

C.P. SETTLEMENT

REPORT

BILASPUR DISTRICT

1912



FROM

C. U. WILLS, Esq., I. C. S.,

COMMISSIONER OF SETTLEMENTS,

Central Provinces,

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER,
CENTRAL PROVINCES,

SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT DEPARTMENT.

Nagpur, the 10th January 1913.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward my Final Report on the re-settlement of the Bilaspur Zamindari Estates including the Bhatgaon and Bilaigarh-Katgi Zamindaris of the adjoining Raipur district.

2. The length of the report is somewhat disproportionate to the fiscal importance of the tract. But this is the first regular settlement undertaken in these twelve Estates. The information hitherto available regarding them was scattered and inaccurate, and I have deliberately attempted, by collecting and reprinting important correspondence and by writing a full and discursive settlement report, to bring these areas into line with the rest of the Bilaspur district. A volume of papers connected with the first summary settlement of 1868, when proprietary rights were conferred, was compiled and printed in 1910. Detailed articles have been contributed to the District Gazetteer: and two volumes of Annexures accompany this report. These supply full information regarding the past history and administration of these Zamindaris.

3. The Estates were first settled in 1868 and again in 1890. But on both occasions the work was supervised by a Settlement Officer whose hands were already filled by his duties in the *khalsa*. Mr. Chisholm (1863—68) made one tour of 4 months in the Zamindaris in his charge, while Rao Bahadur Parshotam Dass (1886—90) was unable to do more than make spasmodic visits to the more accessible estates. The villages were unsurveyed, and the Settlement Officers were primarily concerned only with the re-assessment of *takots*. Much remained therefore to be dealt with for the first time during the recent operations, and this fact, coupled with the necessity for emphasizing the peculiar character of the seven northern Zamindari estates (the Satgarh), has tended to lengthen the report.

4. The operations of the new settlement are dealt with in Part III of the report (pages 38 to 64). In the Satgarh rents were enhanced by 46 per cent. And, excluding Pandaria in the Mungeli tahsil where continued depression after the famines of 1897 and 1900 tied our hands, the general rental enhancement imposed was 41 per cent. But this was really very lenient treatment; for the average individual rent after revision is in the Satgarh only Rs. 3-3-0 and in the open country Rs. 6-11-0, and the revised all-round rate per acre no more than eight annas-five pies. I have in paragraph 79 of the report emphasized the importance of intermediate rent enhancement during the course of the new settlement. I would draw the special attention of the Local Administration to the point, and would suggest that instructions be given to the Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur, to encourage the Zamindars in developing the rental of their villages as soon as the proper period prescribed by the Tenancy Act shall have expired, more especially in Pendra, Matin, Kenda and Korba.

5. The only village assessments directly affected by the new settlement are those of sub-proprietors. This matter is dealt with in sufficient detail in paragraph 87 of the report, which shows that in spite of the addition of a *malikana* which was waived at preceding settlements, the percentage of sub-proprietary assets now absorbed in assessment has fallen from 58 to 56. The percentage of the pure kamil-jama on assets is only 51. The total sub-proprietary assessment has risen from Rs. 18,269 to Rs. 38,784 or by more than 100 per cent, owing to the surprisingly rapid development of these properties since the opening of the railway. But a considerable concession has been allowed them by the system of deferred enhancements.

6. The *takolis* of the zamindars have also been doubled, rising from Rs. 62,516 to Rs. 1,24,800. But this too has been a very lenient assessment for, as explained in paragraph 100 of the report, the Zamindars even on the figures taken in the Government account stand to gain nearly Rs. 30,000 by re-settlement. And this disregards the large profits which some of them have obtained from the enhancement subsequent to settlement of ordinary rents in summarily settled villages; their steady receipts from thekedars' and tenants' *nazaranas*; and the very considerable fraction of their forest and miscellaneous income which all the Zamindars have, without exception save where their estates are managed by the Court of Wards, dishonestly concealed.

7. This leads me to speak of one of the two main administrative problems connected with the northern Zamindaris, *viz.*, the management of forests. The matter needs the careful and early attention of the Administration. It has been held (*vide* Secretariat letter No 299—XI 14-3, dated the 30th September 1908) that the rules for Zamindari forest lands published on page 106 of Volume I of the Revenue Manual only apply to areas not included either in villages or in the Waste Land Mahals. As a matter of fact no such excluded areas now exist in any of these Zamindaris. I would strongly urge the necessity (1) of laying down a special set of rules for all Zamindari forests outside sub-proprietary villages; (2) of so framing those rules that they will be of practical effect, and (3) of insisting on an *annual* account of all forest income being submitted to the Deputy Commissioner by each Zamindar, to be checked and filed for the information of the next Settlement Officer. In my opinion these rules should not be such as are only enforced after a Zamindar has demonstrated his incapacity to manage his forests. They should be applicable to all Estates alike; and their enforcement should be secured by a small special staff working under the Forest Officer of the district. Lakhs of rupees have been already lost to Government and to the Zamindars themselves by neglect of forest conservation; and it is of paramount importance to the people of the district that some restrictions be laid on timber cutting other than those suggested by the immediate self-interest of aboriginal proprietors. So far as I am able to learn, the rules at present in force have been a dead letter, and no District Officer has ever yet taken effective action under them to regulate these Zamindars' treatment of their valuable Sal forests.

8. The second problem of this tract of country concerns the protection of the aboriginal population from eviction, or at any rate from social domination, at the hands of foreign immigrants. This subject is dealt with at length in paragraphs 14 to 21 of the Report, and the view is there expressed that, to secure the continuance of the present social system in the Satgarh, it is essential that we should encourage and maintain the indigenous village headmen. In conformity with this conclusion I have, in paragraphs 122 to 124 dealing with Protected Status, recommended that in matters of assessment and ejectment a right of appeal to the Deputy Commissioner from the orders of the Zamindar should be allowed to *all* village headmen. This result can be obtained by abolishing the twenty years' "period test" for candidates for protected status in the provisions of the new Land Revenue Act, and substituting for it a condition that any headmen whose retention as such in the village appears desirable with a view to the support and encouragement of its tenantry shall be entitled to protection. This extension of protection for headmen is recommended simply as a means of strengthening the aboriginal tenantry, for I am aiming at the

restoration in some measure of the indigenous system under which the tenants are the real body politic of the village, while the headman is not so much their landlord or the lessee of their village as their spokesman and protector.

9. The time seems ripe for action in the direction I propose. The question of the protection of aboriginal malguzars with a view to securing the contentment of their aboriginal tenants was raised by Mr. H. F. E. Bell at the recent re-settlement of the adjoining Mandla district, and was considered at the Commissioner's conference at Pachmarhi in June last (*vide* pages 36 and 46 to 48 of the proceedings of the Pachmarhi Conference, 1912). A large majority at that Conference were in favour of special measures being taken, the only dissentient voice quoting an opinion offered by Mr. Sly as Commissioner of Settlements in his letter No. C-27, dated the 1st April 1902. I have read this letter carefully and find it based on the view that the aboriginal is a decaying race which has had its day, has demonstrated its inability to improve villages or extend cultivation, and is now fit only for employment in hewing wood and drawing water. Such a description is wholly inapplicable to the great mass of the aboriginals in the northern Zamindaris of Bilaspur. These are a prospering and energetic people and some of them (*e. g.*, the Singrolia Gonds) are famous for their industry as tenants. But they lack the capital and the cunning of the immigrant, and they have to deal in their capacity as village headmen not with an impartial Government but with an ignorant and shortsighted Zamindar, whose social ambitions are already alienating him from his former fellow-tribesmen and who is more concerned with extracting money by *nazaranas* from his headman than with any matters that affect their welfare. The Government, which has facilitated immigration and created by its roads and railways a commercial atmosphere to which the aboriginal is unaccustomed, is bound in my opinion to watch the effect of these changes with especial care, and to secure that they do not place the aboriginal at an unfair disadvantage. But it is only a temporary protection to a rising people, not the creation of a permanent reserve for a decaying one, that I am urging; for I am confident that if the forest folk of the northern Zamindaris of Bilaspur receive the encouragement they deserve, and if the Satgarh now ceases to be the administrative backwater that it has been, the Gonds and Kawars will eventually be capable of holding their own in open competition with the people of the plains.

10. The cost of re-settlement is shown in paragraph 147 of the report. It amounts to $2\frac{1}{3}$ lakhs which will be recouped in $3\frac{1}{2}$ years from the enhancement of takoli and cesses. Had the Estates been malguzari the cost would have been wiped off in $2\frac{1}{3}$ years. The smallness of the Patwari staff, the scattered and broken character of the Estates and their distance from Bilaspur, the presence of a second Settlement Office in the same head-quarter town, the unhealthiness of the hill country, the difficulties of map-correction and the deputation of a special officer (Mr. Graham, I. C. S.) for boundary settlement work, all tended either to protract or to enhance the cost of our proceedings; and I therefore venture to think that this, the first regular settlement of the tract can, all things considered, fairly claim to have been a cheap one.

11. The term for which the new settlement has been announced is in every case twenty years, as explained in paragraph 105 of the report.

12. I would bring to the special notice of the Administration the good work done by my Assistant Settlement Officers, Messrs. Chunnilal and Chhotelal, both of whom performed their duties steadily and conscientiously under circumstances that were often trying.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

C. U. WILLS,

Commissioner of Settlements,

Central Provinces.



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CENTRAL PROVINCES ADMINISTRATION.

Survey and Settlement Department.

FROM

R. C. H. MOSS KING, Esq., I. C. S.,

SECOND SECRETARY TO THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER,

Central Provinces,

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

REVENUE AND AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT.

Nagpur, the 7th March 1913.

SIR,

I am directed to submit, for the orders of the Government of India, the final report of the Zamindari Estates in the Bilaspur district carried out by Mr C. U. Wills during the years 1906—12. The report deals not only with the Zamindari Estates of the Bilaspur district as constituted after the re-adjustment of the territorial areas, consequent on the transfer of Sambalpur to Bengal and the formation of the new district of Drug in 1906, but also with the three Zamindaris of Bilaigarh-Katgi, Champa and Bhatgaon transferred from the Bilaspur to the Raipur district.

2. The original settlements of these estates were carried out in a summary manner, first in 1868 and again in 1890. In 1899 operations for a regular settlement of the Bilaspur district as a whole were begun under the orders of the Government of India, but in 1901 the proceedings had to be postponed for three years on account of the serious depression caused by a series of unfavourable seasons, which culminated in the famine of 1899-1900. In 1904 sanction to the resumption of settlement operations was conveyed in Mr. L. Robertson's letter No. 1684—366-2, dated the 25th November 1904.

3. In the Inception Report, dated November 1905, the general forecast was that a rental enhancement of from 15 to 25 per cent could, with safety, be imposed, that the probable increase in takoli would be Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000 and in cesses about Rs. 10,000, that the cost of the proceedings would be from Rs. 80,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 and that the operations would probably occupy from 2½ to 3 years.

4. This report, however, was compiled rather hurriedly by an officer who had no opportunity of visiting any but the Pandaria and Kanteli Zamindaris, and was necessarily coloured by his knowledge of these estates, in which the actual percentages of rent enhancement, 19 and 22, are within the estimated limits.

Moreover, as the Settlement Officer points out, the estimates were made at a time when the shadow of famine had as yet hardly lifted; and though the Zamindaris as a whole had been affected in a remarkably light degree by the calamities of 1897 and 1900, the two Zamindaris mentioned had suffered very severely. As the settlement progressed it became more and more clear that a much higher standard of rent enhancement was perfectly practicable, and at the same time the very large income realized from the Zamindari forests, in spite of general efforts at concealment, was gradually brought to light. These modifications in the estimates have already been brought to the notice of the Government of India in the preliminary reports submitted for the various Zamindaris. The ultimate rent enhancement has indeed reached a higher figure than was anticipated even in these reports. For the Zamindaris as a whole it is 33 per cent, and in the seven Northern Zamindaris, constituting the "Satgarh", 46 per cent, but if Pendra, where the rents were so low as to be absolutely nominal, be excluded, this figure falls to 40 per cent. The Settlement Officer shows that theoretically a much larger enhancement might have been imposed, and that practically the only limiting consideration was the amount of *per saltum* increase that the tenants could stand; in paragraphs 71—78 he shows conclusively that the enhancement was distinctly lenient, and in paragraphs 79—80 that the leniency was not excessive.

5. The total assets of the "waste land mahal," that is, broadly speaking, the income received by the Zamindars from their extensive forests, show an increase of 25 per cent over the estimate submitted with the Inception Report, and has nearly doubled since the previous settlement, while the total *siwai* valuation, notwithstanding liberal margins allowed for fluctuations, has risen by nearly 200 per cent. And yet the Settlement Officer remarks that, in view of the deliberate concealment and denial of assets by the Zamindars and the consequent necessity for using the results of *ex-parte* enquiries with extreme caution, "it is far too much to hope that these figures represent anything like the whole of the Zamindars' income"; and, indeed, figures that have come before the Administration since these assessments were made leave no doubt that they are extremely lenient. That, however, under the circumstances of the case, was unavoidable.

6. The totals assets have thus been raised from Rs. 2,47,920 to Rs. 4,70,554. On these assets a kamil-jama of Rs. 2,35,186, or 50 per cent, has been assessed, which represents the sum that would have been taken as revenue had these estates been held on the ordinary malguzari tenure. But of this sum Rs. 1,10,386 has been foregone as a concession to the status of the Zamindars, who now contribute a takoli of Rs. 1,24,800, exclusive of cesses, to Government, an increase of Rs. 62,284 over the figure fixed at the previous settlement.

7. This enhancement of takoli, though apparently large, is not proportionate to the rate at which these Zamindaris have developed. While the re-settlement has actually raised the Zamindars' aggregate takolis by Rs. 62,284, their gross income as a result of re-settlement has risen by Rs. 91,057. In their incidence on income the takolis and cesses are lighter than at the last settlement, absorbing now only 36 per cent of the gross income as compared with 44 per cent previously. The new takolis and cesses fall at 29 per cent of the assets, 59 per cent of the kamil-jama, 36 per cent of the gross and 40 per cent of the net income; and the Zamindars actually gain by re-settlement to the extent of nearly Rs. 30,000, exclusive of what some of them have gained immediately after announcement by the enhancement of ordinary rents in summarily settled villages, which was left to them.

8. The total cost of the recent settlement operations, which began in January 1906 and were virtually completed by October 1910, amounts to Rs. 2,33,000, and will be recouped from the enhancement of takoli and cesses in three and a half years. This expenditure is much larger than was anticipated, but bears no higher proportion to the profits of settlement, and it is, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, not extravagant considering the difficulties under which the work had to be carried through.

9. The term of the revised settlement has been announced for 20 years. The revised rents and takolis have been paid without any difficulty, and Sir Benjamin Robertson has no hesitation in recommending the assessment for confirmation by the Government of India.

10. In this excellent report on the first regular settlement of the Bilaspur Zamindaris, Mr. Wills has collected and set forth in a most complete and lucid manner a large amount of information regarding the history and status of the various tenure holders which will be of extreme value to future administrators of the district. He has also discussed various important problems, among them the questions of the conservation of forests and the protection of aboriginal races, which will receive the Chief Commissioner's careful consideration. The settlement, like all settlements, had its own difficulties, and Mr. Wills was handicapped by persistent ill-health. In spite of this, his work throughout was of a very high standard. The Chief Commissioner has much pleasure in bringing his services and those of his Assistants, Messrs. Chunnilal and Chhotelal, to the favourable notice of the Government of India.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

R. C. H. MOSS KING,

Second Secretary.

Govt. Press, Nagpur :—No. 4, Civil Sectt.—11-3-13—316.





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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND AGRICULTURE.
(Land Revenue.)

No. 673-72-2, dated Simla, the 5th May 1913.

From—F. NOYCE, Esq., I. C. S., Under Secretary to the Government of India,

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

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Moss King's letter No. 160—XI-14-2, dated the 7th March 1913, forwarding, with remarks, the final report on the settlement of the zamindari estates in the Bilaspur District, and to say that the Governor-General in Council is pleased, under Section 53 of the Central Provinces Land Revenue Act, to confirm the settlement.

2. The Government of India have read Mr. Wills' excellent report with much interest. They are glad to notice that the two most important questions raised in it—the conservation of forests and the protection of the aboriginal races—are receiving your careful consideration.

Govt. Press, Nagpur :—No. 835, Civil Sectt.—24-7-13—275.





सत्यमेव जयते

CONTENTS.

—:0:—

GENERAL MAP OF THE ZAMINDARIS UNDER REPORT ...	}	Frontispiece.
MAP OF THE SEVEN NORTHERN ZAMINDARIS (HALF SCALE)	}	
MAP OF THE PANDARIA AND KANTELI ZAMINDARIS ...	}	
MAP OF THE CHAMPA, BHATGAON AND BILAIGARH-KATGI ZAMINDARIS	}	

	PAGES.
PART I.—Descriptive	1 to 17
PART II.—Historical	18 to 37
PART III.—The New Settlement :—	
(I) Map Correction	39
(II) Soil classification and the choice of Factors ...	39 to 41
(III) Enhancement of Rents	41 to 49
(IV) Enhancement of Revenue (kamil-jamas) ...	49 to 53
(V) Summary Settlement Methods	53 to 55
(VI) Enhancement of takoli	55 to 60
(VII) Government cesses	60 & 61
(VIII) Miscellaneous	61 to 64
PART IV.—The Grant of Protected Status and the Settlement of Boundaries—	
A.—Protected Status	65 to 72
B.—The Settlement of Boundaries	72 to 78
PART V.—Conclusion	79 to 82
Appendices A, B, C, D and E	84 to 115
Index	116



सत्यमेव जयते

CONTENTS.

—:O:—

GENERAL MAP OF THE ZAMINDARIS UNDER REPORT ...	}	Frontispiece.
MAP OF THE SEVEN NORTHERN ZAMINDARIS (HALF SCALE)		
MAP OF THE PANDARIA AND KANTELI ZAMINDARIS ...		
MAP OF THE CHAMPA, BHATGAON AND BILAIGARH-KATGI ZAMINDARIS		

	PAGES.
PART I.—Descriptive	1 to 17
PART II.—Historical	18 to 37
PART III.—The New Settlement :—	
(I) Map Correction	39
(II) Soil classification and the choice of Factors ...	39 to 41
(III) Enhancement of Rents	41 to 49
(IV) Enhancement of Revenue (kamil-jamas) ...	49 to 53
(V) Summary Settlement Methods	53 to 55
(VI) Enhancement of takoli	55 to 60
(VII) Government cesses	60 & 61
(VIII) Miscellaneous	61 to 64
PART IV.—The Grant of Protected Status and the Settlement of Boundaries—	
A.—Protected Status	65 to 72
B.—The Settlement of Boundaries	72 to 78
PART V.—Conclusion	79 to 82
Appendices A, B, C, D and E	84 to 115
Index	116

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FINAL REPORT

ON THE

LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT

OF THE

ZAMINDARI ESTATES

IN THE

BILASPUR DISTRICT.

PART I.—DESCRIPTIVE.

1. Bilaspur is the northernmost of the three districts of the Chhattisgarh Division. It lies between latitude $21^{\circ} 30'$ and 23° and longitude 81° and 84° . Its total area is 7,602 square miles, supporting a population of 1,146,359 souls. The zamindaris are estates, for the most part of considerable extent, on the outskirts of the district. They are held on favourable terms by old-established families of non-Aryan descent, to whom they were entrusted for administrative purposes by the Rajput Kings of Ratanpur. Their total area is 4,470 square miles or four-sevenths of the whole district; their population is 388,851, a little more than half that of the Khalsa portion of the district; and they contain 1,652 occupied villages, about 300 less than the number comprised in the area under direct Government control.

2. The recent re-settlement of the zamindaris began in January 1906 and was brought practically to a close in October 1910. It concerned the twelve estates enumerated in the margin, of which the last two have, by Notification No. 8169, dated the 15th December 1905, been recently transferred to the

1. Pendra.	7. Korba.
2. Kenda.	8. Champa.
3. Matin	9. Kanteli.
4. Lapha.	10. Pandaria.
5. Uprora.	11. Bilaigarh-Katgi
6. Chhuri.	12. Bhatgaon.

Raipur District. The first seven are known collectively as the "Satgarh," a compact and clearly differentiated portion of the Chhattisgarh Division, which lies along an offshoot of the Maikal Mountains, in the hills and forests which form the north-eastern boundary of the district. These seven zamindaris cover the large area of 3,619 square miles, are held without exception by members of the Tawar (or Kanwar) caste, and are widely distinct in natural features and in social and agricultural development from the other estates with which we have to deal. Their Zamindars are the most ancient in the district, and were for some hundreds of years close adherents of the Haihaibansi Kings of Ratanpur. Their people are peculiar in their dialect and customs, and above all in the overwhelming predominance among them of non-Aryan tribes.

3. The other five estates are scattered; they fall under no general classification of their own; they are with one exception small, are situated almost wholly in open country, and are held by men of more recent standing, only two of whom are of the same caste. Pandaria in the extreme west of the district was for long a debateable ground between the kingdoms of Mandla and Ratanpur, and is held by a Raj-Gond. Half the estate is level and half is hill. The plain is a continuation of the fertile Mungeli tahsil and is both in its natural features and agricultural standards on a par with the adjoining Khalsa. The rest is all forest and hill peopled by Gonds and Bhumias, a natural adjunct to the wilder portions of the Mandla district. This is fiscally the most important of all the Bilaspur zamindaris. Two other estates, *viz.*, Bhatgaon and Bilaigarh-Katgi, which lie along the southern bank of the Mahanadi beyond the south-east border of the Bilaspur district, belonged at one time to the Kings of Sambalpur. Their Zamindars, the one a Binjhia and the other a Dhur-Gond, hold the narrow strip of level country below the confluence of the Sheonath with the Mahanadi. Kanteli near Mungeli and Champa near Janjgir, which complete the list, are the shrunken relics of what were fine estates in former days. Their position was too easily assailable, and none but a few villages irregularly placed have escaped inclusion in the ordinary Khalsa of which geographically they now form an integral part.

4. For an account of the geology of these zamindaris it will suffice to refer to the District Gazetteer (pages 8—10). It may be remarked, however, that the classification there given of

Geology
the open country as a homogeneous spread of Raipur shales and limestones offers no explanation of the predominance of heavy black soils in the western tahsil (Mungeli) of which Pandaria and Kanteli form a part, and of light yellow soils in the Janjgir tahsil, Champa, Bhatgaon and Bilaigarh-Katgi to the east. The old theory (Chisholm's Settlement Report of 1868, paragraphs 34 and 35) that the black soil in the west was disintegrated trap from the Mandla plateau while the lighter soils to the east were to be explained by the metamorphic formation of the adjoining Satgarh Hills no longer satisfies the agricultural geologist. Soils other than alluvial are not, except in very rare cases, carried by water action to any great distance from the rock to which they owe their origin. If they are the product *in situ* of the underlying stratum one might expect the geological formation of the Mahanadi basin, of which the open Bilaspur country is a part, to exhibit some marked variations. The statement therefore that the soil of the whole level country rests upon a homogeneous limestone formation is one which will require some amplification before the geology of the tract can be brought into intelligible connection with the wide variety of surface soils. Of the hilly country there is an excellent geological description in Volume XVII of the Survey of India Records. Here again it has not been possible to attribute any of the variations in soil to geological diversity, but this could hardly be expected in such broken country.

5. The Bilaspur district is well situated as regards rainfall. Though mainly served by the ordinary south-west monsoon it yet frequently participates in the rain brought by the Bengal currents also. Hence, though not as favourably placed as the adjoining Sambalpur district (now transferred to Bengal), it yet enjoys more rain than falls to most districts of the Nagpur and Berar country. The twelve months' average for the district during the past 44 years is 47.11 inches. But this is only for the plain country. While Mungeli to the west has an average of 45.93 inches and Janjgir to the east an average of 51.73 inches, Pendra in the Satgarh to the north has during the past 20 years received an average annual fall of 53.27 inches. This is no doubt to be explained by the prevalence of forest in the northern hills. But it is a factor of importance in a tract where more than elsewhere rice is the predominating staple. And it also offers a partial explanation of the fact, to be referred to later, that in the famine era the hill estates were the least affected of any part of Bilaspur.

6. Some reference has already been made to the physical characteristics of these 12 estates. So far as their suitability for agriculture goes the five open estates have of course a great advantage. Pandaria, Kanteli and Champa all contain tracts of country which are probably well up to the level of the best portions of the Khalsa, and support a rental assessment somewhat in excess of that paid in adjoining groups under direct Government control. Bilaigarh-Katgi and Bhatgaon (now in the Raipur district) are also comparable with many portions of the open Bilaspur country, but are superficially more undulating than the three estates just mentioned, while they are hampered commercially by the interposition of the Sheonath and Mahanadi between them and the outlets for their trade. None, however, of these five estates has much to complain of in the matter of communications. Champa itself is a station on the main Bengal-Nagpur Railway, 33 miles from Bilaspur. Kanteli is grouped round the head-quarters of the Mungeli tahsil, connected by 32 miles of good high road with Bilaspur. Pandaria beyond Kanteli to the west has the advantage both of this route to Bilaspur and also of a good road direct from Pandaria itself to the Kargi-road station on the Katni Branch line. Bilaigarh-Katgi and Bhatgaon have, once the Mahanadi has been crossed, direct connection by high road to the north-west with Bilaspur through Sheorinarayan, and also, what is more important, with Champa railway station to the north, distant 22 miles from the Mahanadi.

7. The Satgarh on the other hand are, as might be expected, sadly deficient in road communications. They contain no really level tracts at all. At the best

they can boast of undulating plains in the north and centre of Pendra, the south of Kenda, and some portions of the Korba zamindari which have been denuded of forest and therefore present the appearance of being agriculturally advanced. But the undulation is such that even here the proportion of what is known as 'Khâr,' that is level cultivated rice-land, is extremely small. The agricultural strength of the villages, both in these open plains and in the forest country, resides principally in their *baharas* and *nârs*, the network of channels and ravines small and large which drain the country, and which when levelled and terraced afford the best positions for the growth of rice. This constant scouring to which the surface soil is subjected vitally affects the agriculture of the tract. It concentrates all the best cultivation in the channels, makes that cultivation very incompact, and leads to the deterioration of all high-lying soils. Autumn crops are seldom found and are in many parts unknown. On the other hand the rice cultivation in the channels is extremely stable. The best of them are so well fed by percolation from higher ground that their crops are seldom known to fail. In a country such as this cart traffic is difficult and head-loads, or *kanwar* loads (slung on a yoke across the shoulders), are the usual means of local transport, except for heavy goods. There are no made roads (though several are now under contemplation) and in describing existing communications one can only name the more important tracks along which the trade of the country flowed in pre-railway days, and the later routes by which cartmen now convey the timber and other heavy forest produce for export to the nearest stations. There were two old trade routes, one from Ratanpur through Kenda over the Komo ghat into Pendra and thence into Kiwa territory towards Mirzapur, and the second from Akaltara through the western part of Korba to Kathghora (a Khalsa village in the heart of Chhuri) and thence across Uprora into the Sarguja State. These old trade arteries have now shrunk to insignificance. The exports of the country no longer flow north to Mirzapur, but south to the main Bengal-Nagpur Railway, opened in 1889, which runs east and west a few miles below the borders of Lapha and Korba, or westwards to the broad-gauge Katni Branch running north-west from Bilaspur through Kenda and Pendra. This latter line, opened in 1891, follows roughly the course of the old trade route over the Komo ghat and has, of course, entirely absorbed its traffic. One meets nothing on the road now but occasional herds of cattle, chiefly buffalo, bred in Saugor and the northern districts and brought for sale at the Ganiari market. Pendra, Kenda and Matin are the three estates served by the Katni line. Kenda has no roads while those in Pendra and Matin which were constructed by the Court of Wards are in disrepair, and will require a further large outlay before they can be properly so classed. The other four estates in the Satgarh now look in matters of trade towards the main Bengal-Nagpur Railway. None of them has any proper road communications, but a system has recently been approved which will link the central village of Kathghora in the Chhuri zamindari (now to be constituted the head-quarters of a new tahsil) with Ratanpur by a road through Lapha, with Champa by a road through Korba, and with Pendra-road station by a road through Uprora and Matin into Pendra. Rapid as has been the improvement of this tract of late there is no doubt but that the next 20 years will see still more far-reaching developments now that such vigorous steps are being taken to open it up.

8. The staple product of these zamindaris, as of Chhattisgarh generally, is rice. In the Satgarh this crop so far overshadows all others in importance that a system of assessing tenants' holdings in strict proportion to the amount of rice seed sown in each was till recent years widely prevalent and is still occasionally applied. The custom is of interest as indicating a closer connection with the agricultural system of Sambalpur* to the east than with that of Mandla to the west. In Mandla, as in the forests of Pandaria and formerly also in the Khalsa both of Raipur and Bilaspur, the indigenous basis of rent assessment is the plough. But in the Satgarh holdings have always been locally assessed at so much per *khandi* (60 *seers*) of paddy sown in embanked land. Garden and minor crops were so unimportant or were so little in demand that their value was disregarded altogether. Matters now have greatly changed. Even since the 'nineties the area cropped with kodon has doubled and that under til and urad has increased by 50 per cent.

* See Baden-Powell's Land-Systems of British India, 1892; Vol. II, page 379.

The latter are marketable crops and command excellent prices since the advent of the Railway. Indeed the absurd position had occasionally been reached before the recent re-settlement whereby a tenant's rent assessed on the rice capacity of his holding could in favourable years be paid from the sale of his minor crops alone. And a glance at Statement III attached to this report will show that over the zamindaris as a whole the increase of some 24,000 acres in the net-cropped area since survey is actually due to the minor crops—kodon, tilli and urad.

The percentage of rice to the net-cropped area of these estates is 61 (in the zamindaris other than Pandaria and Kanteli it is 72 per cent). Wheat covers 5 per cent, kodon 14 per cent, til and urad 9 per cent, gram and linseed 4 per cent and other crops 15 per cent. Wheat is important only in the zamindaris of the Mungeli tahsil, where it comprises 18 per cent of the net cropping as against $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the other estates. And whereas in the eastern tahsil wheat is continuously sown in the same field, in Mungeli it is always sown in rotation with kodon so that the actual wheat-bearing area is just twice as large as that disclosed by any one year's cropping.

A drop of 19,000 acres in the present area double-cropped and of 19,000 acres in the area sown with linseed as compared with that of survey will be noticed in Statement III. These are large figures, but they are not of great significance, for linseed is itself the commonest 'after crop' in the district, and the two figures indicate simply that local conditions at the time of our attestation in the open country estates (1906-07, 1907-08) were unfavourable to double-cropping.

9. Examining the figures of the various estates we see as usual a marked difference between the Satgarh and the open country. In the former the net cropping has increased since survey by 45,000 acres, of which 21,000 acres is due to an extension of the main staple rice. Every estate has shared in this remarkable development except Pendra and Kenda which alone suffered in the famines (see paragraph 50 below). On the other hand, an exactly opposite position is disclosed in the open country, where both net cropping and the area under the main staples (rice and wheat) have declined in every estate except Champa, owing to the opening of attestation in these estates before they had altogether obliterated the effects of 1897 and 1900. Nor is the contrast less marked when we turn to the village area statistics (Statement IV). In the open country there has been a small decrease of 3,000 acres in the area occupied for cultivation. In the Satgarh there has been an increase of over 103,000 acres. This phenomenal development requires to be particularly noticed. The actual extension of cropping since survey has in these estates covered an area of 45,000 acres. To explain the remaining 58,000 acres by which occupation has extended one might be led to suggest that perhaps the habit of giving resting fallows to minor cultivation was increasing. But this is not so. The explanation is simply that at survey pains were not taken to search out the fallow lands, often scattered in the jungle and always very ill-defined, in which in previous years minor crops had been sown. But since the introduction of an annual *girdawari* these outlying fields are regularly surveyed while under crops, and the record of them is thus retained even after they have been left fallow. It is for this reason that the present figure for old fallow area in the Satgarh stands at 33,000 acres as against 3,225 acres at survey. The fact that the original survey was not complete also explains the presence of large areas of so-called 'without rent land' at attestation. Much of this was merely old fallow which had been overlooked by the surveying party and was wrongly regarded, when it came under the plough once more, as newly broken land. This is a point of some importance in connection with rent enhancement, for if it is ignored we may make the mistake of attributing too large a portion of the rent enhancement recently imposed to fixation on areas previously held rent free. As a matter of fact, as I have already said, in many estates the rice land alone is recognized as a fair basis of rental assessment.

10. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the character of the cropping in these estates. The statements appended to this report give whatever detailed information is desired. But something remains to be said about methods of cultivation. These have been described for the open country in Chapter IV of the District Gazetteer, but more notice must be paid to the peculiarities of the hill estates, as it is just the

Cultivating methods in the northern zamindaris.

variation between the backward methods of the Korwa and Bhumia who use no plough at all and the advanced system described in the Gazetteer which throws so much light on the difference in agricultural development of different portions of the Satgarh. Those who require more detail may refer to paragraphs 34—37 of the Pendra Preliminary Report and to paragraph 6 of the Preliminary Report on the North-Eastern Zamindaris. Here a general summary only can be given. There is reason to suppose that the original form of cultivation in these northern estates was the *beora* (see paragraph 126 below); and this system is still practised by Bhumias, Binjhvars, Mahatos, Korwas and others, who eke out a precarious existence in the hills by felling a patch of jungle with their axes, firing it, and sowing early ripening millets in the ashes. Plough cultivation was probably introduced by Gond and Kavar immigrants from the east and north who conquered the earlier inhabitants and enslaved them or drove them to the hills. Introduced at first doubtless as a concomitant of the *beora*, with rice fields in the hollows and *beora* cultivation on the slopes above it, the plough has gradually superseded the axe altogether, except in the case of 'dahiya' cultivation which consists of felling small trees and brushwood over a small area, firing them and, after *ploughing* the ashes into the field, sowing it with rice. But the introduction of rice cultivation necessarily involved in shallow and uneven soil the embankment of the fields, and the immediate consequence of such embankments was to put a final stop to shifting cultivation. In the adjoining Mandla district where as here there is a wide tract of country occupied by aboriginals the staple is wheat which requires no embankments. Hence, though the Mandla Gond is socially just as advanced as the Kavar of Bilaspur, yet in that district, as also in the adjoining jungles of the Pandaria Zamindari, wholesale migration from one site to another is to this day a common feature of the agricultural system. On the other hand, in the northern zamindaris of Bilaspur shifting cultivation (except in the case of *beora*) is unknown. As soon as a tenant has embanked his fields he has sunk capital in his cultivation which he cannot withdraw. Individuals may, under the influence of superstitious fear, abandon their holdings. Even bodies of tenants may depart as a protest against some outrage on their social system, such as would be involved in imposing on them a headman of a foreign caste. But these are exceptions. As a rule once a tenant has settled in a village he remains there permanently, and it is this which gives stability to the agricultural system of the tract. Nor within the village do the tenants shift their cultivation. If it is rice land, they have embanked it. If it is any other kind of cultivation, they will have at least cleared the jungle to make room for it, and will perhaps have fenced it round to protect it from pig and deer. Hence they claim a permanent title in all their fields and, though they may leave some of them fallow perhaps for years together, yet retain the right to exclude every other tenant from their occupation. But while the permanency of cultivation in the villages of the Satgarh is a great asset yet the general standard of cultivation is still many degrees removed from that prevailing in the Khalsa. It is still diffuse; and how much room there is for improvement can best be shown by contrasting a village of the normal forest type in these estates with an ordinary village in the Khalsa. In the first place the houses in the forest village will be wide apart, those in the Khalsa village will be closely set together. The former will all be thatched, of the latter many will be tiled. In the Khalsa the fenced garden by the tenant's house is of minor importance to him. He may grow a few condiments in it, and a little tobacco for his private use, but that is all. In the forest, on the other hand, the *bari* is of real importance. It will often extend over half an acre, the greatest pains are taken in fencing it, practically the whole of the available manure is devoted to it and it yields two important crops. The first is maize or *jondhri*, which ripens very early and gives the tenant sustenance for a couple of months before the rice is cut. When the *jondhri* is over mustard (*sarson*) is commonly sown after it, and yields a valuable crop which goes a long way towards paying the tenant's rent. The contrast with the villages of the open country is equally marked when we consider wheat, rice and minor crop land. As regards wheat, little need be said, for there are only some 1,200 acres under the crop throughout the Satgarh, according to our attestation papers. It is frequently sown broadcast, is never given the benefit of a rotation of crops, and is never weeded and never embanked. In all these respects its cultivation compares unfavourably with the common practice of the

Khalsa. In regard to rice there is a similar inferiority of method. The rice-fields in a village of the normal forest type are neither weeded nor manured, and are seldom asked to support an after-crop of linseed, urad, etc., as in the Khalsa. All the tenant's manure has been absorbed by the *bāri* or by a patch of cotton land. His rice land must depend for extraneous fertilization on the dead leaves or ashes from the last forest fire which may be swept into it by drainage from the surrounding jungle. To cope with the weeds the tenant depends solely on his method of sowing. But for the danger from weeds the ordinary broadcast sowing (known as Batar) would be universally employed. It becomes necessary however every few years to defer sowing for some weeks, to let the weeds declare themselves and give the cultivator a chance of ploughing them up. Meanwhile the fields have filled with water, and the methods of sowing germinated seed (*lehi*), or of transplanting the young rice plants from an adjoining nursery (*ropa*), must be employed. Both these methods are comparatively laborious and are only adopted as a measure of protection against the weeds which the cultivator never thinks of eradicating by hand. An easy style of cultivation is the more necessary because, though the *lakabata* system of the Khalsa was never in vogue in these estates, the tenant's holdings are, owing to the configuration of the average village, just as incompact and difficult to deal with. The rice land is mainly confined to the small channels and ravines which scour the village surface. Great distances will often separate one group of fields from another, and render every field operation, from sowing to harvesting, a serious consideration. Then again the minor crop cultivation in a forest village is of a low order. Knowing that there is abundant land at his disposal and that there are but few restrictions on the extension of cultivation, the tenant often prefers not to cultivate the same *tikka* (non-rice land) continuously. After 2 or 3 years' cultivation, the virgin soil deteriorates and the tenant then leaves the field fallow for some years until it has regained its strength. That this system of resting fallows is a luxury and not a necessity is demonstrated by the poverty of the soil in which minor crops are continuously grown in Khalsa villages where there is no land to spare.

11. It will be apparent from what I have written that the northern zamindaris have plenty of leeway to make up before they can expect to bring their agricultural methods into line with those of the Khalsa. But it must not be supposed that all their villages are of the "normal forest type" which I have been contrasting with the Khalsa. There are many villages in the northern zamindaris, especially in Korba on the Khalsa border, where Khalsa methods have already been adopted. Elsewhere also immigrants have introduced open-country methods, or some of them, into a number of villages, and these win their way in the neighbourhood as the pressure of population increases and the people are forced to adopt less diffuse and more intensive methods. Nor must the mistake be made of assuming that the inferiority of cultivating methods in the zamindaris is wholly due to apathy and want of competition among the cultivating classes. To some extent undoubtedly the light pressure of the population on the land favours a less strenuous style of agriculture. But it is impossible to see the years of toil which have been spent in substantially embanking the larger rice channels without realizing that the people are in no wise wanting in energy when circumstances arise to call it fourth. They are sadly deficient in capital because they have as yet made no attempt to develop their agricultural credit. Hence the number of improvements—irrigation tanks, and cross embankments, and channels for diverting water to the fields—is small and the total outlay on them insignificant. But their industry is not at fault. Some of the points in regard to which I have drawn unfavourable comparison with the Khalsa are such as are the natural result of circumstances. For instance, the absence of double-cropping in rice land is not merely the result of the zamindari tenant's laziness. The scattered position of the rice fields, frost in the cold weather months, and the difficulties of protecting the second crop from the ravages of deer, are all factors which may well decide the average tenant to turn his hand to forest labour rather than protract operations in his fields. Again, the difficulty in procuring casual labour and the remarkable encouragement to undergrowth of all kinds resulting from the proximity of forest are reasons which probably restrain the tenant from any attempt to weed his fields by

hand. The outturn of the crops is undoubtedly less—except in the very best rice positions—than that which would be obtained by an experienced cultivator from the plains. But I would be inclined to attribute the bulk of this defect to the natural disadvantages under which the forest cultivator labours. As the country opens out and opportunities arise for applying superior methods it will probably be found that the Gonds and Kanwars are on the average just as intelligent in the matter of field work as the ordinary Khalsa cultivator, and of a rather more industrious disposition.

12. At present the most serious weakness of the local population lies in their want of capital and in their business incapacity. Commercial incapacity. The trade of the whole tract and all money-lending business lie in the hands of immigrants—Kalars, Brahmins, Mohammadans, Halwais and Kachhis. This is a serious matter. It is impossible to quote any figures to indicate the development of the external trade of these northern estates nor indeed for the zamindaris generally. Scattered as they are round the edge of the district they make it impossible to collect statistics either at the railway stations or elsewhere to demonstrate the development of their trade. The only figures available which can be quoted are those from the stations in Pendra and Kenda on the Katni Branch line. These are given in paragraph 13 of the Kenda-Pendra Preliminary Report, and show that during the first 12 years after the opening of the Railway grain exports increased by $2\frac{1}{2}$ fold, and the import of apparel, metals, salt and spices by 5 fold. But it is unnecessary to ask for statistics to prove the revolution in trade brought about by the construction of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The export of sleepers is a creation of the railway. The lac trade is steadily developing in spite of temporary depression, and that it will be a permanent asset in these zamindaris is shown by the recent construction of a lac-cleaning factory at Champa. The large extension of the minor crops, *urad* and *tilli*, for sale in the local markets simply echoes the demand of the larger merchants on the railway line, and the rapid supersession of local cotton clothes and blankets by cotton goods imported by rail is another sign of the times. In view of the importance of these developments it is a matter for regret that the benefit to be derived from them is so exclusively absorbed by merchants and contractors from outside. Mr Jones, the Chief Commissioner in 1883, wrote that the "Zamindars are the natural victims of the contractor"; and the truth of this has since been amply demonstrated. From the produce of the zamindari forests the Zamindars have hitherto secured but a tithe of its market value, and in this business incapacity, as in so many other of their traits, the Zamindars are but an index to the general character of the local population. There is a serious danger that before the general mass of Kanwars and Gonds have acquired the capacity for coping with the immigrant dealer and tradesman they will have been relegated to a position of social inferiority from which it will be difficult for them to raise themselves; and it is for this reason that I have emphasized in the succeeding paragraphs the need for retaining their predominance among the village-holding class, to strengthen their position in the social conflict which has already commenced between them and the immigrants from the Khalsa.

13. The table below this shows the figures of population recorded for the different estates at each census since 1866.

Serial No.	Name of zamindari.	Area in square miles.	Census in					Pressure per square mile of population of 1911.
			1866.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911. (provisional).	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Pendra	774	19,410	43,868	54,861	53,370	71,612	93
2	Kenda	299	5,162	12,252	15,576	15,252	17,556	59
3	Matin	544	2,760	5,950	10,043	11,755	16,533	30
4	Lapha	359	5,018	7,044	9,593	12,017	19,132	51
5	Uprora	448	2,589	4,743	5,739	6,458	8,228	18
6	Chhuri	339	13,281	16,088	22,240	21,173	26,893	79
7	Korba	856	27,464	42,122	62,724	59,286	85,779	100
	Total for Satgarh	3,619	75,684	132,067	180,806	179,311	245,733	68

Serial No.	Name of zamindari.	Area in square miles.	Census in					Pressure per square mile of population of 1911.
			1866.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911 (provisional.)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8	Pandari ...	487	44,999	71,110	79,901	49,222	61,040	125
9	Kanteli ...	25	5,717	7,616	7,214	4,715	5,623	225
10	Champa ...	105	18,660	23,819	28,010	25,763	30,896	294
11	Bilaigarh-Katgi ...	169	16,816	26,693	31,250	27,169	*34,960	207
12	Bhatgaon ...	65	7,904	9,892	9,544	7,964	*10,599	163
	Total for open country Zamindaris.	851	94,102	139,130	155,919	114,833	143,118	168
	GRAND TOTAL ...	4,470	169,786	271,197	336,725	294,144	388,851	87

* As reported by Deputy Commissioner, Raipur.

The contrast between the Satgarh and the other five estates is striking. In the former the population has increased by more than threefold since 1866. In the latter the increase is barely more than 50 per cent. And whereas in consequence of the famines of 1897 and 1900 the population of the five open country estates is still at the recent census less by 12,000 than that recorded 20 years ago, in the Satgarh there is during the same period an increase of 36 per cent. The contrast is partly to be explained by the rapid development of the more backward estates under the influence of the Railway and other concomitants of a modernized administration. But the difference is mainly due to the surprisingly mild form in which the bulk of these hill estates were visited by the famines of 1897 and 1900 (see paragraphs 50 and 51 below).

14. Of the people in the open country estates it is unnecessary to give any separate account. They are exactly similar in their social customs and ideas to their fellows in the Khalsa, of whom a sufficient description can be found in other Settlement Reports. They present the normal features of highly differentiated castes wholly distinct from, if not antagonistic to one another, with no compact territorial location, and possessing no large organized unity beyond such as can be inferred in certain cases from the recognition in a group of villages of some single caste-leader. But there is evidence to show that the present social organization in these open zamindaris has been substituted in comparatively recent times for the more archaic semi-tribal form which still persists in the hill estates, and that this change has taken place owing simply to the natural facilities for immigration offered to the Khalsa castes. Thus a tradition is recorded by the Settlement Officer of 1868 that the whole Mungeli Tahsil was at one time held entirely by Gonds. This we can well believe, for there were in the Rajput and early Maratha days Gond Zamindars not only in Pandaria but also in Nawagarh and at Mungeli itself. At the present time the Gonds form an altogether negligible fraction of the population in the west of the district, being found in any numbers only in the hills to the north of Pandaria towards the Mandla border. A similar phenomenon is found in the Raipur estates of Bhatgaon and Bilaigarh-Katgi. Here, too, though the Zamindar of Bilaigarh-Katgi is himself a Gond, his tribesmen are found nowhere but in the fringe of forest villages along the Phuljhar border in the southern hills. One inference from these facts is obvious, that in the more accessible estates the mere presence of an aboriginal Zamindar has afforded inadequate protection to his fellow tribesmen against dispossession at the hands of the more forceful Khalsa immigrant Brahmins, Kshatris, Kurmis, Telis and Chamars. Granted a facility for immigration and at once the khalsa people have begun to drive off the earlier settlers to the hills.

