khari* and *Ran*. The word *Khari* has been already explained, and for fields in this position at last Settlement the valuation was in the first three classes of soil (*Kali I*, *Kali II* and *Morand I*) raised by 75 per cent and in other soils doubled. In the Settlement just concluded the valuation for *Khari* fields was raised by a less proportion because they already fell into the "*Goan patti*" and their valuation was already raised under the zone system. So *Khari* land of the lower soil classes had its valuation raised by 75 per cent, while the three better classes were raised by half. Fields classed as *Ran* were supposed to be liable to extra damage by wild beasts, and their valuation was accordingly reduced from 20 to 40 per cent according to the amount of damage. In the last 18 years the famines and the extension of cultivation have practically killed off the larger jungle animals—Sambhar, Nilgai and Chital—and the Pig and Antelope which remain range over the whole village, as long as the *Khari* crops are standing in the fields, and do not confine their damage to any particular part of the village. The extra liability of distant fields to the visitations of beasts was considered to be covered by the zone deduction (20 to 25 per cent) applied to all land in the *Siw patti*, and the class of *Ran* land was abandoned. The *Lawan* and *Bandhan* or irrigated classes were little used at last Settlement. It is a positive disadvantage in cotton growing for a field to be lowlying and to collect surface water. The second class (*Bandhan*, &c.) being very rare, and the first no longer advantageous, both were abandoned, and their place taken by new *Saman* (or level) position class. Everybody acknowledges and attempts to secure by embankment the advantage of flatness in a field.

83. The scale set forth in paragraph 81 above was used at last Settlement for the bulk of Hinganghat tahsil, but in the Wardha tahsil a few alterations were made. The *Bardi* factor was reduced from 5 to 4 (the factor employed by me) and the factors of *Morand I Mutafarikat* and *Morand II Mutafarikat* were cut down from 24 and 16 to 20 and 12, respectively. But as the attestation of the Arvi tahsil (where *rabi* is so little grown) proceeded Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas became more and more doubtful of the correctness of the distinction between wheat land and cotton land, and in the end the factors of the *Mutafarikat* class were raised nearer to the wheat factors as follows:—

Kali II <i>Mutafarikat</i>	from 28 to 32
Morand I	„ „ 20 to 28
Morand II	„ „ 12 to 20
Khardi	„ „ 8 to 12

This raising of the valuation of minor crop land nearer to the wheat valuation had been made in the northern part of the Nagpur District also, and was the first step to the abandonment of the distinction between wheat and non-wheat land.

84. It is needless to discuss at length exactly why the old factors for each class and position were maintained or altered. The factors employed in the Nagpur Settlement were laid down by Sir R. Craddock when he was Settlement Officer of Nagpur, and were explained in the Nagpur Settlement Report. The changes made for the last Settlement of Wardha were not large and were supervised by the originator of the Nagpur factor scale, who also examined and approved the changes now introduced for re-settlement. Sanction was conveyed to the new factor scale in Secretariat letter No. 423—XI-4-53, dated the 28th August 1909, to which I refer to save trouble to the next Settlement Officer of Wardha. The scale given was perpetually discussed with such malguzars and tenants as were at all anxious

to help instead of hindering Settlement operations, and excited a good deal of interest. I never found any objection or dissension from the factors originally introduced and the same scale was used for the whole district.

85. The areas under each soil and position shown in Table III of the District Assessment Statement were multiplied by the factors for each class and position of land as detailed above. The additions and deductions appropriate to the *Gaon patti* and *Siw patti* being then made for the land that falls into these two zones, we have the net total of soil units for each field and for each holding, village, group or larger aggregate of fields. The total present rental payments of each class of tenants in a village or aggregate of villages (being reduced to annas, and divided by the number of soil units contained in the land of each class of tenants) then gives in annas and decimals the average rent per soil unit paid (previous to revision) by the tenants of each class. This is the *unit incidence* of rent. The unit incidences of a group being considered with the other circumstances of the group and with the all-round enhancement, which on general considerations of prices and cultivating profits has been decided to be fair for the whole district, can then be raised by whatever percentage be thought advisable, and the group unit incidence, plus the addition made for enhancement, is the standard unit-rate of the group. After dealing with the rent-rate report of a group and fixing the group standard unit-rate, the Settlement Officer can then proceed to look at the incidence and other particulars laid before him in the statistics of each village, and can decide upon a unit-rate higher or lower than the standard which is suitable to each village, and his standard group unit-rate and individual unit-rates for villages will after approval by the Settlement Commissioner and Financial Commissioner be communicated to the Settlement Officer for application.