15. This introduces an important problem of future zamindari administration. Every year sees greater inducements and fresh facilities offered for immigration to the wilder portions of the district, the present stronghold of the aboriginal tribes, and past history shows that this new factor, if uncontrolled, will mean their steady, if gradual,

displacement by traders and agriculturists from the open country. Is it incumbent on the Government to check this natural movement, or should it stand aside and allow free play to the competing forces, letting the weakest go to the wall? The chief peculiarity of the hill estates is the large predominance of the non-Aryan peoples—Kanwars, Gonds and the like, who are racially distinct from the people of the plains, and represent an earlier stage of social development. Their institutions are still predominantly tribal and, though the influence of Hinduism and the Hindu caste system has modified the line of separation between, say, the Kavar in the forest and the Kurmi in the open country, yet they are still sufficiently distinct to require in many respects differential treatment. The need for a definite policy of protection for the local indigenous tribes of the Satgarh is a matter which requires to be specially emphasized in the course of this report, not only because it has hitherto not received the attention it deserves but because the view has been advanced in certain quarters that such protection is unnecessary in the interests of the aboriginals themselves, and undesirable on a consideration of the general welfare of the tract. Against any policy of antagonism to the indigenous inhabitants or even of *laissez faire* where their interests clash with those of the Khalsa people who press upon their borders, I would enter a serious protest. Such a policy would be foreign to the traditions of our rule. The Land Alienation Acts of other Provinces, our own policy in the Melghat Taluk of Berar, the gift of a statutory status to the tenantry of these Provinces, are all indications that the play of free competition among the conflicting interests of a simple agricultural people is recognized as being fraught with grave dangers to the welfare of the country.

The displacement of the aboriginal is an accomplished fact practically over the whole of the open country estates. Interest in their preservation therefore must in this district be centred on the seven northern estates, the Satgarh, in which the aboriginal is still socially predominant but where there are already signs that his predominance is being undermined. A brief description of the social organization of this tribal stronghold, and a reference to the recent census enumeration and to the inferences that can be drawn therefrom will show clearly how matters stand at present, and will serve to emphasize the importance of protecting this primitive people until they have had time to adjust their own defence against the new forces they have now to meet.

16. With a view to disclosing the general division of the population of these seven estates into immigrant on the one hand and what may be loosely called indigenous on the other, and to show how far in the last 45 years the latter have yielded to the former, an abstract was prepared showing the population of these zamindaris, caste by caste, for 1866 and 1911. In Pendra the percentage of the indigenous castes has fallen from 79 to 68, in Matin from 88 to 78, in Chhuri from 86 to 75, in Kenda from 88 to 76, in Pandaria from 32 to 21, in Kanteli from 32 to 16 and in Champa from 51 to 37. The fall in the other estates is not so marked (figures for Bhatgaon and Bilaigarh are not available).

It is apparent at once that the local tribes have during the past half century lost considerable ground. They have lost more relatively in the open country, where the process of displacement is nearing completion, than in the hills where it is only just commencing. But, what is a more serious matter from the point of view of their social predominance, they have lost village headships in the same proportion as their numerical superiority has decreased. From statistics abstracted from the Settlement records it appears that in 1868, 87 per cent of the headmen in the Satgarh were aboriginals. The percentage now is 79. In the other five estates 22 per cent of the headmen were of indigenous origin in 1868 but only 12 per cent were so recorded in 1911. This shows that the dispossession disclosed by the general figures of population is genuinely affecting the social influence of the older inhabitants. The significance of this will only be fully apparent to those with some close acquaintance with a forest tract. The removal of a headman will not infrequently mean the departure of a very large section, perhaps the whole, of the tenantry, who would rather follow the fortunes of their old leader than risk suffering from the want of sympathy of an alien lessee. It was just this substitution of foreign for local headmen in the adjoining Province of Chota Nagpur which led to the Kol rebellions of 1820

and 1831,* and although the process is in Bilaspur far too gradual to awaken violent opposition among the people yet they recognise the threat to their social supremacy offered by the gradual increase of outside influence, and express their dislike for the Khalsa immigrant in many ways.

17. A description in outline of the social structure of this tribal life may serve to emphasize the essential divergence between the
The social system of the northern zamindaris. Satgarh and the Khalsa.

It is a common practice to regard these forest people as a homogeneous whole. This is in a measure correct. There are wide bonds of real or fancied kinship which unite a number of the local tribes, known by a variety of different names. At the same time there is a clearly defined hierarchy among the superior stratum of the indigenous society (the *Tanwars*, *Kanwars*, *Gonds*, *Binjhawars*, *Dhanuhars*, *Manjhawars* and *Sauntas* and *Agarias*) while below this main stratum are what may be called the servile or unclean tribes, the *Panikas*, *Ganras*, *Korwas*, *Bhuihars*, *Mahatos*, and *Manjhis*. Sir W. Hunter in his work on Orissa held that the *Panwas* (corresponding to our *Panikas*) and other unclean castes were probably still more early settlers who had been conquered and reduced to a servile status by the present occupiers of the land. This view is borne out in Bilaspur by local tradition which regards these tribes as of separate stock and altogether inferior. In practice also the *Panika* is to this day one of the "*Pauni jāt*" who perform certain menial services for their superiors of the *Kanwar* tribes. Above these servile castes, who are comparatively few in number, stand the aristocracy of the seven or eight tribes whose names have already been given. These all put forward a fanciful claim to some sort of Rajput origin. They probably formed the backbone of the local militia serving under the Zamindars in Haihaibansi times, and they all admit some sort of relationship to one another. This relationship is commonly expressed by the phrase "*Mosi bari ke bhai*" which reflects the tradition that in origin the tribes sprang from a single family and have since maintained the remembrance of their common origin by calling each the "maternal cousin" of the other. Thus *Gonds* and *Kanwars* are 'cousins,' *Binjhawars* and *Kanwars* are 'cousins,' *Binjhawars* and *Gonds*, *Sauntas* and *Gonds*, *Sauntas* and *Dhanuhars* all accept the same definition of their respective kinship. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that they were originally a single tribe which settled in the Satgarh, expelling or subduing the *Korwas*, *Panikas*, *Mahatos* and *Manjhis*, and then partly from local causes and partly for social reasons differentiated into what are now entirely distinct classes. The main disintegrating force doubtless has been Hinduism. As constituting the social aristocracy with an important landholder at their head there is no such antagonism on the part of the *Kanwars* and their allied tribesmen to the Hindu creed as is sometimes found among a debased community like that of the *Chamars* of Chhattisgarh. At the same time a credulous and primitive people are naturally averse from abandoning their primitive beliefs, and find the strict caste rules of Hinduism in regard to inter-marriage, caste-feeding and the use of intoxicating spirits very irksome. The upper stratum, as we may collectively call the tribes superior to the servile class, have therefore fallen into a social hierarchy regulated by the extent to which they have adopted the Hindu social system. At the top of the social ladder are the Zamindars. They are all *Kanwars* in origin but during the past century under British régime they have amassed sufficient wealth to awaken social pretensions to which formerly they made no claim. In 1795 they were spoken of as "Cowheir [Kawar] Chiefs of Mountaineers." To-day they call themselves *Tanwar Kshatris*, wear the sacred thread and conform at least outwardly to all the precepts of Hinduism. Next below the Zamindars and their immediate kinsmen are the sept of *Kanwars* known as '*Paikra*' from whom the Zamindars are themselves an offshoot. Though the Zamindars now somewhat half-heartedly reject this connection, the *Paikras* take natural pride in it, and will eat cooked food prepared by a *Tanwar*. They practice Brahmin marriages, often burn their dead, eat their food only where it has been cooked, and refuse to touch

* "The introduction of foreigners from Behar and Bengal as landlords created widespread discontent which broke out into open rebellion in 1820 and 1831 Everywhere the Zamindars had been giving grants of land to the new comers—Hindus Sikhs and Musalmans, who were fast ousting the original holders of the soil. The new landlords, ignorant and unmindful of local traditions, had inflicted great oppression on the ryots"—Chota Nagpur, page 19.

intoxicants. Below the Paikras stand other important Kanwar septs such as the *Rathiya Kanwars*, and also the *Gonds*, *Dhanuhars*, *Binhwars* and *Manjhwars*. These are all more or less on a level. They are all 'Madwars' that is they have not given up intoxicants. They bury their dead, carry cooked food from place to place, and are bound by Hindu beliefs only as regards their respect for Brahmins, their abandonment of the practice of yoking cows, their worship of certain Hindu deities, especially Mahadeo, Mata Debi, Parbati and Mahabir, and their acceptance of the ordinary Hindu restrictions on inter-marriage and common messing. At the same time they all fully adhere to the principles of the Hindu religion (an adherence which they commonly express by calling themselves *Saktahas*) and herein lies the factor in their social life which gives real promise for the future. By their partial acceptance of the Hindu creed they indicate their desire for social advancement. The Paikra Kanwars, a very numerous, well disposed and prosperous community in all these seven northern zamindaris are an instance of what Hinduism can do to teach primitive people social decency and self respect, carrying with it lessons of thrift, industry and self-restraint; and what is true of the Paikras is true to a less extent of all the other component classes in the superior social stratum of these estates. They are now rapidly improving their standard of living and this means greater industry, greater credit and greater agricultural stability. Nor is social improvement through Hinduism confined to the better class of aboriginal. Even the low class Panika has in these estates an important Kabirpanti shrine at Kudurmāl in the Korba Zamindari, and though their social practice is not on a par with the more exalted level of their religious tenets (as the Hindu expresses it, their *karm* is defective though their *dharm* is good), yet the influence of religious precept is not altogether lost as is proved by the abstention of many Panikas from intoxicants in deference to Kabirpanti doctrine. When to these signs of social advancement it is possible to point, as will be seen hereafter, to remarkable agricultural developments, thousands of acres brought under new cultivation year by year and land embanked at such a pace that it is a difficult task to keep the field survey work up-to-date, it is clear that we are dealing with a people suited to their environment, vigorous, capable of being developed into excellent agriculturists, and at least worthy of encouragement and protection sufficient to enable them to work out their own salvation, unhampered for a time by undue competition from outside.

18. It is natural at first to argue that if the people of the Satgarh are fit to hold the country they will hold it without artificial assistance, either direct or indirect; that they must for their own good be compelled to make some effort on their own behalf, that they have no moral claim to exclude the Khalsa agriculturists and traders whose advent, if they are the better men, it should rather be Government's policy to encourage. To this there is one answer, that the present conditions in the Satgarh are not natural conditions. This tract was for centuries a backwater, even in backward Chhattisgarh. For the first 30 years of British rule it was from an administrative point of view entirely neglected. The people were simple, primitive, and unsuspecting and had been encouraged in their simplicity, in their archaic cultivating methods and in their easy-going habits by the abundance of land and the absence of competition. But the past 20 years have literally revolutionized local conditions. A branch railway runs through the two most western zamindaris of the Satgarh while the main Bengal Nagpur Railway lies but a few miles from its southern borders. The tract is governed by the ordinary revenue law. The management of the Police, Excise, and Pounds has been taken over by the District Authorities. A new tahsil head-quarters is now to be established in the centre of the Satgarh and a system of good roads will shortly open up communications with every one of these estates. Trade in timber and lac has already assumed large proportions, and contractors and money-lenders are hurrying to exploit the new ground. A money currency is being established; loans are being encouraged and the agriculturist taught to realize what his credit means. In fine, an entirely new set of conditions is being imposed upon the country. For this our Administration is responsible, and it is surely not unreasonable to maintain that that Administration is also bound to give the aboriginal breathing space, a fair opportunity of adapting himself to the new conditions.

19. So far this duty has been sufficiently discharged. The grant of proprietary right to the Zamindars themselves and to village holders of long standing in 1868 was the first step. This was followed by the grant of a statutory title in their holdings to all the tenantry, small and great, in 1889, while a further measure of support to the aboriginal was introduced in 1890 by the gift of Protected Status to large numbers of deserving village headmen. But this course of action seems to have been entered upon more in compliance with enactments affecting the Province as a whole than as part of any definite policy maturely considered and imposed with reference to the special conditions which prevail in zamindari estates; and the view has since been held that the further general extension of protection to village headmen is undesirable as constituting a serious restriction of the Zamindar's proprietary rights. Hence when in the course of the recent Settlement proposals were submitted for the grant of protection they met with considerable opposition and were only sanctioned after much discussion and not a little modification. But I think the point at issue is a fairly simple one. Either the Zamindars as a class are fit to manage their own estates or they are not. If they are, then the policy of the past 40 years by which the ryoti status and the tenures of selected village headmen have been secured by statute has been a grave mistake. It has served merely to rouse a spirit of opposition in the Zamindars who naturally regard the growth of rights among the subordinate land-holding class as so much restriction on their zamindari privilege. On the other hand, if the Zamindars are not fit to arrange for the administration of their villages then our policy up to date is justified, and this is the view which most persons with experience of the Chhattisgarhi Zamindars would emphatically maintain. Our grant of statutory tenant rights was a measure the wisdom of which has never been questioned, and in my opinion the only reason why the policy of protecting headmen has been a subject for discussion is that that policy has not gone far enough. A Zamindar who cannot be trusted to treat his old established headmen fairly, will be equally unfit to deal wisely with those of less standing. And if the real welfare of these large estates is to be considered it will be necessary to make every ejection of a village headman by the Zamindar a matter in regard to which redress would be given by the Deputy Commissioner or Settlement Officer.

20. The subject of protected status for village headmen will be dealt with in detail later on. Its relevancy here, in a chapter dealing with the social elements of which the people of these zamindaris are composed, rests on the fact that the maintenance of the indigenous headmen is essential to the continuance of tribal life in the Satgarh. I have shown that this form of tribal life is vigorous and capable of development, but that it has been practically extinguished in the open estates and is now being threatened in the hilly country. If we pursue a policy of hesitating compromise the rapid exploitation of the forests, the lac and timber trade, the extension of communications and new developments such as the factories at Kota and Champa and the opening of mineral concessions in these hill estates will soon import a still larger number of traders and other substantial immigrants from outside who, by their possession of a little capital, will gain the ear of the Zamindar, take over the headship of a sufficient number of villages to secure their control of labour or their money-lending operations, dominate socially the indigenous population of the neighbourhood and eventually reduce it to the almost helot rank which it now occupies in the open country. This process one can already see in operation on a small scale and, unless the local headmen are regarded with greater favour, there is a serious danger that it will continue more and more rapidly. It is true that the inalienable and impartible character of the Zamindar's tenure in itself acts as a check on the money-lender with a taste for land-holding. It is also true that the record of tenant rights and of the rights conferred on a portion of the *gaontiahi* body has effected much to secure the social predominance of Kavar and Gond and to maintain the tribal system in the Satgarh. But experience shows that the Zamindars are far too narrow-minded to consent to the exclusion of the foreign headman at the cost of forfeiting the large *nazaranas* which he brings, and little help is to be expected from them in maintaining

a social system from which under Brahmin influence they are rapidly dissociating themselves. Nor is his statutory tenure of really practical importance to a Gond or Kavar tenant when he finds the old village system broken up and a foreigner, a Teli or Chamar, set in authority over him. As has happened in the past and will continue to happen for many years to come, the advent of a strange lessee is not infrequently a signal for a general exodus of his predecessor's kinsmen and fellow tribesmen. The one remedy, and one which must be applied in time, is that of freely protecting the local headmen and thereby the ryots whom they have gathered round them. This protection of course need not be of the permanent and rigid character which is offered under Section 65-A of the Land Revenue Act in its present form, but should be conditional on good management, and should be at once withdrawn if the object of the grant, namely, the maintenance and encouragement of the local tenantry, is not thereby secured.

21. It is interesting to note the action taken in the adjoining Chhota Nagpur Division in regard to this very problem—that of protecting the tribal system from overthrow at the hand of foreign lessees introduced by a superior landlord. The following quotation from paragraph 80 of the Report for 1911 on Settlement Operations in that Division shows the present position of affairs. “*The headman system.*—Village headmen were found in about 60 villages in the wilder part of the area. The Settlement Officer has the following note on the system. It is clear that this kind of tenancy was formerly prevalent in a considerable portion of the south part of the district. It is a system which cannot stand unless supported by law against outside aggression. The headman was always described and described himself as a *thekedar* and the Courts treated him as temporary lessee of the village whose lease was terminable at will by the superior landlord. It followed that as soon as a village was sufficiently developed the landlord took it over as a *kham* village or leased it to a professional *thekedar*. In some cases the entire body of Santhal ryots deserted their village in resentment at the introduction of a rent collector from outside the village and the break up of their tribal system. Such villages as have retained the system will now have the protection afforded by Chapter XV of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908.”

There are several points of interest in this passage which bear upon the subject under discussion. We see the tribal system “formerly prevalent in a considerable portion of the district” now in the last stages of decline, tardily recognised as “unable to stand unless supported by law against outside aggression” and protected in the 60 villages where it still survives by an Act of 1908. We see how the indigenous tenantry break up and scatter at the approach of a foreign rent collector, how their social predominance in the tract has been overthrown, and how the Government in evident regret finds it can do no more than offer protection “in such villages as have retained the system.” We therefore should not neglect the opportunity still offered of protecting the indigenous population of the Satgarh in Bilaspur from the fate which has overtaken the Santhal in Chhota Nagpur. So far this duty has been sufficiently performed but more remains to be done if the local tribes are to cope successfully with the rapid commercial and industrial development of these estates. In any case the Government must set its face strongly against the view that the indigenous cultivator has no claim to sympathy if he cannot hold his own in open competition against the immigrant. Present conditions, as I have said, are artificial and it is unreasonable to talk of the “survival of the fittest,” or of the “inevitable march of events” in regard to a primitive people thus thrown into contact with newcomers whose environment has given them more knowledge of affairs.*

22. I may here refer briefly to the religious beliefs current in the Satgarh.

Religion.

The description may help to convey some idea of the primitiveness of the people with whom in the new Settlement we had most to do.

* Since writing these paragraphs I see that special measures for the protection of aboriginals are recommended for the adjoining Mandla district in Mr. Bell's Final Settlement Report of 1910. The fact that we have both reached a similar conclusion on independent data must, I think, tend to confirm the justice of that conclusion.

The local religion may be described as animism and demonology tempered by Hinduism, the former in vigorous life while Hinduism receives little more than lip service. The weakness of Hindu doctrine may perhaps be a matter for surprise when we can point to ruined Hindu towns and temples at Dhanpur, Tuman, Pali, Kosgain and many other places in the hills, dating back as far as the 10th and 12th centuries. But undoubtedly this tract of country lapsed, as it were, into barbarism during the dark ages of the 16th and 17th centuries when the Chhattisgarhi Rajas lost their power and independence. The weakening of the Rajput power in Ratanpur led to the establishment in the hills of robber chieftains of non-Aryan blood, in whose train followed, probably, the so-called aborigines who are now found in general possession. The primary beliefs of these people are animistic. They worship all inanimate objects which contribute to their livelihood. They worship the plough at the special festival of *Hareli*. The grain they eat is worshipped under the name of *Andeota* or *Ankuari*. They worship the water they drink. They "marry" their tanks and mango groves. They do sacrifice to their fields before they sow them and to the crop when it is cut. Besides these, the intangible deities who mostly concern them in their daily lives are simply evil spirits, *Parets* and *Bhuts*, insensible to any kind of offering, in no way to be appeased, and only to be overcome by spells or incantations. Among these powers of evil the best known is the *Sarap* or snake demon*. This evil spirit, reputed to be the oldest of all, frequents marshy ground, and often the very finest field in the village lies fallow because the spirit is supposed to have made his home there. The rest of the class are chiefly the ghosts of those who have died violent deaths. The man killed by a tiger, a snake bite, or a fall from a tree or the grown man who dies unmarried, all become demons after death. Still more malignant than the *Bhut* is the *Paretin* or *Churnil*, the female-spirit not infrequently a woman who has died in child-birth. Obviously it is fear, and fear only, which earns respect for such divinities as these. They are the unfortunates of this life, obsessed with the one idea of doing evil to their former fellows. They are to be appeased neither by entreaty nor by sacrifice, and can only be defeated by the same obscure weapons which they use themselves. But these *Bhuts* and *Parets* are merely the rank and file in the local spirit world. They are, as it were, the servants of the greater deities, such as the Thakur Deo, obeying their commands by troubling those who have given cause for offence.† Here we have the suggestion of a higher creed. The Thakur Deo is not exclusively malignant. He can be won over by prayer and sacrifice to the active support of human enterprise, indicating a great advance upon the primitive element in their religious code, the purely superstitious fear of evil spirits.

The benignant or semi-benignant deities are denoted by the higher title of *Deota*, as distinct from the *Paret* or *Bhut*. They are not of course wholly benignant. They are respected chiefly because they are liable to be vindictive if not sufficiently conciliated. The lowest of these are the *Heroes* or demi-gods. They are men of some distinguished family who, like the *Paret*, have been unfortunate in their lifetime but who probably because of their position in this world have not been embittered in the next. The two most famous of these are Ghamsan Dao, a Raj Gond of Amonda in the Kalsia, not far from Champa, and Koriha Dao, a Kanwar of Kori near Kargi-road station. Both these are known, probably over most of the district. Ghamsan Dao is known, I found, to Kols settled near Murwara in the Jubbulpore district. But there are a host of others, e.g., Sobhrai Dao and Jethu Babu in the Korba Z. mindari, with a local reputation.

The next most important are the local gods, Thakur Deo, the god of the village, and Dulha Deo, the god of the house. Thakur Deo, as I have said, presides over the local spirits. He is also the god of agriculture. His shrine is the most important in the village. Dulha Deo‡ receives the less attention as his sphere of influence is less extended. Last above all are the Hindu deities,

* See Forsyth's Highlands of Central India—page 425.

† On hearing of this hierarchy I suggested that an appeal to the Thakur Deo was an easy way of circumventing the malpractices of the *Bhut*. The answer, in which the otiose character of the greater gods was well expressed, was that no Thakur could know all that his servants did, and even if he was told, there was no certainty that he would interfere.

‡ Dulha Deo was also of human origin—a bridegroom slain by a tiger just before his wedding—see Gazetteer, page 74. Here we have the double disaster, a violent death and the death of a mature man before his marriage, to perpetuate his memory.

Mahadeo and Parbati, Mata Sambalai (Debi) and Mahabir. These are vaguely worshipped by the people who can at least appreciate the destructive aspect of the Hindu Triad, but it is Hinduism of a very low kind, accepted largely with a view to the social prestige and advancement which it offers to its adherents. On the one hand the Brahmins make concessions to the primitive beliefs of the people, treat those beliefs with a certain seriousness and supply the people with incantations against those spirits of whom they are afraid. On the other hand the people absorb some of the simpler tales of Hindu mythology, stories of Bhimsen and the Pandavas and crude adaptations of Brahmin legends, call themselves *Saktos* and generally regard themselves as well within the Hindu fold. The result of all this is a curious medley of religious beliefs which it is impossible to set in order, but from which certain features stand prominently forward, showing that at heart the real allegiance of the people is to their primitive religion based on fear, but that they have glimmerings of something better and in claiming to be Hindus have confessed themselves ready to accept the higher doctrines of that elastic creed as soon as they are capable of appreciating them.

23. No description of these zamindaris would be complete without some special reference to their extensive forests. The total area of tree forest, I have calculated to be about 2,776 square miles, comprising 62 per cent of the whole surface area of these twelve estates. Of this 230 square miles is owned by sub-proprietors. The remaining 2,546 square miles constitutes the zamindari jungle proper, of which 1,135 square miles is found in surveyed village areas and 1,410 square miles in the waste land mahals. Of the character of this large tract of forest I am unable to speak with special knowledge, a Settlement Officer's attention being mainly directed to just those areas in which the forest is least important and of the poorest kind. But they constitute undoubtedly a very valuable property. The admitted annual income which can be fairly debited to this area is nearly a lakh of rupees, falling at a rate of 1 anna per acre. The chief trees are the Sal, Saja, Bijra, Tilsa and Siras and the main source of income is from sleepers and other timber which, as the Zamindars themselves have admitted, yields them on an average over Rs 52,000 each year. The most important timber tree of all in these estates is the Sal locally called Sarai. Its value for sleepers is well recognized and as all the northern zamindaris are well suited to its growth these estates should, if properly managed, yield an enormous income both to the Zamindars and to Government. What they are capable of providing in the nature of Sal forest may be gathered from the following extract from a Forest Officer's report of 1872 on the Korba Zamindari:—

"The large forest" he wrote "lies in two belts. The length of each of these belts is about 20 miles, more or less, and their united breadth from about 12 to 16 miles. Between the belts of large trees the jungle is small and promising. Of the large trees I cannot speak too highly. They are almost perfection in timber. The average height I calculated to be about 90 or 100 feet and almost without exception the trees grow perfectly straight and without branches except a bunch at the very top. They are mostly first class, that is over 6 feet in girth and sound. In the whole of my explorations in the zamindari I did not see one single tree tapped for *rot* (resin). The timber in the tract west of the hills is now ready for the axe, and not only is the forest first class both in the size of the trees and the quality of the timber but the communications are most favourable In almost every part a cart might be driven up to any particular tree without any road being made whatsoever Tall, stately trees in long avenues, and soft grass, and absence of under-growth unite in forming a fair spot, such as I have never seen in my sojourn in the Central Provinces excepting in parts of Mandla and Kawardha." Forty years of mismanagement and over-cutting have reduced these splendid forests to a shambles. Since the Railways have been opened scores of contractors have been hacking the Korba jungles right and left. The rules framed for the protection of the timber have been here, as in other zamindaris, an absolute dead letter. Ringing of Sal for resin and *beora* cultivation were still in full swing when our Settlement operations began and ludicrously low rates were being charged by the Zamindars to the timber merchants. The result has been the most serious abuse of these forest properties due to the short-sightedness of the Zamindars and to their ignorance of the very

elements of forest management. This result, as I have said, was foreseen by the Chief Commissioner (Mr. Jones) in 1883, but unfortunately the formation of forest mahals and the notification of rules for zamindari forest management which were the outcome of his initiative never led to any practical issue, and when the Railway came through Bilaspur in 1889 contractors, even in estates under Court of Wards management, were allowed a perfectly free hand. Not only were the forests over-cut, but the cutting was carried out in the most reckless and wasteful manner.

24. It must not be supposed, of course, that the report on the Korba forests, quoted above, describes an area typical of the Zamindari jungles 40 years ago. No doubt as Forsyth says (page 424 of the "Highlands of Central India") the forest was in early times "too extensive to be much injured by the operations of the handful of savages" who inhabited it, and even at the time of his visit to Lapha, Matin and Pendra he notes that it had generally escaped devastation and speaks of the "rich store of timber" which the "unbroken forest of the Sal tree" still provided. But Mr. Chisholm's diary of 1867* paints a very different picture. He has nowhere a good word to say of the condition of the timber in the northern Zamindaris—"damage from *Dhya*,"† "stunted Sal and Sarye" and "ringing for Dhoop" (resin) are the only features he finds to comment on, whether speaking of Pendra, Kenda, Uprora, Matin or Lapha. Of Matin he writes on the 2nd of March that "the tract is very raviney, and is covered with stunted timber, chiefly Sal. . . . In every jungle hundreds of fine trees are come across which have been completely destroyed by being ringed for Dhoop. The waste of fine timber in this respect is truly lamentable and shows an utter lack of forest conservancy on the part of the Zamindarin." The only conclusion we can come to is that, even 40 years ago, the jungles were only damaged to a less extent than they are to day because there were no outside contractors and fewer indigenous inhabitants to work their will upon the abundant timber. The population of the Satgarh has since then more than trebled, and we have broad-gauge Railways tapping the whole area to the west and south. The result is that there is not a single zamindari in which the forests have not been cut and maimed to an extent which calls for vigorous official interposition, in the interests both of the Zamindars and of Government. The matter is one which is beyond the field of discussion. It seems obvious that a tract of forest in which no rule of conservation has ever yet been properly enforced, and in which the cutting has hitherto been regulated only by the people's wish to cut, should at the earliest possible opportunity be temporarily closed to the outside contractor altogether and opened to the people resident therein only under some proper system which will satisfy their requirements with the minimum of damage to the timber property. Seeing, too, the enormous value which these forests are capable of developing—as is shown both by the report of 1872 and by a recent note by Mr. Dunbar-Brander, Divisional Forest Officer, who was sent specially to report on the forests of Pendra, Matin and Uprora—it seems false economy to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. From this point of view the extremely lenient assessment of their forests which the Zamindars will enjoy under the new Settlement is important. It affords them an opportunity (of which the Government should, if necessary, compel them to take advantage) of reserving their forests and protecting them until they have made some sort of recovery from the misuse to which they have been subjected for so long. Any measure of interference with their own haphazard methods will of course be unpopular with the Zamindars. But there are limits to which concession can be made to their ignorance and short-sightedness. At the present rate many years will not elapse before scouring and denudation will assume far more serious proportions. A valuable source of revenue will be curtailed, an extensive field for local employment will be destroyed, and other general good effects in the local supply of minor produce and in regard to the climate and rainfall may possibly be lost. I do not deny that self-interest will induce the Zamindars to make some effort to preserve their forests. But those efforts will be spasmodic. No landholder of their class can possibly look forward 50 years and close his jungles now with a view to their healthy exploitation two generations later. It was a mistake ever to have entrusted property of

*See volume of annexures to his report (of 1867) published in 1910.

† *L. G., Beora.*

this character and magnitude to men of such natural incapacity. But matters being as they are, it remains to regularize the management of the gift since we are unable to rescind it. Interference on the part of Government is not only justified by the fact that it will eventually issue in a direct pecuniary benefit to the Zamindars themselves, but is demanded by the requirements both of Government and of the people of the district.

25. This concludes what may be termed the General Description of the Bilaspur Zamindaris. No attempt has been made to burden the account with detail, as I have already had an opportunity of writing at some length about the individual estates in the District Gazetteer (see pages 299 to 341 of "Volume A Descriptive" published for the Bilaspur District in 1910), and it is needless to recapitulate what is already published in so accessible a form. The next section of this Report will attempt to summarize the history of the growth of superior and subordinate rights in the zamindaris, with which will be included an account of the varying systems of fiscal assessment which have been applied from time to time. This will lead up naturally to the main section dealing with the details of the first regular re-settlement recently effected.



PART II.—HISTORICAL.

26. Chhattisgarh was, for some seven centuries before the Maratha conquest of 1741, under the rule of the Rajput dynasty of Haihaibansis. The organization of the Kingdom was therefore, as we might expect, modelled closely on that of other Rajput states. Colonel Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (page 130, Calcutta Report, 1894) writes of the Kingdom of Mewar: "The country was partitioned into districts each containing from 50 to 100 towns and villages though sometimes exceeding that proportion. The great number of *chaurasis* leads to the conclusion that portions to the amount of 84 had been the general sub-division, and many of these yet remain." So, too, originally in Chhattisgarh the 36 Forts were simply 36 *chaurasis* or revenue *parganahs* (18 north and 18 south of the river Sheonath) into which the country was divided; and the zamindaris of Bilaspur are those of the northern *parganahs* which have survived the political upheavals caused by the Mohammadan and Maratha conquests. The holders of these old *parganahs* have long been known officially as Zamindars. But the title locally accorded them is usually "Diwan" or "Pardhan", and there is good reason to suppose that their present permanent and hereditary status has been a gradual development from their position as civil servants of the Crown. They were at first the official heads of large revenue sub-divisions who, during the later centuries of Rajput rule, succeeded in asserting a customary and hereditary title to the estates entrusted to their charge.* Their administrative powers with the lapse of time became their customary privilege and eventually appeared to issue less by delegation from the sovereign than from the personal authority of the Zamindar. But, whatever their origin may have been, when the Zamindars appear first in the historical times they are found in possession of wide administrative powers. They maintain their own police, levy a property tax from men of means in their estates, control their own excise, manage their own pounds and ferries, collect every variety of revenue within their estate and are assessed to a single lump-sum payment on account of the whole of its resources.

27. The Maratha conquest (1741) had little effect upon the formal status of the Zamindars. The new rulers were oppressive it is true in their management of the country, especially after Bimbaji's decease (1787). But they had no new theories of fiscal administration to graft upon the country. A few of the Zamindars were ousted altogether (*e.g.*, Nawagarh, Mungeli and Pendra), but those in the more inaccessible parts of the district were left to their own devices so long as they paid up their *Tukoli*. The Bilaspur zamindars in fact, under the Maratha as under Rajput rule, enjoyed simply that status which their geographical position enabled them to assume owing to the weakness of the central power. They had originally no title or privilege whatsoever. But a customary possession was conceded them. The office of Zamindar was soon transmitted as of right from father to son, and each successive office-holder became responsible both for the revenue and for the general management of his zamindari.

28. A semi-feudal devolution of authority was characteristic of mediæval native rule. Within the *chaurasi* or revenue *parganah* existed a further sub-division—the *Barhon* or *Barapali*—a group or *talug* usually of 12 villages, held by an officer called the Dao, Thakur or Taluqdar. Sir R. Jenkins wrote (page 92 of his report on the territories of the Raja of Nagpur) that the Marathas introduced this body of middle-men under the title of *Patel*, for the most part needy Maratha Brahmins who received a drawback of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the revenue which they collected. But the office itself was of very great antiquity, though the introduction of the Maratha Brahmins was of course an innovation. Mr. Hewitt in the first settlement report on the Raipur district (paragraph 59, *et seq.*) examined the status of these "Taluqdars" in detail, and came to the conclusion that they represented the old patriarchal system

* See Hunter's *Orissa*, Volume II, page 223. The Zamindars of Bilaspur were originally what he describes as Holders of Fiscal Divisions of the Royal Domain. Baden-Powell, page 112 of his *Land Revenue in British India*, says that in the Central Provinces generally the Zamindari Estates had nothing to do with revenue farming, but were the estates of Chiefs and Barons of the old Gond Kingdoms. This description may be true elsewhere, but cannot apply to the Rajput Kingdom of Chhattisgarh proper (see Bilaspur Gazetteer, page 300) where the Chaurasis (of which many are now zamindaris) were originally Khalsa or Khass Parganahs of the Ratanpur Kingdom (see Hewitt's Raipur Settlement Report, page 18 and Blunt's *Itinerary*, Asiatic Researches, Volume VII.)

of the country, the *Barhon* or *Taluqa* being the area on which the early tribal group first settled. It would be out of place to discuss this theory here, but I may say that there is much to be said in its support and the *Dao* is still a frequent object of religious worship.* In the old feudal Rajput days the *Dao* was appointed by the Diwan or Zamindar of the Chaurasi; he held from him and paid the revenue of his Barhon to him. In later times the *Dao* often fortified himself in his headquarters, transmitted his small estate by lineal primogeniture to his descendants and considered himself to possess a customary title to it. There are several cases in which the same family are known to have remained undisturbed in their Taluqa for centuries, and the *Dao's* title in his Barhon seems in many cases to have been as well established as was that of the zamindar in the Chaurasi. But towards the end of the period of native rule under the centralized authority of the Marathas the position of the *Dao* became gradually weakened. He was no longer a necessity to the administration of the country as he had been in earlier days, and was found more of a hindrance than a help in the collection of revenue. Moreover the new Maratha incumbents in the Khalsa were out of sympathy with the people and abused their position. Colonel Agnew (circa 1820) accordingly ousted the *Daos* (or the *Patels* as the Marathas then termed them) from all over the open country, and several of the surviving Zamindars succeeded in doing much the same in their estates. By the middle, therefore, of the 19th century these 12-village holders were already greatly reduced in numbers, and for the most part those only survived in possession of their Barhons who were relatives of the Zamindar in whose parganah their small estate was situated.

29. The former existence of this class of intermediate landholders is now (c) The Gaontia or village headman. mainly a matter of historical interest, but requires to be mentioned here, because the removal of the *Daos* or *Patels* in the open country and the weakening of their authority in the zamindaris was what gradually developed the importance of the village headman. So long as the *Dao* continued as a landholder the village headman or Gaontia was entirely over-shadowed. In Raipur Mr. Hewitt described the Gaontia as being originally a mere servant of the Taluqdar (Raipur Settlement Report of 1869, paragraph 76). The system seems to have been that the *Dao* himself managed the one village where he was resident. In the others of his Barhon he appointed a Gaontia. The Gaontia was the head official of the village, he collected the rental from the ryots and brought it intact to the Taluqdar, or he brought in the ryots who themselves paid their rent to the Taluqdar. In either case the Gaontia was merely acting as a servant, and in return for his services received a portion of the village lands rent free.† The gaontia was also the tenants' guide and spokesman. He controlled important matters connected with the village agriculture. He performed the village worship and transmitted his office by "lineal primogeniture" to his heirs. But he was never responsible for the village revenue. The village assessment rested wholly on a ryotwari basis. The ryots were responsible for the revenue to the *Dao* or *Patel*, the *Dao* to the Zamindar, and the Zamindar to the central authority at Ratanpur. Where, as in the Khalsa, there was no Zamindar the *Patel* was directly responsible to Government for the revenue he collected from the ryots, receiving, as we have seen, a small rebate on the collections. Thus, in Captain Blunt's account, written from personal observation in 1794 (*i. e.*, nearly 20 years before Col. Agnew), we read that: "The subah of Choteesgur was at this time rented to Ithul Pandit for a specific sum which was payable annually in Nagpur. He farmed different portions of it to his tenants [*i. e.*, the *Patels* or *Taluqdars*] for a certain period and for specific sums. I was next led to enquire what method was adopted by the *tenantry* in collecting the revenue from the *peasants*. They informed me that it invariably consisted in taxing the ploughs and was always delivered in the produce of the lands, as grain, oil, or cotton, according to the species of cultivation

* *E. g.* Koriha *Dao*, Ghamsan *Dao*, Sobhrai *Dao*, 'Farainha Pat'—the shrine of the holder of 12 villages—and so on. It is interesting to note that no instance of a Zamindar originating such a cult has come to notice.

† In the northern Zamindaris of the district the home-farm is still known not as "Sir" but as *Thakur Kheta* "Thakur's fields". The name clearly indicates the Taluqdar or Thakur's title to them and emphasizes the subservient position of the gaontia who actually cultivated them.

"for which the implements had been used. This consequently occasions "a vast accumulation of the produce of the country to the tenant". The passage is significant. It clearly implies that the Daos or Patels dealt in the matter of revenue *direct* with the ryots, the absence of any reference to the Gaontia or headman in this connection showing that they had no share in the responsibility for the collection of the revenue. The prevalence of produce rents is an interesting point to notice.

30. But the Patels of the open country were, as we have seen, swept aside wholesale in 1820 by Colonel Agnew and, following this precedent, many of the Daos in the zamindaris were also ousted. A change in the position of the Gaontia was immediate. No Zamindar of a large estate and no Subahdar in Ratanpur could possibly deal direct with individual ryots. The responsibility for the revenue formerly imposed on the Patel and Dao had now to be imposed upon the Gaontia. He became at once a revenue agent and no longer a mere servant; and from being an agent, gradually advanced towards the position of a revenue farmer or lessee. A great accession of dignity and power to his office was the result, which paved the way for the grant of proprietary rights to village headmen when the country came under British Administration. By 1868 (the first Settlement) the Gaontia was still in theory a mere collector of rents "the tenants distributing "among themselves the amount fixed from time to time as the Government "demand, leaving the proprietor his *seer*-holding home-farm rent-free" (Baloda Assessment Report 1867). But it was urged that in practice so far as the Khalsa "was concerned there were no rights appertaining to landed property which the "Gaontia did not exercise, excepting the power of sale and mortgage. He was "absolute as regards all the internal arrangements of the village, settling cultivators, "dispossessing them, increasing rent, planting groves, constructing tanks, in fact "wielding all the authority in the management of the village which appertains to "holders elsewhere under the most indisputable titles." (Final Report, paragraph 319.)

In the zamindaris the Gaontia's development from a mere village servant or headman to revenue farmer or lessee was slower. The existence of the Zamindar (apart from the Dao), as an intermediary between the Gaontia and the Government, necessarily had this result. By 1868 matters had reached very different stages in the different estates. In the open country of Pandaria the Gaontias had already been turned into lessees, holding on a three-year's agreement and, as in the Khalsa, responsible for the village assessment; though the ryots in recollection of their former responsibility for the revenue still *arranged among themselves to pay the full amount of the annual jama leaving the headman his 'seer' rent free* (Pandaria Assessment Report, paragraph 18). But elsewhere the headmen were "still often by their own confession mere agents collecting the full rents for "the Zamindar" (paragraph 333 of the Settlement Report of 1868) and it was not until some years after the grant of proprietary rights in the Khalsa that the example thus afforded to the neighbouring zamindaris finally reconciled the Gaontias of these estates to the idea of their responsibility for the revenue assessment. Even at the present time, as we shall see later on, there is still a surprising readiness on the part of the ryots to relieve the Gaontia of his revenue responsibility, the last surviving echo of the days when "the Gaontias were, like the Kotwars, "village officers and paid as such" (Secretariat letter No. 203-2, dated 25th January 1868, to Commissioner, Chhattisgarh.)

31. The Gaontias then were at first village officers or, as Mr. Hewitt described them, servants of the Dao or Patel appointed by him to help him with the management of his small group of villages. They had no responsibility for the revenue assessment at all, being at most required to collect the ryots of the village and bring them to the Dao, or when the Dao was ousted to the Zamindar, to make their annual payment. I was fortunate enough to secure in a jungle village of Pandaria (M. Lohkhan) a written parwana dated 4th June 1879 from the Zamindar to a newly-appointed headman, the terms of which exactly describe the working of this system. In the words of the parwana the headman was told "jis waqt kham tahsil mawaziat ka bharna wasul hoga us waqt tum bhi is gaon ke raiyat logon ko kachahri par lakar rupae bharna ka *patwa diya karna*," i. e., on the day fixed for the payment of revenue in villages under the Zamindar's direct management the headman of Lohkhan was *regularly* to bring the ryots of his village to the Zamindar's Kutcherry and *see that they paid in*

their revenue. The words in italics represent the exact and only possible meaning of the phrase "patwa diya karna" and I think finally confirm the view (which as I have shown can be supported by inference from many other sources) that the original position of the Gaontia was merely that of a village servant or official, entirely free of all revenue responsibility.* In the second stage, as described by Mr. Chisholm in 1868 in his Baloda Parganah and Pandaria Zamindari Assessment Reports already quoted, the superior authority when the Daos were ousted began for the first time to pin upon the Gaontia the responsibility for the collection of the revenue. This was contrary to custom, and the ryots, in natural compliance with the system which they understood, continued for a time to relieve the Gaontia of the whole burden of this responsibility though in the eye of the superior authority that responsibility was not distributed among the ryots but rested solely with the Gaontia. And eventually this latter view prevailed. The Gaontia found no doubt that the acceptance of the new position now thrust upon him had the advantage, which more than compensated for any apparent increase in his responsibilities, of enhancing his profit, power and prestige, and he stood forward in the new character of lessee, thekedar, or farmer wholly and solely responsible by a written or tacit contract for the revenue of his village, pocketing any surplus collection from his ryots and finding any deficit from his own resources. It was with this at that time partially inaccurate conception of their position that the Government conferred proprietary rights on the *gaontias* and *mugaddams* of Bilaspur in 1868.

32. I have dealt with this historical development of the Gaontia's office at some length, not only because it is itself a subject of interest and importance but because it has never been clearly summarized before. The view I have put forward has some times been regarded as fanciful, and especially has been discredited because it finds no clear support from previous Settlement Officers' reports. But I venture to think that the evidence produced is conclusive in showing that the status of the Khalsa Malguzar or Zamindari sub-proprietor or lessee of to-day originated in Chhattisgarh, not as in other parts of the Central Provinces, from a contractual agreement in regard to the payment of revenue such as would be indicated by describing him as originally a farmer or thekedar, but from his status as a hereditary village officer or servant—as a *Mugaddam* or in the local terminology a *Gaontia*—on whom responsibility for the village revenue was thrust by the policy of British Officers at a comparatively recent time, contemporaneous almost with the grant of proprietary rights.

33. As to the position of the ryots under native rule, it is sufficient to say that though their tenure was purely customary, yet it was far from being as unstable as the absence of all statutory support would at first lead one to suppose. They were, whether assessed on the plough or on the *khandi* of paddy seed, the real revenue-payers; they enjoyed no clear legal rights but were protected from oppression by the demand for their services as cultivators, and by the natural desire on the part of the superior land-holding classes to foster the ryots on whose prosperity their own depended. They formed no doubt the bulk of the local militia in early times (*e. g.*, the *Paikra* sept of the Kanwars are said to derive their name from the fact that they were mostly foot soldiers) and were also in many cases related under the tribal system both to the headman and to the majority of their fellow villagers. For these reasons they had little to complain of, for it was to everyone's advantage that they should be satisfied with the treatment they received.

34. Such was the condition of affairs when the first regular Settlement of the Bilaspur District was undertaken. The Maratha country had lapsed to the British in 1854, Bilaspur was created a separate district in 1861, and its revenue Settlement was effected between 1863 and 1868 by Mr. Chisholm.

The zamindari Settlement of 1868 was a summary one. It was carried out as a mere incident to the fiscally far more important Khalsa Settlement and, as

* Baden-Powell (Land-systems of British India, 1892, Volume I, pages 453—4) gets very near the truth. He writes: "A lump-sum is bargained for, which the headman has to distribute over the village holdings; but observe that they are not *his* rents; the *y* are the Raja's and are all payable to the Chief, so that there is no question of the headman being owner or of his having any right to enhance the rents..... He had nothing in many cases to do with the rents, which all went to the Raja."

we learn from Mr. Chisholm's diary, he could only devote a short four months to the inspection of these twelve estates.

The procedure followed is described in paragraphs 242 and 259 to 263 of Mr. Chisholm's final report and is explained in greater detail as regards the separate village assessments in paragraphs 13 to 16 of the Bhatgaon Zamindari Assessment Report.* No measurements were made, but each zamindari was demarcated, its outline surveyed, and a map of the whole tract prepared on a small scale. In this map the villages were entered separately by a rude system of triangulation but were not apparently demarcated. The total area of each zamindari was found by means of the outline survey. The cultivated area was estimated on the basis of the amount of seed-grain admittedly required and the number of ploughs admittedly employed in individual villages. A rough guess was made, after inspection, of the culturable area of each village, and the difference necessary to complete the known total area of each estate was shown as 'barren waste.' A 'plough-jama' for each village was then obtained by multiplying the number of ploughs by an assumed rate, usually Rs. 3 per plough. An assumed 'fair rent,' usually six annas per acre, was applied to the area estimated as under cultivation, and half of this was taken as the 'deduced jama' of the village. On the basis of this 'deduced' and 'plough-jama' the Settlement Officer fixed a certain figure as the future assessment of the village. Totalling these revised village assessments for the whole estate he imposed a small proportion, generally one-fourth, as the land revenue takoli of the zamindar.