86. But rents run very uneven from holding to holding, from village to village and from group to group, and a table showing the range of incidences in each tahsil has been submitted with the tahsil reports. The following table shows the range of incidences, the average all-round incidence and the standard unit-rate for each group in the district:—

Tahsil.	Group.	Range of incidences.		All round incidence (excluding malik-mak-buza).	Unit-rate finally sanctioned (group standard).	Unit-rate on revised rents after enhancement.
		Highest.	Lowest.			
WARDHA.	Selu	1'14	'32	'74	'90	'93
	Sindi	1'03	'52	'73	1'00	'89
	Anji	2'21	'46	'90	1'15	1'10
	Pawnar	1'37	'42	'78	1'00	'98
	Deoli	1'03	'32	'62	'80	'80
	Andori	1'34	'28	'61	'80	'78
	Keljhar	1'68	'24	'67	'80	'84
	Nachangaon	1'06	'30	'58	'75	'74
HINGANGHAT.	Wadner-Pohna	2'02	'31	'60	'75	'73
	Hinganghat	1'72	'25	'47	'60	'56
	Wagholi	1'36	'28	'79	'90	'92
	Girar	'63	'21	'41	'60	'55
	Mandgaon-Waigaon	2'05	'30	'75	'90	'90
	Kora	'70	'16	'36	'50	'49
ARVI.	Arvi	3'33	'35	'85	1'10	1'05
	Ashi	2'34	'35	1'14	1'50	1'41
	Dhadi	2'62	'43	'90	1'20	1'18
	Kharangna	1'28	'41	'71	'90	'87
	Dhamkund	'90	'26	'52	'70	'70
	Wadhona	1'19	'27	'49	'60	'63
	Kachaur	1'51	'26	'65	'80	'83
	Karanja	1'46	'22	'63	'80	'83

In other words the average rent found to be paid for one acre of *Morand I Sadh-aran* land in the *har patti* of the villages in each group, the acreage rate for the same species of land, which was taken as the standard in each group for revision of rents, and the average rent after revision paid for the same land were as follows:—

Average rent of one acre of <i>Morand I Sadh-aran</i> in the <i>Har patti</i> of a village.	Wardha.								Arvi.						Hinganghat.							
	Keljhar.	Selu.	Sindi.	Anji.	Pownat.	Deoli.	Andori.	Nachangaon.	Arvi.	Ashli.	Dhedi.	Kachnur.	Kharangra.	Wadhona.	Dhamkund.	Karanja.	Mandgaon-Waigton.	Hinganghat.	Wadner-Pohna.	Wagholi.	Girar.	Kora.
According to average of rents before revision.	1 5 7	1 7 8	1 7 4	1 13 10	1 9 0	1 3 10	1 3 6	1 2 7	1 11 2	2 4 6	1 12 10	1 4 10	1 6 9	0 15 8	1 0 8	1 4 2	1 8 0	0 15 0	1 3 2	1 9 3	0 13 1	0 11 6
According to group standard of revision.	1 9 7	1 13 10	2 0 0	2 4 10	2 0 0	1 9 7	1 9 7	1 8 0	2 3 2	3 0 0	2 6 5	1 9 7	1 12 10	1 3 2	1 6 5	1 9 7	1 12 10	1 3 2	1 8 0	1 12 10	1 3 2	1 0 0
Average of revised rents after enhancement.	1 10 11	1 13 9	1 12 6	2 3 2	1 15 4	1 9 7	1 9 0	1 7 8	2 1 7	2 13 1	2 5 9	1 10 7	1 11 10	1 4 2	1 6 3	1 10 7	1 13 10	1 11 11	1 7 4	1 13 5	1 1 7	0 15 8

87. The number of soil units in a field or a holding multiplied by the village unit-rate gives in annas the "deduced rent" of the parcel of land, or the rent which it should, on pure statistics, be able to pay. But the figures given in paragraphs 54—56 above are an attempt to show that the deduced rents are in Wardha only a fraction of what the land could really pay, if anything like market rates were fixed for revision of rental payments. It is common to find an existing rent higher than the deduced rent of a holding and, if the excess is small, there is no reason to reduce the existing rent to accord with the deduced rent. If the present rent be found to be more than about twice the deduced rent it has to be considered whether reduction is not necessary. Possibly, of course, the allotment of soil, position or zone may be wrong by a mistake either in the field or in office, or the classer may have purposely underclassified the land either by fear or favour. If, therefore, a rent much higher than the deduced rent is found in a prosperous man's holding, and if the rent has been regularly paid without difficulty, there is no need to reduce. The case for maintaining such a high rent is of course stronger if a still higher sub-rent is regularly realized or if the tenant have recently paid a nazarana to acquire the field subject to the rent. It will only be necessary to reduce a rent higher than the deduced rent if the poverty of the tenant or the existence of persistent arrears indicate that the rent is too high to be paid for a term of years. It was generally considered needless to reduce rack-rents below about twice the deduced rent. Again, it is common to find land sublet for a sum that may be from ten times (or even more) to twice the deduced rent. If the sub-rent be many times the deduced rent it is open to suspicion that the land is intentionally or accidentally underclassified, or that it possesses some advantage that is not brought out by our system of land classification. Sub-rents are, of course, rack-rents, competition rents, speculative rents, or whatever one may choose to call them; and are likely to represent far more than the land can be expected to pay over a series of years. Now in the Hinganghat and Wardha tahsils attestation was completed before the cotton scarcity of 1910 disorganized utterly the cotton trade and the prices of cotton, or distorted so much the prices speculators were willing to pay for cotton land. Before 1910 prices had been high for several years but not enormous. It was considered that a fair market value for land—far higher than the all-round pitch of existing rents but not higher than the capacity of the land to pay year by year—was about half the competitive value of the land. It was laid down, therefore, that, if land were found to be regularly sub-let for large sums and seldom or