35. It may be said at once that this system, borrowed from the Khalsa, was extremely artificial. It was practically guess-work, and had no connection whatever with indigenous methods of assessment. A plough rate was assumed, whereas in at least 7 of the 13† zamindaris of the district a plough rate was unknown; the local method of assessment being, as it is some times still, a varying rate on each *khandi*‡ of paddy seed sown. The deduced jama was taken as only 50 per cent of the whole revised assets, whereas the customary coincidence of the village jama with the total rental collections (*i. e.*, from 80 to 90 per cent of the whole assets) was almost universal. Lastly, the deduced rent, usually 6 or 8 annas per acre, was borrowed without explanation from the rent-rate of the open country, and was applied rigidly to every village in zamindari after zamindari regardless of their widely varying agricultural capacity. In some cases the rate was admittedly so high that it had, as in Pendra (Assessment Report, paragraph 20), to be used more as a test in the better villages than as a rate which could be applied to all. It was in fact only workable at all because this rent-rate was never used for fixing rents; while so far as it was employed as the basis for estimating village jamas its excessive severity as an acre-rate (6 to 8 annas being 3 to 4 times what was being actually paid in some of the estates) was mitigated by the compensating error by which the Settlement Officer took only 50 per cent, instead of 80 or 90 per cent, of the assets as the new village assessment.§ Moreover, these new village assessments were never actually levied except from sub-proprietors, being utilized elsewhere simply for the purpose of calculating the revised land revenue takoli of the whole estate.

36. We can calculate fairly easily what was the approximate incidence of the rental per acre in these zamindaris in 1868. The 'jamas' then paid by village headmen amounted in all these twelve estates to Rs. 43,705, a figure which, as we have seen, must have closely coincided with the total ryoti rental. The total cultivation, including fallow, covered 304,856 acres; and deducting 20 per cent from this on account of home-farm we get a balance of 243,917 acres of ryoti land. On this area the village jamas representing the total ryoti payments fall at a rate of only Re. 0-2-10 per acre. || This confirms what I have said as to Mr. Chisholm's assumed acre-rates of 6 and 8 annas being out of all relation to actual payments at the time of his Settlement. And the point is worth noticing as otherwise it is natural to feel surprise at finding 40 years later that rents are

*See page 22 of volume of Annexures to the Zamindari Settlement of 1868, published in 1910.

†Katgi and Bilaigarh were then separate estates.

‡About 120 lbs. in weight.

§ *e. g.*, A village assessment at 50 per cent of assets, calculated with an acre-rate of 6 annas, is the same as an assessment at 85 per cent of assets, calculated with an acre-rate of Re. 0-3-6. Mr. Chisholm, therefore, while purporting to work with the higher acre-rate was actually applying the lower one.

|| I may remark here that the low rental of these Zamindaris is not peculiar to them. In the latest Riwa Gazetteer we read: "The evidence of the revenue demand varies in the different Tahsils..... and is lowest in Sohagpur [adjoining Pendra] where it is only two annas and three pies."

still at the same pitch as that which was adopted by Mr. Chisholm as the main basis of his calculations.

37. The following table will explain in sufficient detail the statistical basis of the first Settlement:—

No.	Name of Zamindari.	Cultivated area.	Acre rates applied.	Resulting assets or assumed jama.	Deducted jama at 50 per cent of the assets.	Plough rate employed.	Resulting plough jama.	Total kamil-jama fixed by Settlement Officer.	Value of Zamindar's sir land.	Other revenue from excise and pandhri, &c.	Total kamil-jama on excess waste.	Total revised income.	Revised land revenue takoli.	Proportion of income absorbed by land revenue takoli.	Forest takoli.	Grazing fees.	Total takoli of zamindar as landed proprietor.	Excise and pandhri takoli.	Total takoli of 1868.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
		Acres.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Champa	23,623	0 8 0	11,811	5,905	4 0 0	7,664	4,730	500	375	...	5,555	1,300	23	...	...	1,300	162	1,462
2	Bhatgaon	10,794	0 8 0	5,397	2,698	4 0 0	2,572	2,002	140	120	100	2,462	500	21	50	...	550	60	610
3	Bhatgarh	10,977	0 8 0	5,488	2,744	4 0 0	2,420	2,340	30	120	300	2,790	590	21	100	50	740	60	800
4	Katgi	10,814	0 8 0	5,407	2,703	4 0 0	2,424	2,125	60	110	50	2,345	550	23	...	25	575	55	630
5	Pendra	40,006	0 6 0	15,002	7,501	3 0 0	6,577	5,060	600	440	700	6,810	1,470	21	200	150	1,780	220	1,300*
6	Kenda	13,655	0 6 0	5,120	2,560	3 0 0	1,347	1,438	260	100	700	2,498	425	17	300	50	775	50	825
7	Matin	4,660	0 6 0	1,747	873	3 0 0	600	635	10	60	240	935	106	11	20	100	220	34	260
8	Madanpur (Kanteli)	11,070	0 10 9	7,146	3,733	7 0 0	3,780	3,593	272	60	...	3,835	970	25	...	...	970	30	1,000
9	Korba	29,504	0 6 0	11,064	5,532	3 0 0	7,473	5,546	415	400	1,600	8,061	1,500	19	750	50	2,300	200	2,500
10	Uprota	7,233	0 6 0	2,712	1,356	3 0 0	915	925	130	40	360	1,455	250	17	150	30	430	20	450
11	Lapha	11,886	0 6 0	4,457	2,228	3 0 0	1,445	1,490	110	180	700	2,450	400	16	300	50	750	90	840
12	Chhuri	27,907	0 6 0	10,465	5,232	3 0 0	4,908	5,229	200	600	800	6,829	1,400	21	350	50	1,800	300	2,100
13	Pandaria	82,448	0 12 0 in open tracts, 0 6 0 in tully tracts	57,633	28,816	5 11 0	16,350	28,708	600	5,500	1,600	36,408	10,000	27	800	...	10,800	1,500	12,300
Total		28,457	...	1,43,749	71,871	...	58,715	63,841	3,357	8,055	7,150	82,403	19,421	24	3,020	555	21,996	2,781	25,077*

* Reduced by Rs. 700 as compensation for the loss of Amarkantak, transferred to Riwa after the Mutiny.

As regards Imperial sources of revenue from excise and property taxes it is sufficient to say that a rigid 50 per cent of the estimated annual income from each source was assessed as takoli in all the zamindaris, and the total demand on all accounts from the whole body of landholders was raised from Rs. 13,495 to Rs. 25,077.

38. The revised assessment was a lenient one. The takolis had remained unchanged ever since they had been fixed by Colonel Agnew nearly half a century before, and the great bulk of the revenue increment accruing to the Zamindar during that long period was left with him. The divergence between the assessing officer's attitude in 1821 and in 1868 is sufficiently marked to deserve particular notice. We have only information as to the basis of Colonel Agnew's assessment of two estates—Pendra and Pandaria. But these two are large estates sufficiently typical for our purpose. "The total revenues of Pendra "under every head amounted" we read "to Rs. 3,223. From this the following "deductions were allowed (1) Zamindar's private and public expenses, Rs. 500, " (2) for the support of the Amarkantak temple Rs. 423, (3) difference on account "of exchange of cowries, Rs. 230. The balance, Rs. 2,070, was fixed as the "Government takoli. On his return to the district in 1230 Fasli, Colonel Agnew "approved of this arrangement." (Extract from Letter Book of 1860 in Raipur District Office.) In Pandaria the collections were recorded in 1820 as Rs. 8,679 on which a takoli of Rs. 7,727 was assessed, absorbing nearly the whole of the revenue collections and leaving the Zamindar in the main only his income from miscellaneous sources (Assessment Report on Pandaria 1868).

This reduction between 1820 and 1868 in the percentage of assets taken in assessing land was no doubt but a consequence or a general alteration in Government policy throughout India. (See Morrison's Indian Industrial Organization, page 31.) None the less the Zamindars had great reason to congratulate themselves that the gift of a statutory title in their estates was not accompanied by the demand for a *quid pro quo* in the shape of a less lenient assessment.

39. The first British Settlement of 1868 initiated the system of recorded rights enforceable at law. The Zamindars themselves proved to be the main beneficiaries thereunder. They obtained proprietary rights over the whole of their estates—waste land as well as villages—and, though they have thought fit to complain in recent years of the subsequent withdrawal of certain semi-sovereign privileges which they formerly possessed, have reaped a steadily increasing benefit from the unique position conferred on them in 1868. Mr. Chisholm describes the boon of proprietorship as "more a nominal than a practical gift" to the Zamindars, and as "merely maintaining the *status quo ante*" (paragraphs 311 and 312 of his Final Report). But in the light of subsequent events this is a manifestly inadequate statement of the case. The Government pledged itself in 1868 to maintain the Zamindar in his estate as a proprietor, and thus alienated to him for all time an ever-growing share of the village incomes and forest revenues accruing therefrom. The value of this share has now to be estimated in thousands of rupees instead of hundreds, and is still only a tithe of what it will be in the future when these estates are properly developed.

40. Of the exact zamindari status as conferred in 1868 it would be out of place to speak at any length in this report. The matter has been the subject of protracted civil litigation in the adjoining Raipur district, the result of which has been recently announced in favour of the Government.* It must suffice to say that the Zamindars were permitted not only to retain many semi-sovereign rights (see paragraph 26 above) but also to enjoy the ordinary privileges of a proprietor over the hundreds of square miles of country which most of their estates comprised. This in reality constituted a revolution in their status. Hitherto, as we have seen, the whole strength of their position had been rooted in the weakness of the central power. When the more vigorous Marathas supplanted the old Rajput Kings the insecurity of the zamindari tenure was exemplified by the resumption of the Pendra, Korba, Mungeli and Nawagarh Estates, and by

*See paragraph 139 below.

the summary inclusion in the Khalsa of many villages formerly controlled by the Zamindars of Champa and Lapha; and it is as certain that all the Zamindars would have soon been swept aside as it is that the great states of Rajputana would have fallen before the Marathas had not the British power intervened. But under the new system, instead of their claims being based on customary concessions yielded by the weakness of the Ratanpur authority, the whole strength of the central power issuing in its administrative support of a legal title was pledged to maintain the integrity of the Zamindars' estates. The magnitude of the gift of proprietary rights in 1868 may be belittled by the Zamindars themselves, but must be obvious enough to any impartial student of their history.

41. The Daos, Thakurs, or Taluqdars who in effect held sub-zamindaris within the large estates, were less fortunate in the recognition they received in 1868. To read the reports of the first Settlement one would suppose that no such class of intermediate landholders was in existence. The Settlement Officer evidently set his face strongly against their recognition and, though in doing so he acted contrary to the spirit of our early Settlements which was "to award to all parties such rights as each might fairly appear entitled to receive," yet there is no doubt that the disappearance of the Dao, consequent on his non-recognition, has been as advantageous to the Zamindaris as it was to the Khalsa in Colonel Agnew's time. This disappearance is now practically complete. There are one or two Barhons (*e. g.*, Chaitma in Chhuri, Geora and Kungari in Korba) where the old Taluqdars have held their own because they were fortunate enough to secure sub-proprietary rights in all the individual villages of their small estates; and these can give us some idea of what the old Taluqa was like. But their tenure is now simply *malguzari*; the old rule of primogeniture can no longer be enforced,* and the estates are being gradually subdivided among an ever-widening circle of descendants. In other cases where a *malguzari* title was refused the Thakurs could make but a feeble struggle for existence. For a few years they kept their estates together and, relying on the respect for customary usage, continued to levy the village assessment even from those Gaontias within their taluqa who had been declared village sub-proprietors. But the Court of Wards ousted the Taluqdars wholesale from Pendra and Matin between 1878 and 1883, and in other zamindaris they were gradually got rid of on one pretext or another. The limits of their old estates are still remembered, (there is no zamindari, save Pandaria, in which traces of the old Barhons cannot still be found) and in one case at least a Taluqdar (in the Arda Barhon of Chhuri) received tardy and partial recognition in 1890 by the grant of protected status over 10 villages which he had managed to keep together in his own hands in spite of failing to secure sub-proprietary rights in 1868. But this was altogether an exception. The Thakurs may still retain considerable local influence and prestige (I found, *e. g.*, in the Bagra Barhon of Pendra that the Gaontias still brought nazars to the old Thakur family though the latter's formal authority had been extinguished 30 years before), but as a privileged class they are in the eye of the law unrecognized.

All that they gained in 1868 was official recognition as the Gaontias of those villages which they held under direct management, and being most of them related to the Zamindar they thus secured the lion's share in the sub-proprietary rights conferred under the rules on individual headmen.

42. The settlement of the village headmen's rights was one of the most difficult matters with which Mr. Chisholm had to deal. The principles on which he worked are given at some length in paragraphs 326 to 333 of his Final Report and need not be recapitulated here. As a result of his enquiries "out of 807 villages in zamindari estates leased out to farmers, sub-proprietary right was granted in 231 villages. In 63 villages the farmers were acknowledged proprietors of their holdings and in 93 villages as entitled to *maurusu* rights for the land they cultivated in the event of future dispossession from their farm. Thus, rights of some kind were recognized in the case of nearly 400 farmers" (paragraph 333 of the Report). But it may be

* But can still be clearly recognised. It is vividly remembered and occasionally adopted by common consent by the members of the family. In the Kori and Kargi Barhons, the only two survivals of the *r* class in the Khalsa, primogeniture is actually a recognized incident of the tenure.

stated at once that in the 158 cases where rights only in their holdings were conferred, the Settlement Officer's order remained a dead letter. These grants were indeed mentioned in the Urdu village misls of 1868 and were vaguely referred to in Chapter III, Section XX of the general zamindari wajib-ul-arz. But no *pattas* (deeds of grant) were issued in connection with them (as was done in the case of sub-proprietors), and the rights conferred were therefore never realized or asserted. During the recent attestation of records I found, out of these 158 cases, but one in the Champa zamindari where the Gaontia had obtained a permanent title over his home-farm in conformity with Mr. Chisholm's orders. I was also in 16 villages able to revive the grant of *malik-makbuza* rights over the home-farm granted in 1868 to men whose families were still in possession at the time of our attestation. But in the remaining cases either the old family had been dispossessed, or else protected status over the whole village had been superimposed in 1890 upon rights conferred in 1868 in the home-farm only. In the latter case no attempt was made to revive the minor grant. In 99 villages out of a 100 the revival would have served no practical purpose and would have complicated the record of rights and in the hundredth, assuming protected status to be at any time withdrawn, any injustice to the ex-lessee can be prevented by taking action under the new Land Revenue Act, which is to provide for the grant of tenant right over all or part of the home-farm in special cases when a protected lessee is ejected.

43. So far then as the zamindari headmen of 1868 were concerned only those in possession of the 231 villages (out of 807 held by farmers) in which sub-proprietary rights were given received any practical benefit from the first Settlement. This was a very different treatment from that meted out to their fellows in the Khalsa. As will have been seen from what I have already written, the distinction between zamindari and Khalsa was in origin largely accidental. In any case the mediation of a Zamindar made no difference to the essential status of the village headman in his estate. Both in the zamindaris and in the Khalsa the village Gaontia had been for centuries entirely subordinated to the Thakur or Patel. It is true that the Patel was more completely and earlier obliterated in the Khalsa. But by 1868, as is clear from Mr. Chisholm's Reports, the status of Khalsa and zamindari Gaontias was still very much the same. In both areas responsibility for the village assessment was being thrust upon the Gaontia and in both the ryots, under the influence of old custom, were relieving the Gaontia of the practical effect thereof by subscribing amongst themselves the exact amount demanded by the superior authority. In some of the more backward parts of the zamindaris the Gaontias were still, as Mr. Chisholm expressed it in paragraph 333 of his report, "by their own confession mere agents collecting the full rents for the Zamindar;" but the practical difference thus involved was insignificant and no attention was ever paid to it by Mr. Chisholm himself except in the Champa zamindari (see paragraphs 119 and 120 below). One cannot therefore but remark upon the great inequality in the treatment which the Khalsa and zamindari Gaontias received in 1868. The position of the two classes was, as I have said, practically identical. Yet the Khalsa Gaontias, of whom 142 were described (in Appendix VIII to the Settlement Report of 1868) as "possessing only an occasional and interrupted interest in the village" were given the proprietary status to a man, while of 807 zamindari Gaontias, of whom 321 had more than 20 years' possession, only 231 received a sub-proprietary title. The rest were sent empty away.

44. This result was due to the policy which prevailed in 1868 of emphasizing the importance of the Zamindar's position. Mr. Chisholm carried his predilection so far as to make no recommendation whatever for the grant of subordinate rights in submitting his first assessment report for the Champa zamindari. Fortunately this extreme attitude was not accepted by the Settlement Commissioner, who directed the Settlement Officer to "award to each party such rights, as after a consideration of the facts of the case each party may be fairly entitled to," whereupon it was decided to grant sub-proprietary rights to those farmers who were either relatives of the Zamindar, or had founded and maintained their villages, or had uninterrupted possession for two or three generations, or had spent capital in improving their estates.

This was still, however, a very different policy from that adopted in the Khalsa. There mere possession carried with it a claim to proprietary right. Here the first presumption was in favour of the Zamindar and the onus rested on the village headman of establishing some exceptional circumstance in his favour before he could obtain official recognition. It is not intended here to enter upon a fruitless discussion of the merits or demerits of the Settlement of 1868. It is important, however, to recognize to what extent the position of affairs was then misunderstood. The principles to be followed were admirably laid down by Sir. R. Temple. "Our Settlements" he held "had only to deal with existing facts, to ascertain these accurately, and then to record the position of all parties in conformity with the general rules issued for guidance. He deprecated absolutely the belief in the supposed perfection of any theory as adapted to meet the want of every varying phase in differently constituted societies, and stated his conviction that the greatest success in promoting the welfare and happiness of the people was most surely attained by grasping and systematizing all the prominent features which a chain of antecedent circumstances had brought about, and had already in a more or less imperfect manner stamped as most suitable to the community..... The question for local officers to decide was what village tenure actually existed, and this point once cleared up, the regular Settlements had only to recognize the tenure and record its multifarious phases, in order that its development amid all the changes of the future might be promoted, not disturbed." (Final Report of 1868, paragraphs 318 and 319).

But after enunciating this wise policy the Settlement Officer proceeded to argue that the indigenous Bilaspur land tenure was not a ryotwari but a malguzari one. Under the influence of this conclusion the Zamindar received the fullest recognition, his village headmen obtained either a full proprietary status or nothing at all, while the tenants' status was left practically without acknowledgment.* Subsequent enquiry has, however, shown that in reality the ryotwari was "the original form of village organization until a certain artificial proprietary right was created." Of this ryotwari system an essential characteristic was the presence of a headman who, though he exercised wide administrative powers, "made no claim to be owner of the entire village but was quite content with his hereditary position and above all with the holding of land that was allotted to him as headman" (Baden-Powell's Land Revenue in British India, pages 70 and 71.) Yet the Settlement of 1868 failed altogether to recognize the Gaontia as a class, giving nothing to the many while conferring too much upon the few. What was then required in these zamindaris was, first a clear declaration of the ryots' status and, secondly, a definite recognition of the Gaontia's office, as carrying with it no proprietary rights whatever and no real responsibility for the village revenue, but wide administrative duties hereditarily transmitted, in return for which certain lands were allotted to him free. Had this been done then only could the Settlement fairly have claimed that it grasped and systematized all the prominent features which a chain of antecedent circumstances had brought about. As it was, a foreign system was imposed on these estates, the modification of which, so as to bring it into closer conformity with what the people had evolved for themselves, has since been one of the main problems of zamindari management.

45. The second Settlement began under Rai Bahadur Purshottam Dass in 1886 and was completed in March 1891. Once more operations in the Khalsa and the Zamindaris were combined, the latter being settled in accordance with Chapter II of the Central Provinces Settlement Code issued under a Resolution by the Local Administration, dated 14th August 1890. As, however, this Chapter was subsequently expunged it is necessary to quote it here in full in order that we may follow the Settlement proceedings of that time.

The second Settlement.

"CHAPTER II.—ZAMINDARI SETTLEMENT.

"259. The Settlement of a zamindari estate includes (1) the Settlement of each village in the estate, and (2) the Settlement of the estate as a whole.

* In accordance with Act X of 1859 a clause was entered in the Zamindari Wajib-ul-arz to the effect that "cultivators of fields of 12 years occupancy and upwards shall be regarded as tenants with rights of occupancy." But as the cultivators could hardly be aware of the existence of this clause it remained inoperative.

" 260. A kamil jama—that is to say a jama at malguzari rates—will be fixed for each village in a zamindari estate. The method by which the kamil-jama is arrived at will depend on whether the village has been cadastrally surveyed or not.

" 261. If the village has been cadastrally surveyed, its kamil-jama will be assessed in precisely the same manner as that followed in the assessment of a malguzari village, a general enhancement or adjustment of tenants' rents being effected if considered desirable.

" 262. If the village has not been cadastrally surveyed, its kamil-jama will be assessed in summary fashion. Enquiry must be made into the rents paid by tenants, and as good an estimate as possible must be formed of the area and value of any land cultivated by the proprietor himself or by a thekedar or manager on the part of the proprietor. The siwai income must also be estimated.

" Having regard to the results of these enquiries and estimates, as well as to the payments, annual or by way of nazarana, made by the thekedar of the village—if held by a thekedar—the Settlement Officer will fix the amount which represents the annual assets of the village and take this amount as the basis for fixing the kamil-jama. No general enhancement of rents will ordinarily be attempted in villages which have not been cadastrally surveyed.

" 263. The kamil-jama will be ordinarily taken as 60 per cent of the assets. In the case of villages managed direct by the zamindar or held by thekedars the kamil-jama is a mere abstraction, only used for the calculation of cesses and to indicate the extent of the land revenue assignment made to the Zamindar. But in the case of villages held by inferior proprietors the kamil-jama will be the revenue payable by them to the Zamindar, and in their case the kamil-jama may be fixed at a lower fraction than 60 per cent of assets, if this is warranted by considerations which apply in determining the revenue of malguzari villages.

" 264. The land revenue takoli to be rendered by the Zamindar to Government for his estate as a whole will be fixed with reference to the total of the village kamil-jamas, and will not include anything on account of (1) income from forests which have been formed into separate forest mahals, (2) income from Excise, and (3) income from pandhri, which will be assessed separately.

" 265. The share of the kamil-jama taken as land revenue takoli will depend on (1) the previous history of the estate, (2) the share taken at the last preceding Settlement, and (3) the way in which the Zamindar has acquitted himself of his responsibilities as such. In fixing the land revenue takoli regard must always be paid to the expenditure (if any) incurred by the Zamindar out of his own pocket for police and patwaris or in the maintenance of roads, schools, dispensaries or other institutions of public benefit.

" 266. The period for which the land revenue takoli is settled will ordinarily be fixed with reference to the period for which malguzari estates are settled in the same district.

" 267. Any extensive tracts of forests in a zamindari estate must be separately assessed, proposals being submitted to declare them a separate forest mahal under Section 46 of the Land Revenue Act, unless they have already been constituted a separate forest mahal under this Section. For this purpose it is not necessary that the limits of such tracts should be precisely defined, and in estates which have not been surveyed it will suffice if the position and extent of each forest tract be described by the Settlement Officer as clearly as may be, with reference to the villages which adjoin it and any prominent natural features. A description should be given of the character and capabilities of each such forest tract.

" 268. An estimate must be framed of the income which the Zamindar derives from the forest mahal of his estate, and a forest takoli be assessed on the basis of such estimate. Ordinarily, the share of the estimated income taken as takoli will be from 40 to 60 per cent, but a considerably smaller share may be taken if there are special reasons for leniency.

" 269. The forest takoli will be settled for a period of three years only, and the acceptance of the Zamindar must contain a stipulation to manage the forest mahal in accordance with any rules or instructions which may be prescribed by the Chief Commissioner.

"270. If the Zamindar enjoys a monopoly of the sale of excise or drugs in his estate and such monopoly is to be continued, a separate excise takoli will be assessed on his estimated receipts from such monopoly as exercised, subject to the conditions of Settlement.

"271. The excise takoli will be fixed for a period of three years. The share of the estimated income taken as takoli will be fixed on similar considerations to those affecting the determination of the forest takoli.

"272. Should the Zamindar have the right of collecting pandhri in his estate and this right be continued to him, the Settlement Officer will revise the list of payees and will strike out all persons not liable to pay pandhri under the rules in force in the malguzari area. A separate pandhri takoli will be framed at 50 per cent of the total amount realizable and be fixed, like the forest and excise takolis, for three years only.

"273. The Settlement Officer will hold an enquiry under Section 65-A of the Land Revenue Act into the claims of any persons holding villages from the Zamindar on thekedari terms, and shall submit proposals for the grant of a protected status to such of them as may deserve it under the terms of the Section above quoted. The incidents of the protected status are:—

- (a) a heritable but not transferable right to the renewal of each lease as it expires;
- (b) a right to refer to the Deputy Commissioner as arbitrator in cases where the thekedar objects to the amount of an enhancement, the award of the Deputy Commissioner being accepted by the Zamindar as final;
- (c) a right to have lump payments on account of fines or nazarana commuted to a fair annual payment fixed with reference to the value of the land cultivated by the thekedar in the village;
- (d) a right to have all miscellaneous dues cesses and payments, save any specially authorized by the Chief Commissioner, included in the sum payable under the lease.

"Stipulations securing these rights to protected thekedars must be included in the zamindari wajib-ul-arz.

"274. The Settlement Officer will submit proposals in regard to the number of Patwaris to be maintained in the estate and the limits of their circles. In framing his proposals he must bear in mind that the annual records for petty villages situated in jungle tracts can often be advantageously prepared on a simpler system than that followed in open and well cultivated country, a survey of village lands being dispensed with and areas being estimated according to the amount of seed sown. In such a case Patwaris' charges can be larger than where maps have to be made or kept up.

"275. The Settlement Officer will at the same time determine the rates at which inferior proprietors, thekedars and tenants are to pay patwari cess, and will settle the amount of the contribution which is to be annually made by the Zamindar himself on this account.

"276. A wajib-ul-arz will be drawn up for each zamindari estate, setting forth the customary relations and mutual obligations of the Zamindar and his tenants. Inferior proprietors shall be required to sign a similar wajib-ul-arz, *mutatis mutandis*.

"277. Zamindars are liable to pay the road, schools and post-office cesses on the kamil-jamas of their estates as well as the additional rate, unless they have been exempted by special order. The cesses leviable on the jamas paid by inferior proprietors will be rendered by them to the Zamindar."

46. The operations of the second Settlement conducted in accordance with the instructions in this Chapter of the Code are described in paragraphs 103 to 119 of Rai Bahadur Purshottam Dass' Final Settlement Report. They were now, as in 1868, conducted on summary lines and as a mere adjunct to the re-settlement of the Khalsa. No survey, demarcation, or other definition of boundaries was attempted as part of the Settlement procedure. The few malik-makbuzas were neither recorded nor assessed, and there was no record made of tenant rights. Fiscally,

Fiscal arrangements of the second Settlement.

therefore, the second Settlement was, like the first, concerned only with the revision of the Zamindars' takolis and cesses and the enhancement of sub-proprietary village jamas and cesses. But in the first place the new assessment was based on actual, not on estimated, assets; and secondly, measures were taken to calculate a full malguzari assessment for each village of the estate, with the double object of exhibiting the amount of revenue conceded to the Zamindar by virtue of his peculiar status and also of fairly assessing his school, post and road cesses in regard to which he was as liable as any other landed proprietor.

47. In theory this was a great advance on the system of 1868 but in practice the results were small. In basing the new assessment on existing assets the new procedure ran counter to the local custom, which required that the tenants rents (which formed, of course, the great bulk of the assets) should immediately respond to any increase in the revenue demand. The calculations of the Settlement Officer, basing the kamil-jama on the assets and the takoli on the kamil-jamas, were in all estates except those under Court of Wards mere paper abstractions. After collecting the total existing assets of villages and zamindaris, he announced a new assessment based on them, and at once the rents were raised by the Zamindar and his headman, who naturally understood that, the local tenure being ryotwari, it was the ryot who would support now, as before, the whole burden of the revenue demand. In short, the assessments fixed in 1891 were never paid from assets in any way approximating to those from which they were deduced, and Zamindars and sub-proprietors whose assessment was fixed by the Settlement Officer for the period of Settlement at once appropriated an altogether unexpected profit while acting at the same time in perfect harmony with local custom. That this result of the re-settlement in 1890 was foreseen seems doubtful. I have found no reference to it in any of the reports of that time. And in 1894 when a reduction of many of the takolis fixed in 1891 was ordered by Sir John Woodburn the calculations with a view to this reduction were still based on the old unrevised assets and no mention was made of the fact that these had meanwhile been raised at least by fifty per cent in all estates except those under Court of Wards. The Court of Wards being careless of the local custom or else perhaps unwilling to disturb too suddenly the assets on which the new Settlement was based imposed little or no enhancement in response to the revision of takoli. A wide divergence between the treatment of tenants in estates under Government management and of those in estates where the Zamindar himself had charge was the result. The following table will exhibit this quite clearly, showing a 12 per cent enhancement against the former and one of 65 per cent against the latter:—

Name of Zamindari.	At Settlement 1890.		At time of Survey 1891-98.		Percentage increase of rents.
	Rents.	Total village assets.	Rents.	Total village assets.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Under Court of Wards in 1890.</i>					
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.
Pendra ...	8,931	11,748	15,512	19,068	+ 74*
Pandaria ...	68,422	1,01,033	70,362	1,04,084	+ 3
Kantelli ...	7,627	10,328	8,328	11,605	+ 9
Bilalgarh Katgi ...	13,189	16,342	14,386	17,308	+ 9
Chhuri ...	6,917	11,080	9,500	13,424	+ 37†
Total ...	1,05,086	1,50,531	1,18,088	1,65,489	+ 12
<i>Not under Court of Wards.</i>					
Korba ...	15,899	22,351	24,703	31,901	+ 55
Lapha ...	2,455	4,840	5,146	6,561	+ 110
Uprora ...	1,756	2,041	1,996	2,843	+ 14‡
Matin ...	883	1,309	2,085	2,691	+ 126
Kenda ...	3,798	4,976	6,709	8,545	+ 77
Champa ...	8,956	12,228	15,064	19,146	+ 68
Bhatgaon ...	3,181	5,208	5,351	7,564	+ 68
Total ...	36,928	52,847	61,054	79,251	+ 65
GRAND TOTAL ...	1,42,014	2,03,378	1,79,142	2,44,740	+ 26

* This high percentage here cannot be explained. As the Court of Wards only imposed a 10 per cent enhancement on village headmen after the Settlement of 1890 there is possibly some mistake in the earlier figure.

† This relatively large enhancement in an estate under Court of Wards was due to the inclusion of irregular dues, previously collected by the Zamindar, in the tenants' regular rental.

‡ Only Rs. 210 was added to the land revenue takoli of the Uprora Zamindari in 1891.

48. The second innovation was the calculation of a kamil-jama as a basis for the imposition of cesses and to indicate the malguzari assessment of each village. But this, too, was a more theoretical than practical improvement. The recorded rents had, as I have just said, but seldom any close approximation to the rents out of which the new jamas and takoli were actually paid. There was practically no record of *siwai* (miscellaneous) income (*e. g.*, throughout the forest zamindaris of Pandaria, Pendra, Uprora and Matin, comprising in all 703 villages, no village *siwai* whatever was recorded). The kamil-jama was calculated for villages only and not for the whole estate, though many of the zamindaris included large tracts of forest; and it was with a few exceptions calculated mechanically for all the villages alike at 60 per cent of the recorded assets. The kamil-jamas in consequence were of no real value as indicating the concession given to the Zamindar, while, as a basis for the calculation of cesses, they were incomplete.

49. The 231 sub-proprietary villages of 1868 had increased to 237 by 1891 owing to their being unsurveyed and new hamlets within sub-proprietary boundaries being recorded in 1891 as separate villages. These 237 villages were paying Rs. 13,611, to the Zamindars during the first Settlement, an assessment which for the second Settlement was raised to Rs. 19,869. Apparently the enhancement was substantial. But in practice it was moderate owing to the increasing value of the forest produce in sub-proprietary villages as elsewhere in the zamindaris. Up to the first Settlement of 1867 forest produce was not an important source of income. Apparently neither Daos nor Gaontias claimed any right over it. They took merely a wheel tax (and do so still some times) from carts which came within their boundaries. But in 1874 and again in 1887 the sub-proprietor's title to all income accruing within the boundaries of his village was affirmed, first by the Chief Commissioner and then by the Judicial Commissioner and by 1891 many sub-proprietors were asserting their position with success, and still more proceeded to do so when the main Bengal-Nagpur Railway and its branch from Bilaspur to Katni were opened up and at once placed a relatively high market value on the copious *sal* timber of the district. The sub-proprietary assessment therefore of 1891 was really very light. Excluding the 12 sub-proprietary villages of Lapha where civil litigation had led to disputes which drew the attention of the Administration to the profits to be made from sub-proprietary forests, the total *siwai* assessed on all the remaining 225 was only Rs. 478, and it has been one of the difficulties attending the new Settlement to fix a fair demand from sub-proprietary villages with a large miscellaneous income the assessment of which has hitherto been merely nominal in amount.

50. In regard to the revision of the Zamindars' takolis in 1891, information can best be given by means of a table:

Settlement of 1891.

No.	Assessment group.	Total assets, as disclosed by actual enquiry.	Total kamil-jama.	Land revenue and forest takoli.	Percentage of 5 on 3.	Percentage of 5 on 4.	Excise takoli.	Pandhri takoli.	Total revised takoli.	Takolis of 1868.	Per cent increase of 10 on 11.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.
1	Pendra	16,447	9,800	5,021	31	51	700	150	5,871	2,000	+ 194
2	Kenda	9,314	5,118	2,500	27	48	525	...	3,045	825	+ 267
3	Matin	3,224	1,800	1,344	42	75	50	...	1,394	260	+ 436
4	Lapha	7,746	4,411	2,000	26	45	400	...	2,410	840	+ 186
5	Uprora	3,322	1,961	929	28	47	20	80	949	450	+ 111
6	Chhuri	14,207	8,643	4,340	31	50	200	...	4,620	2,100	+ 120
7	Korba	29,387	17,093	7,208	25	42	600	12	7,820	2,500	+ 213
	Total for Satgarh	83,647	48,891	23,342	28	48	2,405	242	26,079	8,975	+ 191
8	Pandaria	1,17,520	63,890	27,500	23	43	2,500	280	30,280	12,300	+ 146
9	Kanteli	10,328	6,463	2,200	21	34	...	42	2,242	1,000	+ 124
10	Champa	12,222	7,274	3,300	27	45	...	97	3,397	1,462	+ 132
11	Bilgaigarh Katgi	18,353	11,037	4,610	25	42	395	101	5,105	1,430	+ 257
12	Bhatgaon	5,850	3,703	1,800	31	49	180	40	2,020	610	+ 231
	Total for open country zamindaris.	1,64,273	92,367	39,410	24	43	3,075	560	43,045	16,802	+ 156
	GRAND TOTAL	2,47,920	1,41,258	62,752	25	44	5,570	802	69,124	25,777	+ 168

51. Though its fiscal operations were thus necessarily somewhat inadequate on the administrative side the second Settlement had important and far-reaching consequences for the zamindaris of the district. We have seen that under native rule the Zamindar had

secured his peculiar position by virtue of so many customary assertions of title acquiesced in by the weakness of the King or Subahdar in Ratanpur. It was, therefore, all-important for him to stand well with his followers and fellow tribesmen—Gonds and Kawars. Under such circumstances custom and public opinion were paramount, and no Zamindar could afford seriously to offend against them. But once the old feudal balance of power had been upset by the Settlement of 1868, and the Zamindar stood forth as full proprietor supported in his position by the whole force of our administrative machinery, it became gradually apparent that something must be done to protect the holders of subordinate land tenures. Custom might for a time keep the balance fairly even between the Zamindar and the ryots and Gaontias of his estate. But as his appreciation of his legal position grew, as a foreign element mixed with the local population of his estate, and as the people learnt that no title is good unless enforceable at law, the preponderance of power in the Zamindar's favour became greater and greater. Experience of the Bengal settlements had also shown that the monopoly of power by a landlord was in this country liable to lead less to its development than to the oppression of the subordinate landholders, who yet had each in his degree a claim for consideration. It was also slowly realized that the Central Provinces tenure was in essence ryotwari, and that the ryots' and Gaontias' claims had been inadequately recognized in the early settlements. The pendulum of official opinion had in fact swung away from the position of 1868. The policy of exalting the proprietary status of the Zamindar was felt to have been a mistake. It was seen that it was based on preconceived ideas of the value of a landlord class, and that it found no support in the indigenous organization, when the essentials of that organization were correctly analyzed. A measure of far-reaching importance was therefore introduced by Act XVI of 1889, whereby the balance of strength between the Zamindar and his subordinate tenure holders was wholly readjusted. In the first place the provisions of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act were by this enactment extended to the zamindaris to which as scheduled districts they had not hitherto applied.* This at once gave every tenant a statutory title in his holding, secured him legal redress against summary ejectment, and restored him to his proper position as a permanent ryot of the Zamindar's estate. Full effect could not as a matter of fact be given to this innovation at the settlement of 1890 for want of a proper field survey and record of tenants' rights. But the idea was then given formal expression, and its practical application was not long deferred. The second measure, also introduced by Act XVI of 1889, was the creation of protected status to which a reference is made in Article 273 of the Settlement Code quoted in paragraph 45 above. Of the complications to which this new tenure has given rise, and of the attempt made at the recent re-settlement to solve them, it will be necessary to write at length hereafter (see Part IV below). But the underlying principle was excellent. It was recognised that the Gaontias were placed too much at the mercy of a Zamindar whose personal authority was backed by his legal position as proprietor, and Section 65-A was introduced to limit the Zamindar's autocratic power in regard to at any rate those Gaontias who, though they had not received sub-proprietary rights in 1868, had still, either by an outlay of capital or by the length of their tenure of the village headship, shown themselves worthy of a consideration which the Zamindar could not be trusted to afford them. The extent to which the Zamindar's authority over the village headmen of their estates was restricted at the settlement of 1890 can be seen from the appended table:—

Name of Zamindari.	Total number of villages.	Number of sub-proprietary villages.	Number of villages where protected status was conferred in 1890.	Remarks.
Pandaria	312	35	137	*Three of these were held by inferior proprietors.
Kanteli	44	2	20	
Kenda	89	16	4	
Pendra	212	52	34	
Lapha	76	12	6	
Matin	100	3	15	
Chhuri	134	18	58	

*To be strictly accurate, only Pandaria, Pendra, Matin, Uprora, Kenda, Lapha, Chhuri, Korba and Champa appear in Part VI of the First Schedule of the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874.

Name of zamindari.	Total number of villages.	Number of sub-proprietary villages.	Number of villages where protected status was conferred in 1890.	Remarks.
Uprora ...	79	5	6	
Korba ...	347	81	76	
Champa ...	66	2	...	
Bhatgaon ...	58	2	10	
Bilaigarh ...	76	3	8	
Katgi ...	42	7	20	
Total ...	1,635	237	414	

52. The second settlement was originally intended to run only for 11 years up to 1901—a short term settlement being considered advisable in view of the rapid economic development of the district likely to result from the new railways between Nagpur and Bengal and from Bilaspur to Katni. Preparations therefore for a regular settlement were commenced as early as 1891, when the first village to village field survey was undertaken. The zamindaris of Kanteli and Pandaria had already been surveyed by the Court of Wards; but there was no traverse preliminary to this survey, with the result that the boundaries of adjoining villages could not be brought into accurate agreement. These two zamindaris were therefore resurveyed with the rest after the traverse was completed. This traverse was mainly effected by the staff of an Imperial Survey Party. A number of villages were at first traversed by a local agency. But it was subsequently decided to retain the traverse in the hands of professionally trained men and leave only the subsequent cadastral survey for the local staff. This change of policy led to a certain complication which may be mentioned here. In the course of the new settlement it was found that some villages had been “imperially” traversed that others had been “locally” traversed only, and that others again had been traversed both “locally” and “imperially.” To secure uniformity, an attempt was made to discard the local traverse. Of course this was not possible in the case of villages where there was no other than the local traverse. But where a village had been traversed both locally and imperially, something could be done. In every such case the survey was based on the *local* traverse; this indeed being the only reason why the local traverse was maintained side by side with the imperial. One course open to us would have been to undertake an entirely new survey of such villages on the basis of the imperial traverse. But this would have been unnecessarily tedious. Instead a careful comparison of the tri-junction points in the two traverses was made. When these all agreed, as they not uncommonly did, the local traverse sheet was amended so as to bring it into exact conformity with the imperial sheet, and the local survey stones were then uprooted. If, however, a slight discrepancy was found between the traverses in regard to any tri-junction point, no amendment was attempted. A note of the discrepancy was made on each sheet, and both the local and imperial traverses will be maintained until for any reason a resurvey is needed, when it may be based on the imperial instead of the local traverse. Meanwhile both sets of traverse stations are being maintained upon the ground. Of course in the rare case where the discrepancy between the two traverses was very marked, an entirely fresh survey on the imperial sheet was undertaken. The sheets both local and imperial have been numbered and entered serially in a *Mauzawar* Register which has been made over to the District Office. The existence of this register will, in future, prevent that uncertainty as to the nature or even existence of traverse sheets for particular villages, which caused such inconvenience at the beginning of the new settlement.

53. The actual cadastral survey was not effected by an imperial survey party as in the Khalsa, but by a staff of patwaris locally organized and trained and therefore engaged at far less

cost to Government. The work they did under Mr. Lancaster, Assistant Settlement Officer's supervision was in many ways excellent. Their rate of progress may be gathered from the following table :—

Name of zamindari.	Number of villages surveyed in year.												Total No. of surveyed villages.
	1891- 92.	1892- 93.	1893- 94.	1894- 95.	1895- 96.	1896- 97.	1897- 98.	1898- 99.	1906- 07.	1907- 08.	1908- 09.	1909- 10.	
Pandaria	36	227	35	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	298
Kanteli	11	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44
Pendra	...	1	23	20	27	128	...	...	1	2	...	2	204
Kenda	...	8	5	8	16	20	15	...	...	2	...	...	74
Lapha	...	3	5	4	9	11	41	...	...	...	...	5	78
Matin	...	1	2	...	8	5	33	...	...	...	...	4	53
Uprora	...	4	1	3	7	16	6	...	...	...	...	1	38
Chhuri	...	4	14	16	18	35	33	...	4	...	...	4	128
Korba	...	13	25	37	39	53	120	1	...	...	2	12	302
Champa	...	10	12	18	10	11	2	...	...	...	...	...	63
Bhatgaon	...	6	6	5	20	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	55
Bilaigarh Katgi.	...	8	34	11	28	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	111
Total	...	58	127	169	442	362	250	1	5	4	2	23	1,448

But the staff was for the first six years monopolized completely by this new survey, and could pay no attention to annual changes in the maps and papers till the survey record was complete. Thus, though patwaris were appointed and the survey began in 1891, regular annual statistics for the zamindaris are not available until 1898-99. The original statistics of survey therefore present only a composite picture of the conditions which prevailed in different villages in different years. At the same time, as explained more than once in the course of the Preliminary and Rent-rate Reports, the general impression conveyed by this picture is accurate enough. The great bulk of the villages were surveyed before 1896-07 (the year of the first famine) and the entries of cropping (*i. e.*, sowings) even in 1896-97 were generally normal—the famine of that year affecting the harvest but not the area sown. Thus, though there must necessarily have been some variation in detail, it is certain that the general cropping totals of survey indicate accurately enough the level of development attained prior to the first great famine. The neglect of the annual revision of the maps and papers while survey was in progress was a serious matter. This work would have given trouble even in the open country. But in these hilly zamindaris thousands of acres have had year by year to be brought upon the maps; minor crop land is being continuously sub-divided into rice fields, and frequent changes, partitions and amalgamations necessarily occur in a rapidly developing tract where there is still abundant room for immigrants, while the early settlers are still busy preparing and extending their holdings. Under such circumstances the absence of all revision in some cases for six or seven years rendered the original survey entirely obsolete by the time the patwari returned to his annual routine. His work was in any case far more difficult than that of his fellows in the open country. His villages were far apart and the cultivation in them scattered. As cultivation spread over the village waste, it was often found that the internal survey stations were not numerous enough. A single field might mean chaining through forest for some hundreds of yards, work which might keep the patwari busy half a day. The village area was often a network of *nalas* and ravines but few of which had been surveyed. When therefore to a heavy load of new work was added the burden of wholesale revision of the old, it is not to be wondered at that the new staff—at no time easy to procure for work of this

character—were discouraged, regarded arrears of survey as a necessary evil, and made but half-hearted attempts even to keep abreast of their more essential duties. Some suspicion of the confusion into which the maps had fallen seems to have arisen very soon. A special Assistant Superintendent of Land Records was appointed to have exclusive charge of the seven northern zamindaris. But he did not effect much, and how little the real state of affairs was realised is apparent from the fact that no survey party was appointed to put things even in some sort of order before actual settlement operations began. This matter will be referred to again in connection with the progress of the new settlement operations, as this progress was vitally affected by the condition of the village maps. At the same time it would be unfair to disparage the labours of the survey staff under Mr. Lancaster by making no reference to the accuracy of their work in detail. The survey of a rice village, in which there are not 50 acres of level ground (and villages of this kind are the normal type in all the northern zamindaris) is an undertaking which has to be witnessed before its difficulty can be understood. The staff was new, men were frequently unwilling to accept employment in the remoter circles, and the work, when just completed, was disorganized by the famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900. But there is no doubt that the survey itself was, so far as it went, most successfully carried through. The tactics were excellent, but the strategy was weak, and much of the benefit of the good work done was thrown away because there was no staff available to keep in constant repair the edifice of survey which had been so laboriously erected.

54. The period of 1891 to 1906 saw other important administrative innovations in the zamindaris besides the new survey. During the currency of the first settlement (1868—1891), practically nothing was done to modify the customary organization of these large estates, except in so far as they chanced to come under Court of Wards management. A few patwaris, who were supposed to maintain some agricultural statistics, were introduced into the zamindaris in 1882, in accordance with Article IX of the old *Wajib-ul-arz*, but the figures they produced were valueless. The Excise monopoly of the Zamindar of Madanpur-Kanteli was resumed by Government in 1866 (*vide* the old Assessment Report of this estate, paragraph 15); but the resumption was subsequently forgotten and he continued to enjoy this source of income as before. The first real change occurred in 1888 when, in accordance with Secretariat letter No. 1110-49, dated 23rd February 1888, to the address of the Inspector-General, the District Police were introduced into the five open zamindaris—Pandaria, Kanteli, Champa, Bhatgaon and Bilaigarh-Katgi. From that year onward the changes were frequent and far-reaching. As already stated the Central Provinces Tenancy Act was extended to all the zamindaris by the Act of 1889. The patwari staff was reorganized in 1891 and the preparations for a full record of village rights began. The District Police were introduced into the remaining hill estates in 1892 (see Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division's letter No. 4759, dated the 28th June 1892) and in 1894 the Excise and Drug monopolies of the Zamindars were also resumed. This last mentioned restriction on the zamindari privilege was only gradually imposed—substantial compensation being paid for the resumption of the *right* at the time, while as a temporary concession the actual Drug and Excise management was leased to the Zamindars themselves on favourable terms, for the remainder of the term of Settlement. In 1902, by imperial legislation, the *pandhri* tax was abolished. This property tax had hitherto been collected by the Zamindars who paid a *takoli* on account of it. With its abolition the executive instructions of 1886, by which the Zamindars had also appropriated all collections on account of Income-tax, were likewise cancelled. Finally, in 1904 their management of cattle pounds was resumed and compensation paid them in accordance with Secretariat letter No. 1245, dated the 1st March 1904. These measures by which the zamindaris were gradually absorbed into the ordinary routine administration of the district, were introduced in accordance with the view that the Zamindars were nothing more than "ordinary British subjects." They could, it was held, make no claim either to enjoy such imperial sources of income as Excise, pounds, etc., or to exercise such sovereign powers as would be connoted by their control of the Police. The Zamindars have since

Withdrawal of Police,
Pounds, etc., from the Zamindar's control.

unsuccessfully challenged this view in the Civil Courts, the policy of the Government being upheld by the Privy Council as in accordance with equity and good government. Certainly the administrative effect of these changes upon the country has been excellent, for much of the economic development of the zamindaris during the past 15 years must undoubtedly be attributed to the extension of Government control.

55. The famines of 1897 and 1900 are the one other feature of this period which requires special notice. We are fortunately able to give a much milder account of their effect upon the people of the Bilaspur zamindaris than would be necessary in writing of the Khalsa. At the same time their consequences were serious and influenced greatly the course of the recent settlement operations, necessitating the extension of the term of R. B. Purshottam Dass' settlement from 1901 to 1910. For information as to the famines of 1897 and 1900 in relation to these zamindaris, we must look to the District Reports on the famine operations of those years and also to the comments made in the Court of Wards Reports—Pandaria, Kanteli and Bilaigarh-Katgi in the plains and Pendra and Chhuri in the hills being all under Government management at the time. The first point to notice in regard to the famine of 1895-97 is that, whereas the rice crop had been consistently good for several preceding years (with the immediate exception of 1895-96), "the yield of almost every other crop in each year of the preceding quinquennium was, with hardly an exception, poor." Moreover, the rice crop in 1895-96 "failed more completely in Mungeli than elsewhere," being estimated only at three annas for the whole tahsil, and it was Mungeli, depending as much upon its kodon and wheat as upon its rice, whose strength had been undermined by successive failures of the non-rice crops, both *rabi* and *khari*f. The consequences therefore for the zamindaris of Pandaria and Kanteli were disastrous. For the district generally the highest price attained at any time in the famine by the prices of the staple food grains, rice and wheat, was $7\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee in August 1897, as against a normal of 18 seers. In Pandaria prices rose to 5 seers per rupee, as their maximum limit, and stood constant at $5\frac{1}{2}$ seers for over three months. No wonder then that, badly though Mungeli fared, "Pandaria and Kanteli suffered even more severely," and lost between the census of 1891 and 1901 over 33,000 souls, or nearly 40 per cent of the population of 1891. Luckily the suffering of these two estates could not be paralleled elsewhere. The rice crop of 1896-97 was estimated for the northern zamindaris generally at from 6 to 12 annas, and "in Korba at 8 to 12 annas"—and "in a considerable portion of the villages relief was neither given nor required until the rains of 1897 and even then it was chiefly the long continuance of high prices that caused distress." Distress in Chhuri, for example, "did not appear until May and was at no time very severe. No difficulty was experienced in collecting rents—only Rs. 340 remaining in arrears out of a demand of Rs. 9,118." Among the Satgarh, the one unfortunate exception in 1897 was Pendra. We read that "famine was very severe in this estate; the rice crop of 1896 having failed nowhere more completely than here," and nowhere in the district were the existing stocks of the staple food-grains so utterly depleted. The open country on the Rewa border to the north of this estate suffered most—the Deputy Commissioner reporting in March of 1897 that "the physical condition of the people is worst in the extreme north of Pendra. Here cases of emaciation are numerous in almost every village."

The chief sufferers then in 1897 were Pandaria, Kanteli and Pendra; the trans-Mahanadi estates Bilaigarh-Katgi and Bhatgaon were also considerably affected, though famine here was "much less severe than in the Pandaria and Pendra estates"; while the remaining 7 estates escaped practically unscathed.

56. In 1900 the natural cleavage between the hill and plain estates asserted itself. To quote the District Report on the famine of that year, "Pandaria, Bilaigarh-Katgi, Bhatgaon and Champa shared the fate of the adjoining Khalsa of the Mungeli and Janjgir tahsils. In the 7 northern zamindaris of the district, *viz.*, Pendra, Matin, Uprora, Kenda, Lapha, Chhuri and Korba the cropping was much the same as in the Bilaspur tahsil. They had ample rain and a good deal of byasi (cross ploughing) was done and there was not so great cause for apprehension, except in Lapha and Kenda." The effect

of this second blow to Pandaria was such that a 3 years' abatement of rents and revenue had to be conceded. Across the Mahanadi the crop failure was complete, and the Deputy Commissioner reported that in Bilaigarh-Katgi practically no rental collections at all could be effected. On the other hand throughout the Satgarh there was a normal rainfall, and the full rental and revenue demand was realized without difficulty.

57. As a result then of the two famines, Pandaria was prostrated; Kanteli, Bilaigarh-Katgi and Bhatgaon were very badly hit; while Champa, Kenda and Pendra were no more than checked in their agricultural advance. The other 5 northern zamindaris were practically unaffected.

But the cloud of poor harvests did not lift at once. There were partial failures and local scarcity in 1902-03, 1905-06 and 1907-08 and these delayed the recovery of the tracts most seriously affected by the famines of "Tirpan" and "Chhapan" as the people call them. When therefore the new settlement began in 1906, the minds of most revenue officials were still oppressed by the remembrance of what the district had so lately suffered. It was deemed unreasonable to suggest anything in the nature of a vigorous rent enhancement when (as in Pandaria) abatement had but lately ceased; and an increase of 30 per cent in a tenant's rent was regarded as the maximum which could be taken. The pendulum has now swung the other way. The cry is now for heavy rent enhancements in Chhattisgarh—the very defects in its agricultural methods being attributed to the tenant's inertia due to the lightness of their rents. The gradual veering of official opinion will be found to some extent reflected in the orders passed from time to time on the various Rent-rate and Assessment Reports. But this is a matter which will be noticed in its proper place. Here the point to notice is that the new settlement opened while the district was still under the shadow of the famines; a fact which must be kept in mind when reviewing the rental and revenue assessment of the different zamindaris.



PART III.—THE NEW SETTLEMENT.

58. The work of revising settlement began in January 1906. It was presumed that the maps and papers were in order. A simple soil classification was obviously indicated, and it was anticipated that by employing patwaris instead of Additional Revenue Inspectors on the work of attesting the survey record prepared by Mr. Lancaster, the whole revision would be completed in 2½ years. These hopes were soon dispelled. Attestation was to have begun in the Pandaria zamindari (341 villages); but it was soon found that the statistics of the Inception Report, upon which had been based the decision to enhance the rents of this estate, were incomplete; no notice having been taken either of the original figures of survey or of those of a Court of Wards' survey and settlement of 1890. These figures indicated losses in the famines far more serious than had been previously supposed. A further full report had thus to be submitted necessitating the postponement of attestation to the following year. After starting work therefore in the small adjoining zamindari of Kanteli (44 villages) I proceeded at once to Kenda and Pendra, to prepare for attestation, and was there confronted with the difficulty to which a reference has been made in paragraph 53 above. The maps were in the most serious confusion. Much of the original survey had been insufficiently revised, and no serious attempt had been made to keep pace with the subsequent rapid extension of cultivation. Fields had from the first been far too freely grouped into single numbers (one number was found which included as many as 640 *dotis*, or separate rice plots) and the consequent numerous sub-divisions rendered the *Khasra* or Field book, which is in Chhattisgarh in the *Charsala* form, hardly intelligible—the columns of changes being supplemented for want of space by slips, sometimes a foot or more in length. Rapid attestation under such circumstances was impossible, and enquiry soon elicited the fact that the condition of the maps in Pendra was typical of the other northern zamindaris. Matters were therefore almost at a deadlock. More than half the field season had expired, and it was too late to think of transferring our attestation to Champa and Bhatgaon 80 or 90 miles away. I reported the facts of the case, organized a map correction party for the other hill estates, and on the arrival of our staff from Pandaria and Kanteli employed them in combining map correction with attestation. Progress in consequence was miserably slow and the season closed with only 216 villages attested.

59. Next year (1906-07) better progress was possible because the large open zamindari of Pandaria was taken in hand. In spite therefore of serious delay owing to two-thirds of our staff in the Pendra zamindari being prostrated by malarial fever, attestation was completed in 509 villages including 81 for which only summary procedure was prescribed. In 1907-08 progress was hampered by my own ill-health, which necessitated my taking three months' leave, and by the partial crop failure which in some measure distracted the settlement staff from their proper duties and led to the suspension of office work for some months. In all 400 villages were attested, including 15 for summary settlement. In 1908-09 I was compelled to take six months' leave on medical certificate. Three hundred and fifty-two villages were attested (of which 101 were for summary settlement) and 118 were finally announced. The next year 1909-10 saw the completion of announcement in 725 villages, before I was transferred from the district (in November 1910), the balance being disposed of shortly after my departure. I was thus posted to the district for four years and ten months, of which nine months were spent on leave.

60. After this brief indication of the rate of progress, some detailed account may be given of the work which was done by the settlement staff during this period. Of two special portions of that work, *viz.*, the enquiries and reports in connection with the grant of protected status, and the examination and settlement of zamindari boundaries, it will be convenient to write in a separate section (see Part IV). These subjects though a most important part of the settlement, have yet no necessary connection with its technical operations, and it is convenient to keep them apart from the main subject. Here then we have to deal with the following heads of business:—

- (I) Map correction (paragraph 61).
- (II) Soil classification and the choice of factors (paragraphs 62 to 64).

- (III) Enhancement of rents (paragraphs 65 to 80).
- (IV) Enhancement of revenue and assessment of home-farm and siwai other than that of the Zamindars (paragraphs 81 to 88).
- (V) Summary Settlement methods (paragraphs 89 to 92).
- (VI) Enhancement of takoli and assessment of forest mahals and zamindari siwai (paragraphs 93 to 103).
- (VII) Calculation of Government cesses (paragraph 104).
- (VIII) Miscellaneous (Wajib-ul-arz, Kabuliya, period of settlement, etc.) (paragraphs 105 to 110).

(I).—MAP CORRECTION.

61. Map correction was the millstone round the neck of the settlement staff. It was an unceasing source of worry to the attesting Inspectors and to the officers who had to supervise their work that as much attention had to be paid to the formal correctness of the village maps as to the classification of the fields thereon for purposes of assessment. It was the old difficulty of trying to do two things at once. The maps as we found them were out of date, innocent of topographical detail and incorrect. Of the extent to which the work of survey had fallen into arrears, some idea may be gained by the single fact that during the years 1906-07 to 1910-11, that is, while settlement work was actually in full swing, over 60,000 acres of land were surveyed and added to the village maps. In Pendra alone 26,000 acres were so added during the course of attestation. In Korba 10,000 acres; in Lapha 7,000 acres; in Chhuri and Matin 4,000 acres and smaller areas in the rest of the estates were also added after the settlement had started. No topographical detail showing temples, shrines or prominent trees, had been entered on the village maps. At the time of survey the patwaris had thought it unnecessary to survey the broadest nallahs and mostly frequented roads unless they ran through cultivated land. Even when they formed the village boundary they were commonly neglected, and the rectification of this omission alone added many weeks' work to the labours of our staff. Then there were inaccuracies in the actual survey. As cultivation spread it was not uncommon to find that whole blocks of previously isolated land had been wrongly placed even if the fields had been correctly surveyed *inter se*. And fallow land was frequently left unsurveyed.* Every field had to be visited and the corrections were so numerous that at least one and in some cases two retraces of the village map had to be prepared before attestation could be done in comfort. As I have said, in Pendra and Kenda this mass of map correction had to be done by the attesting Revenue Inspectors (attestation by patwaris as originally proposed was soon abandoned as impracticable), but elsewhere there was sufficient breathing time to organize a map correction party which could at any rate rough-hew the survey work before attestation began. Fortunately in the interests, both of economy and of efficiency there is little chance that at the next settlement of these estates the mistake of leaving map correction to the Settlement Officer will be repeated.

(II).—SOIL CLASSIFICATION AND THE CHOICE OF FACTORS.

62. After the maps had been got into some sort of order the work of "attestation," of which the classification of the fields by soils and positions forms an important part, was undertaken. In the open country estates I was required to conform as closely as possible to the system adopted in the adjoining Khalsa Assessment Groups with their comparatively elaborate scale of factors and detailed differentiation both of positions and of soils. The actual classes and figures adopted can be seen from the various Rent-rate Reports given in the volume of Annexures. But in the northern zamindaris I had a free-hand, and it will not be out of place to indicate briefly the line which it was decided to follow in that tract. The matter was exhaustively discussed in a Factor Report No. 409, dated the 25th August 1906, the proposals contained therein being sanctioned by the Settlement Commissioner in his No. 4571, dated the 21st September 1906.

*See paragraph 9 above.

It was realized that for such a low-rented tract an elaborate scale of factors was undesirable, and an effort was made to reduce the number of classes to the minimum compatible with fair assessment. As a result the following simple table was evolved :—

Rice land.			Non-rice land.			Constant factors.			Remarks.
Bahara	...	25	Bari	...	15	Irrigation	..	+6	For irrigated bars a general factor of 30.
Gabhar	...	15	Gohari	...	12	Dofasli	...	+3	
Darha	...	10	Tikra I	...	5	Gaurasa	...	+3	
Tangar	...	7	Do. II	...	3				

63. The first point to notice is the omission of all reference to soil classes. It is usual in Chhattisgarh to have cross classifications by both soil and position; but though this may work well enough in some tracts, it is certain that in broken and undulating country the quality of the soils is very largely determined by their position, low-lying soils being good and high-lying poor. Even where this is not the case and rich soil is found in disadvantageous positions or poor soil in a good position, yet from the point of view of rice cultivation it is the position which chiefly counts. The richest soil if high-lying cannot hope to retain its moisture as long as the poorest soil fed by surface drainage from above. Given water and manure, rice can be grown successfully on any soil and, in the absence of the "double-cropping" system by which in the Khalsa linseed, *urad*, *tiura* or *batara* are sown broadcast as an "after crop" in rice fields where the soil is rich enough, it was obvious that in the northern zamindaris the positions were of primary importance. In the table therefore four positions were defined for rice land, viz., *bahara*, channels in which there is a flow of water; *gabhar*, low-lying land; *darha*, ordinary undulating land; and *tangar*, high-lying land. But these classes were not mechanically applied. It was found that the villagers recognised a regular ascending scale of rice values strictly according to the period required by each wherein to ripen. Thus a heavy rice such as *bare bako* or *gurmata* could never ripen in a *darha* or *tangar* field. On the other hand it would be waste of power to sow a light rice like *karehni* or *danwar* in a *gabhar* field, even if it could stand the continuous moisture it would receive there. A very short study of the question elicited the names of those qualities of rice which corresponded with our four positions and once this was ascertained, it was possible to classify the rice fields with unusual precision. Given an honest statement of the crop capacity of the different fields, and it would have been quite feasible to classify the village without actually seeing them. This fact, namely, that the classification was both in the case of rice land and non-rice land ultimately based on crop capacity is what, I venture to think, constitutes its permanent value. Had we classified the fields solely in the case of rice land according to standard definitions of the four main positions or, in the case of non-rice land according to standard estimates of the fertility of the different kinds of soil, we should have been disregarding other factors, such as soil in the case of rice and position in the case of other crops, and would have been unable to get into touch with the real opinion of the villagers. But by working according to crop capacity in the case of both rice and non-rice land we made the basis of our valuation intelligible to the villagers and incidentally secured a degree of accurate differentiation which would otherwise have been unattainable. Summary therefore though this classification may appear in form, I believe that in application it has disregarded no element of importance to the proper valuation of the culturable land.

64. Moreover the scale of factors is not as summary as it looks. This is so owing to the use of "constant factors" a device which, simple though it is, was applied I believe for the first time in the Bilaspur zamindaris. In previous settlements allowance for special advantages, such as irrigation or natural manuring, and special disadvantages, such as surface scouring or damage from wild animals, was secured either by separate factors in the case of each separate class of land (which at once doubled or trebled the number of items in the table), or by extra percentages added to or deducted from the main soil factor—a method both

clumsy and in extreme cases liable to be inaccurate. By means of a "constant factor" these special advantages or disadvantages can be accurately allowed for without in the least increasing the complexity of the table. Thus in the sample table given above, three constant factors are shown for irrigation (*abpashi*), double-cropping (*dofasli*), and natural manuring (*gaurasa*). These can be attached if necessary to any class in the table. In addition (*e. g.*) to *bahara* (25), we may have *bahara abpashi* (31), *bahara dofasli* (28), *bahara gaurasa* (25), and also *bahara abpashi gaurasa* (34), *bahara dofasli gaurasa* (31), or *bahara abpashi dofasli gaurasa* (37). In fact our simple table provides for 28 different classes of rice land varying in value from 7 to 37, a power of differentiation which under the old system would have demanded a most intricate tabular arrangement. Nor is the simplicity a simplicity of expression only. The constant factor facilitates the office calculations, exhibits at a glance the total area of double-cropped or irrigated land, or whatever it may be, comprised in each tenant's holding, and what is still more important, enables these elements in its value to be adequately assessed.

(III).—ENHANCEMENT OF RENTS.

65. Having seen roughly how the fields were classed, we may consider the use to which this classification was put in the matter of enhancing rents. This will involve a review of the Rent-rate Reports for the different groups (*i. e.*, zamindaris) with reference to the different classes of tenants, their general condition, and the enhancement eventually imposed on each.

On the theoretical side it is unnecessary to labour the justification for the Theoretical justification of moderate enhancements which have been imposed as the statistical position is one to which reference will be necessary at future settlements, it may be briefly recapitulated here. But enhancement. An economic rent represents the surplus produce of land after the wages of the labour (including proper remuneration of the cultivator himself according to his accepted standard of comfort) and the interest on the capital employed in its cultivation have been met. Land which does no more than repay the labour and capital expended on it is described as on the "margin of cultivation" and can support no rent at all, while in the case of other land the rent should fully express its superiority to that which is on the margin of cultivation. Now where rents are, as in the Central Provinces, for the most part fixed by Government, it is obvious that some method is needed to readjust them, so that they may keep pace with the economic development of the country. This method is according to our Settlement Code a comparative one. Some antecedent point in the economic history of the district (usually the preceding settlement) is fixed upon as the basis of comparison and it is assumed that the rents then paid were, roughly speaking, economic rents, *i. e.*, that they absorbed practically the whole of the surplus net produce. It is then enquired how far these old rents have expanded up to date in conformity with the extension of cultivation (which of course indicates an increase of the net surplus produce) and the rise in prices (which of course, so far as the rents stagnate, involves the absorption of a diminishing fraction of the net produce). The extent to which the variation of the present from the old rents has failed to keep pace with the extension of cultivation and the rise in prices is taken as indicating the amount by which the present rents can on theoretical grounds be enhanced, provided that full allowance is made for any disproportionate increase in the cost of production, *i. e.*, for any intermediate rise in the wages of the labour and interest on the capital employed in the cultivation in excess of the corresponding rise in prices. The general rise in prices is, as a matter of practical convenience, inferred from the increase in the cost of the staple food-grain of the tract.

66. But the value and the practical applicability of this theory depends largely on the free play of economic forces; and, if the rents levied at the antecedent period, with which we make comparison, can be clearly demonstrated to have been customary and not competitive, the cogency of any inference from the rise in prices limiting the amount of rent enhancement which can now be imposed is vitally affected. At most our theoretical deductions can under such circumstances indicate the maximum enhancement which *available* statistics

justly. Moreover in the case of the Bilaspur zamindaris there is a general absence of adequate data for antecedent periods in the economic history of the tract. The settlement of 1867 left us no record of the actual rents paid at the time, but only some vague indications of what the Settlement Officer loosely estimated as a fair rent. In 1890 actual rents were recorded, but we have no idea either of the extent or of the quality of the land which supported them. The first record both of tenants' areas *and* rents was prepared at survey (1891—1898) and this is the first antecedent period with which comparison is possible. Recent though it is, it has had to be accepted, in default of a better, as the basis of our calculations in Statement C of the Rent-rate Reports. The one advantage of comparison with the survey record has been that it affords a clear indication of how each village was affected by the famines of 1897 and 1900 and subsequent scarcities. As already explained in paragraph 53 above, the survey statistics, when totalled for any one zamindari, accurately portray its general condition prior to 1897; and concerned as we were at the new settlement mainly to consider how far allowance was to be made for any trace of the illeffects of these earlier failures, it was fortunate that these statistics of the nineties were to hand. But as will be readily understood, the value of this comparison was wholly practical and arose simply from the intervention of the famines. For a theoretical justification for rent enhancement it was useless to review a brief period of 10 or 15 years during which there had been practically no rent enhancement whatsoever, and which also failed to show the economic effects of the opening of the railway between 1889 and 1891.

67. To appreciate the strength of our statistical position it is necessary to fix on some period prior to the opening of the railway; to observe the subsequent rise in prices; and, after making due allowance for subsequent rent enhancement and for any rise in the cost of agricultural production, to demonstrate the residual enhancement which we should merely on the statistics of this period be justified in taking. The following table shows the wholesale prices for cleaned rice which prevailed in Bilaspur town from 1879 to 1883 and again from 1901 to 1905—the former a period of recovery from the famine of 1878, as the latter a period of recovery from that of 1900:—

Year.	Average price throughout the year.		Year.	Average price throughout the year.	
	Seers.	Chhataks.		Seers.	Chhataks.
1879	26	13	1901	14	6
1880	33	8	1902	15	6
1881	61	9	1903	15	9
1882	69	9	1904	18	13
1883	51	11	1905	15	12
Average for the quinquennium.	48	10	Average for the quinquennium.	16	0
	per rupee.			per rupee.	

Separate statistics for prices in the zamindaris are not available, except so far as I have collected them myself. As against 16 seers in Bilaspur for the 5 years immediately preceding the opening of settlement I found an average rate of 17 seers 6 chhataks current in Pendra on the railway, and of 20 seers in the interior of the Satgarh (at Jawali in the Chhuri zamindari). These variations should not be disregarded in considering the incidence of the rental in the different estates. But because the prices in outlying portions of the district are lower than those at its headquarters is no reason for supposing that the proportionate increase during the past 25 years has been less. Rather with improved communications one may infer that prices in the outskirts of the district have risen, if anything, more than in Bilaspur itself. We are therefore perfectly safe in assuming that during the last quarter of a century the price of the main staple in these zamindaris has risen from 48 to 16 seers per rupee, that is, by at least 200 per cent.

68. Against this remarkable increase we can at most set an all-round rent enhancement (after the settlement of 1890) of 26 per cent *. Owing, as I have explained to the ryotwari basis of all revenue assessment, it has hitherto been contrary to custom to enhance the tenants' rents except when the gaontias' and Zamindars' payments are also raised. As the ryot is the revenue payer according to indigenous ideas and the gaontias and Zamindars mere official agents for its collection, it would be improper that they should on their own account impose enhancement on the ryots except when and so far as Government raises its demand from them. And this has been the guiding principle of rent enhancement in the past. In 1868 after each Zamindar had adjusted the gaontias' payments so as to meet the new takolis and the gaontias had passed on the enhancement to the ryots, there was no further attempt made (except in Court of Wards estates where tradition and custom did not count) to raise the rental demand of the estate. So too after 1890 a single heavy enhancement of gaontias' payments by the Zamindars and of ryots payments by the gaontia was imposed because the takoli was enhanced by Government ; but throughout the currency of the settlement no attempt was made either by Zamindar or gaontias to take anything more. Thus when I questioned the gaontias of Pendra on the point (see Rent-rate Report, paragraph 8) they strongly disclaimed any authority to enhance the rents saying that they "feared the Government." Once this position has been realized we see at once why rents are so low in these estates, for from 1821 (Colonel Agnew's Settlements) to 1867 no enhancement of takoli was imposed in any of the zamindaris, and since 1867 only twice has the revenue assessment been enhanced so as to justify a general increase in the rents. But this is by the way. The point to emphasize is that since 1880 up to 1906 there has been no general enhancement imposed other than that which succeeded the settlement of 1890 when rents were raised by 26 per cent. Hence allowing for this intermediate enhancement we should be justified theoretically in raising the present payments by 148 per cent. And after making every possible allowance for any increase in the cost of agricultural production, and for extension of cultivation to poorer soils, we can still show statistical justification for doubling rents throughout these 12 estates.

69. As a matter of fact an all-round enhancement of 33 per cent only has been imposed on the tenants in the course for the recent settlement operations—the details of which for the 12 separate estates are given in Statements VI and VII. In the Satgarh which, as we have seen, the famines visited but lightly, the ryoti demand was raised from Rs. 67,000 to Rs. 98,000 or by 46 per cent. In the open country the rents were raised from Rs. 1,05,315 to Rs. 1,32,996 or by 25 per cent. These enhancements bear no relation to the minimum increase statistically justifiable, and we have now to see what were the practical considerations which were taken as limiting the rise in rents.

Statistical considerations giving us no guide in the selection of a definite percentage of enhancement, the question was simply what *per saltum* enhancement could safely be imposed. In this regard paragraph 4 of Appendix I to the Settlement Code lays down that, ordinarily speaking, group unit rates should not provide for an enhancement of more than 40 per cent in the case of any one class of tenants. In actual working, however, practical considerations in these zamindaris have involved a fairly wide departure from this standard. Thus in Pandaria the marks of famine were still clearly traceable when attestation began ; I pointed out in my preliminary report on that estate that unless re-settlement was deferred our enhancements would be hampered by this circumstance ; and in the end an all-round enhancement of only 19 per cent was taken. The next smallest enhancement was imposed in Kanteli (22 per cent). Here the recovery from the famines had been unusually rapid, but, though a fuller demand might with safety have been made upon the ryots, it was considered inadvisable to raise the rents in this small estate much above the level of what was being imposed in the surrounding khalsa. In Bhatgaon again across the Mahanadi the oppressive mismanagement of the Zamindar had delayed the recovery of his estate from the effects of famine, and necessitated our taking only a moderate enhancement of 27 per cent. But

* See statement in paragraph 47 above.

in the remaining nine estates the condition of the people was good, agriculture normal and rents extremely low, and here maxima *per saltum* enhancements were imposed, *viz.*, 40 per cent all round in Bilaigarh-Katgi, 41 per cent in Korba and Lapha, and 42 per cent in Chhuri. In Champa the ordinary tenant class was enhanced by 41 per cent, but as rents were here already higher than those paid in the surrounding Khalsa, it was thought safest to limit the all-round rise to 35 per cent. In Pendra, where rents were extraordinarily low, owing to the failure of the Court of Wards to impose reasonable enhancements during its long period of management, rents were raised by 63 per cent in spite of the fact that the effects of famine were still traceable in the agricultural statistics of the north of the estate. In Kenda only a 32 per cent enhancement was taken, as this was the first of the hill estates to be reported on and official confidence in the stability of agriculture in Chhattisgarh was not then as fully restored as when Lapha, Chhuri and Korba were assessed.

Over the Satgarh generally ordinary rents, which comprise 76 per cent of the whole, have been enhanced by 50 per cent, and the total rental raised by 46 per cent. In the open country 25 per cent was added to the ryoti demand and 33 per cent to the demand in all the 12 estates taken together.

70. In order to indicate the essential leniency of these *per saltum* enhancements it will be as well to summarize the information collected in the various Rent-rate Reports with regard to the general condition of the ryots. There are no absolute-occupancy tenants in these estates as the creation of this tenure in 1867 was impracticable in the absence of a village *wajib-ul-arz*; Circular G of 1862 providing that the absolute character of a ryot's occupancy could only be secured by a clause in the village administration paper. We have therefore only occupancy and ordinary tenants to deal with; and, as the status of the two is for all practical purposes the same, it will suffice if we review the condition of the ryots generally without special reference to the two classes into which under our local law they are divided.

71. In the course of attestation the tenants of every estate were classified according to their circumstances, and a tabular summary of the results obtained will give the best general idea of their condition. Only the 9 principle castes in the Satgarh and open country need be separately noted:—

Caste.		A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	Total.	Percentage.
In the Satgarh ..	1. Gond	39	1,821	1,786	734	307	4,787	25½
	2. Kanwar or Tanwar	136	1,498	1,346	358	131	3,469	18½
	3. Panika	8	345	656	381	98	1,488	8
	4. Raout	56	385	473	221	62	1,197	6
	5. Chamar	19	146	291	134	74	664	4
	6. Kewat	21	217	257	118	38	651	3
	7. Marar	23	135	200	101	39	498	3
	8. Teli	21	234	110	54	19	438	2
	9. Ganra	2	66	131	126	16	341	2
	10. Others	311	1,579	1,969	915	501	5,275	28
In the 5 open country estates.	1. Chamar	74	1,153	1,585	808	299	3,919	26
	2. Teli	309	780	641	252	71	2,053	13½
	3. Kurmi	88	455	422	149	50	1,164	8
	4. Kewat	16	241	404	193	160	1,014	6½
	5. Marar	78	253	257	124	42	754	4½
	6. Raout	...	155	336	181	63	735	5
	7. Gond	23	222	246	154	51	696	4½
	8. Panika	23	140	219	157	44	583	4
	9. Brahmin	77	145	102	20	3	347	2
	10. Others	359	1,223	1,368	678	274	3,902	26
Total		1,783	11,193	12,799	5,858	2,342	33,975	...
Per cent		5	33	38	17	7	100	...

This classification though based on Article 170 of the Settlement Code is not in strict conformity with it. The instructions there given were found unsuitable in detail (for instance the number of tenants in the Satgarh who "lend money or grain or own land as malguzars" would have been insignificant) and to apply them literally would have defeated the main object of the classification, that of exhibiting *divergencies* of prosperity among the tenant-class with a view to determining the amount of *per saltum* enhancement which each was capable of sustaining. The classification here recorded should therefore be used with some reserve in comparing the condition of the ryots in these zamindaris with that of the ryots in other tracts. The figures show that only 24 per cent of the tenants are below the average in condition, while 38 per cent are above it, and at least 76 per cent of the whole can fairly be described as in average cultivating circumstances. Among the different castes it is interesting to note the very small proportion of the poorer tenants (D and E class) among Brahmins, Kanwars and Tanwars and Telis, after whom come the Kurmis and Gonds. On the other hand the poorest castes seem to be the Panikas and Ganras and after them the Kewats and Chamars. This shows how social repression tends to induce material weakness—Pankas, Ganras and Chamars being all "unclean" castes. In contrast it will be noticed that the Brahmins are as a community far more prosperous than any other.

72. The average size of a tenant's holding is about 9 acres, supporting ^{The leniency of the revised rental.} in the Satgarh a revised rent of Rs. 3-3-0 and in the open country estates a revised rent of Rs. 6-11-0. This divergence in average rental is large; but it must be remembered that whereas (even while agricultural conditions are barely normal) the percentage of fallow to the occupied area in the open country estates is 17, in the Satgarh, where there is no depression, the system of cultivation provides a fallow area covering 26 per cent of the land in occupation. Hence in relation to the tenants' *cropping* the divergence in rent is not as large as at first sight appears. For every 5 holdings in the Satgarh there are 11 head of cattle, and in the other estates 10 head of cattle to every 4 holdings. These figures are promising. The Chhattisgarh cattle are of a poor stamp, but it is satisfactory to find that there is on an average more than one pair to every 9 acre holding, and two head to every $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of cropping in the Satgarh and to every $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of cropping in the other five estates. This indicates a remarkable development of agricultural strength as compared with the best pre-famine period. At survey (189—198) there were recorded 511 irrigation wells, 324 artificial tanks, 40,532 ploughs and 99,345 head of plough-cattle. Now there are 1,266 wells, 1,959 tanks, 48,357 ploughs and 132,032 head of plough-cattle. An increase of one-third in the number of cattle during 15 years in spite of the intervention of the famines is a remarkable proof of the rapid progress being made in these estates.

73. Another indication of the lightness of the rental incidence may be found in the recent growth of Excise revenue in these estates. According to statements prepared in 1894 when the Excise monopoly was first resumed, the total of the Satgarh* income from liquor, opium and ganja, of which the Zamindars had previously been in receipt, was only Rs. 10,000 per annum. The corresponding figures for 1911-12 which I have had abstracted, show an income from these sources of Rs. 45,300 a four-and-a-half fold increase in 18 years. And on a rough estimate the Deputy Commissioner has calculated that the outstill contractor's sale receipts amount in the Satgarh to as much as Rs. 88,000, which is equal to about eight-ninths of the total revised rental demand (Rs. 98,000). This is a proof of the existence of a large surplus among the cultivating classes available for other than necessary expenditure, and shows how lightly the burden of the revised rental must sit upon them. This will be further evident from the fact that whereas the average rent of a tenant prior to re-settlement was Rs. 3-6-0, it has been since raised only to Rs. 4-7-0 by barely more than one rupee per annum per tenant.

* The figures for other estates cannot be separated from those of the Khalsa.

† This figure is inaccurate. The number of new tanks is small.

74. Other facts which throw light on the condition of local agriculture are the price of tenants' holdings, the extent of agricultural indebtedness and the facilities enjoyed by cultivators of all classes in regard to means of subsistence other than agriculture. The figures of *nazaranas* and purchase money show that the people are prepared to pay a good deal more than the actual rents for their land. The sums admittedly paid by cultivators on taking up new holdings are not very striking—one rupee per acre in the Satgarh and one rupee fourteen annas per acre in the plains being the average *nazarana* recorded, while purchase prices over relatively small areas were Rs. 5 per acre in the hills and a little under Rs. 9 per acre in the open country. No doubt a portion only of the actual payments made have been recorded, as both tenant and landlord were interested in their concealment. Even so, taking *nazaranas* and purchase money together, Rs. 78,441 were paid by new-comers for 37,258 acres, *i. e.*, at Rs. 2-2-0 per acre. Assuming that 12 per cent of this capital sum indicates the addition to their annual rent, which the people have by these payments tacitly acknowledged to be justifiable, we can infer that an extra 4 annas per acre would not, in the tenants' own opinion, be an excessive enhancement to impose, whereas as a matter of fact only 2 annas have been so added (see columns 8 and 12 of Statement VI).

75. The smallness of the payments on the occasion of the transfer of tenant's holdings emphasizes the weakness of agricultural credit in Bilaspur, and especially in the northern zamindaris. In some of the latter estates it was often over considerable tracts of country impossible to demonstrate a market value for agricultural land at all. In the great majority of cases, when one tenant drops out the *onus* lies on the Gaontia to find another to take his place, and, in the absence of competition resulting from the tribal form of village life, he is not in a position to take any payment from the new-comer over and above the rent. This want of credit is also indicated by such figures as it has been possible to collect showing the indebtedness of the average tenant. These figures are so far unreliable as they include the temporary grain debts of the cultivating classes, which vary largely from year to year according to the character of the preceding harvest. But one point is remarkable, namely, that, excluding E class tenants (who were expressly so classed because of the extent of their indebtedness), the amount of debt disclosed varies directly with the tenants' means. The better the tenant the larger his debt. Thus in Korba the average D class tenant's debts amount only to Rs. 16. The C class man shows Rs. 22; the B class man Rs. 30 and the A class man Rs. 88. So, too, in Bhatgaon the A class average figure is Rs. 148, the B class Rs. 41, the C class Rs. 33 and the D class Rs. 17. In the Champa estate, the most prosperous and conveniently situated in the district, the debts are still larger, being Rs. 32-12-0 for the average D class man; Rs. 33 for the C class; Rs. 54 for the B class and Rs. 299 for the A class. These figures clearly demonstrate once more the principle underlying the rural co-operative credit society, that for agriculture, and especially for successful agriculture, borrowing is a sheer necessity. It is only when the cultivator has learned to utilize his credit that he can hope to make the most of his land. So far then from regarding the figures of indebtedness given above as indications of agricultural weakness it is a matter of regret that the sums recorded are not larger. As they stand they argue a want both of enterprise and of credit among the tenant class. It has been said that we must drive cheapness out of Chhattisgarh. We must at the same time drive in indebtedness.

76. So far I have made no mention of the tenant's resources outside his agriculture, yet these are throughout the Satgarh both extensive and convenient. Continuous timber operations are going on in most of the estates. This means an outlay of many thousands of rupees each year on local labour. On ordinary timber cutting a man can earn from 4 to 6 annas a day. If he does sawing work he can earn as much as 12 annas a day. If he is a man of some substance and owns a cart he can get perhaps one rupee per sleeper for a trip of 20 miles. And there are now over 10,000 carts in the northern zamindaris. The commencement of timber export moreover coincides with the cessation of the tenants' ^{Tenants' miscellaneous resources.}

field work, since they seldom sow any autumn crops, and they are therefore in a good position to supplement their regular income from their fields by manual labour in the forests. But there are still easier methods of adding to their income if they find such labour irksome or have to go far afield to find it. They may collect *harra*, or any of the other varieties of what is known as "*katti paidawar*" or minor forest produce, and sell what they get to the Zamindar's monopolists. Then there is abundant *mahua* to be had for the gathering, sufficient sometimes to support the tenant and his family for two or three months, and still in a good season leave a surplus for sale to exporters. And lastly there is the all important *lac* cultivation. Practically the whole of this trade ultimately rests now, as it always rested, on what the tenants produce from the *kosam* and *palas* trees round the village site. Everywhere throughout these zamindaris the tenants have partitioned the best *lac*-bearing trees among themselves, regarding the trees as a part of their holding to be taken possession of and surrendered along with their agricultural land, even though not situated thereon. They pay, however, with very rare exceptions, no separate rental for the trees—the Zamindar securing his interest by the sale of the trade monopoly of his estate to one or more purchasers, while the headmen (other than sub-proprietors) are content with their own, the lion's share of the *lac*-bearing trees of the village. Simple though this position seems it presents some difficulty from the point of view of settlement.

77. A published ruling on the subject of a tenant's right to cultivate *lac* is to be found at page 105 of Volume IV of the Nagpur Law Reports. There a tenant in a Balaghat zamindari was cultivating *lac* on *palas* trees standing on his holding, and the Additional Judicial Commissioner held that, *in the absence of any custom or contract to the contrary*, the Zamindar as landlord was entitled to appropriate this *lac* on the ground that, unlike the fruit of a tree, it is part of the corpus of the tree on which it grows, and therefore the title to the *lac* must go with the title to the tree itself. If this be so in regard to *lac* cultivated on trees standing on a tenant's holding, it would be so *a fortiori* in the case of *lac* grown on trees standing in the village waste. At first sight this ruling seems to give a death blow to the claims universally put forward by cultivators in the zamindaris of Bilaspur to appropriate the *lac* from all trees, whether on holdings or on waste, apportioned to them by village usage. It is important therefore to realize the distinction between the position in this district and that indicated by the case from Balaghat. In that case the fact that *lac* cultivation was of recent introduction was a point emphasized in favour of the landlord. In Bilaspur the culture is of very long standing, *lac* forming the largest and most valuable item of export mentioned in Sir R. Temple's Report of 1863 on the navigation of the Mahanadi. Moreover there is in all these zamindaris a well-established custom in regard to the cultivation of *lac* by the tenants, which has been duly recorded in the *Wajib-ul-arz*. According to that custom tenants can propagate *lac* on the trees allotted to them by village usage regardless of whether these trees are standing on their own or other tenants' holdings or in waste land. The *lac* when propagated cannot be disposed of in the open market. It may only be sold to the lessee, monopolist, or body of traders appointed by the Zamindar for this purpose. But the right to cultivate the *lac* rests indubitably with the tenants, and inheres according to custom in his right to cultivate his agricultural holding. It was not found possible in the course of settlement to prepare any record of the possession of individuals in the *lac* trees appropriated by them. None the less each tenant has by custom an indefeasible title to the produce of his share of the *lac*-bearing trees, even though he may have no title to any other part of the corpus of the tree, except so far as it comes (as for example in the case of *palas* roots) within the scope of his nistar rights.

78. This *lac* is an asset of importance to the tenants. An estimate of the profits they can make therefrom will be gathered from the fact that, in estimating village *siwai*, *lac* trees cultivated by a Thekedar were generally assessed at Re. 0-12-0 per *kosam* tree and Re. 0-2-0 per *palas*. Add to this income what the tenant obtains from *mahua*, from *harra*, and from the sale of other *katti paidawar* and what he can earn by his labour in the forest or by hiring his cart for the carriage of sleepers, and it is easy to understand that his rental which

on an average taken from all 12 zamindaris stands at only 8 annas per acre per annum is not a very serious burden to him.

79. But lenient though the enhancement of rents has undoubtedly been, ^{Justification of a lenient rental enhancement.} there is, I think, sufficient reason to suppose that we have not erred very much in this direction. In the open country estates the famines and scarcities which had so recently preceded settlement compelled one to be lenient, and in the Satgarh moderation in revising the rents was in keeping with the policy of giving the people a breathing space in which to accommodate themselves to the more commercial atmosphere into which they are now advancing. And there were other considerations. The takolis of these 12 estates were being doubled. In the Satgarh they were being trebled. And it was therefore a matter of minor practical importance from the revenue point of view whether a moderate or severe enhancement of rents were imposed. A severe enhancement would only have left the Zamindars with a still larger balance of income than that which they are now enjoying, and would have rendered difficult the application of intermediate rent enhancements during the currency of the new settlement. Now it is to these intermediate rent enhancements that I attach the greatest importance. Hitherto, as was explained in paragraph 68 above, most zamindaris have experienced long periods of stagnation terminated at settlement by severe rent enhancement in response to the revision of takoli. This must affect the tenant's standard of comfort for the time being, and yet in the end leaves him for many years greatly under-assessed. On the other hand if ordinary rents are twice and occupancy once enhanced during the currency of the settlement, as they may be under the law, stagnation of rents will be prevented, and it will be possible to raise the tenants' payments to something approaching an economic rent in a comparatively short period without having recourse to violent enhancements, which are resented at the time and leave the memory of a grievance even though the reality be very soon removed. Some intermediate enhancements have already been prescribed in regard to low-rented protected thekedari villages in the Pendra zamindari, the Local Administration (*vide* Secretariat letter No. 7—XI-14-9, dated the 7th January 1909) ordering that the theka-jamas of these villages be revised in the 11th year of the new Settlement with a view to further redeeming their rents from the stagnation into which the past history of the estate and the exclusion of competition by tribal influence has permitted them to fall. But these orders only affect a few villages in a single Zamindari. What is required is that every Zamindar be impressed with the necessity of revising his tenants' rents every 7 or 10 years, as the case may be, in communication with the Deputy Commissioner. The present indigenous methods by which a mechanical addition of so many annas is made to each rupee of the existing rental should be discouraged. For this involves no enquiry into local or individual conditions, which is the least that may be expected of the Zamindar and his Gaontias, and merely serves to emphasize any existing unevenness in the rental. For the larger the rent, the larger the addition to it, regardless of the value of the holding which has to pay it. If only a system of regular intermediate rent enhancement is introduced, there will be a gradual advance in tenants' rents coupled with a steady interest in zamindari village affairs. The tenants will be subjected to no sudden *per saltum* enhancements. The Zamindars and their Thekedars and sub-proprietors will enjoy an enhanced income for at least half the period of settlement, while Government will also gain by obtaining a larger takoli from estates in which the land is suitably assessed.

80. Nor need we for a moment suppose that a lenient rental will for the present at any rate in the northern zamindaris induce the deterioration which in other parts of Chhattisgarh has been attributed to easy rents. I have some acquaintance with all three districts of the Chhattisgarh Division and am chiefly impressed with the wide divergence between conditions in the Satgarh and those in the open country tracts. It is of these Khalsa tracts that we read in a recent note on the Revised Tenancy Bill that "during the past 50 years there has been "very little enhancement of rent..... This has had a very detrimental effect "on character, and thrift and providence for the future have steadily diminished. "This was strikingly illustrated in the complete collapse of the rich Dhamtari

"tahsil in 1900..... Peppercorn rents breed bad relations between tenants and their natural protectors the Malguzars. The latter know that they can get 10 times as much if they can get the land into their home-farm..... The Raipur famines of 1897 and 1900, where there is natural hostility between Chamar tenants and Hindu Malguzars, were enormously intensified by peppercorn rents. It was an unequalled opportunity for getting rid of tenants and home-farms were often doubled, trebled and quadrupled." Now the Satgarh presents almost the exact antithesis of this description. Low though they are, rents have been doubled or trebled during the past 50 years. There has been no deterioration of character or growing deficiency of thrift. On the contrary the prosperity of the people and the methods of their cultivation have steadily improved. There was no collapse in the famines, but rather a continuance of prosperity. The utmost friendliness prevails between the headmen and tenants—rising to something like intimacy in villages of the tribal type. Chamars are unknown in the vast majority of villages. There is no class antagonism among the tribes of local origin, and so far from land-grabbing, the village headmen remain content with home-farms covering $\frac{1}{4}$ th or 14 per cent of the occupied area as compared with 13 per cent prior to 1897. The Satgarh in fact presents a condition of affairs differing both socially and agriculturally from that of the open plains of Chhattisgarh. The tract, so far as this district is concerned, is *sui generis*, and it is its very peculiarity, the rising prosperity and industry of the people and their social simplicity which confirms me in the belief that our best policy for the present should be a protective one. For this and for the other reasons I have here detailed I am satisfied in thinking that, lenient though our rent revision may have been, an enhancement exceeding 40 per cent has yet been adequate to the general and special circumstances of the tract, provided always that the need for future intermediate enhancements during the currency of the new settlement is carefully remembered.

(IV).—ENHANCEMENT OF REVENUE (KAMIL-JAMAS).

81. It is when we turn to considerations of revenue that we begin to notice certain difficulties to which the peculiarities of the Zamindari status gives rise. So far as rent enhancement and fixation goes the work was technically much the same as in the Khalsa. But in regard to revenue assessment there are strong dissimilarities, even though it is now the accepted policy of Government to work in zamindaris as far as possible along the same lines as in the Khalsa, so as to exhibit so far as may be the assessment to which each zamindari would ordinarily be liable but for the privileged status of its proprietor. Each zamindari is sub-divided into a number of separate *mahals*, and for each a separate *kamil-jama* is calculated, *i. e.*, a sum representing the figure at which the assessment of that mahal would have stood if it had been held by an ordinary *malguzar*. There are two obvious advantages to be gained by the exhibition of these *kamil-jamas*.* In the first place they offer collectively a correct basis for the calculation of the Imperial road, post and school cesses. These are assessed at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the revenue, and as Zamindars are on a level of absolute equality with other landholders in regard to their liability to contribute, it is obvious that, for this purpose, if for no other, the revenue must be strictly calculated for each zamindari on malguzari lines. Secondly, when this revenue has been calculated on malguzari lines it serves to exhibit accurately the extent of the concession granted by Government to each Zamindar by virtue of his status as such. Thus from Statement XII we can see at once that the total *kamil-jama*, which represents what these estates would have been assessed to had they been held by ordinary malguzars, is Rs. 2,35,186; but that Rs. 1,10,386 has been conceded to the status of the Zamindars who have therefore (exclusive of cesses) to contribute only Rs. 1,24,800 to Government.