never cultivated by the real tenant, the rent might be enhanced above the deduced rent with a limit to twice the deduced rent or to half the sub-rent. In Arvi tahsil attestation was going on in the year 1910-11 when cotton prices had risen to an extraordinary pitch and speculation in annual leases had risen in degree. In Arvi land regularly sub-let for large sub-rents was permitted to have the rent enhanced to a third of the sub-rents, or to a unit incidence of 160 (3-3-2 per acre\* of morand 1 Sadharan), whichever should be least, provided that over a third of the sub-rent might be taken so long as an existing rent was not enhanced by more than 33 per cent. This permission, granted under Article 216 of the Central Provinces Settlement Code, was used only in the case of rich corporations (such as temples) or of rich persons, who are often money-lenders that have obtained land by foreclosure after ruining the original tenants, and are nothing but middlemen between the sub-tenant and the malguzar. It is sad to see a holding, that once belonged to a kunbi cultivator and has been foreclosed to pay some debt of a few hundred rupees, swollen by exorbitant interest, now fallen into the hands of a usurer who sub-lets it annually for a sum nearly equal to the principal amount of the loan leading to foreclosure. Such usurers have little claim to hold their land at less than the fair market value, and our deduced rents are now seldom as much as half the real economic value of the land year in and year out. It is these enhancements above the deduced rents which gave rise to nearly all the appeals against rent at enhancements, but these appeals will be alluded to later.

88. I have said time after time that our deduced rents—taking them all round are but a fraction of economic rents, and it would therefore seem absurd on first sight to fix on any holding a rent less than the deduced rent. It is however common to find that the deduced rent is twice or more than twice the existing rent. Sometimes of course the existing rent is a mere peppercorn—originally fixed perhaps when the land was jungle waiting to be reclaimed, or when the tenant had some claim on the landlord and was allowed to hold the land at a favoured rate. Peppercorn rents are often very old, and may have escaped enhancement at last Settlement to a reasonable sum, either because much of the land was then waste, or because Rai Bahadur Purushottamdas shrank from doing more than double or treble the rent and even doubling and trebling left the payment very light. Sometimes an existing rent far lower than the deduced rent may show that the land has been overclassed or that the village unit-rate is too high. Now rents in this district are so uneven and so far below an economic rent, that the local cultivator is beginning to regard them as having no real relation to the value of the land. He is apt to judge an enhancement, not by the quality of the holding of which the rent is enhanced, but by the difference between the old and the new rent and will often call the enhancement harsh when a rent of Rs. 10 is raised to Rs. 20, although the deduced rent may be Rs. 30 and the sub-rent Rs. 60. He looks in fact at little besides the proportionate increase *per saltum* in the rent, and—except in the case of really wealthy men or of obvious peppercorn payment—disapproves very strongly of rents being enhanced by more than half (if small in amount) or by a third if the amount be considerable. To raise a rent of Rs. 15 to more than about Rs. 21 would be regarded as hard, though the deduced rent be Rs. 25, and there would be a certain amount of shock to sentiment if an ordinary cultivator's rent were raised from Rs. 100 to more than about Rs. 140, though the deduced rent might be Rs. 160 or Rs. 170. The difference between the deduced rent and the rent actually fixed is called a "margin." Margins are in fact either a confession of distrust in the deduced rent or a mere concession to sentiment, but are a necessary item in rent fixation. Where no margin is to be given it would be necessary in fixing a village unit-rate not only to consider the all-round incidence of payment but also the incidence of the low payments and whether the payers could afford to give more for their land. The result would in most villages be a very low unit-rate and escape of many tenants from any enhancement at all.

89. I fear that the kunbi's disgust at sharp enhancement *per saltum* had communicated itself to me before Settlement had proceeded very far, and I am afraid that my revision of rents will be open to more criticism on the ground of excessive leniency than on that of harshness. The Settlement Code lays down