82. So far the position is simple. The first step was, as I have said, the sub-division of the zamindari into *mahals*. It was decided to treat every surveyed village as a separate mahal to be separately assessed to a *kamil-jama*, and to throw all extraneous hills and jungle and also all unsurveyed villages in each

* See Article 263 of the Settlement Code quoted in paragraph 45 above. But also see paragraph 48 above.

estate into what is known as the 'waste-land mahal.' It will be seen from Statement XI that waste-land mahals have been formed in all the 12 zamindaris except Kanteli and Champa where there are no extraneous jungle and no unsurveyed villages. These waste-land mahals were duly notified in the Local Gazette* as taking the place of the Forest Mahals formed in 1890—their boundaries being defined by the surveyed villages not included in them. Their extent can be gathered by a reference to the maps included in this Report.

83. But, though the definition of the separate mahals was not a difficult matter, certain serious complications rose in regard to the assessment of a separate kamil-jama for each village mahal as it was not always possible to allocate the whole assets or income derived from each. In the case of a sub-proprietor, who has the same rights over the whole area included within the traditional boundaries of his village as the Zamindar holds over the rest of the estate, or in the case of a village in the open country the whole of whose assets are derived from the cultivators thereof, there was no occasion for complexity. In the former case an account of the whole assets of the village could be obtained by enquiry from the sub-proprietor and in the latter case from the cultivators. But besides these there were many villages held either by assignees (*muasfidars*) or by *thekedars*, or managed by the Zamindar himself, to which certain areas of forest were attached of the separate income from which no one was in a position to offer even the most approximate estimate. A single lease was often given out for timber-cutting in a dozen or more of a Zamindar's villages; a single contractor usually secured from the Zamindar the monopoly for purchasing lac throughout the whole area of his estate (excluding sub-proprietary villages); and licenses for the extraction of all sorts of minor forest produce were given out at the Zamindar's *nakas* (outposts), leaving the licensee free to gather the produce where and how he liked. All these items would serve to swell the Zamindar's accounts, and in the larger estates might perhaps constitute the bulk of the Zamindar's income; but it would have been an impossible task to apportion the income so obtained even approximately among the scores of *mahals* from which it was derived. The difficulty had already been noticed in the Raipur Zamindari Settlement, but no solution of it could be found. So serious was it in my opinion that I recommended the abandonment of separate mahals except for sub-proprietary villages in a letter (No. 605, dated the 18th October 1908) submitted to the Settlement Commissioner (see Volume of Annexures, page 1809). I there pointed out that the assessment of a separate *kamil-jama* for each village mahal served no practical purpose as the Zamindar's cesses were calculated, and the extent of the concession granted him by taking takoli instead of a full assessment were exhibited, only by means of the grand total of all the *kamil-jamas* of his estate. Moreover, as it was impossible to distribute the Zamindar's forest and miscellaneous income even roughly among the village areas of his estate any *kamil-jamas* we might calculate separately for these small areas being based only on a part of the assets actually derived therefrom would necessarily be inaccurate. But this recommendation was not accepted. It was decided to retain each surveyed village area as a separate mahal. The assets of each such mahal were as far as possible to be separated off and any assets, e. g., from timber, lac, license fees, etc., which could not, so to speak, be localised were to be arbitrarily shown against the waste-land mahal in the absence of information showing the particular village areas to which this income should be credited.

84. The orders in this connection contained in Commissioner of Settlements' No. C-8, dated the 3rd February 1909, and Secretariat No. 138—XI-14-1, dated the 17th March 1909, are quoted here *in extenso* :—

"Kamil-jama is a definite and separate assessment of land revenue. The Settlement Officer should treat the surveyed villages as mahals, each having a separate kamil-jama. The remainder should form one or more mahals according to circumstances. It would be convenient to call them forest mahals; but as that term has been given [by Section 46 (i), Land Revenue Act] a somewhat technical meaning, the term waste-land mahals may be used. This

"area of waste will be divided or kept as one, on the principles laid down in Survey and Settlement Department letter No. 299—XI-14-3, dated the 30th September 1908. It need not be demarcated: its boundaries will be those of the surveyed villages.

"2. In addition to the land assets the assets of a village will include—

(a) Siwai income taken by the sub-proprietor, muafidar or thekedar and not by the Zamindar.

(b) Dues, if any, paid to the Zamindar by the tenants of the village for the use of waste-land (whether the waste is comprised in the village or not).

(c) Any other siwai income taken by the Zamindar, which is definitely known to accrue from the village.

"All the above items will be included in the assets on which the kamil-jama of the village will be based, and will therefore not be taken into account in the rents of the waste-land mahal or mahals of the zamindari. It will, however, be necessary to differentiate these assets according to the person by whom they are received. Thus items included in (a) are taken by the thekedar and form part of his assets on which his theka-jama will be based, but items (b) and (c) must be separately totalled for inclusion in the actual income derived by the Zamindar, a correct computation of which is necessary for the proper fixation of takoli. Great care must be taken that amounts included in the kamil-jama of the village are not again included in the siwai assets of a waste-land mahal, and that no confusion occurs between assets for the assessment of kamil-jama and income as a guide for takoli fixation.

"All siwai income not included in the assets of the village will be taken into account against the waste-land mahal or, if more than one waste-land mahal is formed in the zamindari, it will be apportioned between such mahals with as much accuracy as the Settlement Officer finds possible.

"3. The Settlement Officer will assess kamil-jama on each waste-land mahal. And takoli will be assessed when the kamil-jamas have been totalled.

"4. In his assessment notes on villages held by thekedars the Settlement Officer will mention whether the village assets are also the thek-dari assets and will distinguish between them if necessary."

The position created by these orders must be carefully remembered whenever reference is made to separate kamil-jamas. The total of the kamil-jamas for each estate is accurate enough, for all the assessable assets have been included in one mahal or another. But the individual kamil-jamas are in the majority of cases defective, because, though it is just those forest areas attached to surveyed villages which yield the Zamindar the largest portion of his forest and miscellaneous income, yet, owing to the impossibility of allocating it piecemeal to the individual village areas from which it is derived, it has to be credited to the waste-land mahal comprising the most inaccessible and therefore the least remunerative of all the forest areas of the estate. But, serious though the objections are to a system which involves the record of inexact figures of assessment, it must be remembered that except in sub-proprietary villages the *kamil-jama* is merely an abstraction, showing as far as possible what would have been the *malguzari* assessment of each mahal. And the sub-division of the estate into a number of mahals offers great administrative conveniences, giving the district officers a familiar unit to deal with, and establishing a convenient basis for the application of the *Wajib-ul-arz*, forest conservation rules, and so forth.

85. We may proceed then to examine the basis of the separate village kamil-jamas. This basis is of course the assets which consist in the zamindaris as in the Khalsa of (1) rents, (2) a valuation of home-farm and other rent-free areas and (3) miscellaneous income or siwai. Of rents a sufficient account has been already given. As regards the valuation of home-farm and rent-free land generally very little need be said. Practically in every village this has been calculated at the ordinary rates applied to ryoti land, except in a few cases where there was a record of habitually high sub-letting to justify under Article 216 of the Code some addition to the valuation indicated by the ryoti rate. The statistics in connection with home-farm and *muafi* land assessment are shown in Statement IX. There remain the miscellaneous assets or siwai. Of these

some detail is given in Statement VIII appended to this Report. The total siwai has increased since last Settlement from Rs. 46,705 to Rs. 1,27,713. But, whereas the *village* siwai then separated off for the purpose of calculating the separate mahalwar kamil-jamas composed less than one-twelfth of the total (in three of the forest estates no village siwai at all was recorded in 1890) we have now succeeded in allocating over one-third of the whole. Turning to the detail as now recorded it will be seen that the four main heads in the case of village siwai are nistar dues (Rs. 13,360), lac (Rs. 12,142), grazing dues (Rs. 11,583), and timber (Rs. 11,410), while in the waste-land mahals the income from timber (Rs. 62,173) naturally exceeds every other head because it is the least easy to allocate to particular village areas. The additional precaution has also been taken at this Settlement of allowing a liberal margin for fluctuations before the siwai assets have been utilized as a basis for assessment. This concession has over the 12 estates reduced the assessable assets by Rs. 26,608 or 17 per cent.

86. The actual kamil-jamas assessed in the case of each estate are exhibited in column 5 of Statement XI. Taken all together they fall at 50 per cent of the total malguzari assets which is the standard laid down generally for these estates. It will be noticed that in every zamindari the approximation of the kamil-jama to the standard percentage of assets is very close. This is due to the fact that except in sub-proprietary villages the kamil-jama is an abstraction, and is in no way directly affected by the personal character or condition of the village headman. The headman may be changed within a few years and moreover in most cases controls only a part of the village assets. The kamil-jama is an estimate of the *permanent* assessment which might fairly be based on the whole available assets of the village. For this reason in dealing with individual mahals it was sufficient to indicate their varying condition by very moderate divergences from the standard percentage of 50, and the great mass of the kamil-jamas were therefore fixed at from 47 to 53 per cent of the assets.

87. An exception to what has been said above must, of course, be made in regard to sub-proprietary mahals. Here the full assets are recorded, the kamil-jama is actually levied by the Zamindar, and the same arguments for varying the percentage of assets to be taken in each case apply here as in the assessment of malguzari villages in the Khalsa. The appended Statement gives a convenient summary, zamindari by zamindari, of the general results of sub-proprietary reassessment:—

Number.	Zamindaris.	Number of sub-proprietary villages.	At Settlement.			At re-Settlement.				Increase in revenue including malikana.	Rent enhancement.	Profit or loss on re-Settlement.	Number of villages in which deferred enhancements allowed.
			Assets.	Revenue.	Percentage.	Assets.	Revenue (kamil-jama).	Malikana.	Percentage of kamil-jama and malikana on assets.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
			Rs.	Rs.	Pc.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Pendra ...	48	3,053	2,471	63	12,892	7,014	750	60	5,293	2,811	Loss 2,482	37
2	Kenda ...	15	1,584	958	60	4,633	2,095	225	50	1,362	663	" 699	10
3	Matin ...	4	130	79	61	1,388	693	80	56	696	122	" 574	4
4	Lapha ...	13	1,798	1,050	58	6,702	3,340	355	55	2,645	703	" 1,942	13
5	Uprora ...	4	389	252	65	1,767	865	08	55	711	12	" 699	3
6	Chhuri ...	18	1,331	1,581	71	5,985	3,085	370	58	1,874	741	" 1,133	14
7	Korba ...	53	3,601	2,063	57	10,967	5,487	645	56	4,069	2,037	" 2,032	56
	Total for Satgarh...	155	13,686	8,454	62	44,334	22,381	2,523	57	16,450	7,089	Loss 9,561	117
8	Pandaria ...	33	14,604	7,812	53	18,817	9,465	935	55	3,588	1,741	Loss 847	Nil
9	Kanteli ...	2	814	533	65	1,230	680	60	60	208	128	" 80	Nil
10	Champa ...	2	361	193	53	851	435	...	51	242	122	" 180	2
11	Bilaigarh-Katgi ...	10	2,060	1,108	58	3,437	1,780	175	57	757	761	Profit 4	Nil
12	Bhatgaon ...	1	138	80	58	281	135	15	53	70	66	Loss 4	Nil
	Total for open country zamindaris.	47	17,977	9,815	55	24,616	12,495	1,185	56	3,865	2,818	Loss 1,047	2
	Grand Total ...	202	31,663	18,269	58	68,950	35,876	3,708	56	20,515	9,907	Loss 10,608	119

It will be noticed that *malikana* has been assessed on each village for the first time at this re-settlement. It was realized that the system adopted at the first two settlements of assessing sub-proprietors to a simple *kamil-jama* was unobjectionable only so long as the divergence between the fraction of assets taken as *kamil-jama* and that taken as *takoli* was so large as to give the Zamindar his full share of the profits. But it was urged (see letter No. C-218, dated the 4th April 1907, and connected correspondence at page 1815 of the Volume of Annexures) that the day might come when there would be a closer approximation of the *takoli* to the *kamil-jama*, in which case the Zamindar, in the absence of *malikana*, would receive little or nothing from the sub-proprietary mahals. A small *malikana* was therefore imposed on each mahal, varying according to the status and antecedents of each sub-proprietor. Great leniency was shown however in the course of this re-assessment, so much so that in spite of the inclusion of *malikana* the percentage borne by the sub-proprietor's total contribution (*kamil-jama* and *malikana*) to the assets of their mahals was actually lower at this settlement (56 per cent) than at the last (58 per cent).

88. The chief feature of this sub-proprietary settlement was the extraordinary development of assets. This was not very remarkable in the open country though even there they rose by 37 per cent. But in the Satgarh the assets as revised were more than treble those which formed the basis of assessment in 1890.

The reasons for this were two-fold. The Settlement of 1890 was a summary one. The Settlement Officer did not visit each village and, as we have already seen, adequate enquiries were not instituted as to the extent of village *siwari*. The sub-proprietary villages were therefore for the most part under-assessed. Thereafter their boundaries were surveyed and the rights of a sub-proprietor over the whole forest included within the traditional limits of his village definitely affirmed both in the Judicial and Revenue Courts (see paragraph 128 below). At re-settlement therefore it was found that many of these *malik adnas* had already begun to assert their title to the forest produce of their villages and were in receipt of a substantial income therefrom. In others though the sub-proprietor had, in deference to the Zamindar's opposition, failed to take full advantage of his position yet his village was found to contain a valuable property on which in the Zamindar's and Government's interest it was necessary to set a reasonable assessment. The result of this was in the Satgarh an enormous development of sub-proprietary assets and revenue, the latter with *malikana* amounting on revision to three times the previous assessment. But the actual effect of this enhancement on the pockets of the sub-proprietors was not so severe as it appears. Of the extra Rs. 16,650 added to their assessment no less than Rs. 7,089 was immediately made good to them by rent enhancement. Besides this liberal deferred enhancements were allowed, affecting no fewer than 117 out of 155 mahals. By the time the period of this deferment has expired the sub-proprietors will have realized the value of their properties and will be in enjoyment of an income greatly in excess of that on which they have at present been assessed.

Some idea of the inequality of the previous assessment of sub-proprietary villages may be gathered from the fact that during the currency of the expiring settlement 14 villages in the open country were sold for Rs. 44,000 in cash falling at a rate of Rs. 4-12-0 per acre and at 15 times the revenue, while in the Satgarh 29 villages fetched Rs. 37,000 which, though 25 times the revenue then assessed, fell at a rate of only Re. 0-14-0 per acre.

(V).—SUMMARY SETTLEMENT METHODS.

89. No special reference has yet been made either to the areas selected for summary settlement or to the methods of assessment adopted therein. The principle of selection was simply to apply regular methods in the open and better developed areas, and summary methods in forest tracts where either cultivation was unstable or rents so low that their enhancement could with safety be entrusted to the Zamindars themselves. Copies of the orders specifying the areas for Summary Settlement are appended to this Report for reference (see Appendix E). Every Zamindari except Kanteli and Champa is mentioned there. But the chief areas to which regular methods were not applied are the jungles of Pandaria,

the eastern portion of Korba, the northern half of Lapha, and the whole of Uprora. Regular methods were applied over practically the whole of Pendra because of the obvious incompetence of the late Zamindar. In Uprora, though the pitch of the rental was high, summary settlement was preferred because of the small area covered by well-settled villages. In the northern parts of Pandaria and Lapha the villages are remote and poor, while to the east of Korba, though villages are well established, the pitch of the rental was extremely low.

90. The orders regarding summary settlement, as a reference to them will show, merely prescribed, under section 63 (1) of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, 1898, that the rents payable by ordinary tenants should not be fixed by the Settlement Officer. But this single fact made possible a very great curtailment of routine work. There were but few occupancy tenants, no absolute-occupancy tenants, and but one malik-makbuza throughout the whole area for summary settlement. A very simple estimate was made of the incidence of the present occupancy payments. These were enhanced and fixed under Section 49 of the Tenancy Act, with due regard to any areas of ordinary land held by the same tenant, the rent of which would thereafter be enhanced by the Zamindar or Court of Wards. A rough and ready valuation of the home-farm and of land held by rent-free tenants was then worked out, the village siwai recorded, and the total, including the existing ordinary and revised occupancy rents, taken as the assets of the mahal for purposes of calculating the revised kamil-jama. The thekedari siwai and thekedari assets were also distinguished from the total siwai and assets in these, as in regularly settled areas; and a revised theka-jama was calculated thereon (usually at about 70 per cent) for purposes of estimating the Zamindar's income from these, as from his other villages. It is obvious, however, that this method constituted a considerable concession to a Zamindar whose summarily settled villages were numerous; for his revised theka-jamas would in actual fact be based on enhanced ordinary rents and not, as we took them, on those rents unrevised. In other respects the settlement of these remoter villages was carried through on the main general lines adopted in regularly settled areas. Map correction and village boundary comparison were carefully performed, *sir* rights were examined and declared, disputes were settled, village service land recorded and a regular record-of-rights and *wajib-ul-arz* prepared.

91. So far I have spoken only of the summarily settled *surveyed* villages. These, as explained in paragraph 82 above, were all constituted separate mahals, were assessed to separate kamil-jamas and therefore required in each case a separate record-of-rights. But besides these there are certain unsurveyed villages which for the purpose of settlement were treated as a part of the general waste-land mahal. Such villages were in every case utterly remote and backward, and throughout the whole 12 Zamindaris only numbered 255 in all. To these very scant attention was paid at settlement. No map correction was possible as there was no survey. There were no occupancy tenants, and no attempt was made to discover the existence of land fit for record as *sir* under the Land Revenue Act. No kamil-jamas were fixed for the separate villages, their assets being clubbed with the siwai of the waste-land mahal and a single *kamil-jama* assessed thereon. All that was done was to have prepared a "*Masahati Khasra*"* so as to indicate the assets of such villages and the income which the Zamindar derived from them, and these were included in our Tables A, B, and C. (see paragraph 95 below) on which the new takoli was assessed in dealing with each zamindari. A reference to any of the Assessment Reports and to these Tables will show how the assets and income from these unsurveyed villages were incorporated in the general account.

92. Lastly it is necessary to say a word about the special methods preliminary to rent fixation and assessment adopted in the *Matin* zamindari. Its unsurveyed villages were assessed like those of any other estate in the simple fashion which I have just described. In the case of the surveyed villages there was no rent enhancement proper.

* The *masahati khasra* is based on rough chain measurements, and not on a proper cadastral survey.

Those of the numerous miscellaneous cesses and collections (described in paragraph 101 below) which were not manifestly improper were amalgamated with the existing payments, and this sum was fixed as the consolidated cash rental of each tenant. This left the rents at a pitch slightly in excess of that being paid in the adjoining Pendra zamindari, and secured a normal enhancement without requiring us to apply methods of regular settlement to this remote and backward tract. The ordinary and occupancy rents having been fixed the separate village kamil-jamas were assessed in the usual way

(VI).—ENHANCEMENT OF TAKOLI.

93. The principles applied to the assessment of takoli were those laid down for the zamindaris of Raipur by Mr. Sly, when Commissioner of Settlements, in his letter No. 491-83, dated the 3rd February 1903, which received the approval of the Administration in Secretariat letter No. 946, dated the 3rd March 1903, and I quote *in extenso* paragraphs 5 to 9 of Mr. Sly's letter as forming a convenient summary of the system which has now become stereotyped for the assessment of Zamindari estates in Chhattisgarh :—

"5. I now turn to a consideration of the principles which should govern the present revision of the takoli. A decision has already been given upon some points. It has already been decided that there should be no separate forest takoli, one lump sum being fixed as the takoli of each estate including both land revenue and forests. In framing kamil-jamas, the assets of villages have been assessed upon the ordinary principles followed in malguzari villages, whilst the net income of forest mahals has been assessed to a kamil-jama of half assets. An important matter is that cesses will now become payable upon the whole kamil-jama, including villages and forest mahals, whereas formerly no cesses were paid on the forest assessment.

"6 Similar changes were made at the recent revision settlements of the zamindaris of Bhandara and Balaghat, and as these are the most recent precedents, they may, with advantage, be considered in dealing with Raipur. In these revisions it was found not sufficient to fix the takoli with reference solely to its percentage on the gross assets and kamil-jama. The gross assets and kamil-jama do not bear a fixed proportion to the actual income of the Zamindar, for in villages held by inferior proprietors and thekadars, the Zamindar does not obtain the gross assets but only the actual payments made by the latter. The takoli was therefore mainly fixed with reference to its proportion of the actual income of the Zamindar, its effect upon his position being thus clearly brought out. This actual income consisted of the gross assets of villages managed direct, of the revenue paid by inferior proprietors and of theka-jamas and other income received from villages given on lease. This system has worked fairly well.

"7. The Settlement Officer, Raipur Zamindaris, proposes to follow a similar system, but he recommends one important modification, which is that the takoli should be fixed with reference to the net and not the gross income of the Zamindar. This is clearly a step in the right direction leading to a more accurate comparison of the real effect of the revision upon the Zamindar. But it is necessary to define clearly what deductions are permissible from the gross income in order to arrive at the true net income. In this matter I agree with the Divisional Commissioner that the proposals of the Settlement Officer go much too far. The only reductions which should, in my opinion, be allowed are the legitimate expenses incurred by the Zamindar in the management of his estate, and amongst these I would include :—

"(a) Cost of revenue establishments (including Treasure Guard) and charges.

"(b) Cost of forest establishment and charges.

"(c) Government takoli and cesses.

"It seems to me that this includes all the expenses which a Zamindar is bound to incur in the management of his estate. It is certainly not legitimate to take into consideration his household expenses, the cost of his bodyguard, maintenance allowances to relations and the like, for it is in order to allow him to maintain his position as a Zamindar upon a reasonable scale that he is assessed to a small takoli. And for the reasons given by the Divisional Commissioner

"I would not deduct the expenses incurred by a Zamindar upon acts of public charity, such as the maintenance of school, dispensaries, post offices, roads, sarais and the like. These are optional gifts which the Zamindar may decide to discontinue at any time. The public-spirited liberality of a Zamindar may well be a reason for leniency of assessment, but Government cannot be expected to take into account the actual sum so spent.

"8. The items to be included in the gross income are as follows:—

"(1) Gross assets of villages under direct management.

"(2) The revenue and cesses of villages held in inferior proprietary right.

"(3) The revenue and cesses of villages held free against the Zamindar.

"(4) The theka-jama, including cesses of leased villages and any other income derived by the Zamindar in such villages.

"(5) The gross forest income after deducting the sanctioned allowance for fluctuations.

"The third item is not income which comes into the Zamindar's pocket, but it should clearly be included. If the Zamindar maintains his relations by a gift of a village instead of a money allowance Government cannot be expected to forego the revenue due on that village. Indeed, it may be urged that the gross assets, rather than the kamil-jama and cesses, should be taken as the income; but at the last settlement the latter only was taken into consideration, and this seems a fair precedent to follow in the present revision. The Settlement Officer further proposes that the income from theka-jamas should be taken at a rate not exceeding 75 per cent of the assets. In many cases the theka-jamas are heavier than this, although it is about the maximum which a thekadar may be expected to pay. But I think that this concession may be made to cover short collections. Indeed a deduction of say 10 per cent might be made in the assets of villages managed direct to cover short collections. But rents are paid with great regularity, the home-farm has been very leniently valued, and altogether it seems unnecessary to introduce this refinement. Although the cost of forest establishment has been deducted before the assessment of kamil-jama on forest mahals, this should not be done in the estimate of income. The average forest income should be taken, which consists of the gross income less the allowance for fluctuations, the cost of forest establishments being deducted from the gross income as shown in paragraph 7 above. This will meet the considerations pointed out in paragraph 4 of the Divisional Commissioner's endorsement.

"9. Finally, I come to the proposal of the Settlement Officer that a standard should be fixed for his guidance, based upon the percentage of takoli to net income. I agree with the Divisional Commissioner that the conditions of these zamindaris are so diversified that it is impossible to frame any standard which will be applicable to individual cases. I have shown above that there has been great diversity in the assessment of these zamindaris in the past, and it is impossible to introduce now a uniform assessment without causing hardship in individual cases. Each zamindari must be treated on its own merits with reference to the pitch of previous assessments, its present condition, the circumstances of the Zamindar and his claims to leniency. Moreover, the percentage of net income absorbed, although the most important, is not the only factor upon which a standard should be framed. The Settlement Officer must also, as pointed out by the Divisional Commissioner, take into consideration the pitch of the takoli assessment with reference to its percentage both on gross assets and on the kamil-jama. For these reasons I am not prepared to recommend any standard rate of assessment."

94. The essential peculiarity of the system here described is that the takoli is not, like malguzari revenue, to be assessed simply at a certain percentage of the assets of the estate, but is to be fixed mainly with reference to its proportion to the actual *net income* of the Zamindar, that is his cash receipts *minus* his legitimate expenditure on the management of his estate. The object of this arrangement is to enable Government to gauge accurately the immediate effect of re-settlement upon the Zamindar's pocket. If the percentage of takoli to assets constituted the sole determining factor in assessment no account would be taken of the varying degrees by which different Zamindars have assigned to middlemen of varying status the duty or privilege of collecting the assets. This point can be most

clearly explained by concrete instances. For instance we may have, on the one hand, an estate such as Champa in which, in the absence of thekedars, practically the whole (98 per cent) of the assets of the estate reach the Zamindar (assets Rs. 31,236 and gross income Rs. 30,471). On the other hand, in a large estate like Pendra, the interposition of middlemen is an administrative necessity and here only 78 per cent of the assets reach the Zamindar (assets Rs. 50,898 and gross income Rs. 39,942). It is obvious therefore that if we are to make allowances for differences of this kind we must consider primarily not the assets of the estate but the income of the Zamindar.

95. The basis for computing a Zamindar's income is explained in paragraphs 7 and 8 of Mr. Sty's letter above-quoted, and this was followed in the Bilaspur re-settlement with some minor modifications. The actual working on which the revision of takolis was based can best be seen by a reference to the Tables A, B and C appended to any of the Assessment Reports. Table A (see for example that for the Chhuri Zamindari at page 605 of the Volume of Annexures!) shows in detail the assets of the estate, present and revised. The figures here require no explanation. The columns give detail of rents, home-farm and rent-free land valuation, and *siwai* for each of the different classes of villages (sub-proprietary, leased, assigned and *kham*, *i. e.*, under the Zamindar's direct management), and also show the separate assets of the waste-land mahal. In the case of village *siwai* that portion collected direct by the Zamindar is distinguished from that taken by the village headmen as required by paragraph 2 of the instructions, dated the 30th September 1908, to which a reference was made in paragraph 84 above. (The reason for this will be explained presently.) Otherwise the Table presents no difficulty whatever.

96. Table B is more complex. It purports to disclose the total gross income of the Zamindar at last settlement, prior to re-settlement, and after re-settlement, giving details for the same four classes of villages as those enumerated in Table A. In villages under the Zamindar's direct management (*kham*) his gross income is clearly represented by the total assets. From sub-proprietary villages it is also obvious that he receives the *kamil-jama*, *malikana* and cesses to which the sub-proprietor is assessed. But in regard to assigned and thekadari villages the position is not so simple. The Zamindar frequently realizes nothing from his assigned villages, which are usually *muafi* grants to temples, Brahmins or to his own immediate relatives. We can therefore only make an *estimate* of the Zamindar's gross income from such villages to represent the income which he would have derived from them had they not been so assigned. In the Raipur zamindaris, see paragraph 8 of the quotation given above, though it was admitted that there was a case for taking the whole of the gross assets as the Zamindar's gross income from his *muafi* villages yet, following the precedent of the earlier settlement of that district, only the revenue (*i. e.*, *kamil-jama*) and cesses were so taken and I was required to follow the same method in Bilaspur. As I pointed out however neither the gross assets nor yet the *kamil-jama* and cesses give a strictly accurate estimate in such cases. What we want to estimate is the income which the Zamindar is actually foregoing because of the assignment, and this of course will depend on what he would do with the village if it were not assigned. Clearly in an estate such as Champa where there are no thekedars the village would be kept as *kham* and therefore in that zamindari the gross assets fairly represent the extent of the assignment. On the other hand in estates like Pendra the village on resumption would presumably be entrusted to a thekedar, and the assignment therefore, so far as the Zamindar's income is concerned, only extends in that estate to the amount for which he could farm out the village with a thekedar, *i. e.*, to a fair theka-jama. This matter, however, is not of great practical importance as the number of assigned villages is comparatively small.

The fourth class of village mentioned in Table B is the thekadari. So far as the figures for last settlement and prior to re-settlement are concerned there is no difficulty. We have merely to record the actual payments. But we can only frame an *estimate* of what the Zamindar will take from his thekedars after the revised rents and takoli have been announced. The Government fixes the assessment of sub-proprietary villages and revises the assets of *kham* villages before it

considers the revision of takoli, but it is not part of the work of the Settlement Officer to fix the terms of the Zamindar's relation with his thekedars. We revise the assets of the thekedari villages, but can only roughly forecast the fraction of those assets which the Zamindar will absorb. Great pains were taken at the recent re-settlement not to over-estimate this source of income. Following the Raipur precedent no rate exceeding 75 per cent of the assets was taken in any zamindari, and in some the percentage fell as low as 60. There is no doubt but that the Zamindars will not be so lenient as this; but in such matters Government is bound to keep on the safe side. And the adoption of a moderate percentage at settlement, gives Government strong moral support if it has at any time occasion to denounce an attempt by a Zamindar to rack-rent his thekedars.

97. There is one other complication in regard to muafi and thekedari villages. I have mentioned already in paragraph 83 above that the Zamindar realizes large assets (chiefly forest income) from villages other than sub-proprietary, which by reason of the method of collection cannot be localized and credited to any particular village. But this is not all. Even in regard to the assets which can be so localized and included in the "village siwai" there is confusion; for in making the assignment or giving the lease of a village a Zamindar seldom relinquishes direct control of even the entire village assets recognizable as such. He always retains in his own hands the commutation fees for nistar and grazing* and will also frequently make direct collections from the villagers on account of lac or mahua, and from Bhumias, etc., for any *beoras* they may cut in the village jungle. When therefore we come to estimate on the basis of the village assets what will be the Zamindar's income after re-settlement we must distinguish the true "thekedari" or "muafidari assets" from the general "village assets." The new theka-jamas from thekedari villages and whatever we may choose to represent his income from his muafi villages must be estimated on the basis of the *true* thekedari or muafidari assets. The balance will be a part of the miscellaneous income of which the Zamindar is in direct enjoyment (see in this connection paragraph 2 of the instructions quoted at length in paragraph 84 above).

98. This miscellaneous (including forest) income was in several estates (chiefly those of the Satgarh) found at attestation to comprise more than half the total income of the Zamindari. Thus in Chhuri out of a total income prior to re-settlement amounting to Rs. 24,737, forest and miscellaneous sources accounted for Rs. 13,670. In Korba they accounted for Rs. 27,209 out of Rs. 53,564, in Pendra for Rs. 13,633 out of Rs. 23,751, and so on. Under this head (forest and miscellaneous income) are included, in addition to the assets of thekedari and muafidari villages not enjoyed by the thekedar or muafidar, all siwai income from kham villages and the whole of the income received from the waste-land mahal.

99. Having obtained the figures of total assets, *kamil-jamas*, and income from Tables A and B, the basis for the assessment of the new takoli was exhibited in Table C, the various incidences of the takoli and of the takoli *plus* cesses on assets, kamil-jama, and income gross and net, being shown for the last settlement and also for before and after re-settlement. The total figures are conveniently summarized in Statement XI appended to this report, from which it will be seen that, taken all round, the new takoli and cesses absorb 29 per cent of the assets, 59 per cent of the kamil-jama, 36 per cent of the gross and 40 per cent of the net income, and that the body of Zamindars actually gain by re-settlement to the extent of Rs. 28,773.

100. This is the third consecutive settlement in the course of which the Zamindars' takolis have been vigorously enhanced. Results of takoli enhancement. Mr. Chisholm (see paragraph 306 of his Report of 1868) raised their aggregate assessment on all accounts from Rs. 21,131 to Rs. 41,407, or, excluding Kawardha and Sakti, from Rs. 13,495 to Rs. 25,077. In 1890 the land revenue and forest takoli of the 12 zamindaris which form the subject of this report was raised to over Rs. 62,000 and this figure

*These are counted as part of the village siwai though their payment entitles the villager to grazing and nistar not only from his own village waste but also from any neighbouring village (other than sub-proprietary) which he may choose to visit.

has now been raised to Rs. 1,24,800. But large though these enhancements appear they are not proportionate to the rate at which these zamindaris are developing. In all the open country estates except Pandaria the Government demand has been doubled and over the Satgarh generally it has been more than trebled. Yet the Zamindars are actually gainers by the re-settlement, their takolis being raised in the aggregate by Rs. 62,284, while their income, as a result merely of re-settlement, has risen by Rs. 91,057. Needless to say they have paid their enhanced assessment without a murmur and I have recently heard that immediately after announcement the Zamindar of Korba, whose takoli had been more severely enhanced than any other, *i. e.*, from Rs. 6,703 to Rs. 23,000, gave a contract for a house for his own occupation in Korba which will cost him about Rs. 50,000.

101. It is of course a fortunate circumstance that the new settlement has opened with a succession of such excellent harvests as those of 1909-10, 1910-11 and 1911-12. The result has been an expansion of income already well beyond the figures assumed at assessment. This again is giving the Zamindars time to consider the enhancements they will impose on their thekedars and on those tenants whose rents have not been fixed by Government, and will also make it easier for them to abandon the collection of those miscellaneous dues and cesses which have hitherto disfigured the administration of these zamindaris. In estates which have come under Court of Wards management such irregularities are of course discouraged, but in the others they seem to multiply with extraordinary rapidity until one is almost bewildered by their variety. Thus, to take an example, the following collections outside the rent are noted in paragraph 16 of the Preliminary Report on the Matin zamindari (page 351 of Volume of Annexures) as being levied from the ryots by the late Zamindarin:—(a) *Sharah Majid*, or a tax of Re. 0-3-0 per rupee of rental, (b) *Salahi*, a tax on agricultural implements, (c) *Kharchari*, a grazing tax levied on cattle including plough cattle, (d) *Pachkathiya*, a fee for mistar, (e) *Lakhai*, a tax on lac cultivation, (f) *Likhai*, a fee for writing up the Kotwar's books, (g) *Hathi Ratab*, collections to meet the cost of feeding the Zamindarin's elephant. And besides these there were fees paid by each village to the Kotwar at Matin, and to the Zamindarin's relatives resident in Matin. When the Zamindarin bought an elephant the whole estate had to contribute to the purchase money, and when she subscribed to public Relief and Memorial Funds she exacted the amount she gave *pro rata* from her headmen. The advent of a Government Officer to tour in this estate was invariably an excuse for the collection of supplies of which probably nine-tenths were absorbed by the Zamindarin herself and her followers. This estate has since fortunately come under Court of Wards, but much the same story was told in other estates, such as Uprora and Korba. In Pendra, Chhuri, Kenda and Lapha irregularities were less in evidence, in the last two estates because of the personal character of those in charge of the zamindari and in the first two because Court of Wards management had only recently been withdrawn. The latter reason also explains the comparative absence of such collections in the open country, Pandaria, Kanteli, Bilagarh Katgi and Bhatgaon having all at one time or another come under Government control.

102. The main difficulty in dealing with irregularities of this kind arises from the readiness of the people to acquiesce in them without complaint. As an instance of this I may mention that in Korba immediately after announcement the Zamindar proceeded to collect thousands of rupees of *nazarana* from the tenants of his estate on account of their occupation of what he was pleased to call "without-rent land," his demand being speciously supported by some decision in a Munsiff's Court. Though it was quite beyond the people's capacity to meet this improper demand except by borrowing, yet scarcely any complaint was made. The matter however came to notice and the sums collected were refunded by the Zamindar. In the course of re-settlement everything that was possible was done to repress these irregular collections. The matter has been expressly referred to in the new Wajib-ul-arz and every tenant has been given a

Parcha or rent certificate showing him exactly what he has to pay. The Zamindars have been leniently assessed, and should be content to impose intermediate rent enhancements in the regular way without having recourse to the collection of illegal dues. The matter however will require the constant attention of the District Staff, for if their vigilance is relaxed the old order of things will quickly be restored.

103. The takolis then have been revised with reference to the assets, kamil jamas and income of the separate estates—considerations of the effect of re-settlement upon each Zamindar's income taking first place. From this point of view the new takolis and cesses are lighter than those of last settlement, absorbing now only 36 per cent of the gross income all-round as compared with 44 per cent then. This comparison is to some extent vitiated by the fact that the last settlement was based on unrevised assets and income. Yet our revised estimates of income at the new settlement have also been sufficiently lenient to leave a considerable surplus with the Zamindars, over and above that which has been formally recorded. And besides this there has been undoubtedly a large amount of concealment of miscellaneous income on the part of the Zamindars. This was perhaps inevitable in dealing with men themselves ignorant and unable to appreciate any other aspect of business than that in which one party overreaches the other. In every zamindari one was met by the most barefaced and wilful mis-statements. In no case were any accounts produced. Their existence was denied, and the Zamindar would present instead a fanciful account of his receipts and expenditure which disclosed a bare margin in his own favour. The result was that, receiving little or no assistance from the Zamindars, we were thrown upon our own resources, and it was only by the most wearisome enquiries that it was possible to substantiate even the figures now recorded for each estate. It is far too much to hope that these represent anything like the whole of any of the Zamindar's income, and, in view of the rapidity with which these estates are advancing each year in their material resources, I should be inclined to regard this re-settlement, in spite of the takolis in the Satgarh being trebled and miscellaneous collections discouraged, as no less lenient to the Zamindars than that which preceded it 20 years before.

(VII).—GOVERNMENT CESSES.

104. There have been considerable changes in the demand for cesses during the currency of the expiring settlement. In 1890 the land revenue takoli was distinct from the forest takoli. Cesses were even then based on a kamil-jama, but this kamil-jama was only calculated for the *villages* of each estate on the same assets as those which formed the basis of the land revenue takoli. The whole forest assets of these large proprietors were disregarded in assessing them to cesses. The contributions then levied were :—

- (1) Road cess at 3 per cent of the kamil-jama.
- (2) School cess at 2 per cent of the kamil-jama.
- (3) Post cess at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the kamil-jama.
- (4) Additional rate at 2 per cent of the kamil-jama.
- (5) Patwari cess at $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per rupee from the ryots *plus* a lump assessment from the Zamindar not exceeding 6 per cent of his kamil-jama.

Cesses (1) to (4) were levied only from the Zamindar and his sub-proprietors. The additional rate was abolished in 1905 and the Patwari cess in 1906, changes which effected a noticeable reduction in the demand from the Zamindars. At the new settlement therefore only the Road, School and Post cesses, collectively known as the Settlement cesses, have been imposed. But here, as in the Raipur zamindaris, the whole of the Zamindar's assets as a landed proprietor, whether derived from his villages or from his forests, have been taken as the basis of the kamil-jama on which his liability to cesses has been based. The

actual effect in cash of these changes on the Zamindar's assessment can be most conveniently exhibited in tabular form :—

Name of Zamindari.				Cesses and contribution.		
				Prior to 1905.	Prior to re-settle-ment.	As announced.
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Pendra	...	...	...	1,750	442	1,429
Kenda	...	...	...	677	179	642
Matin	...	...	...	227	66	492
Lapha	...	...	...	601	173	657
Uprora	...	...	...	323	99	313
Chhuri	...	...	...	1,142	404	1,039
Korba	...	...	...	2,578	783	2,312
Total for Satgarh				7,298	2,146	6,894
Pandaria	...	...	...	8,281	3,080	3,674
Kanteli	...	...	...	1,009	1,009	415
Champa	...	...	...	1,262	400	885
Bhatgaon	...	...	...	567	190	315
Bilaigarh-Katgi	...	...	...	1,623	559	769
Total for open country estates				12,742	5,238	6,058
GRAND TOTAL				20,040	7,384	12,952

It may be noted here that in practice the Zamindars have not been used to contributing any portion of these cesses from their own pockets. Here, as in the case of the revenue, they have shifted the burden to their village headmen, who until recent years took care to make good what they had to pay from the ryots. But for the future this will not be so. The full cesses are assessed by Government on sub-proprietors, and the Zamindars may take them also from their *mua-fidars*, and in the case of *thekedari* villages may meet the demand by including something extra on this account in the theka-jama. But in the case of *kham* villages and forest mahals the Zamindars will have to contribute from their own pockets the share of the cesses debitable to such areas. In no circumstances will the ryots be liable to any contribution on account of cesses.

VIII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

105. The new settlement was announced in every zamindari for a period of 20 years as laid down in the orders contained in Government of India's letter No. 991—352-2, dated the 15th September 1910. The date of the commencement of the new settlement varied slightly in different estates. That of the Kanteli zamindari began on the 1st July 1908, that of the Kenda zamindari began on the 1st July 1909, and that of the Bilaigarh-Katgi, Bhatgaon, Pendra, Matin, Lapha, Uprora, Chhuri, Korba, Pandaria and Champa zamindaris began on the 1st of July 1910.

106. Besides the ordinary rent certificates, lists of rents prescribed by the Settlement Code, and the statement in Form XIII-A, given to the sub-lambardars in the case of sub-proprietary villages, certain special forms (see translations in Appendix D) were prepared for use at announcement, *viz.*, special *qabuliyats* or Forms of Acceptance both for Zamindars and sub-proprietors and special abstracts showing the basis on which the new takoli has been calculated for the information of each Zamindar. All the *qabuliyats* were signed without demur. Presumably, too, the Zamindars were satisfied with the justification for the new takolis shown in the abstracts as though more than a year has elapsed since announcement, not a single appeal of any sort has been filed in regard to the new assessment. Without any desire to make capital on behalf of the new settlement out of the jingly character of many of the persons affected thereby I think one can in fairness infer a certain unanimity among the assesseees—tenants, sub-proprietors and zamindars—in regard to the equitable basis of the new assessment from the fact that, excluding one appeal by a sub-proprietor against my estimate of his siwai, no protest of any kind whatever has

been put forward regarding it, in spite of the fact that tenants' rents were frequently raised by 50 per cent, the Zamindars' total takoli doubled, and the sub-proprietary assessment trebled. On reference to the Settlement Commissioner's office, I find that in all only 36 appeals were filed with reference to matters connected with this zamindari settlement, of which 29 had to do with the grant of protected status, 5 with questions of possession, one with the Wajib-ul-arz and one, as I have said, with the assessment of siwai.

107. The preparation of the Wajib-ul-arz was a matter in which it was necessary to break fresh ground. At the two previous settlements of these estates nothing more than a general Wajib-ul-arz, applied without modification to each estate, was drafted and filed. As no one but the Zamindar and the Government officers concerned were aware of its existence it was naturally not of much practical value in the administration of village affairs. Its main importance was that it purported to define the relations not only of the Zamindar and village headmen with the ryots but also of the Zamindar with Government. The new Wajib-ul-arz has been prepared on very different lines. It makes no claim to define the zamindari status. That matter was still *sub judice* at the time the Wajib-ul-arz was being prepared, and the only reference to it was, at the end of the qabuliyat, to the effect that no change in the zamindari status would be made till the decision of the Privy Council* was announced and that thereafter the position would be defined either by legislation or by the issue of a new Sanad or Patent. The whole of the new Wajib-ul-arz was therefore concerned with defining the relations between the Zamindars, the village headmen, and the ryots. It has been prepared separately for each mahal. An entirely distinct skeleton draft was prepared for sub-proprietary villages. For the rest the skeleton was prepared so as to apply both to villages under the Zamindar's direct management (kham) and also to those managed by a thekedar or muafidar. The skeleton form varied but little from zamindari to zamindari as there is a very remarkable similarity in village custom through all the estates, but a separate form was prepared for each, and, after careful verification by a panchayat of local headmen at which the Zamindar himself attended, each was submitted separately for sanction with a statement of any objections which the Zamindar might wish to put forward. The skeleton form so approved was then filled in for the separate villages from notes recorded at the time of attestation, and after completion has been bound with the village Settlement Record. The detailed orders in regard to the Wajib-ul-arz are included in the Volume of Annexures at page 1825.

108. In connection with the new Wajib-ul-arz we were required to record the name and remuneration of every village Kotwar. This was not a very easy matter. The Kotwari organization in several zamindaris was peculiar. The indigenous system provided for a village watchman known as the *Tahalu* or *Tarar* or *Gorait* who kept watch and ward and acted as the village servant in matters affecting its internal management only. But when under British administration the additional duty of taking weekly or fortnightly reports regarding vital statistics and crime were imposed on the village, the *Tahalu* or *Tarar* in several estates refused to undertake this extra work and accordingly a separate office of *Rapat* or reporting kotwal was created. The necessity however of retaining this dual system was not apparent at the recent re-settlement. In many cases the reporting kotwar worked for a number of villages, and therefore was really in touch with no part of his charge except the particular village in which he resided. The Gaontias themselves disliked the system because the *Tahalu* was insufficiently remunerated, while the *Rapat* was not under their control. It was therefore decided to institute the ordinary system by which a separate village watchman is appointed for each village, except in cases where it is necessary to combine more than one in a single charge in order to secure an adequate total remuneration for the particular kotwar. This has now been done.

* See paragraph 139 below.

109. As regards remuneration orders were issued that the minimum sum to be fixed at settlement for each kotwar should be Rs. 4 per month or Rs. 48 per annum. Considering however the existing custom of payment in kind and the very high rate upon the rental which it would have been necessary to fix in order to provide this remuneration in cash, it was decided not to alter the basis on which the ryots were required to contribute, but to raise their subscription on the existing basis of assessment in cases where the kotwar's present remuneration was clearly inadequate. Enquiry showed that throughout the Pandaria and Kanteli zamindaris the kotwar was being paid at a fixed rate of 1 *katha* (or 3 seers) of paddy or half a *katha* of wheat per rupee of rental. In these zamindaris, therefore, the rates where necessary were raised to $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 *kathas* per rupee. In the other estates a fixed rate of 5 *kathas* of paddy per *nagar** (plough) was in vogue. This rate was raised to 6, 7, or 8 *kathas* per *nagar* as circumstances required. By these means a remuneration equivalent in most cases to the minimum of Rs. 48 per annum was obtained. Where this figure has not been worked up to the explanation lies in the fact that it was considered undesirable to raise the rate very much beyond that which the tenants were already paying. In making these calculations due allowances under the rules was made for the *Gaontias*' or in *kham* villages for the Zamindars' contributions to the kotwar. At the same time it is necessary to remember that in so doing we run absolutely counter to indigenous custom. As I have already pointed out more than once, the Gaontia himself was originally a village officer and, being himself remunerated for his services† by the village community, was under no obligation to subscribe towards the support of other village officials similarly remunerated. This customary exemption of the village headmen has persisted with the greatest tenacity to the present day. Even in the Khalsa, where the kotwar's claims upon the malguzars have been asserted by Government now for many years, it is the exception rather than the rule for the latter to subscribe; while in the zamindaris where matters have been largely left to themselves no headman in any village has hitherto been in the habit of contributing to the kotwar's remuneration beyond giving him a rupee or two with which to buy himself a *dhoti* (cloth) or a blanket in the cold weather. There will therefore now be the same difficulty in the zamindaris as in the khalsa in getting headmen to subscribe to the kotwar. This point was remembered in fixing the latter's remuneration, care being taken that the *ryots*' share constituted in each case at least a living wage for the kotwar.

110. Another important matter was the revision of the Patwaris *halka*-*bandi*. We had had sufficient experience of arrears of Patwari *halkabandi*. map correction to realize that the existing staff was too weak to cope with the difficulties of annual *girdawari* in the Satgarh. And, apart from the fact that the mere work of survey and its yearly correction is far more difficult in broken and jungle country than in the level plains of Mungeli and Janjgir, we had to allow for the extraordinarily rapid extension of cultivation. Eventually, proposals, which were sanctioned, were submitted for an addition of 22 men to the Zamindari Patwari staff, of whom 19 have been posted to the Satgarh. Incidentally the general scale of pay was also raised. Hitherto the rates had varied from Rs. 9 to Rs. 11. A minimum of Rs. 10 was introduced, and a special rate of Rs. 12, fixed for all jungly circles in view of the difficulty of the work and as some sort of compensation to the Patwari for the absence of conveniences which would be obtainable elsewhere. In certain cases special personal allowances varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 3 per month were also given. But it was not enough merely to increase the number and pay of the Patwari staff. What was chiefly required in the Satgarh was better supervision. Two new Revenue Inspector's circles were therefore formed and, if it be possible now gradually to improve the personnel of the staff, there should be no difficulty in maintaining the accuracy of the Land Records for some years. It must, however, be remembered that the northern zamindaris are developing at a very rapid pace. Map correction should therefore receive specially close

* The use of the *nagar* for calculating the ryots' subscriptions to the reporting kotwar in the northern zamindaris is itself proof that the post was of foreign introduction. The *nagar* as a basis of assessment is otherwise unknown in these estates.

† He received for example in the open country one plough of land rent free out of every eight paying revenue to Government—vide Jenkins' Report on the Nagpur Territories.

attention from the district staff now that Settlement operations have been concluded, and if necessary proposals should be submitted for a further increase in the Patwari staff before the new settlement has expired. An attempt should also be made to force an acquaintance with these hill estates upon the senior Indian officials of the district. Hitherto no Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Tahsildar or Superintendent of Land Records has considered it incumbent on him to tour in these estates, and when I began the settlement in 1906 the Satgarh were still very largely a *terra incognita*. The formation of a new Tahsil with its headquarters at Kathghora will do much to remedy this state of affairs, but more will be effected by the Deputy Commissioner insisting on the district staff paying as much attention to the zamindaris as they do to the more accessible and, to the Indian mind, agreeable country comprised within the Khalsa.



PART IV.—THE GRANT OF PROTECTED STATUS AND THE SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARIES.

A.—PROTECTED STATUS.

111. There are 432 villages in these 12 zamindaris wherein Protected Status has been at different times conferred. I have pointed out (in paragraph 51 above) that this peculiar tenure was created in 1889 and was conferred on 414 village headmen at the second settlement of the district. Of these, 75 lost their villages between 1891 and 1906—many being ousted by the Court of Wards, while some were compelled to surrender in the famines. To the surviving 341 were added another 91 during the course of this re-settlement on my recommendation. Careful lists of all the thekedars were prepared for every zamindari showing exactly in regard to each the basis of any claim he might have for Protected Status, with the opinions of the various officers by whom my recommendations were considered. These lists have been printed and have, for convenience of reference, been incorporated in the Volume of Annexures to this report. The 432 villages held by protected thekedars are distributed as follows:—

Name of zamindari.			Number of Protected Status villages.	Remarks.
Pendra	62	} For detail of Protected Status villages in each estate, vide Appendix B to this Report.
Kenda	...	...	9
Matin	...	...	17
Lapha	...	...	9
Uprora	...	...	9
Chhuri	...	...	57
Korba	...	...	102
Pandaria	...	...	109
Kanteli	...	...	15
Bilaigarh-Katgi	...	...	32
Bhatgaon	...	...	11
Total	432	

112. The privilege was first defined—in the new Section 65A of Act XVI of 1889—as the protection against arbitrary enhancement or ejectment of thekedars, *goontias*, or farmers who had either held their villages continuously since the last preceding settlement or had established them or substantially improved them at their own cost. It was further laid down in the local Zamindari Wajib-ul-arz (Part II, clauses I and II) that co-sharers in Protected Status villages could not claim partition, that the tenure was heritable but not transferable, and that “a protected thekedar gaontia was entitled to a renewal of his lease on its expiry on his agreeing to farm his village at a fair equitable rent” (see also Article 273 of the Settlement Code quoted in paragraph 45 above). The special points to be noticed about this new creation are (1) that co-sharers were formally recognized in Protected Status villages even though their right to partition was withheld; (2) that the tenure was declared heritable without restriction and would therefore pass to an ever-widening circle of descendants; (3) that the protected headman was spoken of (in the Wajib-ul-arz but not in the Act itself) as a “*thekedar gaontia*” holding under a *lease*, who had agreed to *farm* his village. All these points prevent some difficulty.

The formal re-cognition of co-sharers, it must be said at once, was contrary to indigenous custom, to the traditions of native rule, and also *now* to the accepted policy of our own Administration. Under native rule the headman was a village officer. An office,

as such, can only be held by one man; and it was therefore the consistent and universal practice in the Khalsa up to 1869 and, with certain exceptions in the zamindaris to the present day, to accept but one man as the head of the village for purposes of administration. Thus, Mr. Chisholm wrote (Report of 1868, paragraph 317) that "under the Maratha Government the *Gaontia* was the only individual whom the Revenue officials at all recognized."

But though never recognized from outside as sharers in the headman's office the headman's immediate relatives had a very definite status in the village. As Mr. Baden-Powell says: "He (the headman) was quite content with his hereditary position "and above all with the holding of land—probably the best in the place—that was "allotted to him as headman. This *ex-officio* holding was hereditary in his family "and was shared among all his descendants even though only one of them was "performing the official duty of headman" (Land Revenue in British India, page 70). So, too, Mr. Chisholm wrote (Sheorinarayan Assessment Report, paragraph 25) in special reference to the Bilaspur District: "The ordinary feature has been for the head of the family to manage the entire estate (*i. e.* village), "while the rest of the brotherhood, avoiding interference with the general "management, remained content with their quota of the *sir* land rent free." These quotations put the customary position of the co-sharers in *gaontiahi* villages beyond all question, and confirmed as they are by scores of local enquiries which it has fallen to me to make in this connection will, I hope, finally discredit the view which has sometimes been advanced that the headman's relatives have no customary status in the village.

113. Now in the Zamindari Settlement of 1890 these relatives were not recognized, as they should have been, merely as sharers in the village *home-farm*. They were expressly stated to be co-sharers in the village.* This mistake arose partly from ignorance of local custom and partly from a misconception as to the position of the *Gaontia*. Had it been realized that he was merely a village officer the absurdity of recognizing co-sharers would have been apparent. But the *Gaontia* was treated as the lessee of a joint property in which his immediate kinsmen of the same ancestry as himself might reasonably claim to hold an equal interest, and hence, when Protected Status was conferred in 1890 in *gaontiahi* and *thekedari* villages, the mistake was made, which has since given rise to so much difficulty of conferring formal recognition on the headman's co-sharers as if they were participating in the *gaontiahi* or *thekedari* interest.

114. It was soon seen however that the existence of a multiplicity of *Gaontias* or *thekedars* in Protected Status villages constituted a most unworkable position of affairs; and the opportunity was taken in 1898 of revising Section 65-A of the Land Revenue Act so as to provide that, "except so far as arrangements to the contrary were in force at the time of the grant," the Protected Status should devolve upon one member only of the *thekedar* or *Gaontia's* family.

This was an excellent provision and fully in accord with custom; but it was introduced after the evil had been done. Under the influence of British trained officials and also no doubt as a direct consequence of the assumption in 1890 that every village headman was a *lessee* of the village property, the idea that the headman was a *thekedar* prevailed more and more among the people, while the *gaontiahi* conception of his position as a village officer fell more and more into abeyance. By the time then that the position of 'co-sharers' in Protected Status villages came first under consideration in 1906 they were already well established. They held in many cases certificates of 1890 recognizing their position; their shares were entered in the village papers (*Khewat*, *Khasra* and *Jamabandi*), and their lands were recorded as *sir* and *khudkasht* exactly as if they were, and strictly on the analogy of, co-sharers of a *malguzari* village in the Khalsa. Even co-sharers in ordinary *thekedari* villages had also come to be recorded in the same way.

115. We had then a set of facts pointing in one direction, and tradition, the requirements of good village administration and the provisions of 1898 pointing in the other. We were on the horns of this dilemma that, if we gave formal recognition only to the real headman, his "co-sharers" would be bereft of all

* "In villages held by *thekedars* having Protected Status co-sharers cannot claim partition" (Zamindari-Wajib-ul-arz of 1892, Part II, clause I).

status in the village, and would after long years of continuous enjoyment of their shares of the home-farm be liable to summary ejectment by the headman. On the other hand, if we recognized the co-sharers as having a status independent of the real headman, the Zamindars would in ordinary thekedari villages on the conclusion of the thekedar's lease and his ejectment be unable to oust his kith and kin cultivating their shares in the home-farm, since the latter might be empowered by virtue of their independent title to claim to continue in possession.

A compromise was necessary and on my recommendation the following course was adopted. It was decided that in future no Protected Status would be conferred until some decision had been reached as to co-sharers and proper provision made for them. This was a clear and easy line to follow, and in all the 91 cases in which, on my report, further protection was conferred it will be found that a single Gaontia is recorded as the recipient of the status - his relatives being in each case entirely excluded from all lot or part in the thekedari interest; those who were separate from the headman have received occupancy rights in their share of the home-farm, while those who were joint have agreed in each case to trust themselves to the good-will of the headmen if at any subsequent time they may be compelled to separate from him.

116. This was an easy and suitable settlement of the case so far as it concerned new grants. But for the old grants of 1890 in which allowance had to be made for 20 years of misconception it was decided to permit the record of co-sharers in Protected Status so far and only so far as they were found to have been in existence in 1890, thus conforming strictly to the words of the Act of 1898 which provide that "save in so far as any arrangements to the contrary are in force at the time of the declaration the Protected Status shall not be partitioned and shall devolve on one member only of the thekedar or Gaontia's family." A separate enquiry was accordingly instituted in regard to every Protected Status village. The names and the number of the 'co-sharers' in existence in 1890 was elicited and put on record. So far and no further could the ordinary rule as to single devolution be relaxed under the Act and accordingly any further recognition of co-sharers was refused. Thus if A the headman protected in 1891 had then two brother co-sharers B and C and each of these three had since had two sons D, E, F, G, H and I, all six of whom are now in possession, their fathers having meanwhile died, then only D the eldest son of A, F the eldest son of B, and H the eldest son of C were to be recorded as co-sharers in the village since three co-sharers constituted the arrangement in force at the time of the declaration of protection. Any claim by the younger sons, E, G and I to share in the thekedari interest was denied, and no notice of them whatever was taken in the village papers except to the extent of recording their separate possession of any portion of the home-farm by entering them as ordinary tenants of *sir* in column 7 of the khasra and as "*rishtedari men muaf*" in column 13 in the case of *khudkasht*. The basis for the decision in each case has been recorded on a separate form for each village, the forms being collected in separate case files for each zamindari, and the whole sent for record to the district office. A new certificate has also been issued to each Protected headman. This also records the detail of "co-sharers" so far as these have been recognized. It will now be necessary, if these arrangements are to be enforced, that a reference be made in every mutation case from a Protected Status village either to the files in office or to the revised Protected Status certificates. Unrecognized co-sharers must be firmly discountenanced until the present custom of maintaining them falls into abeyance, when they will of necessity push their own fortunes in the world and cease to be as at present a mere encumbrance on their headman's home-farm. The Deputy Commissioners of Bilaspur and Raipur have been separately addressed in this connection and a copy of the note forwarded to them is appended for facility of reference to this Report (see Appendix C).

117. We have seen now that in certain villages the existence of co-sharers recognized in 1890 has had to be permitted. This was the only possible settlement of the first of the three difficulties (see paragraph 112 above) arising out of the form in which the Protected Status was originally conferred. The second difficulty consisted in the absence of any limitation to the number of heirs entitled

to succeed to the new tenure. This was removed, as we have seen, by legislation in 1898 when it was laid down that the status of a Protected Thekedar or Gaontia should devolve on one member only of his family. This has been rigidly enforced at the recent settlement, except that, of course, where a separate co-sharing interest dating from 1890 has had to be recognized this separate interest devolves upon one member only of the *co-sharer's* family. This second difficulty is intimately connected with the first and needs, I think, no further detailed explanation. There remains the third difficulty—that the existence of a *gaontiahi* as distinct from a *thekedari* tenure was not perceived by the Settlement Officer of 1890. The *wajib-ul-arz* spoke of a 'thekedar-gaontia'

Confusion as to the exact status of the headman.

a hybrid term with no clear meaning, while the explicit reference to a 'lease' or 'farm' in the same document would naturally lead one to suppose that the thekedar-gaontia was in every case a lessee. But this was very far from being the case. As I have already more than once explained the terms *thekedar* and *gaontia* properly speaking mean two very different things. The thekedar holds merely under a *contract* whereby he accepts as the essence of his contract a responsibility for the annual 'jama' assessed upon the village. The gaontia is simply an administrative village *officer*, under no essential responsibility for the village jama.* He may actually collect the rents in his official capacity and the Zamindar may insist on his producing the full assessment placed upon his village. But until he accepts the responsibility for that assessment he cannot properly be called a thekedar. How the gaontia may gradually change and in the majority of cases has already changed into a thekedar, I have explained at some length earlier in this Report. But it must not be supposed that this change occurred uniformly over the whole district or even over all the zamindaris. There are some zamindaris in which the change was almost complete by 1869. In others it has yet to be fully effected. Exactly how far matters had advanced by 1890 it is impossible to say. But although in his *Wajib-ul-arz* the Settlement Officer emphasized the contractual status of the gaontia referring explicitly to his *lease* of the village, in making his actual recommendations he made no attempt to distinguish (except in regard to Champa) the gaontia proper from the thekedar. All alike received Protected Status provided the period of their tenure whether as lessee or as village officer was sufficient to establish a claim for consideration. This was a further encouragement to the thekedari idea. The grant of Protected Status, owing to the terms in which the *Wajib-ul-arz* of 1890 and later the Act of 1898 were drawn up, made acceptance of responsibility for the village jama practically compulsory for the village headman. And when the present re-settlement was undertaken it was found that the gaontia proper was to all intents and purposes extinct except in certain eastern portions of the district where it was no doubt kept alive by the proximity of the peculiar ryotwari tenure sanctioned for the Sambalpur district.

118. This result was largely due to a misconception as to the exact status of the gaontia. It was not realized as the terms of the *Wajib-ul-arz* of 1892 show that gaontias were primarily village officers. The Settlement Officer (who had no time to make a close first hand acquaintance with the zamindaris of the district) insisted on their position as lessees, and thus hastened the oblivion into which the *gaontiahi* status is now rapidly declining.†

The proper *gaontiahi* tenure being now practically extinct in Bilaspur it may be urged that its examination can be of no more than academic interest. But on the contrary it is only in the light of its historical development that the present thekedari tenure can be fully understood. The forest thekedar's refusal to enhance the tenants' rents, the modest home-farm with which he is content, the position of his co-sharers and so on, are all matters which can only be

* See paragraphs 29 to 32 above.

† It may be mentioned here that in the adjoining administration of Chhota Nagpur the official status of the village headman has been recognized. Section 127 of the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1903, by which protection was afforded to this class of land-holder expressly refers thereto. It runs as follows: "The Local Government may make an order directing that a record be prepared by a Revenue officer of the rights and obligations in any specified local area of headmen of villages or groups of villages whether known as *mankis* or *pradhans* or *manjhis* or otherwise. The word 'rights' as used in this sub-section includes the right of a village headman to hold his office as well as his right to hold his land." As my description of the *gaontiahi* status has sometimes been considered fanciful—and I confess that the silence of the earlier Settlement Officers in this regard naturally gave rise to such suspicions—it is satisfactory to find such outside confirmation of the official character of the headman's position.

explained by reference to the lessee's original position as a mere village-officer. Then again, as already stated, there are some villages in the Korba Zamindari where the headman has not yet accepted the responsibility of a lessee. And a local official might well be at a loss to understand the strong prejudice which exists in this tract against the acceptance of a written lease. At first sight a written lease seems to confer a certain stability of tenure. But to the hereditary village officer it is otherwise. To him the written lease is no more than a formal acknowledgment on his part that on a certain date his claim to retain his office will have ceased, and he naturally refuses to make such an admission if he can. Lastly the Zamindars themselves have not been unwilling to take advantage of official ignorance of what the gaontiahi status is to prevent the accrual of rights in favour of their headmen. They commonly plead that a headman whom it is proposed to protect is merely their servant or, as they often call him, their agent or kamdar, and that he is not a thekedar or gaontia whom it is possible to protect under Section 65-A of the Land Revenue Act. And there is, owing to the history of the tenure, a certain plausibility in this to any one ignorant of the real position of affairs.

119. Such arguments were frequently advanced, especially in Korba, Bhatgaon and Champa, during my enquiries with a view to conferring the Protected Status. In the first two estates they could be disregarded because the point had not been raised at the previous Settlement and there were precedents in both zamindaris for the grant of Protected Status. But in Champa the Zamindar as far back as 1869 had urged that his headmen were not thekedars at all but merely kamdars. It is true that they were not thekedars. But they were gaontias in the proper sense of that term. The Champa zamindari was the first which the Settlement Officer visited, and misled by the Zamindar's representation that his headmen were not lessees but mere agents, he conferred no sub-proprietary rights on village headmen in that estate as was done in all the other estates of Bilaspur. It must not be supposed that the position of the Champa headmen was in 1869 really in any way different from that of headmen in other zamindaris. The contrary can be demonstrated, for in paragraph 333 of his final report Mr. Chisholm himself records that the headmen in these zamindaris were "*often* by their own confession mere agents collecting the full rents for the Zamindar." But the Zamindar of Champa opposed the grant of sub-proprietary right, and the Settlement Officer was himself in favour of putting as little restriction as possible on the zamindari privilege. The result was that the gaontias in this estate received less favourable treatment than, under the subsequent orders of the Settlement Commissioner, was accorded to the headmen of other estates. The Champa gaontias were equally unfortunate in 1890. The Zamindar finding that his insistence on the true gaontiahi (or as he called it kamdari) status of his headmen had precluded the accrual in their favour of rights over the villages they managed, was careful to see that they made no advance towards the position of thekedars, and insisted on their entire dissociation from the work of rent collection. The Settlement Officer of 1890 therefore found no thekedars in Champa and, not realizing that the Champa headmen were really gaontias whose protection equally with that of thekedars was permitted under the Act of 1889, made no recommendation in their favour. He wrote: "There are no thekedars in the Champa Zamindari... .. The Zamindar's policy has been to convert the thekedars into managers and in this he has been completely successful." (Final Report, paragraph 115). And again "There are no old or new thekedars in this estate. By his skilful management the father of the present Zamindar succeeded in ejecting all the old thekedars and making them his kamdars and mukaddums who look after his villages and cultivate some land without payment of rent. The rents are realized directly by the Zamindar..... There are no thekedars entitled to protected status." It will be sufficiently apparent from what has been already written that the Settlement Officer of 1890, was in error *firstly* in supposing that there ever had been thekedars in Champa and *secondly*, in holding that he was precluded from protecting the headmen of that estate because they were not thekedars. The Champa headmen were still in 1890, as they always had been, gaontias, *i. e.*,

officers responsible not for the village jama but only for the village management and the Act of 1889 expressly mentioned gaontias as well as thekedars as suitable recipients of the Protected Status.

120. Taking this view of the case I was anxious at the recent re-settlement to redress the inequality of treatment accorded by Government to the Champa headmen as compared with that meted out to gaontias in other zamindaris. It was no longer possible to offer them full Protected Status as the position of a protected gaontia not responsible for the village assessment would now be an anomaly. I proposed therefore to secure their permanent retention of a substantial portion of their home-farm in return for their services to the villages. But my proposals were not approved. I pressed the case as strongly as I could but the view prevailed that no protection could be offered to the headmen of this estate.

121. I have adverted to these orders here because it is important that the position in Champa should be understood by local officials. In 12 villages I was able, by reviving orders of 1868, to afford protection to headmen in Champa over a portion of their home-farm. But in 11 other cases* where the headmen have held their villages for over 40 years (and have in some cases substantially improved them at their own cost), they have no permanent tenure whatever either in the village or in their home-farm, and remain liable at any moment to summary ejectment at the will of the Zamindar. It is inevitable but that the Zamindar will sooner or later propose to oust some one or other of these headmen, and it will then fall to the local officers to use their influence to prevent any arbitrary treatment of these deserving headmen.

122. Before leaving the subject of Protected Status it will not be out of place to offer an opinion on the future working of the tenure in these zamindaris. The present position is far from satisfactory. The rule by which 20 years' continuous possession is ordinarily a condition precedent to the grant of protection only operates as an inducement to the Zamindars to oust lessees before their claims can mature. We are in fact confronted by the same difficulty as that which arose 25 years' ago in the Central Provinces in regard to tenants. At first a measure of protection was given only to those tenants known as occupancy who had 12 years' continuous possession. This was found to work badly because of the inducement to the Malguzar to eject them before 12 years were up. The contingent character of the protection was accordingly abandoned in favour of an absolute rule specifying that tenants holding from a certain date should *ipso facto* have rights of occupancy. And later on statutory rights were extended to all tenants regardless of the period of their possession. A similar policy should now be adopted in regard to village headmen in all zamindari estates. The period test should be abolished as being now no more than an inducement to the Zamindar to eject his headmen, at short intervals in order to defeat the intention of the law. Similarly, substantial improvement of the village being also a ground on which protection can be claimed a Zamindar is compelled in his own interests to oppose strongly any attempt on a thekedar's part to effect improvements. This is an altogether undesirable position. During my investigations into claims for Protected Status I was frequently informed that the headmen, though willing and eager to make improvements, feared to do so as such action would displease the Zamindar. It was also a common condition entered in his written lease that the thekedar should not make any improvement in the village. Short term leases and the frequent levy of nazaranas exactly suit the interest of the Zamindars. It gives them ready cash and at the same time secures them completely against the danger of Protected Status. On the other hand it begets a purely ephemeral and commercial interest in the mind of the lessee which is the worst possible atmosphere in which to attempt to produce a stable and contented tenantry.

123. To remedy the present undesirable position which will be fraught with serious consequences to the welfare of these large estates if it is not grappled with

* See Volume of Annexures to this Report, page 1771.

at once there are two possible alternative courses. The first is to go back upon our present policy and the second to advance upon it. By the first alternative I mean that we should abandon the policy of protection altogether, and leave the unprotected headmen to the mercy of the Zamindar. This would at least withdraw the active inducement offered to the Zamindar by the present law to eject deserving headmen for fear they may gain an independent status. His action would no doubt be in many cases short-sighted and arbitrary, but in others equally without doubt he would be sufficiently influenced by self-interest and the weight of public opinion to permit a good headman to continue in possession. This first alternative would at least be preferable to our present policy.

But there is a better line of argument than this. The grant of sub-proprietary rights in 1868, of universal tenant's rights in 1889 and of Protected Status in 1890 are simply so many indications that the Zamindars cannot be trusted with the revenue administration of their estates. Now, if they cannot be trusted to deal fairly by their more deserving thekedars and gaontias of standing it seems reasonable to suppose that their treatment of short-term headmen will leave still more to be desired. But from the point of view of the welfare and development of the village it is obvious that what is wanted is not to protect a lessee because he has held the village for a long time or will be greatly distressed if he is ejected, but because he is a *good* lessee, well-disposed towards the ryots and capable of developing the estate entrusted to his charge. A good lessee can declare his character in 2 years as well as in 20, and this being so there seems no reason why in the interests of the village and of the Zamindari any lessee or gaontia of any standing, however short, should not at the discretion of the Government be entitled to protection if he is a desirable headman. We thus arrive at the second alternative proposal which, as I have said, constitutes a further advance along our present line of policy. My own belief is that the Zamindars will never be fit to administer their own estates. I say this after considerable acquaintance with them, being convinced that the less Government lends an ear to their sentimental claims to continue to administer their estates as they did in the pre-British days the better it will be for the general welfare. It is not that I deny a certain capacity for development in the character of the Zamindars. But the art of administration is also a developing one. The Zamindars stand on a low level of intelligence, and in these days of rapid change it is too dangerous a policy to let them play fast and loose with their estates in the hope that at some, manifestly far distant, date they will acquire a capacity for administration on advanced modern lines. In the last 25 years their police, their pounds, and their excise monopoly have had to be withdrawn from them in the interests of good administration. It is a well-known fact that they are rapidly bringing to ruin the valuable forests entrusted to their charge. And it would indeed be surprising if, when incompetent to deal with these comparatively simple branches of administration, they proved to be fit for the far more intricate work of revenue control.

124. Let us then adopt a definite and consistent policy. Instead of saying that we cannot trust the Zamindars to deal wisely by some only of their village headmen let us openly assert that their proper treatment of all of them needs to be safeguarded. Every village headman whom a Zamindar proposes to eject should have the right of appeal to the Deputy Commissioner, and unless the Zamindar can show that his management has been defective or that his presence in the village is for any reason undesirable he should be supported in possession. But if this measure of protection is thus readily to be obtained it must also for sufficient cause shown be as quickly liable to be withdrawn. Something in this direction will be effected by the revised provisions regarding Protected Status proposed in the new Land Revenue Bill. But more than this will I now consider be required. The fear of the withdrawal of protection and of his ejection from the village should be ever present in the mind of a protected headman, and should be a constant incentive to him to show his fitness for his post by the improvement of his village. At present the very security of the status is the main objection to it. The headman once he is protected can, as has been found in some of the open country estates, successfully

A consistent policy needed.

defy both the Zamindar and the Deputy Commissioner. He is under no apprehension of evil consequences if he neglect his village and is certainly under no stimulus to improve it. I believe then that the zamindaris would be most successfully administered under a system by which the selection of the village headmen would rest with the Zamindar entirely, but that in regard to their ejection and assessment a right of appeal should lie in all cases to the Deputy Commissioner (or Settlement Officer). Then and then only should we get security of tenure for the desirable lessee coupled with a constant stimulus to improve his village and develop it. The tenants would benefit from his good management, while the Zamindar and the Government would gain the advantage of securing a higher assessment and a more fully developed estate. The present position as between the Government and the Zamindars is this, that the former stands aside while the latter mismanages his property, conceals his income and defrauds the State. Under the system proposed the State would secure its fair proportion of the assets, while by its interposition those assets would be so far developed that the Zamindar's actual share in them would undoubtedly exceed anything he would ever gain by his own primitive and short-sighted methods.

B.—THE SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARIES.

125. The demarcation and survey of village and zamindari boundaries has caused so many difficulties in the past that the subject deserves separate notice, if only to explain the questions which have arisen in this connection and how they have been settled. Village boundaries will be dealt with first, and thereafter the more difficult question of zamindari boundaries.

126. The view has been expressed that in early times the limits of the tribal settlement were always, and those between village and village but "rarely, if ever," defined *. But this theory does not apply very well to the Bilaspur estates. When the first Settlement began in 1866, though the zamindari tract was wholly unsurveyed, the traditional village limits were accurately known to the people and especially to the village *Baigas* or priests, who were the recognized repositories of knowledge of this kind. They could not, of course, mark an exact line for survey. But they could describe it clearly enough for all practical purposes—over the ridge of such and such a hill, past such and such a rock or haunted tree, along such and such a nala, etc.,—and what could be done for individual villages could also be done for the zamindari as a whole. Looking at our maps to-day the first things which strike us are (1) the enormous disparity in the size of villages, and (2) the fact that generally the more remote the villages the larger the area which they cover. These circumstances are to be explained partly by the nature of the country and partly by differences in agricultural development. It is certain that the introduction of settled rice cultivation in the more remote and hilly parts of these estates is of fairly recent date. Prior to that introduction the system of cultivation was that generally known as "benwara" or "beora" cultivation, to which a reference has been already made. This consists in felling the forest growth over a patch of jungle, firing it, raising a crop of millets in the ashes and then abandoning it till the forest grows again. And as the period of forest reproduction might be anything from 10 to 20 years it was necessary that every village settlement should jealously preserve exclusive rights to 'beora' cultivation over a very large area, at least some square miles in extent. Later, when rice cultivation with the plough was introduced, it by no means ousted the "beora" altogether. The two systems continued, as we find them in the remotest villages still continuing, side by side. And long after rice cultivation had been accepted as the staple industry of the village, the tenants continued to regard their "beora" cultivation over an extensive tract of adjoining forest as a valuable asset and took good care to be well informed as to the village boundaries. In level country where population was dense and the jungle more accessible, the absence of forest protection had already by the time of the first Settlement laid the country bare. "Beoras" had been forgotten,

regular cultivation had become the exclusive occupation of the tenantry, and the waste land had been occupied and broken up into a number of hamlets which soon developed into small independent villages.

127. Thus villages in all the stages of transition from those with scattered "beoras" to those with compact rice cultivation, and therefore of all sizes, confronted the Settlement Officer in 1866. Under his orders the existing village boundaries, comprising in some cases huge areas of forest and in others the barest minimum of waste needed for the village *nistar*, received a certain Government sanction. As to the exact procedure he followed in defining village boundaries one cannot be positive. It was decided for reasons of economy not to embark on an elaborate survey (see Mr. Chisholm's Final Report, paragraph 242) but it was intended that at least the bulk of the villages should be demarcated. The orders in this connection are contained in paragraph 3 of Secretariat letter No. 2712—241, dated the 16th August 1866, to the Settlement Commissioner, which runs:—"The interior boundaries of villages in Feudatoryships will not be demarcated. But in non-Feudatory Zamindaris village boundaries must be marked off with the due proportion of waste just as in ordinary Khalsa tracts. In some of the wilder tracts such as Pendra, Ambagarh Chauki and the like, internal demarcation may for special reasons be foregone under your sanction." On receipt of these orders Mr. Chisholm wrote (his No. 336, dated the 10th October 1866): "I have the honour to report that in all the Zamindaris village boundaries have, as a rule, already been demarcated" and that is all we know about the matter. Nothing is said defining what particular villages whether in Pendra or any other of the Zamindaris did or did not have their boundaries demarcated, nothing is said on the difficult subject of marking off for each village only its "due proportion of waste just as in ordinary Khalsa tracts," and there are no traces left of any demarcation then effected.

128. The matter was one not of great practical importance except in villages where a sub-proprietary title was conferred. Here a tenure independent of the superior Zamindar was created, and here at least a physical definition of the area over which the new rights extended was of the very first importance, and should have formed an essential feature of the Settlement. Unfortunately it is a matter of considerable doubt how far the demarcation reported as more or less complete by Mr. Chisholm was really carried out. But it is certain that difficulties soon came to the notice of the District officials. Captain Bloomfield, as Deputy Commissioner, referred the whole matter for the decision of the Local Administration in 1874. In the course of that correspondence it was expressly stated that no village boundaries had been demarcated at Mr. Chisholm's Settlement (see page 1797 of Volume of Annexures). No reference was made to the previous decision of 1866 according to which village boundaries were to include only a "due proportion of waste just as in ordinary khalsa tracts"; and in the end, Secretariat letter No. 3784—175, dated the 14th November 1874, affirmed the title of every sub-proprietor not over a "due proportion" of the village waste but over the whole area, whether cultivated, waste, or jungle, comprised within the traditional boundaries of the village; and over this area the sub-proprietor was declared to possess the same rights as the Zamindar himself enjoyed over the rest of his estate. This decision was of course infinitely more favourable to the sub-proprietors than that of 1866. A few of them held in open country where, as I have said, there was no excess waste liable to excision even under the Khalsa rules. But very many of them held villages amid hills and forests where regular cultivation covered but a tiny fraction of the traditional area of the village; and these were at once made owners of large properties which are still continuously rising in value as the country is opened up and timber and other forest produce become available for export. Thus, in the Lapha Zamindari sub-proprietary rights were conferred in 1868 in 12 villages. Their cultivated area then was only 3,327 acres. But with the waste and jungle attached to them they now cover 58,022 acres, or one-fourth of the whole area of the Zamindari.

129. The decision of 1874 was of course most unpopular with the Zamindars. It was challenged by the Lapha Zamindar in the Civil Courts but was reaffirmed in Appeal No. 147 of 1881 in the Judicial Commissioner's Court and

again in Second Appeals Nos. 205 and 186 of 1886.* The first survey of Zamindari village boundaries effected between 1891 and 1898 was also based on the traditional limits of sub-proprietors as of other villages, a procedure in full accord with both judicial and administrative decisions. All this should, one would have thought, have put the territorial extent of the sub-proprietary title beyond dispute. But in 1898, in the course of a Civil Suit between the Zamindar of Korba and the sub-proprietor of *mauza* Labeled in that estate, some ingenious mind drew attention to Mr. Chisholm's Assessment Registers of 1867. In these documents three area columns only are shown for each village, the first the cultivated area, the second the culturable area, and the third the total of the other two. These areas alone were abstracted because they alone formed the basis on which Mr. Chisholm estimated the land revenue capacity of the village. But it was argued that the total area shown in this Register must necessarily represent the total area of the whole village—an instance of the danger of allowing the uninitiated too free access to technical Settlement statistics. The result was that by an order of the Civil Courts, running counter to all precedent rulings, the village of Labeled formerly some thousands of acres in extent, was arbitrarily reduced to 947 acres, this having been Mr. Chisholm's rough estimate 30 years before of the extent of its culturable and cultivated lands. Nor was this the only case of the kind. A similar decision based on the same misunderstanding was given in 1908 in regard to *mauza* Amlibahara of the Matin Zamindari. As this emanated from the court of an Additional Judicial Commissioner the consequences threatened to be very serious. Some dozens of applications were at once put in by the Zamindars claiming a re-adjustment of all sub-proprietary boundaries where the waste land was extensive. The sub-proprietors themselves became thoroughly alarmed at finding their valuable forest rights threatened, and the widest confusion in our new Settlement if these decisions were taken as authoritative precedents was also imminent. The matter was therefore referred to the Local Administration and the misunderstanding of the Civil Courts removed. (See page 1798 of Volume of Annexures); and it is now to be hoped that the uncertainty which has from time to time enveloped the sub-proprietor's rights in his forest land during the past 40 years or so has been finally dissipated. It is high time that this was done for, probably, in one sub-proprietary village out of three where waste land is extensive the sub-proprietor has not yet ventured to assert his rights for fear of an unsuccessful collision with the Zamindar. This has caused a very serious difficulty in assessment, it being impossible to impose an accurate assessment on a forest village whose sub-proprietor has never ventured to enjoy the income to be derived from it. What will now bring home the position to these sub-proprietors is the fact that they have all been assessed to an enhanced revenue on the basis both of their cultivation and also of their forest assets. Having to pay an assessment on their forest lands they will soon pluck up courage to absorb whatever income is to be got from them.

130. Though the urgency of a final Settlement of village boundaries was naturally greater in the case of sub-proprietors, yet it soon became a pressing necessity in the case also of some of the less privileged village holders. I have already explained that, no trace being found of Mr. Chisholm's village demarcation—an operation which, according to the statements both of 1874 and 1890, was never really carried out—Mr. Lancaster, the Assistant Settlement Officer in charge of the first survey of 1891—98, in defining the village boundaries simply followed the traditional limits as disclosed by local enquiry. This was well enough in the case of sub-proprietary villages, being in accordance with the orders of 1874 which have been recently reaffirmed. It was also perfectly adequate in the case of other villages in open country whose development had reached the stage at which the ambiguous waste land was reduced to a reasonable proportion of the cultivated area. But a large number remained in the hill country in which—with the disappearance of 'beora' cultivation, discouraged by the Zamindars and prohibited by the Court of Wards owing to the resulting loss of valuable timber—the village waste included within the traditional boundaries was altogether disproportionate to the existing or prospective needs of the villagers. We have seen that the original orders of 1866 contemplated an excision of excess

* See Central Provinces Law Reports, II 25.

wastes, and it was obvious that, whatever concessions might be given sub-proprietors, the merely cultivating interest of a village lessee could not be intended to include extensive rights over forest produce. But the difficulties which confronted us, when considering the possibility of excising excess wastes in villages other than sub-proprietary in the course of re-Settlement were two-fold, *viz.* *firstly*, the natural configuration of the country, which favours scattered cultivation and offers but few solid blocks of unculturable land suitable for excision even in villages where the actual area of waste is manifestly disproportionate to the needs of the people, and *secondly* the fact that the whole existing traverse and survey was based on the traditional village boundary lines. From an administrative point of view it would doubtless be some convenience to have the villagers compelled to limit their *nistar* to reasonable areas of forest. It was however still more important to define the area over which the village lessee exercised his cultivating rights, and this definition was particularly desirable in the case of Protected Status lessees because they hold a title which is in a measure independent of the Zamindar. In reply, therefore, to a special reference in this connection (see letter No. 605, dated the 18th October 1908, at page 1809 of Volume of Annexures) orders were issued by the Local Administration (see page 1814 of Volume of Annexures) to the effect that, whereas excision of excess waste must certainly be effected wherever possible in the case of Protected Status villages, it would not, owing to the practical objections to throwing the whole existing boundary survey once more into the melting pot, be necessary to apply this procedure to ordinary thekedari villages unless the Zamindars pressed for it and were willing to undertake it at their own expense.

131. Work then was confined to excising the excess waste of Protected thekedari villages, and what was done was quite sufficient to indicate the difficulty attaching to this kind of undertaking. In the first place any rigid principles such as the 'dochand' standard of earlier Settlements (which would ordinarily allow a waste area for each village no larger than twice the area occupied for cultivation) was found unsuitable in undeveloped forest villages, as within a few years such limitation would be a serious restriction on their natural growth. Again, as already stated, the cultivation is in such villages extremely scattered. There was no authority for including in the excised waste fields already occupied for cultivation, and however closely the boundaries were drawn round the cultivated area this area would in many cases be so scattered that the intermingled waste would even so exceed the strict requirements of the village. There were also objections to excising what would constitute merely small and isolated blocks of waste not exceeding more than a few hundred acres, and also to the introduction of wholly artificial boundaries. In the end it was found necessary to dispose of each village wholly on its individual merits. A genuine effort was made to reduce the excess waste where this was practicable, and in several cases additional lines were traversed so as to enable us to give an improved alignment to the boundary. But where such reduction, either in whole or in part, was not conveniently practicable, or where, as in some cases, the Zamindars themselves objected because the villages adjoined their estate boundary and they desired to avoid an extra boundary line as liable to give an opening for future encroachments, a free hand was taken either in reducing the excess waste only in part or else in waiving the reduction altogether. In all, excess waste has been excised from 32 Protected thekedari villages, some 39,000 acres being thus added to the area of Zamindari forests outside village boundaries.

132. In regard to villages either under the Zamindars' direct management, or held by unprotected thekedars or other unprivileged holders, the Zamindars themselves expressed no desire for excision of excess wastes and no such innovation was attempted, as its practical advantages would have been altogether negligible and wholly disproportionate to the trouble and expense of substituting new artificial boundaries for the traditional limits already traversed and surveyed. It must be remembered that throughout the hill estates it is customary for the villagers to acknowledge no limits either to the area over which they may take their *nistar*

or to that over which any may graze their cattle, provided in the latter case that the cattle return each night to the village. This position is accepted by the Zamindars who are content to levy at most a commutation fee for *nistar* and grazing assessed in the former case per plough and in the latter per head of cattle. Naturally so long as this system continues the practical importance of the village boundary is greatly minimized as it really does no more than define the limits within which the villagers can extend their cultivation. Then again the inclusion in these villages, where the Zamindar's authority remains unquestioned, of large areas of excess waste cannot in any way under the present *regime* obstruct his forest management. The *nistar* and grazing rights enjoyed by the village, over the estate generally, carries with it no title to any timber or other forest produce which the Zamindar may declare to be reserved (*mamnua*). So effective is the Zamindar's control of such produce that I have often heard complaints from tenants that they dare not cut down timber trees standing on their holdings. The position would be different if a serious attempt were made to manage the forest on up-to-date lines, to introduce fire-protection, separate off the valuable forest areas of each estate, and subject them to proper forest management. If this is ever done it will no doubt be necessary to excise waste land of value as forest land from the village areas over which the general tenantry exercise their rights of *nistar* and grazing. But this has never been attempted yet, and I think what has been said will show that under the present system it would be to the advantage neither of the villagers nor of the Zamindar that we should attempt to repudiate the traditional village boundaries which have been brought already on the village maps and are the only ones the people know. I confess that if the cultivation and waste land in these estates were in each village entirely separate and compact it would be even now an advantage to have a general excision of excess wastes on Khalsa lines such as was contemplated in the orders of 1866. But in view of the difficulties already encountered in Protected Status villages to which I have referred above, it will, I am sure, be the wisest and most economical course to defer excision until it can be effected gradually as occasion may hereafter require in particular villages where the circumstances demand it.

133. To summarize the position as regards village boundaries it may be said that in sub-proprietary villages the traditional limits have been, and in view of the Local Administration's orders must hereafter be, retained. In Protected Status villages these traditional limits have been abandoned wherever it was possible, after due consideration of the existing natural features and probable future requirements of the village, and an improved alignment introduced which will more accurately define the area covered by the thekedar's lease. In other villages the traditional boundaries have been retained, because they have been surveyed already and, the villages being all under the Zamindar's unrestricted control, the practical significance of the boundaries in any case is extremely small, while to abandon the old existing limits in favour of new and artificial ones would be to incur both trouble and expense in return for which, under the present system of Zamindari management, no administrative advantage whatsoever would accrue.

134. We have next to consider what measures were taken during the recent re-settlement and before it to define the inter-zamindari boundaries in those places where this was not effected in the ordinary course of village boundary settlement. It is obvious that in the course of the Khalsa village survey of 1885 to 1889 and the Zamindari village survey between 1891 and 1898 the bulk also of the external boundaries of the zamindaris themselves were incidentally defined. Then again the survey by the Forest Department wherever zamindaris adjoin the Government Reserves extended the formal and accurate record of zamindari limits. But even so considerable lines of frontier remained, of which no really adequate delimitation and record had been made. The whole question was therefore reconsidered and a final effort made to secure such a detailed and continuous demarcation and survey of all zamindari boundaries as would render serious dispute impossible in future.

135. Frequent but spasmodic efforts had previously been made to secure settlement of zamindari boundaries. When the Provinces were first formed it was found that the zamindaris of Pendra, Matin, Uprora and Korba impinged on foreign territory. Two Imperial Commissions were, therefore, deputed in 1869 to define the exact limits of British territory along this line, one working from Amarkantak to the trijunction of Pendra with Rewa and Kauria, and the second from this trijunction point along the borders of Kauria, Sarguja and Udaipur. All other boundaries, whether between zamindari and zamindari, or between zamindaris and the Khalsa or Government forest or Central Provinces Feudatory States, were decided by the Provincial Settlement Department (see Secretariat letters Nos. $\frac{2711}{241}$ and $\frac{2711}{242}$, dated the 16th August 1866) and were formally demarcated by Mr. Chisholm. It must be confessed that these decisions were not very accurate in detail. It was hardly possible that they should be so in the absence of an accurate survey to work upon, and in one important instance along the Pendra and Rewa boundary the whole work of the Imperial Commission of 1869 had to be re-done by Mr. Blakesley on behalf of the Central Provinces and Colonel Robertson on behalf of the Rewa Durbar in 1893. But, though the detail was inaccurate, the proceedings of the 'sixties were of course of prime importance in settling numerous disputes and in indicating the general features of each boundary line. They were moreover given still greater definition by means of the Imperial topographical survey (1864—1868 and 1871-75) in which all these decisions were as far as possible incorporated. Add to this the fact already noticed that the surveys by the Forest Department and the provincial cadastral village surveys after 1890 had already defined the major portion of all the zamindari boundaries, and that an Assistant Commissioner (Mr. Tabor) was specially deputed in 1895 to settle zamindari boundary disputes, and it may at first be matter for surprise that so much remained to be done during the present re-settlement.

136. But it was deemed essential to systematize the record of all boundaries, in order to check the recrudescence of disputes which had in some cases (e. g. between Lapha and Chhuri) begun to be cherished almost as an heirloom, and also in order to facilitate their settlement if they did re-appear. For this purpose an accurate traverse and large-scale survey, supported by a series of well-defined survey marks each accurately represented on the map was obviously demanded. Mr Chisholm had demarcated without surveying and the marks when lost or moved could not be replaced. The topographical maps prepared by the Imperial Survey Department had surveyed without demarcating, and the scale being a small one the exact alignment on the ground could not be found. The forest maps and the village cadastral surveys had been carried through without, in every case, allowing sufficient opportunity for possible objections from interested parties, and in the case of many of the village maps the original traverse which should have been taken only as the basis for a subsequent boundary survey was itself taken as the survey line. The boundary marks also were not sufficiently imposing. This work therefore of completing and systematizing the zamindari boundary survey was one of difficulty for it involved local inspection of the ground and considerable traverse and survey work as well as an examination of all previous records and decisions. The work was first attempted by the ordinary Settlement staff but was found to be too severe an addition to their other duties, and in November 1909 Mr. Graham, I. C. S., was deputed as Assistant Settlement Officer on special duty to carry these operations through. He remained in the district till September of the following year and then made over charge to Mr. Chhotelal, Assistant Settlement Officer, on our ordinary staff. The protraction of the work was due to various causes. In the first place, the Political Agent, Chhattisgarh Feudatory States, questioned Mr. Graham's jurisdiction in regard to matters affecting foreign territory. I urged that all disputes had already been decided by competent authority and that our work consisted merely in giving adequate expression and effect to orders already passed. Correspondence on this question continued for more than a year, and pending a decision we were compelled to confine our attention to the inter-zamindari boundaries and to such others of these estates as abut on Government

forest or Khalsa jurisdiction. Eventually the view I had urged was accepted by the Local Administration, but meanwhile time had been lost. Another cause of delay was of course the remoteness and difficult nature of much of the country through which the boundaries ran. The Zamindaris of Pandaria, Kanteli, Champa, Belai-garh-Katgi and Bhatgaon gave but little trouble. They lie mainly in the open country and map comparison between villages of the zamindaris and the Khalsa was all that was required, any part of their borders not adjoining the Khalsa being either faced by Government forest (*e. g.*, Sonakhan, Lormi, or the Mandla district) or marked off by an unmistakable natural boundary (*e. g.*, the river Hanph between the jungles of Pandaria and those of the Kawardha State). But in the Northern Zamindaris—the “Satgarh” of Pendra, Kenda, Lapha, Matin, Uprora, Chhuri and Korba—conditions were very different and the mere definition of the correct alignment of the boundaries in these estates, quite apart from their

Necessity for transferring the work half-finished to the District Staff.

permanent demarcation and survey, occupied Mr. Graham for the whole time he was permitted to remain in the district. The third and most serious obstacle to the completion of the work was the difficulty of erecting permanent masonry pillars in the remoter hills and forests. The Settlement Officer was primarily charged with the duty of demarcation, but owing to the number of estates under the Court of Wards and the failure of the Zamindars to co-operate in the work our staff was compelled to look to the District Office for the executive assistance which alone would enable it to be carried through. This led to further delay until it has at last become necessary to close the Settlement Office finally before the work of demarcation and survey is finished. The whole responsibility for the work has now been laid on the District Staff and it is to be hoped that this will result in its speedy completion.

137. As matters are thus being left but half complete it is important to place on record the exact procedure followed by the Settlement Staff so long as it was in charge of these boundary settlement operations. The work was divided into 24 cases—a separate case being prepared for each portion of the boundary over which any two jurisdictions coincided, *e. g.* (1) Pendra and Lormi Forest, (2) Pendra and Kenda, (3) Pendra and Lapha, (4) Pendra and Matin, (5) Matin and Lapha, and so on. Each of these positions was then examined separately. The line was first determined by the Boundary Officer and then at once temporarily demarcated, where necessary, by means of numbered posts heaped round at the base with loose stones. The line was then, where this had not been done already, traversed by an imperial traverser. The complete traverse sheets have been received and the Boundary Officer has selected a number of points along the line at which masonry pillars ought in his opinion to be erected in order to give practical permanence to his decision. When these masonry pillars, each with its own serial number, have been erected it will remain to have the actual boundary line cadastrally surveyed to the scale of 16 inches=1 mile on the traverse sheets, each permanent pillar being carefully recorded thereupon. The work is now on a fair road to completion and when finished should, since the demarcation and survey will mutually support one another, successfully defeat any attempt either to revive old quarrels or to discover new ones.

An exact account of the balance of work remaining to be done by the District Staff has been given in this office letter No. 181, dated the 20th July 1912, to the address of the Settlement Commissioner, and the close of the next field season should see it very near completion.

PART V.—CONCLUSION.

138. I have now dealt with the main operations undertaken in connection with the new Settlement, *viz.*, the correction of the maps and records, and the enhancement of rents, kamil-jamas and takolis. But, important though some of these measures have doubtless been, the feature of the recent re-settlement which will, I believe, constitute its chief value is the effort which has been made to obtain for the Zamindaris of Bilaspur a clear definition of the varying tenures and titles which have from time to time been conferred on the land-holding population. When this Settlement began the status of the Zamindars themselves, of their sub-proprietors, muafidars, thekedars, protected and unprotected, malik-mak-buzas, and even of the muafi khidmati and muafi khairati tenants, all had certain features in regard to which considerable uncertainty prevailed. So far as possible these were all examined, and definite orders obtained indicating what was the exact status of every grade in the land-holding community. This is, I take it, the real function of a "Settlement"—not merely to revise the rents and revenue but so to settle the terms on which the land is held by the various agricultural classes as to minimize misunderstanding in the future and enable every one to realize exactly the position that he fills. Absolute finality in a matter of this kind it is impossible to obtain. Fresh circumstances are certain to create fresh difficulties in regard to the mutual relations of such a complex body as the land-holders of a zamindari estate. But still a great deal has been achieved in the last five years, and it will be convenient here to refer to the various orders and decisions passed in this connection and to summarize the results obtained.

139. First as regards the Zamindars themselves. We have already seen (paragraph 40 above) how several of the Zamindars were ousted under the Maratha rule, and it is probably not too much to say that it was the intervention of the British power which alone saved these estates from being gradually absorbed into the area under centralized control. This however is a historical fact to which the present Zamindars are hardly likely to allow much weight. Rather, their attention has been directed in recent years to murmuring against the necessity which has arisen of introducing into their estates Government control of certain administrative branches. As a result the Zamindars of the neighbouring district of Raipur were sufficiently ill-advised to file a suit against the Government for a restitution of their full powers over the local police, excise, ferries, pounds, etc., of their estates, which they had enjoyed prior to the lapse of the Nagpur Kingdom to the British but which it had, in the interest of good government, been necessary gradually to withdraw from them. The suit was instituted in 1906 and after being fought to the Privy Council was eventually settled in favour of the Government (see Privy Council's Judgment in *Bir Bikram Deo v. the Secretary of State for India in Council*, dated the 16th January 1912, forwarded with the Government of India's endorsement No. 573-218-1, dated the 13th May 1912, to the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner and published at page 362, *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Volume XVI, No. 14). Meanwhile the status of all the Zamindars throughout Chhattisgarh remained a matter for speculation. The Zamindars of Bilaspur soon imitated their fellows in Raipur, made the same extravagant pretensions to all sorts of sovereign rights in their estates, and eventually, through the Zamindar of Pandaria, filed a similar suit against the Government. It was of course no more successful than the Raipur suit, and has just recently been decided on the basis of the Privy Council's decision (see Judgment of Civil suit No. 2 of 1909 in the Court of the District Judge, Bilaspur, dated the 11th May 1912). The one good result of this protracted litigation has been that it has cleared the air. Recourse will probably be had to legislation to decide finally the exact incidents of the Zamindari status but, as it is, the position can be sufficiently defined. The Zamindars possess no sovereign or semi-sovereign rights whatever. They are ordinary British subjects in exactly the same position legally as any other person on whom proprietary right has been conferred by Government, except that restrictions on the partibility, transferability and heritability of their estates have been imposed with a view to preserving its

integrity, while on the other hand some concession in the matter of assessment is as a matter of grace, allowed them in recognition of the peculiar position which they at one time held. It is a great matter that a final and satisfactory decision as to their position has at last been reached, and it is to be hoped that in future they will lend a less ready ear to interested persons who see their way to profit by bringing these ignorant but wealthy clients into Court.

140. After the Zamindars, the next most important class of land-holders are the sub-proprietors. I have dealt separately in Part IV with the difficulty that has from time to time been felt in defining the area over which their rights extend, and this matter was the subject of protracted correspondence. In the end it was finally and indisputably decided that the rights of a sub-proprietor—which are defined to be as wide in regard to his Mahal as those of the Zamindar himself in regard to the rest of his estate—extend throughout the traditional boundaries of his village as now defined by our Settlement maps and papers. The method of sub-proprietary assessment was also examined and defined, and the liability of the sub-proprietors to be assessed to malikana in addition to kamil-jama was affirmed (see paragraph 87 above). The Zamindars now receive the whole kamil-jama, malikana and cesses direct from their sub-proprietors. The cesses they remit intact to Government, their profit on the village consisting of the difference between the kamil-jama *plus* malikana they receive and the portion of the Government takoli debitable to the particular Mahal.

141. Another but less important body of village holders are the muafidars or assignees holding from the Zamindars. In most cases the whole village is assigned, but in some the assignment covers only the jama, or part of the jama, paid by a thekedar whom the Zamindar appoints. The class is numerically unimportant, but the individual beneficiaries, being for the most part Brahmins, have often hitherto made extravagant pretensions to a permanent title. In this connection therefore a ruling by the Local Administration in Secretariat (Survey and Settlement Department) letter No. 337—X1-14-5, dated the 23rd October 1908, is important. "The first general principle" it lays down "is that no Zamindar is bound to recognize the grants made by his predecessors, inasmuch as the special Zamindari tenure gives each incumbent only a life interest in his estate and he cannot encumber it with any grants which shall be valid beyond his own lifetime." This is an important ruling which should be welcomed and acted upon by some of the smaller Zamindars who find important villages in their estates held rent-free under assignments of long standing for which no return in service is contributed.

142. The bulk of the villages in these estates are held by what in official language are called thekedars but whom the villagers among themselves invariably speak of as Gaontias (or in the east of the district as Sirdars). Of the protected thekedar I have said sufficient in a separate chapter (see Part IV). Of the ordinary thekedar it is unnecessary to say very much. There is no doubt now but that in the vast majority of zamindari villages the ordinary thekedar is a lessee of the proprietary rights of the village, and will hold a written *patta* roughly defining his status and usually fixing his assessment and the term of his possession for a period of three to five years. The letter of the contract between Zamindar and thekedar, strictly speaking, defines the position of the latter in each case. Practically, however, all the Zamindar is commonly concerned with is to limit the thekedar's rights over the forest of the village, to prevent him making improvements which may lead to the conferral of Protected Status, and to secure his peaceful eviction in case his period of possession is approaching 20 years which is, under the present Act, a condition precedent to the grant of this coveted status. The ordinary lease directs its whole attention to these three points, merely adding a few pious instructions to the thekedar to pay his jama regularly, obey the Zamindar's orders, and treat his tenants with consideration. In a certain number of villages to the east of the district the gaontias will be found to hold no 'pattas,' to have never held them, and

to be unwilling to receive them. If enquiry also discloses a surprising coincidence between the theka-jama so called and the total rental collections it will be apparent that in such villages the full thekedari conception has not been accepted by the headman. The Zamindar may be forcing responsibility for the village assessment on to the headman and may be calling him a thekadar (or when it suits his argument a Kamdar). But the headman pushes this responsibility on to his ryots and calls himself the gaontia. These are the sole relics of the true gaontiahi system at one time prevalent throughout the district. They are only interesting however as survivals, and will doubtless be entirely extinct before the next Settlement commences.

143. Below the village headmen the chief of the ryot class are the malik-makbuzas. Orders defining their status were obtained in connection with the Chhuri Zamindari Assesment Report. It was there laid down that what the sub-proprietor is to a village the malik-makbuza is to his plot. If the tenure of either determines, the Zamindar comes in—not Government. The malik-makbuzas are in fact *adna* malik-makbuzas—the Zamindar being over-lord in respect of all proprietors of land in his estate including such plot proprietors. Their revenue goes to the Zamindar and, if there be no sub-proprietor or other middleman in the village where a malik makbuza plot is situated, the whole of the malik-makbuza assets go to the Zamindar without drawback and he is assessed on them to takoli.

144. The rest of the ryot class consist of occupancy, ordinary and village service tenants. (There are no absolute occupancy tenants, see paragraph 70 above). The status of these is defined in the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, and requires no comment. But a reference may here be made to Settlement Circular No. 19, dated the 12th May 1910, which lays down that all persons holding land rent free with the consent of the malguzar are *tenants* under the Land Revenue and Tenancy Acts, and must be entered as such (*i. e.*, as ordinary or occupancy) in the village papers with the addition of the words 'muafi khairati.' These orders being issued late in the Settlement could only be given partial effect to in preparing the record-of-rights. Presumably persons holding land in return for service (other than village service tenants for whom there is statutory provision) are also tenants under the Act. But they, in accordance with the ruling in III, Nagpur Law Reports, page 190, are liable to be ejected on the termination of their service.

145. While writing on the subject of the tenant status I may mention one difficulty which came prominently to notice in the course of the recent Bilaspur Settlement, both Khalsa and Zamindaris. The Civil Courts maintain that an agricultural tenancy can only come into existence either by the operation of law or by agreement between the parties, *i. e.*, the landlord and the tenant to be. There is therefore a residue of land cultivated in the villages by persons who are not legally speaking tenants at all. But so far our Land Record system recognizes no such class of land-holders and records them all either as "ordinary without rent" or as "ordinary muafi khairati." The Civil Courts are now, I understand, taking the further step of regarding such entries in the Land Records or jama-bandi as proof of the existence of a tenancy, so that in practice every cultivator becomes a tenant, regardless of any agreement with his landlord. The position I think, requires further examination. Our record-of-rights and annual Land Record papers should provide a separate classification for cases in which the land lord expressly challenges the existence of a tenancy. On the other hand, the landlord's consent should be interpreted in many cases by construction—that is unchallenged possession over a series of years (say three) even if unaccompanied by the payment of rent, should be taken as constituting an acknowledgment of tenancy by the land-lord.

146. The new Settlement then has started free of many uncertainties which have hitherto beset the status of landholders in zamindari estates. The new assessment is a very reasonable one and was bound to be so seeing how intimately the people have themselves been associated in the work of re-settlement. No figure in the revised assets, whether of rental or of siwai, was adopted for the purpose of assessment without being previously endorsed and admitted to be correct by the person assessed. The first field to field survey has been completed. A detailed record-of-rights has been prepared for every village in the zamindaris.

Tenants have for the first time received a written acknowledgment of their legal status from Government, and village customs have for the first time been recorded in a village wajib-ul-arz.

But in emphasizing the administrative importance of the results achieved I must not be thought to be seeking in any way to reflect upon or institute comparisons with the work done in these zamindaris by the earlier Settlement Officers. For more than four years I was able to devote exclusive attention to a tract which they had to deal with in as many months as a mere episode of their general Settlement of the district. It was a sheer impossibility for them to study the idiosyncrasies of these distant zamindaris, and if I have anywhere in this Report criticized their methods or dissented from their views, I have done so with full recognition of the value of the work they did remembering the short time in which they had to do it.

147. Prior to revision the kamil-jama of these 12 estates was Rs. 1,41,209, the takoli Rs. 62,516 and the cesses Rs. 7,384. Now the kamil-jama is Rs. 2,34,730, the takoli Rs. 1,24,800, and cesses Rs. 12,952. The Government therefore in the matter of takoli and cesses gains directly the sum of Rs. 67,852 by re-settlement. Had the Settlement been a malguzari one the gain would have been the difference between the new and old kamil-jama and cesses, *vis.*, Rs. 99,089.

The total cost of re-settlement operations from the date on which the office opened in January 1906 to the date on which it closed in July 1912, including the large extra outlay involved in the deputation of an officer of the Indian Civil Service for 12 months on boundary work, was Rs. 2,37,074, of which the main heads were *Establishment* (*i. e.*, salary of Settlement Officer, Assistant Settlement Officers, Superintendents, Inspectors, Clerks and servants) Rs. 1,60,005; *Travelling allowances* Rs. 15,001; and *Miscellaneous* (*i. e.*, pay of madadgars and chainman, section writing, etc.) Rs. 62,068. It will thus take $3\frac{1}{2}$ years for the addition to the former takoli and cesses (taking no account of deferred enhancements) to pay off the whole cost of re-Settlement. Had the Settlement been on malguzari lines the difference between the new and old assessment of kamil-jama and cesses would have wiped off the cost of resettlement in $2\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Considering the very heavy delay caused by difficulties in map correction and the extra expense (probably not less than Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000) involved in appointing a special officer for zamindari boundary work this result may be regarded as sufficiently satisfactory for the first regular Settlement of the tract. The cost-rate of re-settlement per square mile was necessarily very low (Rs. 53) owing to the large extent of forest.

148. Under Article 300-A of the Settlement Code and Revenue Book Circular I-14, paragraph 13, I am required to include in this Final Report a proposed scale for relief by suspension or remission of Land Revenue to be applied in case of widespread famine, drought or failure of crops. All the zamindaris are most suitably classed as B—Normal and in all but Kanteli and Pandaria a sample scale of full remission if the crop is 40 by American Notation or under, and of full collection if it is over 40 would be sufficient. In Pandaria and Kanteli where rents are about a rupee an acre a half suspension might be allowed when the crop is between 40 and 50 by American Notation.

149. The bulk of the burden of re-Settlement was borne by the following officials: Mr. Chunnilal, Senior Assistant Settlement Officer, Mr. Chhotelal, Assistant Settlement Officer, Tukaram, Statistical Superintendent, and Amrit Rao, Settlement Clerk. The Assistant Settlement Officers worked very steadily and well. Their work was often very trying and I am greatly indebted to them both for the willing way in which they discharged their duties. Tukaram was indefatigable in the statistical branch and maintained a high standard of accuracy in the details of assessment. Amrit Rao, as Settlement Clerk, was careful and hard-working and punctual in the discharge of the numerous duties entrusted to him.

Among other officials I would mention for their good work Nerbada Prasad, Assistant Settlement Superintendent, and Lachman Prasad, Additional Revenue Inspector, who fell a victim to cholera.

NAGPUR:

The 16th September 1912.

C. U. WILLS,

Zamindari Settlement Officer.

APPENDICES.

A.—Prescribed Statements I to XII.

B.—List of protected thekedari villages. (See Report, paragraph 111.)

C.—Instructions regarding the record of co-sharers in protected thekedari villages. (See Report, paragraph 116.)

D.—Special forms of Zamindar's acceptance of assessment, sub-proprietor's acceptance of assessment and of information concerning the new Settlement given to Zamindars. (See Report, paragraph 106.)

E.—Orders defining areas which were summarily settled. (See Report, paragraph 89)



APPENDIX A.

STATEMENT I.—Details of Revenue Demand prior to re-Settlement and as revised for each group or Zamindari.

No.	Assessment group.	As fixed at former Settlement.		At time of re-Settlement.		As sanctioned by the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner.	
		Land Revenue.	Takoli.	Land Revenue.	Takoli.	Land Revenue.	Takoli.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Pendra ...	9,800	5,021	9,800	5,861	25,949	13,000
2	Kenda ...	5,183	2,500	5,183	2,751	11,073	5,750
3	Matin ...	1,800	1,344	1,800	1,104	8,935	5,000
4	Lapha ...	4,411	2,000	4,411	2,204	12,090	6,750
5	Uprora ...	1,961	929	1,961	1,183	5,700	3,500
6	Chhuri ...	8,643	4,340	8,643	3,920	18,850	10,500
7	Korba ...	17,093	7,208	17,077	6,703	41,980	23,000
	Total for Satgarh ..	48,891	23,342	48,875	23,726	1,25,177	67,500
8	Pandaria ...	63,890	27,500	63,890	27,500	66,725	34,000
9	Kantell ...	6,463	2,200	6,463	2,200	7,540	3,500
10	Champa ...	7,274	3,300	7,448	3,283	16,028	10,000
11	Bilaigarh-Katgi ...	11,037	4,610	11,037	4,210	15,979	7,000
12	Bhatgaon ...	3,703	1,800	3,696	1,597	5,737	2,800
	Total for open country Zamindaris ...	92,367	39,410	92,334	38,790	1,10,009	57,300
	GRAND TOTAL ...	1,41,258	62,752	1,41,207	62,516	2,35,186	1,24,800

STATEMENT II.—Number of soil-units per acre for each group or Zamindari.

(For regularly settled villages only.)

No.	Assessment group.		No. of soil-units per acre.	Area classed as—			
				Wheat land.	Rice land.	Garden land.	Minor crop land.
1	2		3	4	5	6	7
				Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
1	Pendra	...	9	5,500	57,831	4,413	47,020
2	Kenda	...	11	485	15,276	1,453	8,529
3	Matin	...			Not classified.		
4	Lapha	...	12	5	13,306	1,002	7,506
5	Uprora	...			Not classified.		
6	Chhuri	...	13	...	22,864	1,336	8,371
7	Korba	...	11	477	67,521	2,472	24,781
	Total for Satgarh	...	11	6,467	1,76,798	10,676	96,207
8	Pandaria	...	15	49,278	36,247	956	25,411
9	Kanteli	..	18	6,934	5,836	120	1,111
10	Champa	...	16	2,523	31,041	661	4,463
11	Bilaigarh-Katgi	...	14	2,155	38,638	1,470	8,629
12	Bhatgaon	...	10	920	11,810	345	5,823
	Total of open country Zamindaris	...	15	61,810	1,23,572	3,552	45,437
	GRAND TOTAL	..	13	68,277	3,00,370	14,228	141,644

NOTE.—Calculated by dividing the total number of soil-units in regularly-settled villages by the area in cultivation (i. e., excluding old fallow).

STATEMENT III.—Cropped area classified according to Crops

(For surveyed villages both

No.	Assessment group.	At present Settlement (1906-07 to 1909-10).										
		Wheat.	Rice.	Gram.	Linseed.	Kodon.	Tilli.	Urad.	Others.	Total.	Double crop- ped.	Net area under crop.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
1	Pendra (204 surveyed villages)	737	50,053	3,130	842	11,804	4,937	8,136	13,082	92,721	2,521	90,200
2	Kenda (74 surveyed villages)	330	13,282	566	609	2,805	689	1,367	3,231	22,879	1,464	21,415
3	Matin (53 surveyed villages)	10	10,442	157	1	1,316	1,165	1,103	3,711	17,905	1,121	16,784
4	Lapha (78 surveyed villages)	23	13,082	74	24	780	831	1,109	2,478	18,401	423	17,978
5	Uprora (38 surveyed villages)	8	4,852	63	2	124	140	340	1,105	6,634	219	6,415
6	Chhuri (128 surveyed villages)	12	22,151	94	28	526	481	1,355	3,431	28,111	393	27,718
7	Korba (302 surveyed villages)	80	81,426	39	239	3,817	6,074	5,708	10,915	108,298	527	107,771
	Total for Satgarh (877 surveyed villages).	1,200	195,318	4,123	1,745	21,172	14,330	19,118	37,953	294,949	6,668	288,281
8	Pandaria (298 surveyed villages)	19,176	30,468	823	4,143	43,261	1,102	158	26,880	126,011	15,639	110,372
9	Kantell (44 surveyed villages)	3,238	5,380	292	946	3,821	...	...	2,581	16,258	2,824	13,434
10	Champa (63 surveyed villages)	537	29,696	18	4,689	304	...	2,713	3,404	41,361	7,405	33,956
11	Bilalgarh-Katgi (111 surveyed villages)	431	36,993	168	1,514	747	1,965	6,110	3,169	51,097	6,818	44,279
12	Bhatgaon (55 surveyed villages)	42	11,358	98	133	592	1,501	680	1,421	15,825	417	15,408
	Total of open country Zamindaris (571 surveyed villages).	23,424	113,895	1,399	11,425	48,725	4,568	9,661	37,455	250,552	33,103	217,449
	GRAND TOTAL (1,448 SURVEYED VILLAGES).	24,624	309,213	5,522	13,170	69,897	18,888	28,779	75,408	545,501	39,771	505,730

for each group or Zamindari.

regularly and summarily settled.)

Compare as at Survey (1891-92 to 1898-99).

Wheat.	Rice.	Gram.	Linseed.	Kodan.	Tilli.	Urad.	Others.	Total.	Double-cropped.	Net area under crop.
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
459	53,765	1,666	942	5,472	2,663	4,425	12,772	82,664	1,854	80,810
147	15,582	188	959	1,224	877	656	2,697	20,324	1,034	19,290
33	6,739	43	20	450	329	702	3,296	11,612	849	10,763
17	9,609	41	114	178	500	818	2,641	13,938	496	13,442
1	3,789	23	1	66	157	338	1,134	5,509	225	5,284
33	20,181	126	26	224	632	1,713	4,001	26,936	286	26,650
346	66,359	352	2,607	1,226	2,414	4,366	10,971	88,651	1,594	87,057
1,530	174,024	2,439	4,669	8,840	7,582	13,038	37,512	249,624	6,338	243,286
10,260	50,952	1,014	13,145	26,909	...	...	42,200	154,480	32,580	121,900
1,278	6,711	79	3,056	2,472	...	...	4,942	19,538	5,882	13,656
1,194	27,595	586	4,385	173	...	1,217	4,343	39,493	4,156	35,337
616	38,744	342	5,553	397	944	4,598	6,703	57,897	8,622	49,275
543	12,121	213	1,793	412	1,206	846	2,010	19,144	1,162	17,982
24,891	136,123	2,234	27,932	30,363	2,150	6,661	60,198	290,552	52,382	238,170
26,481	310,147	4,673	32,601	30,203	9,732	19,699	97,710	540,186	58,720	481,466

STATEMENT IV.—Details of village area

(For surveyed villages both

No.	Assessment group.	Occupied area.					Unoccupied area.				
		Area in cultivation.			Old fallow.	Total area occupied.	Grown.	Tree forest.	Sandy jungle.	Under water, hill, &c.	Total unoccupied area.
		Under crop.	Fallow of three years or under.	Total.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
1	Pendra (804 surveyed villages) ...	90,200	24,685	114,885	12,143	127,028	66	205,431	50,808	24,248	280,553
2	Kenda (74 surveyed villages) ...	21,415	4,328	25,743	1,833	27,576	4	78,735	8,658	5,973	93,370
3	Matin (53 surveyed villages) ..	16,784	3,855	20,639	1,581	22,220	2	104,400	15,020	12,562	132,374
4	Lapha (78 surveyed villages) ...	17,978	5,096	23,074	2,171	25,245	9	98,131	0,804	34,509	139,513
5	Uprora (38 surveyed villages) ...	6,415	1,498	7,913	518	8,431	...	49,121	4,746	11,765	65,632
6	Chhuri (128 surveyed villages) ..	27,718	7,318	35,036	3,018	38,054	10	75,906	13,787	12,564	102,257
7	Korba (302 surveyed villages) ...	107,771	20,496	128,267	11,693	139,960	27	187,955	59,816	35,182	283,393
	Total for Satgarh (877 surveyed villages).	288,281	67,276	355,557	32,962	388,519	123	700,662	150,639	137,653	1,097,089
8	Pandaria (298 surveyed villages) ..	110,372	9,720	120,101	13,894	133,995	251	45,425	34,040	19,047	98,763
9	Kanteli (44 surveyed villages) ; ...	13,434	567	14,001	321	14,322	7	25	2,054	496	2,582
10	Champa (63 surveyed villages) ...	33,956	4,732	38,688	1,757	40,445	17	4,329	13,076	6,978	24,400
11	Bilaigarh-Katgi (111 surveyed villages).	44,279	7,005	51,284	1,935	53,219	2	17,284	13,774	15,208	46,268
12	Bhatgaon (55 surveyed villages) ...	15,408	3,625	19,033	2,128	21,171	5	7,583	5,928	2,980	16,496
	Total of open country Zamindaris, (571 surveyed villages).	217,449	25,658	243,107	20,045	263,152	282	74,646	68,872	44,709	188,509
	GRAND TOTAL (1,448 SURVEYED VILLAGES).	505,730	92,934	598,664	53,007	651,671	410	874,315	2,28,511	182,362	1,285,598

for each group or Zamindari.

regularly and summarily settled.)

Total of village areas.	Area irrigated.			No. of irrigation wells.	No. of artificial irrigation tanks.	No. of ploughs.	No. of plough-cattle.	Compare at survey.						
	From tanks.	From other sources.	Total.					Area cropped.	Area occupied.	Area irrigated.	No. of irrigation wells.	No. of artificial irrigation tanks.	No. of ploughs.	No. of plough-cattle.
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.					Acres.	Acres.	Acres.				
407,531	2	4	30	50	545	8,062	23,507	80,810	93,914	209	0	34	6,931	15,126
120,946	181	...	181	75	79	2,194	6,070	19,290	24,100	64	...	10	2,119	4,974
154,594	...	...	...	...	...	1,870	5,850	10,763	11,630	...	...	...	1,220	2,447
164,758	496	167	663	51	142	2,384	6,429	13,442	16,389	62	8	11	1,785	4,093
74,063	87	12	99	1	23	1,005	2,137	5,284	5,803	17	...	4	629	1,368
140,311	410	415	825	49	137	3,807	8,621	26,650	29,897	73	25	9	3,014	6,227
423,355	3,711	424	4,135	295	405	11,127	30,160	87,057	103,514	393	87	160	7,864	19,051
1,485,608	4,911	1,022	5,933	521	1,331	30,449	80,774	243,296	285,247	818	123	168	27,602	53,266
132,758	36	16	52	6	149	7,968	22,035	121,900	139,409	8	3	5	7,924	19,151
16,904	2	1	3	1	26	925	2,492	13,656	14,348	...	...	...	982	2,181
64,845	1,481	189	1,670	356	206	3,454	9,500	35,337	38,591	598	212	91	2,787	8,147
99,187	3,965	418	4,383	353	181	4,209	12,661	49,295	52,329	183	149	19	3,028	12,791
37,667	1,156	46	1,202	29	66	1,352	4,570	17,982	21,442	38	19	41	1,309	3,809
451,661	6,640	670	7,310	745	628	17,908	51,258	238,170	266,119	827	383	156	16,930	46,079
1,037,869	11,551	1,692	13,243	1,266	1,959	48,357	132,032	481,466	551,366	1,645	511	324	40,532	99,345

STATEMENT V.—Details of holdings for each Group

(For surveyed villages both

No.	Assessment Group.	Held by village headmen.				Held by malik-makhuzas.		Held by occupancy tenants.	
		As sir.	Other than sir.	Total.	Area of total leased.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.
1	Pendra (204 surveyed villages)	9,892	4,301	14,193	1,853	2	75	1,647	21,792
2	Kenda (74 surveyed villages)	3,327	1,598	4,925	433	...	...	426	5,064
3	Matin (53 surveyed villages)	1,852	1,422	3,274	345	...	...	100	797
4	Lapha (78 surveyed villages)	2,565	1,308	3,873	246	...	...	284	1,685
5	Uprora (38 surveyed villages)	1,180	519	1,699	178	...	...	61	582
6	Chhuri (128 surveyed villages)	5,197	1,656	6,853	1,154	3	136	686	6,072
7	Korba (302 surveyed villages)	15,252	6,196	21,448	4,609	1	15	1,426	17,810
	Total for Satgarh (877 surveyed villages)...	37,265	1,6994	54,259	8,898	6	226	4,620	53,882
8	Pandaria (298 surveyed villages)	32,179	1,1479	43,658	7,240	...	...	1,613	20,100
9	Kantell (44 surveyed villages)	3,231	1,163	4,394	1,138	...	...	329	3,605
10	Champa (63 surveyed villages)	1,058	640	1,698	255	49	574	1,925	15,881
11	Bilalghat-Katgi (111 surveyed villages)	6,056	2,543	8,599	1,670	...	...	1,972	19,132
12	Bhatgaon (55 surveyed villages)	3,202	1,184	4,386	608	...	...	437	5,898
	Total for open country Zamindaris (571 surveyed villages.)	45,726	1,7009	62,735	10,914	49	574	6,276	64,313
	GRAND TOTAL (1,448 SURVEYED VILLAGES)...	82,991	3,4003	1,16,994	19,812	55	800	10,896	118,115

NOTE.—There are no revenue free granties or absolute

or Zamindari

regularly and summarily settled.)

Held by tenants of superior class in ordinary tenant right.	Held by ordinary tenants.		Held by rent-free or privileged tenants.		Total occupied area.	Compare as at survey.			
	Number of holdings.	Area.	As grant from malguzars.	In lieu of service.		Held as sir.	Held by malik-mak-buzas.	Held by occupancy tenants.	Held by ordinary tenants.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
11,105	9,576	77,378	1,824	660	1,27,028	9,545	...	25,234	54,221
2,080	2,162	15,081	190	236	27,576	3,505	...	6,437	13,174
967	2,264	16,706	216	260	22,220	1,550	...	560	8,671
1,191	2,542	18,108	154	234	2,5245	2,404	...	2,229	10,656
355	1,007	5,481	148	166	8,431	1,079	...	755	3,419
2,691	3,587	21,229	580	499	38,054	5,622	...	6,989	15,343
10,620	11,066	89,288	1,154	1,630	1,39,065	13,563	...	21,570	62,686
29,010	32,204	2,43,271	4,266	3,685	3,88,519	37,268	...	63,774	1,68,170
5,919	7,192	60,780	2,116	1,422	1,33,995	33,930	...	37,191	58,490
780	725	5,405	57	82	14,322	3,232	...	5,619	4,887
4,075	2,689	13,433	3,651	1,133	49,445	3,239	30	17,561	12,592
3,287	2,893	20,912	421	869	53,219	5,616	...	22,315	21,581
980	1,082	9,154	536	517	21,171	3,441	...	8,189	7,530
11,041	14,581	1,09,685	6,781	4,023	2,63,152	49,458	30	90,876	1,05,080
44,051	46,785	3,52,956	11,047	7,708	6,51,671	86,726	30	1,54,650	2,73,250

occupancy tenants in these Zamindaris.

STATEMENT VI.—Details of Malik-makbuzas and tenants' payments

(For all occupied villages both surveyed)

Regularly settled											
Serial No.	Assessment group.	At last Settlement.	Number of villages.	As paid prior to Settlement.				As enhanced i. e. sanctioned at the re-settlement.			
				Malik-makbuza.	Tenants.			Malik-makbuza.	Tenants.		
					Occupancy.	Ordinary.	Total.		Occupancy.	Ordinary.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. a.	Rs. p. a.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1	Penda ...	8,952	200	...	5,122 0 0	12,487 0 0	17,609 0 0	15 0 0	7,326 0 0	21,348 0 0	28,674 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	0 3 9	0 2 3	0 2 7	0 4 6	0 5 5	0 3 10	0 4 2
2	Kenda ...	3,881	74	...	2,007 0 0	5,683 0 0	7,690 0 0	...	2,600 0 0	7,548 0 0	10,148 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	0 6 4	0 5 4	0 5 6	...	0 8 0	0 7 0	0 7 4
3	Matin ...	1,005	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	Lapha ...	2,469	67	...	720 0 0	5,685 0 0	6,405 0 0	...	955 0 0	8,104 0 0	9,059 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	0 6 11	0 5 0	0 5 2	...	0 9 2	0 7 2	0 7 4
5	Uprora ...	2,805	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	Chhuri ...	7,005	116	94 0 0	2,945 0 0	7,620 0 0	10,565 0 0	118 0 0	3,788 0 0	11,190 0 0	14,978 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	0 11 1	0 8 1	0 5 6	0 6 0	0 13 11	0 10 5	0 8 1	0 8 6
7	Korba ...	16,141	236	...	5,369 0 0	19,332 0 0	24,701 0 0	4 0 0	7,015 0 0	27,927 0 0	34,942 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	0 6 0	0 4 5	0 4 8	0 4 3	0 7 10	0 7 4	0 6 7
	Total for Satgarh	41,538	693	94 0 0	16,163 0 0	50,807 0 0	66,970 0 0	137 0 0	21,684 0 0	76,117 0 0	97,801 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	0 7 3	0 5 4	0 3 9	0 4 1	0 10 6	0 7 1	0 5 8	0 5 11
8	Pandaria ...	68,776	239	...	14,291 0 0	46,387 0 0	60,678 0 0	...	17,957 0 0	54,125 0 0	72,082 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	0 11 7	0 12 6	0 12 3	...	0 14 7	0 14 7	0 14 7
9	Kanteli ...	7,627	44	...	2,698 0 0	5,471 0 0	8,169 0 0	...	3,466 0 0	6,506 0 0	9,972 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	0 12 0	0 14 2	0 13 4	...	0 15 5	1 0 10	1 0 4
10	Champa ...	8,956	63	20 0 0	8,821 0 0	8,514 0 0	17,335 0 0	369 0 0	11,508 0 0	11,908 0 0	23,476 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	0 0 7	0 8 11	0 7 9	0 8 4	0 10 3	0 11 7	0 10 11	0 11 3
11	Bilalgarh Katgil	13,200	103	...	6,186 0 0	8,241 0 0	14,427 0 0	...	9,097 0 0	11,103 0 0	20,200 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	0 5 2	0 5 6	0 5 4	...	0 7 7	0 7 5	0 7 6
12	Bhatgaon ...	3,189	51	...	2,060 0 0	3,646 0 0	5,706 0 0	...	2,627 0 0	4,639 0 0	7,266 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	...	0 5 11	0 5 10	0 5 10	...	0 7 7	0 7 5	0 7 6
	Total for open country Zamin-daris	1,01,748	500	20 0 0	34,056 0 0	72,259 0 0	1,06,315 0 0	369 0 0	44,655 0 0	88,341 0 0	1,32,996 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	0 0 7	0 8 6	0 9 11	0 9 5	0 10 3	0 11 0	0 12 1	0 11 9
	Grand total	1,43,286	1,193	114 0 0	50,219 0 0	1,23,066 0 0	1,73,285 0 0	506 0 0	66,339 0 0	1,64,458 0 0	2,30,797 0 0
	Incidence per acre.	...	...	0 2 4	0 7 2	0 5 11	0 6 3	0 10 4	0 9 5	0 7 11	0 8 5

for each group for Zamindari.

and unsurveyed.

villages.				Summarily settled villages.							Unsurveyed.		
Compare as deduced from rates.				Number of villages.	As paid prior to Settlement.		As sanctioned at Settlement.		Ordinary rents.	Number of occupied villages.	Malik-mak-buza.	Ordinary rent.	
Malik-mak-buza-	Tenants.				Malik mak-buza.	Occupancy.	Malik mak-buza.	Occupancy.					
	Occupancy.	Ordinary.	Total.										
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
16 0 0	7,378 0 0	20,721 0 0	28,099 0 0	4	...	...	5 0 0	...	15 0 0	14	...	108 0 0
0 4 6	0 5 5	0 3 9	0 4 1	...	...	...	0 4 5	...	0 2 5	...	...	0 1 11
...	2,732 0 0	6,911 0 0	9,643 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	80 0 0
...	0 8 8	0 6 5	0 6 11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 2 8
...	...	...	...	53	...	206 0 0	...	256 0 0	4,604 0 0	49	...	578 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 2	...	0 5 2	0 4 2	...	...	0 2 7
...	997 0 0	8,079 0 0	9,076 0 0	11	...	8 0 0	...	8 0 0	333 0 0	6	...	207 0 0	
...	0 9 7	0 7 2	0 7 4	...	...	0 8 0	...	0 8 0	0 4 6	...	...	0 5 0
...	...	...	...	38	...	260 0 0	...	389 0 0	2,301 0 0	43	...	695 0 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	0 9 11	...	0 10 8	0 6 8	...	...	0 3 11
118 0 0	3,976 0 0	11,020 0 0	14,996 0 0	12	...	88 0 0	...	109 0 0	471 0 0	14	5 0 0	148 0 0	
0 13 11	0 10 11	0 7 11	0 8 7	...	...	0 6 1	...	0 7 6	0 4 5	...	0 3 10	0 3 3
4 0 0	7,093 0 0	26,988 0 0	34,081 0 0	66	...	814 0 0	...	1,114 0 0	3,984 0 0	39	...	635 0 0	
0 4 3	0 7 11	0 6 2	0 6 5	...	...	0 3 9	...	0 5 2	0 2 2	...	...	0 1 11
138 0 0	22,170 0 0	73,719 0 0	95,895 0 0	184	...	1,476 0 0	5 0 0	1,876 0 0	11,608 0 0	173	5 0 0	2,451 0 0	
0 10 7	0 7 3	0 5 5	0 5 9	...	...	0 4 8	0 4 5	0 5 11	0 3 4	...	0 3 10	0 2 8
...	18,204 0 0	50,770 0 0	69,064 0 0	59	...	115 0 0	...	129 0 0	2,603 0 0	30	...	508 0 0	
...	0 14 10	0 13 8	0 14 0	...	...	0 4 8	...	0 5 3	0 5 9	...	...	0 6 8
...	3,622 0 0	6,168 0 0	9,795 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	1 0 2	0 15 11	1 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
368 0 0	11,658 0 0	11,575 0 0	23,233 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
0 10 3	0 11 9	0 10 7	0 11 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	9,392 0 0	10,040 0 0	20,041 0 0	8	...	1 0 0	...	1 0 0	68 0 0	1	...	...
...	0 7 10	0 7 2	0 7 5	...	...	0 2 1	...	0 2 1	...	...	...	...
...	2,622 0 0	4,362 0 0	6,984 0 0	4	...	3 0 0	...	3 0 0	14 0 0	...	...	...
...	0 7 6	0 7 0	0 7 2	...	...	0 1 8	...	0 1 8	0 1 7	...	...	...
368 0 0	43,593 0 0	83,524 0 0	1,29,117 0 0	71	...	119 0 0	...	133 0 0	2,685 0 0	31	...	503 0 0	
0 10 3	0 11 5	0 11 5	0 11 5	...	...	0 4 6	...	0 5 1	0 5 7	...	...	0 6 8
506 0 0	67,769 0 0	1,57,243 0 0	2,25,012 0 0	255	...	1,595 0 0	5 0 0	2,009 0 0	14,293 0 0	204	5 0 0	2,959 0 0	
0 10 4	0 9 8	0 7 7	0 8 1	...	...	0 4 8	0 4 5	0 5 10	0 3 7	...	0 3 10	0 3 0

STATEMENT VII.—Incidence per soil-unit of rents before and after revision (expressed in decimals of an anna.)

(For regularly settled villages.)

No.	Name of group.		Malik-makbuza.	Occupancy.	Ordinary.	All-round.	Standard rate.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Pendra (200 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'38	0'29	0'31	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'41	0'55	0'49	0'50
		Enhancement per cent	...	+43%	+71%	+63%	...
2	Kenda (74 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'53	0'55	0'54	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'69	0'73	0'71	0'65
		Enhancement per cent	...	+30%	+31%	+32%	...
4	Lapha (67 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'53	0'49	0'50	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'70	0'71	0'70	0'65
		Enhancement per cent	...	+33%	+43%	+41%	...
6	Chhuri (116 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'78	0'58	0'51	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'97	0'75	0'75	0'70
		Enhancement per cent	...	+26%	+29%	+47%	...
7	Korba (236 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'48	0'44	0'45	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'46	0'63	0'64	0'65
		Enhancement per cent	...	+31%	+44%	+41%	...
	Total for Satgarh (693 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'65	0'46	0'41	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'81	0'62	0'61	...
		Enhancement per cent	...	+46%	+34%	+50%	...
8	Pandaria (239 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'78	0'92	0'88	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'95	1'08	1'04	1'00
		Enhancement per cent	...	+26%	+17%	+19%	...
9	Kanteli (44 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'67	0'87	0'79	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'86	1'03	0'96	0'95
		Enhancement per cent	...	+28%	+19%	+22%	...
10	Champa (63 villages).	Incidence before revision	...	0'04	0'56	0'54	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'69	0'73	0'76	0'75
		Enhancement per cent	...	+1,745%	+30%	+41%	+35%
11	Bilaigarh-Katgi (103 villages).	Incidence before revision	...	0'36	0'46	0'41	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'54	0'62	0'52	0'60
		Enhancement per cent	...	+47%	+35%	+40%	...
12	Bhatgaon (51 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'59	0'64	0'62	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'76	0'82	0'79	0'75
		Enhancement per cent	...	+28%	+27%	+27%	...
	Total for open country Zamin-daris (500 villages)	Incidence before revision	...	0'04	0'58	0'75	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'69	0'76	0'92	0'86
		Enhancement per cent	...	+1,745%	+31%	+22%	+25%
	Grand Total (1,193 villages).	Incidence before revision	...	0'17	0'54	0'56	...
		Do. after do.	...	0'72	0'71	0'75	0'74
		Enhancement per cent	...	+344%	+32%	+43%	+33%

STATEMENT VIII.—*Siwai income for each Group or Zamindari.*

(For surveyed villages and for waste land mahals.)

No.		Assessment group.	Recorded at former Settlement.					Recorded in the year of re-settlement.													Assumed as average.			
			Village siwai.		Waste land mahal siwai.	Total.	Siwai of surveyed villages.						Waste land mahal siwai.*							Siwai of surveyed villages.	Total.			
			Kosa.	Lac.			Grazing	Nistar.	Timber.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	Lac.	Grazing.	Timber.	Nistar.	Miscellaneous.	Total.							
3	4	5			6	7												8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1	Pendra	...	...	4,663	36	...	374	6,137	3,771	2,552	376	13,216	...	278	3,489	277	3,682	11,400	4,810	16,210		
2	Kenda	...	...	4,466	48	...	1,197	5	20	377	66	7,713	1,340	631	10,415	...	288	12,674	7,713	9,502	11,315	
3	Matin	...	...	1,698	84	16	1,189	2,118	777	457	777	5,568	...	968	4,567	289	2,682	4,935	6,435	11,360		
4	Lapha	...	...	2,856	115	61	1,945	89	...	3,110	89	5,389	1,054	116	4,416	...	986	7,472	4,945	12,417		
5	Uprota	...	...	866	48	36	1,109	67	448	531	89	2,328	786	987	3,667	...	1,453	6,287	1,549	5,387	6,936	
6	Chhuri	...	...	3,786	171	374	1,526	1,037	2,455	1,312	349	7,324	3,621	...	7,837	247	554	12,259	6,427	9,635	16,062	
7	Korba	...	...	7,715	754	236	2,982	...	3,513	2,607	639	10,731	3,250	307	20,820	...	2,286	26,663	9,998	21,485	32,483	
Total for Satgarh		3,081	24,106	27,187	1,256	723	10,322	9,445	10,934	10,956	2,385	45,999	10,945	3,287	34,911	813	11,331	81,287	40,937	65,402	1,06,559			
8	Pandaria	...	...	16,109	677	...	936	2,014	1,135	...	50	4,821	5,568	495	5,256	426	3,561	15,166	4,402	11,468	15,870	
9	Kanteji	...	...	...	4	...	25	...	...	...	...	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	29	...	29
10	Champa	...	...	557	25	122	879	...	...	434	970	2,430	...	...	...	...	...	2,202	...	...	2,202
11	Bilgaith Katgi	...	...	1,998	67	...	...	126	313	20	46	572	...	...	1,550	...	789	2,319	594	1,433	1,937
12	Bhatgaon	...	...	631	...	...	...	...	978	...	...	978	...	...	476	39	265	780	882	434	1,315
Total for open country Zamindaris		786	18,738	19,524	773	122	1,540	2,140	2,426	454	1,075	8,820	5,568	495	7,252	465	4,415	18,205	8,019	13,335	21,354			
GRAND TOTAL		3,861	42,844	46,705	2,029	845	12,142	11,583	13,360	11,410	2,460	54,829	16,513	3,782	61,173	1,278	15,746	99,491	48,976	78,737	2,27,713			

* The area of the waste land mahal in each Zamindari can be found by subtracting the total of surveyed villages areas (column 13 of Statement IV) from the total area of the estate (column 3 of statement in paragraph 13 of Report).

STATEMENT IX.—Rental value assumed for land held by headmen and privileged tenants for each Group or Zamindari.

(For all occupied villages both surveyed and unsurveyed.)

Serial No.	Assessment group.	Surveyed villages.									Unsurveyed villages.	
		Sir and Khudkasht.			Area held by privileged tenants.		Total rental value (columns 3, 5 and 6).	Rental valuation adopted.		Rate per area of valuation adopted for sir and khudkasht.	Home-farm valuation.	Mauf land valuation.
		Area leased out.		Area cultivated by village headmen.								
		Rental value at sanctioned rates.	Compare rent actually recorded.		Rental value at sanctioned rates.	Rental value at sanctioned rates.		Compare rent actually recorded.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Pendra ...	762	246	3,592	803	...	5,157	4,356	823	0 4 11	10	...
2	Kenda ...	218	107	2,344	236	...	2,798	2,565	240	0 8 4	11	1
3	Matin ...	131	33	834	134	...	1,089	957	137	0 4 8	125	13
4	Lapha ...	145	48	2,132	232	...	2,509	2,277	242	0 9 5	50	5
5	Uprora ...	102	47	753	149	...	1,004	857	150	0 8 1	242	33
6	Chhuri ...	858	326	3,577	751	...	5,186	4,437	758	0 10 4	39	7
7	Korba ...	2,248	481	6,464	1,207	...	10,009	8,710	1,339	0 7 2	55	25
	Total for Satgarh ...	4,454	1,288	19,696	3,602	...	27,752	24,159	3,682	0 7 1	532	82
8	Pandaria ...	7,147	3,837	32,080	2,787	...	42,014	39,489	2,825	0 14 6	39	10
9	Kanteli ...	1,259	1,108	3,451	124	...	4,834	4,722	126	1 1 2	...	...
10	Champa ...	184	78	1,263	5,381	...	4,828	1,449	3,403	0 13 8	...	...
11	Bilaigarh-Katgi ...	806	69	3,354	569	...	4,989	4,417	585	0 8 3	...	...
12	Bhatgaon ...	279	105	1,590	495	...	2,365	1,901	501	0 6 11	...	...
	Total for open country Zamindari.	9,735	5,197	41,938	7,357	...	59,030	51,978	7,449	0 15 3	39	10
	GRAND TOTAL ...	14,189	6,485	61,634	10,959	...	86,782	76,137	11,122	0 10 5	571	92



सत्यमेव जयते

STATEMENT X.—Total assets on which assessment is based, i. e., as sanctioned

(For surveyed villages and

[illegible]

[illegible]

STATEMENT XI.—Calculation of revised assessment as announced.

(For surveyed villages and for waste land mahal.)

No.	Assessment group.	Malik makbuzas' payments.	Total mal-guzari assets.	Malguzari revenue (kamli-jama).	Percentage of mal-guzari revenue on mal-guzari assets.	Total assets.	Total gross income.	Total net income (i. e. deducting cost of management).	Amount of takoli payable to Government.	Amount of cesses.	Percentage of takoli and cesses on total assets.	Percentage of takoli and cesses on total gross income.	Percentage of takoli and cesses on net income.	Increase of total income as prior to and as after re-settlement.	Increase of takoli as announced and as prior to re-settlement.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.				Rs.	Rs.
1	Pendra ..	20	50,878	25,932	51	50,898	39,942	33,334	13,000	1,429	28	36	43	+16,191	+7,139
2	Kenda ..	...	24,702	11,673	47	24,702	19,849	18,724	5,750	642	26	32	34	+5,456	+2,999
3	Matin ...	...	18,030	8,935	50	18,030	16,526	12,281	5,000	492	30	33	45	+1,971	+3,896
4	Lapha ...	...	24,519	12,090	49	24,519	19,689	18,909	6,750	667	30	38	39	+5,604	+4,546
5	Uprora ..	...	11,503	5,700	50	11,503	10,690	7,743	3,500	313	33	36	49	+926	+2,317
6	Chhuri ...	123	37,137	18,472	50	37,254	31,418	29,327	10,500	1,039	31	37	39	+6,678	+6,580
7	Korba ...	4	83,801	41,977	50	83,805	69,269	65,981	23,000	2,312	30	37	38	+15,705	+16,297
	Total for Satgarh.	147	2,50,564	1,25,049	50	2,50,711	2,07,380	1,86,299	67,500	6,804	30	36	40	+52,531	+43,774
8	Pandaria ...	...	1,34,950	66,725	49	1,34,950	98,036	92,672	34,000	3,674	28	38	41	+20,647	+6,500
9	Kanteli ...	...	15,026	7,540	50	15,026	11,849	11,035	3,500	415	26	33	35	+2,389	+1,300
10	Champa ...	369	30,867	15,700	51	31,236	30,471	29,087	10,000	885	35	36	37	+8,176	+6,717
11	Bilaigarh-Kat-gi.	...	27,372	13,979	51	27,372	21,898	20,830	7,000	769	28	35	37	+5,676	+2,790
12	Bhatucon ...	...	11,259	5,737	51	11,259	9,660	8,640	2,800	315	28	32	36	+1,638	+1,203
	Total for open country Zamindaris.	369	2,19,474	1,09,681	50	2,19,843	1,71,914	1,62,264	57,300	6,058	29	37	39	+38,526	+18,510
	GRAND TOTAL ...	516	4,70,038	2,34,730	50	4,70,554	3,79,294	3,48,563	1,24,800	12,952	29	36	40	+91,057	+62,284

STATEMENT XII.—Net revenue increment for each Group or Zamindari.

No.	Assessment group.	Prior to revision.			As revised.			Actual increase of revised net realized jama over previous jama.
		Kamil-jama.	Amount conceded to Zamindar in virtue of his position.	Takoli realized.	Kamil-jama as sanctioned by the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner.	Amount conceded to Zamindar in virtue of his position.	Takoli realized.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Pendra ...	9,800	3,939	5,861	25,949	12,949	13,000	+ 7,139
2	Kenda ...	5,183	2,432	2,751	11,673	5,923	5,750	+ 2999
3	Matin ..	1,800	696	1,104	8,935	3,935	5,000	+ 3,896
4	Lapha ...	4,411	2,207	2,204	12,090	5,340	6,750	+ 4,546
5	Uprora ...	1,961	778	1,183	5,700	2,200	3,500	+ 2,317
6	Chhuri ...	8,643	4,723	3,920	18,850	8,350	10,500	+ 6,580
7	Korba ...	17,077	10,374	6,703	41,980	18,980	23,000	+ 16,297
	Total for Satgarh ...	48,875	25,149	23,726	1,25,177	57,677	67,500	+ 43,774
8	Pandaria ...	63,890	36,390	27,500	66,725	32,725	34,000	+ 6,500
9	Kanteli ..	6,453	4,263	2,200	7,540	4,040	3,500	+ 1,300
10	Champa ..	7,248	3,965	3,283	16,028	6,028	10,000	+ 6,717
11	Bilaigarh-Katgi ...	11,037	6,827	4,210	13,979	6,979	7,000	+ 2,790
12	Bhatgaon ...	3,696	2,099	1,597	5,737	2,937	2,800	+ 1,203
	Total for open country Zamin-daris.	92,334	53,544	38,790	1,10,009	52,709	57,300	+ 18,510
	GRAND TOTAL ..	1,41,209	78,693	62,516	2,35,186	1,10,386	1,24,800	+ 62,284

APPENDIX B.

List of Protected thekedari villages in the ten Bilaspur and two Raipur Zamindaris affected by the re-settlement of 1906-10.

Serial No.	Settlement No.	Name of village.	Serial No.	Settlement No.	Name of village.
I.—PENDRA ZAMINDARI.			PENDRA ZAMINDARI.—(Concl'd.)		
1	9	Changeri.*	43	134	Pandrikhar.
2	10	Parasi.	44	136	Bhanri.
3	11	Dhanora.	45	139	Girari.
4	20	Chanadongri..	46	143	Jatadeori.
5	21	Gania.	47	148	Deori Khwurd.
6	23	Bagrar.	48	152	Sakola.
7	24	Tendumura Kalan. †	49	153	Deori Kalan.
8	30	Kachhar. †	50	154	Sikhwa.
9	33	Marakot.	51	155	Kotmi Kalan.
10	37	Naka.	52	159	Tilora.
11	40	Patharra.	53	163	Korgar.
12	41	Kolbira.	54	164	Kanhaibahara.
13	46	Bharridanr.	55	170	Rama kachhar.
14	50	Gullidanr.	56	173	Tidi.
15	51	Litia Sarai.	57	177	Lamna.
16	56	Silpahri.	58	178	Kotmi Khwurd.
17	57	Latkoni Khwurd.	59	181	Jogisar.
18	61	Karsiwa.	60	195	Keonchi.
19	71	Naror.	61	196	Parwania.
20	72	Nimdha.	62	201	Kesla.
21	78	Kotkharra,	II.—KENDA ZAMINDARI.		
22	80	Meruka.	1	10	Nagpura.
23	86	Andhiarkhor.	2	11	Lamridabri.
24	87	Dahibahara.	3	27	Dholmohuwa.
25	92	Korja.	4	44	Amamura.
26	94	Lakhanwahi.	5	45	Banabel.
27	97	Harratola.	6	52	Umaridadar.
28	98	Girwar.	7	65	Nawagaon.
29	99	Dumariha.	8	67	Amali.
30	103	Kanhari.	9	72	Bankighat.
31	104	Jhagrakhanr.	III.—MATIN ZAMINDARI.		
32	105	Neosa.	1	1	Dhelwa.
33	110	Semra.	2	3	Lainga.
34	114	Amarpur.	3	6	Tulbul.
35	116	Bachharwar.	4	7	Karri.
36	117	Bandhi.	5	10	Kotmarra.
37	121	Seora.	6	12	Kumhari.
38	122	Majhgawan.	7	20	Babupara.
39	125	Dongaria.	8	23	Kodgar.
40	129	Dumarkherwa.	9	25	Pali.
41	131	Pipramar.			
42	133	Kudri.			

* Both lessee and sub-lessee are protected.

† These have since been made Kham.

List of Protected thekedari villages in the ten Bilaspur and two Raipur Zamindaris affected by the re-settlement of 1906—10.—(Contd.)

Serial No.	Settlement No.	Name of village.	Serial No.	Settlement No.	Name of village.
III.—MATIN ZAMINDARI.—(Concl'd.)			VI.—CHHURI ZAMINDARI.—(Concl'd.)		
10	26	Kulharia.	13	35	Chakabura.
11	32	Atari.	14	36	Jawali.
12	39	Lad.	15	37	Kolhamura.
13	41	Korbi.	16	38	Murhali
14	42	Sarma	17	45	Bijaipur.
15	43	Tanera.	18	50	Mahora,
16	45	Phulsar.	19	52	Rampur,
17	53	Khodri.	20	53	Dangania.
IV.—LAPHA ZAMINDARI.			21	54	Kolbari.
1	24	Jarmahua.	22	55	Maheshpur.
2	27	Kotapani.	23	56	Gharipakhna.
3	28	Madan.	24	57	Gudrumura.
4	45	Kartala.	25	59	Ghunchapur (Hukra).
5	47	Dhaurabhatha.	26	60	Kenadaur.
6	48	Dumar kachhar.	27	61	Darrabhatha
7	50	Sendripali.	28	64	Durga
8	63	Khodri.	29	65	Dhawaipur.
9	72	Bari Umrao.	30	71	Singhali
V.—UPRORA ZAMINDARI.			31	73	Kasaipali.
1	5	Karra.	32	75	Korai.
2	12	Dongartarai.	33	76	Banki.
3	13	Bartarai.	34	77	Mongra.
4	17	Bango.	35	79	Arda.
5	26	Khirti.	36	80	Jamnimura (Dau).
6	27	Uchlenga.	37	81	Ghana kachhar.
7	28	Jilda.	38	83	Chhirhut.
8	37	Lemru.	39	86	Dindolbhata.
9	U. S.	Bimalta.	40	88	Jatangpur.
VI.—CHHURI ZAMINDARI.			41	90	Salora.
1	3	Nawagaon <i>alias</i> Bijrabhatha.	42	93	Jhora.
2	4	Irph.	43	99	Ghorapat
3	10	Gopalpur.	44	106	Songurha
4	14	Rainpur (Charpara).	45	108	Jel.
5	16	Kanjipani.	46	109	Sahimuri.
6	21	Kera kachhar.	47	111	Lata.
7	22	Rangole.	48	113	Balgikhar.
8	24	Bandhakhar.	49	115	Sura kachhar.
9	27	Rainpur (Basibar).	50	116	Danganiakhar.
10	30	Sirki (Tiwarta).	51	117	Bhejrinara
11	31	Litiakhar.	52	118	Suklakhar.
12	34	Deogaon.	53	119	Patha.
			54	121	Garkatra.
			55	123	Dhangaom.

List of Protected thekedari villages in the ten Bilaspur and two Raipur Zamindaris affected by the re-settlement of 1906—10.—(Contd.)

Serial No.	Settle-ment No.	Name of village.	Serial No.	Settle-ment No.	Name of village.
VI.—CHHURI ZAMINDARI.—(Concl'd.)			VII.—KORBA ZAMINDARI.—(Contd.)		
56	124	Ajgarbahar.	37	87	Semipali (Urga).
57	127	Chhuia.	38	89	Deormal.
			39	93	Kanki.
			40	94	Jogipali (Kanki).
			41	96	Kathrimal.
			42	97	Chainpur (Sarai singar).
			43	98	Sarai singar (Chainpur).
1	1	Sukhri (Bare).	44	110	Kesli (Ardi).
2	2	Sukhri (Chhote).	45	113	Bhathi Kunda.
3	3	Umreli.	46	115	Rangbel.
4	4	Nawapara (Umreli).	47	118	Khairbhaona.
5	5	Amaldiha (Umreli).	48	119	Rampuri.
6	6	Darrabhatha.	49	121	Parania.
7	7	Karrapali.	50	124	Ghanadabri.
8	15	Kharwani.	51	125	Bata.
9	17	Dhitori.	52	132	Barpali (Durpa).
10	19	Burhiapali.	53	135	Barkuta.
11	21	Mahuadih (Kharwani).	54	137	Koharia.
12	22	Kurrudih (Sohagpur).	55	140	Jambahar.
13	23	Makundpur.	56	141	Rumgara.
14	26	Nawapara (Bahoran).	57	142	Darri (Nogain khar).
15	28	Nawalpur.	58	144	Gerwan.
16	38	Pahargaon.	59	145	Nogain khar.
17	39	Chhuiha.	60	148	Chhirhut.
18	45	Chicholi.	61	152	Dumarmura.
19	47	Gitari.	62	155	Gajra.
20	48	Mahora.	63	156	Ghordewa.
21	52	Ganrapali.	64	157	Charpara.
22	53	Nawapara (Dhorhatarai).	65	174	Junadih.
23	55	Tuman.	66	179	Beltikri.
24	56	Chiknipali.	67	180	Jhingatpur.
25	57	Ganiari.	68	183	Hardi (Chhote).
26	60	Dadar (Gedhori).	69	185	Bareli.
27	61	Gidhori.	70	187	Amgaon (Bareli).
28	64	Karmandi.	71	188	Ralaya.
29	65	Bhainsma.	72	189	Hathibari.
30	68	Saraidih.	73	190	Bhulsipahri.
31	75	Sandel.	74	191	Katgidabri.
32	76	Bhainsamura.	75	192	Nawapara (Ralaya).
33	78	Barridih.	76	194	Bamhnikona.
34	81	Pahanda.	77	196	Korbi.
35	82	Patarhi.	78	204	Patharri.
36	86	Urga.	79	210	Utarda.

List of Protected thekedari villages in the ten Bilaspur and two Raipur Zamindaris affected by the re-settlement of 1906---10.—(Contd.)

Serial No.	Settlement No.	Name of village.	Serial No.	Settlement No.	Name of village.
VII.—KORBA ZAMINDARI.—(Concl'd.)			VIII.—PANDARIA ZAMINDARI.—(Contd.)		
80	229	Kachhar.	20	49	Dharapura.
81	238	Madanpur.	21	50	Patharra.
82	239	Kolga.	22	51	Raitara Khwurd.
83	243	Labad (Phulsari).	23	52	Bortara Kalan.
84	249	Amaldiha (Syaingkhola).	24	54	Khektara.
85	252	Gidhkuari.	25	55	Khairwar Khwurd.
86	254	Barpali Bangawan.	26	59	Chilphi.
87	255	Katkona.	27	67	Siltara.
88	258	Kartala.	28	68	Jotpur.
89	259	Champa.	29	72	Gatapar.
90	260	Chorbhatthi.	30	74	Illachpur.
91	262	Barmar.	31	75	Baijalpur.
92	269	Tenganmar.	32	76	Dumarha.
93	270	Bothli.	33	77	Sahaspur.
94	272	Baharchua.	34	80	Baghmar.
95	274	Khuntakunda.	35	81	Amlidih.
96	277	Suwarlot.	36	82	Nawagaon Thelka.
97	281	Aunrai.	37	83	Kukurhatta.
98	287	Periya.	38	84	Singhanpuri.
99	288	Kotmer.	39	85	Belsari.
100	291	Kera kachhar (Rajgamar).	40	86	Semarkona Khwurd.
101	292	Kesla (Rajgamar).	41	87	Bhurka.
102	296	Gorhi.	42	88	Bhantha.
VIII.—PANDARIA ZAMINDARI.			43	89	Pandotara.
1	5	Chhirpani.	44	90	Sarangpur.
2	7	Madanpur Kalan.	45	91	Khaira Setganga
3	8	Khairdongri.	46	92	Maradabri.
4	9	Amarpur.	47	94	Singarpur Khwurd.
5	14	Lalpur Khwurd.	48	96	Bijatarai.
6	16	Bhadrali.	49	97	Khunta.
7	20	Bodhipara.	50	98	Kesli Kalan.
8	21	Baghamura.	51	99	Andodabri.
9	24	Damapur.	52	100	Senabhatha.
10	25	Ghutur kundi.	53	101	Bhawalpur.
11	26	Amaldiha.	54	103	Mahaka.
12	30	Bhaskarra.	55	104	Bijabhatha.
13	31	Ramepur Kalan.	56	107	Raitara Kalan.
14	32	Nihalpur.	57	109	Narauli.
15	36	Naurangpur.	58	114	Nanapuri.
16	40	Kutelatola.	59	118	Newargaon.
17	42	Charnitola.	60	119	Kisangarh.
18	44	Ghatapani.	61	120	Torla.
19	48	Sengurha.	62	121	Tilaibhatha.
			63	122	Maheli.

List of Protected thekedari villages in the ten Bilaspur and two Raipur Zamindaris affected by the re-settlement of 1906—10.—(Contd.)

Serial No.	Settle-ment No.	Name of village.	Serial No.	Settle-ment No.	Name of village.
VIII.—PANDARIA ZAMINDARI.—(Contd.)			VIII.—PANDARIA ZAMINDARI.—(Concl'd.)		
64	124	Bandha.	107	239	Keolari Kalan.
65	125	Pusera.	108	250	Buchipara.
66	126	Pendri Khwurd.	109	286	Panripathra *.
67	127	Sirmadabri.			
68	128	Mohtara Khwurd.			IX.—KANTELI ZAMINDARI.
69	132	Samnapur Khwurd.	1	2	Bodhapara.
70	136	Sarupara.	2	4	Bijrakapa.
71	141	Sonpuri.	3	12	Gurwaindabri.
72	149	Roha.	4	13	Hariapur.
73	154	Larwa.	5	18	Kestarpur.
74	155	Paraswara.	6	21	Lalpur.
75	157	Charbhatta Khwurd.	7	23	Madanpur.
76	163	Dongaria Kalan.	8	24	Mahrakapa.
77	166	Palansari.	9	30	Parsakapa.
78	167	Putki Kalan.	10	34	Sarangpur.
79	168	Keolari Khwurd.	11	35	Sanwatpur.
80	173	Baniya kuwa.	12	36	Singarpur.
81	180	Panrki Kalan.	13	40	Sipahi.
82	181	Kumbhi.	14	43	Tarwarpur.
83	186	Khairwar Kalan.	15	44	Udka.
84	187	Nawagaon Gajri.			X.—BHATGAON ZAMINDARI.
85	188	Bortara Khwurd.	1	3	Thakurdaya.
86	190	Kesli Khwurd.	2	7	Churela.
87	197	Girdhari kapa.	3	8	Beltikri.
88	199	Dullipar.	4	9	Durumgarh.
89	200	Dhola kapa.	5	17	Ghana.
90	201	Dongaria Khwurd.	6	18	Gadhabhatha.
91	205	Kheltukri.	7	22	Nawapara.
92	209	Ghorpendri.	8	25	Junwani. *
93	210	Basni.	9	40	Madhuban Khwurd.
94	211	Kolegaon.	10	47	Khurdurha.
95	215	Ruse.	11	50	Gandapali
96	216	Mohgaon.			XI.—BILAIGARR-KATGI ZAMINDARI.
97	219	Mohtara Kalan.	1	1	Soniadih Khwurd.
98	220	Kanjheta.	2	2	Muriadih.
99	222	Kuamalgi.	3	4	Deori.
100	223	Amlimalgi.	4	6	Sel.
101	225	Mahwa Marwa.	5	7	Sabar.
102	227	Ningapur.	6	8	Bhadra.
103	228	Gobarra.	7	10	Sarwa.
104	230	Samnapur Kalan.	8	11	Sarwani.
105	233	Bhatruse.			
106	238	Amadah.			

*Has been made Kham since.

List of Protected thekeduri villages in the ten Bilaspur and two Raipur Zamindaris affected by the re-settlement of 1906—10.—(Concl'd.)

Serial No.	Settle-ment No.	Name of village.	Serial No.	Settle-ment No.	Name of village.
XI—BILAIGARH-KATGI ZAMINDARI.—(Contd.)			XI—BILAIGARH-KATGI ZAMINDARI.—(Concl'd.)		
9	14	Jhabri	21	42	Mahuadih.
10	17	Murpar	22	47	Deorbor.
11	18	Pikri	23	50	Khajuri.
12	20	Markara	24	60	Kurkuti.
13	22	Dhawalpur	25	63	Barbhatha.
14	24	Amodi	26	70	Parsadih.
15	25	Deradih	27	73	Murpar.
16	29	Bhonsra	28	84	Pachri.
17	31	Bhaurid	29	85	Patharia.
18	35	Marwa	30	91	Chhapora.
19	39	Sukli	31	96	Sutiurkuli.
20	40	Bareli	32	111	Surguli.



APPENDIX C.

Note of the arrangements made for co-sharers in Protected thekedari villages in the Bilaspur Zamindaris (including Bilaigarh-Katgi and Bhatgaon) at the Settlement of 1906—10.

1. The recognition of co-sharers in thekedari villages is now admittedly undesirable. In all cases therefore in which Protection has been given *during the recent Settlement* (i. e., *subsequent to 1905*) care has been taken to confer this status only on the head of the family in possession. Other members of the family when separate from their head have been provided for by the grant of occupancy rights in the portion of home-farm already in their separate possession. Such members of the family as were found joint with their head at the time of the grant of Protection and had therefore no separate possession of any part of the home-farm could not be provided for. They were required to express formally their surrender of all claim to share in the thekedari interest. Presumably hereafter the thekedar will provide for them on separation in accordance with custom by the grant of some land in tenant right.

2. But the Protected Status came into existence in 1889. We have now, therefore, to consider the action taken as regards co-sharers in those villages *where protection was conferred between 1889 and 1906* when the new Settlement began. Here we are confronted by the difficulty that at the Bilaspur Settlement of 1890 the existence of co-sharers in Protected thekedari villages was formally recognized. In many of the Protected Status certificates then issued it was expressly stated that the status was conferred on so and so "may hissedaran," i. e., along with his co-sharers. Their position was also recognized by implication in clause I of Part II of the Zamindari Wajib-ul-arz (sanctioned in 1892, and printed at page 161 of Rai Bahadur Purshottam Dass' Settlement Report) which runs "In villages held by muafidars or thekedars having protected status co-sharers cannot claim partition," and is still further confirmed by a judgment, dated the 19th January 1907, by the Judicial Commissioner, in second appeal No. 89 of 1906, in which in the Protected thekedari village of Girari in the Pendra Zamindari a junior member of the headman's family was held to be a co-sharer—the Judicial Commissioner finding that "the tenure has all along been held by the joint family, not by one member only—, an arrangement which is expressly saved by clause (a), Section 65-A (4) of the Land Revenue Act of 1898."

3. This clause (a) runs as follows:—"The tenure (of a thekedar who has been declared to be Protected) shall be heritable but not transferable by sale, gift, mortgage or dower; it shall not be saleable in execution of any decree nor shall any decree be passed for the sale thereof; and, *save in so far as any arrangements to the contrary are in force at the time of the declaration (of Protection) it shall not be partitioned and shall devolve on one member only of the thekedar's family.*" After careful consideration it was held, *vide* correspondence ending with Commissioner of Settlements' No. 259, dated the 24th January 1908, that in view of the terms of the Wajib-ul-arz of 1890 (above-quoted) no Protected thekedari village could be *partitioned*; but that co-sharers in such villages should be recognized—in contravention of the provision of law that the status devolved on one person only—so far and only so far as plural devolution existed at the time of the declaration of Protection. Single devolution is ordinarily prescribed no doubt, but where several co-sharers are in existence when the claim to Protected Status is considered this clearly constitutes "an arrangement to the contrary in force at the time of the declaration," entitling them, in the absence of any such special provision as we have made at the recent Settlement in new cases of Protection, to be regarded as co-sharers.

4. The procedure then followed at the recent Settlement was to enquire into and record the detail of the co-sharers (if any) existing at the time of the original grant. This gave us a fixed starting point—the arrangement in force at the time of the declaration. It also set a limit to the number of co-sharers whom under the law of 1898 it was legitimate to recognize. If, for instance, 4 brothers held the lease at the time of the grant we could not recognize the 8 sons of these 4 brothers when the latter deceased. Only the eldest son of each brother could be so recognized. There could never be more co-sharers than originally existed in the village (though of course if a co-sharer died without issue there might be less) for the rule of single devolution could only be departed from so far as, and no further than, arrangements to the contrary were in force at the time of the declaration of Protection.

5. Thus, of the whole body of so-called co-sharers found in existing Protected thekedari villages at the time of the recent re-settlement some could and others could not be recognized. The *recognized co-sharers* for whose recognition there is precedent in the arrangements in force at the time of the grant have been entered in the khewat of the Settlement misl and on the certificate of Protection given to the head of the family, a copy of which has been filed for reference in the District Office. Their possession of *sir* and

khudkasht, if separate from that of the head of the family, has also been separately recorded in the khasra and jamabandi. The *other surplus members* of the family whose claim to be called co-sharers cannot be recognised because their branch of the family has multiplied since Protection was conferred and the rule of single devolution precludes their recognition, have, as far as possible, been ignored. They are mentioned neither in the khewat nor in the Certificate of Protection. If they have separate possession of *sir* land they are recorded merely as ordinary tenants thereof in column 7. If they have separate possession of *khudkasht* they are entered only in the column of remarks (13) as holding rent-free on account of relationship (*rishtedari men muaf*). Doubtless before long if this interpretation of the law is properly enforced these surplus members will gradually sink into the tenant class and abandon all claim to share in the thekedari interest.

6. The practical importance of all this for the District Staff is in connection with the record of mutation. It is imperative that Tahsildars and others in considering mutation cases from Protected thekedari villages should continue only to acknowledge at most the same number of co-sharers as existed at the time of the declaration of Protection. It is to facilitate this work that I have written this explanatory note. I also append a list* of the $\frac{148}{16}$ protected thekedari villages in the $\frac{10}{2}$ ^{Bilaspur Zamindaris} _{Raipur Zamindaris} affected by the recent re-settlement in which recognized co-sharers exist, giving the names of these recognized co-sharers. If any so-called "co-sharers" other than those entered in this list claim to be entered in regard to any Protected thekedari village, their claim must be rejected. And if in any village on the list members of the thekedar's family other than those shown therein as recognized (or the one successor in interest of each) make such a claim it must be similarly rejected.

7. Complicated though the position may seem when it has to be explained it should in practical application be simple enough if every mutation case is decided strictly in accordance with the appended list*—none but the persons entered thereon or the one successor in interest of each being admitted to the ranks of Protected thekedar's co-sharers.

* The list is not reproduced here. It has been made over to the Deputy Commissioners, Bilaspur and Raipur.



APPENDIX D.

**Form of Zamindari acceptance of Assessment in regard to Takoli, Cesses
and Kamil-Jama. (Translation.)**

Whereas the Settlement of the _____ Zamindaris situated in the _____
Tahsil of the _____ District has been completed, I _____, Zamindar
of the aforesaid Zamindari, do hereby accept under Section 54 of the Land Revenue Act,
the newly assessed Kamil-Jama as sanctioned by the Chief Commissioner for the mahals
shown in the statement below from the 1st July 19 _____ till a fresh Settlement is made :—

Serial No.	Name of Mahal.	Sanctioned Kamil-Jama.	Cesses.
1	2	3	4

In consideration of my status of Zamindar the Government does not require me to pay the whole of the above Kamil-Jama and the Chief Commissioner has fixed a takoli of Rs. _____ on my estate. This I agree to pay subject to the deductions on account of deferred enhancement shown in the statement below* together with the undermentioned cesses or such cesses as may from time to time be fixed by law :—

Details of kist.	Sanctioned takoli.			Cesses.	Total.		
	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 .	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 .	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 or till fresh Settlement is made.		From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 .	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 .	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 or till fresh Settlement is made.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
First ...							
Second ...							
Total ...							

* To be struck out if unnecessary.

I hereby bind myself to abide by all the conditions entered in the Wajib-ul-arz sanctioned for the current Settlement, and will to the utmost of my ability secure their observance at the hands of my gaontias and ryots. I will also manage my forests strictly in accordance with the rules and regulations laid down by the Chief Commissioner under Section 124-A of the Land Revenue Act.

Signature of Zamindar,

Dated the th 19 .

Signature of Settlement Officer.

**Form of Zamindari Sub-proprietor's acceptance of Assessment in regard to
Kamil-Jama, Cesses and Malikana. (Translation.)**

Whereas the Settlement of Mahal No. _____ situated in the _____ Zamindari,
Tahsil _____ of the _____ District, has been completed, I
Sub-Lambardar Sub-proprietor of the aforesaid mahal do hereby accept, under Section 54 of
the Land Revenue Act, the newly assessed Kamil-Jama and Malikana for 20 years (from 1st
July 19 _____ till a fresh Settlement is made), subject* to the deductions on account of
deferred enhancements, as entered in the appended table and sanctioned by the Chief Com-
missioner. In addition I will pay the undermentioned cesses or such cesses as may from
time to time be fixed by law :—

Sanctioned. kamil-jama.	Details of kist.	Sanctioned assessment.			Malik- ana.	Cesses.	Total assessment.		
		From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 or till a new Settle- ment is made.			From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 or till a new Set- tlement is made.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Rs.									
	First ...								
	Second ...								
	Total ...								

I hereby bind myself to abide by all the conditions entered in the village Wajib-ul-arz
as now sanctioned for the current Settlement. I admit that a breach of the conditions
relating to forest management laid down by the Chief Commissioner under Section 124-A
of the Land Revenue Act, and the illicit enclosure of waste will warrant the Government
in annulling the Settlement of the mahal.

Signature of Sub-Lambardar

Sub-Proprietor.

Dated the th

19

Signature of Settlement Officer.

* To be struck out if unnecessary.

Information concerning the new Settlement (given to each Zamindar).

TABLE I.—Revised assets and kamil-jama.

	Assets.				Kamil-jama.
	Rents of tenants.	Value of home-farm and muafi lands.	Siwai income.	Total.	
	1	2	3	4	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Villages under direct management	...				
Villages held by assignees	...				
Villages held by sub-proprietors	...				
Villages held by lessees	...				
Waste land mahal (deducting Rs. for fluctuations).					
Total	...				

TABLE II.—Zamindar's gross income.

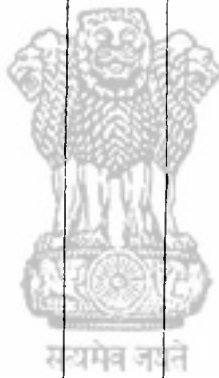
	Rs.
From villages under direct management (full assets)	...
From villages held by assignees	...
From villages held by sub-proprietors (kamil-jama, malikana and cesses)	...
From villages held by lessees (estimated theka-jama at per cent of assets)	...
From waste land mahal	...
Total	...
Net income of Zamindari (deducting Rs. , being cost of Forest and Revenue management).	

TABLE III.—Details of Takoli and Cesses.

	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 .			From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 .			From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 or till the next Settlement is made.		
	Takoli.	Cesses.	Total.	Takoli.	Cesses.	Total.	Takoli.	Cesses.	Total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
First instalment...									
Second instalment.									
Total	...								

TABLE IV.—Details of Payments by Sub-proprietors to Zamindar.

Serial No.	Name of village.	Kamil-jama.	Malikana	Cesses.	Total.	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 .	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 .	From 1st July 19 to 30th June 19 , Or till fresh Settlement is made.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9



Dated the _____ 19 .

Settlement Officer.

No. 365—XI-14-3, dated Nagpur, the 6th July 1907.

From—J. HULLAH, Esq., I. C. S., Under Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, Survey and Settlement Department,

To—The Commissioner of Settlements, Central Provinces.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2668, dated the 15th June 1907, and of its enclosure.

2. In reply, I am to say that under Section 63 (i) of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, 1898, the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner directs that in the portion of the Pandaria zamindari of the Bilaspur district specified below, the rents payable by ordinary tenants shall not be fixed by the Settlement Officer at the time of land revenue assessment in the course of the Settlement now being made :—

Patwari Circle No.	1	The whole.
" "	2	Mauza Madanpur.
" "	17	" Saraipatera.
" "	18	Mauzas Birkona, Kesli, Pandri-Pathra, Hazarikapa.
" "	21	Mauza Nawagaon Tikait.
" "	29	The whole except mauza Jhiria Kalan.
" "	30	The whole.
" "	31	" "

Nagpur, the 30th November 1908.

No. 393.—Under Section 63, Sub-section (1), of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, 1898, the Chief Commissioner directs that in the portion of the Bhatgaon and Bilaigarh-Katgi Zamindaris of the Raipur district specified below, the rents payable by ordinary tenants shall not be fixed by the Settlement Officer at the time of land revenue assessment in the course of the Settlement now being made :—

Bhatgaon Zamindari	...	In mauzas Rankot, Pirda, Charpali, Dhutikona, Boradih, Jamunardih, Murkhatta, and Chandlidhi of Patwari Circle No. 4.
Bilaigarh-Katgi Zamindari	...	In mauzas Amakachhar, Jharnidih, Bora, Surguli, Jogidipa, Saluha, Parsapali, Dhaurabhatha, Goradih, Maluha, and Bagmala of Patwari Circle No. 5.

B. P. STANDEN,

Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,

Central Provinces.

Nagpur, the 28th October 1909.

No. 555.—Under Section 63, Sub-section (1), of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, 1898, the Chief Commissioner directs that in the portion of the Korba Zamindari of the Bilaspur district specified below, the rents payable by ordinary tenants shall not be fixed by the Settlement Officer at the time of land revenue assessment in the course of the Settlement now being made :—

Korba Zamindari,	Patwari Circle No. 1—	Mauza Puta, Chhindpani, Musaria and Choraha.
Do.	do.	No. 2—Nawagaon Khurd.
Do.	do.	No. 3—Jatraj and Barampur.
Do.	do.	No. 10—The whole, except mauzas Urga-Kukri-Choli, Semi-Pali, Korba Khas, Koharia, Ramgarha, Jambahar, Rogbahari and Risda.
Do.	do.	No. 11—The whole, except mauzas Junwani, Bhaisma, Karmandi, Chhitapali, Dhongdaraha (<i>alias</i> Salaihabhatha), Sakdukla, Rajgamar and Batati.
Do.	do.	No. 12—The whole, except mauza Chirra.
Do.	do.	No. 13—The whole, except mauzas Jhilga, Taolipali and Kudmura.

Korba Zamindari,	Patwari Circle	No. 14—The whole, except mauzas Taraimar, Kalgamar, Charmar and Kachhar.
Do.	do.	No. 15—The whole, except mauza Binjkot.
Do.	do.	No. 16—The whole.
Do.	do.	No. 17—The whole, except mauzas Tilkija, Gidhori, Dadar, Saraidih, Limdih, and Kapupahari.
Do.	do.	No. 20—Aurai, Supatarai, Rewabahar, Jampani and Kasipani.
Do.	do.	No. 21—Sidhapat.

B. P. STANDEN,

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

APPENDIX E.

Orders defining areas to be summarily settled.

Nagpur, the 5th April 1911.

No. 272.—Under Section 63, Sub section (1), of the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, 1898, the Chief Commissioner directs that in the Uprora Zamindari and in the portions of the other Zamindaris of the Bilaspur district specified below, the rents payable by ordinary tenants shall not be fixed by the Settlement Officer at the time of Land Revenue assessment in the course of the Settlement now being made:—

Zamindari.	Tahsil.	Patwari Circle.	Name of village.
1	2	3	4
Chhuri	Janjgir	No. 3	Bhejrinara, Suklakhar, Birkona, Jhalkachhar, Ghuchapur (Ral), Amarpur (<i>alias</i> Bagdewa).
		" 4	Sutarra.
		" 7	Jhaber.
		" 8	The whole, except mauzas Kachhar, Kouriaghat, Songurhat and Sonpuri.
Lapha	Bilaspur	No. 1	Jemra, Bagdara, Pahar-Jamri, Uran, Raha, Sapalwa-Hirwadoli, Bariu miao, Telsara, Baisemar, Kermura, and Pahargaon.
		" 2	Barbhatha, Sirki, Rawa, and Banwar.
		" 4	Bagdaridand.
Matin	Do.	All the unsurveyed villages.	
Pendra	Do.	No. 10	Kesla.
		" 12	Khairjhati and Taoli.
		" 20	Baidkhodra, Karangra and Khamli.
		" 21	Marna, Kotariadanr, Gourkhera, Piperkhuti, Thengdana, Barjborka, Umakhohi, Choktipaoi, Tawarabara, Amasala, Pandripani and Khodri.
Kenda	Do.	No. 1	Amagohan.
		" 2	Katra, Sonra, Nawapara, and Newaribahara.
		" 3	Kekradih, Sargor.
		" 4	Darsagar (<i>alias</i> Kerpa-bandha).

R. C. H. MOSS KING,

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



सत्यमेव जयते

INDEX.

A		PAGES.
Abatement of rents and revenue	...	... 37
Aboriginal	...	... 5, 9, 11, 12, 13
Absolute-occupancy	...	... 44, 54, 81
Acre-rates	...	... 22
Acts, Tenancy and Land Revenue	...	... 13, 26, 28, 29, 32, 35, 54, 66, 69, 81
Additional rate	...	... 29, 60
After-crop	...	... 4, 6, 40
<i>Agaria</i>	...	... 10
Agriculture	...	... 14, 19, 44, 46, 47, 81
Akaltara	...	... 3
Assignees	...	... 50, 80
Amarkantak	...	... 24, 77
Ambagarh Chauki	...	... 73
Amlibahra	...	... 74
<i>Andeota</i>	...	... 14
Animism	...	... 14
<i>Ankuari</i>	...	... 14
Announcement	...	... 59, 61
Apparel	...	... 7
Area, cropped	...	... 4
„ surveyed villages	...	... 15
„ total	...	... 1, 74
„ tree forest	...	... 15
„ wheat	...	... 4
„ waste land mahal	...	... 15
„ Zamindari jungle	...	... 15
„ cultivated	...	... 22, 23, 74, 75
Attestation	...	... 4, 26, 38, 39, 44, 62

B		
<i>Bahra</i>	...	... 3, 40, 41
Baloda Assessment Report	...	... 20, 21
Baiga	...	... 72
<i>Barainhapat</i>	...	... 19
<i>Barapali</i>	...	... 18
<i>Barhon</i>	...	... 18, 19, 25
<i>Bare Banko</i>	...	... 40
<i>Bari</i>	...	... 5, 6, 40
Barren-waste	...	... 22
<i>Batar</i>	...	... 6
<i>Batra</i>	...	... 40
Bihar	...	... 10
Bengal	...	... 10, 33

		PAGES.
Bengal-Nagpur Railway...	...	2, 3, 7, 11, 31, 33
Bengal Settlement	...	32
<i>Beora</i>	...	5, 15, 56, 72, 73, 74
Berar	...	2, 9
Bhatgaon	...	1, 2, 8, 9, 22, 30, 31, 33 to 38, 43, 52, 59, 61, 65, 69, 78
Bhimsen	...	15
Bhuihar	...	10
Bhumia	...	5, 58
<i>Bhut</i>	...	14
Bilaigarh-Katgi	...	1, 2, 8, 9, 22, 30, 31, 33 to 38 44, 52, 59, 61, 65, 78
Bimbaji	...	18
Binjhia	...	1
Binjhvars	...	5, 10, 11
<i>Bijra</i>	...	15
Bir Bikram Deo	...	79
Boundary	...	72 and following.
Brahmin	...	7, 8, 11, 15, 44, 45, 57, 80
<i>Byasi</i> (cross ploughing)...	...	36

C

Caste	...	5, 8, 10, 44, 45
Census	...	7, 9, 36
Cesses	...	30, 49, 55 to 61, 80, 82
Chaitma	...	25
Champa	...	1 to 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 25, 26, 30 to 38, 44, 46, 50, 52, 53, 57, 61, 68, 69, 70, 78
Chamars	...	8, 10, 13, 44, 45
<i>Chaurasi</i>	...	18, 19
Chhuri	...	1, 3, 7, 9, 25, 30 to 32, 34, 36, 39, 42, 44, 52, 57 to 59, 61, 65, 66, 77, 78, 81
Chisholm's Report	...	2, 21, 22, 24 to 26, 58, 66, 69, 73, 74, 77
Chhota Nagpur	...	10, 13, 68
<i>Churail</i>	...	14
Communications	...	2, 3, 12, 15, 42
Commutation fees	...	58, 76
Concealment of rents	...	46, 60
Contractors	...	7, 11, 15, 16, 45
Co-operative Society	...	46
Court of Wards	...	3, 16, 25, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 43, 44, 54, 59, 65, 74, 78
Cowries	...	24
Crops	...	3, 6, 36, 38
Currency	...	11

			PAGES.
D			
<i>Dahiya</i> cultivation	...	...	5
<i>Dao</i>	...	...	18 to 21, 25, 31
<i>Darha</i>	...	...	40
Deities	...	...	11, 14
Demarcation	...	...	29, 72, 73, 74, 76, 78
Demonology	...	...	14
Denudation	...	...	16
Dewan	...	...	18, 19
Dhanpur	...	...	14
Dhanuhar	...	...	10, 11
Dharm	...	...	11
<i>Dhup</i>	...	...	16
Dhur-Gond	...	...	1
Dialect	...	...	1
Dispensaries	...	...	28, 56
<i>Dochand</i>	...	...	75
Double-cropping	...	...	4, 6, 40, 41
Dues, irregular	...	...	30
<i>Dulhadeo</i>	...	...	14
E			
Embankment	...	...	5, 6
Encroachment	...	...	75
Enhancement	...	...	4, 28 to 31, 37, 39, 41 to 45, 48, 49, 53, 55, 58 to 60, 65, 79
Excise	...	...	11, 18, 24, 28, 29, 35, 45, 71, 79
Excision of excess waste	...	...	74 to 76
Export	...	...	3, 7, 47
F			
Factor	...	...	8, 38 to 41, 56
Factory	...	...	7, 12
Fallow	...	...	4 to 6, 22, 39, 45
Famine	...	...	2, 8, 34, 36, 37, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 65, 82
Ferries	...	...	18, 79
Feudatory States	...	...	73, 77,
Forest mahal	...	...	15, 28, 39, 50, 51, 55, 56, 58, 61
Forest produce	...	...	31, 50, 53, 73, 75, 79
Foreigners	...	...	10, 13
Forsyth	...	...	14, 16
Frost	...	...	6
G			
<i>Gabhar</i>	...	...	40
Ganiari	...	...	3

			PAGES.
Ganra	...	...	10, 44, 45
Gaontia	...	...	12, 19 to 21, 25 to 27, 31, 32, 43, 48, 62, 63, 65 to 71, 80, 81
Gaurasa	...	...	40, 41
Gazetteer	...	...	14
Geology	...	...	2
Ghamsan Dao	...	...	14, 19
Ghosts	...	...	14
Gohari	...	...	40
Gond	...	...	5, 7, 9 to 11, 13, 14, 32, 44, 45
Gram	...	...	4
Grazing dues	...	...	52, 58, 76
Groups	...	...	2, 39, 41, 68
Gurmatia	...	...	40
H			
Haihaibansi Kings	...	...	1, 10, 18
Halkabandi	...	...	63
Halwai	...	...	7
Hamlets	...	...	31, 73
Hareli	...	...	14
Harra	...	...	47
Head-loads	...	...	3
Headman	...	...	5, 9, 12, 13, 19, 20 to 22, 26, 27, 30, 32, 52, 57, 61 to 63, 65 to 72, 81
Home-farm	...	...	22, 26, 49, 51, 54, 56, 57, 66 to 68, 70
I			
Immigrants	...	...	5, 7, 10, 12, 34
Imports	...	...	7
Improvements	...	...	3, 5, 6, 11, 31, 80
Income-tax	...	...	35
Inter-marriage	...	...	10, 11
Intoxicants	...	...	11
Irrigation	...	...	6, 40, 41
J			
Janjgir	...	...	1, 2, 36, 63
K			
Kabir Panti	...	...	11
Kachhi	...	...	7
Kalar	...	...	7
Kamdar	...	...	69, 81
Katha	...	...	63
Katti Paidawar	...	...	47
Kamil-jama	...	...	23, 28, 30, 31, 49, 50 to 58, 60, 79, 80, 82

			PAGES.
Kanteli	...	...	... 1, 2, 8, 9, 30 to 39, 43, 52, 53, 59, 63, 65, 78, 82
Kanwar	...	...	... 1, 5, 7, 9 to 11, 13, 21, 32, 44, 45
Kargi Road Station	...	...	... 2, 14
Kathghora	...	...	... 3, 64
Katni	...	...	... 2, 3, 7, 31, 33
Kauria	...	...	... 77
Kawardha	...	...	... 15, 58, 78
Kenda	...	...	... 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 16, 30 to 32, 34, 36 to 40, 44, 52, 54, 59, 61, 65, 78
Kewat	...	...	... 44, 45
Kharchari (grazing tax)...	...	...	... 59
<i>Kham</i>	...	...	... 57, 61, 62, 63
<i>Khandi</i>	...	...	... 3, 21, 22
Kol	...	...	... 14
Komoghat	...	...	... 3
Korba	...	...	... 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16, 24, 25, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 39, 44, 46, 52, 54, 58, 59, 61, 65, 69, 74, 77, 78
<i>Koriha Dao</i>	...	...	... 14, 19
Korwa	...	...	... 5, 10
Kosam	...	...	... 47
Kosgain	...	...	... 14
Kota	...	...	... 12
Kshatris	...	...	... 8
Kudermal	...	...	... 11
Kurmis	...	...	... 8, 44, 45

L

Lac	...	...	... 7, 11, 12, 47, 50
<i>Lakabhata</i>	...	...	... 6
<i>Lakkai</i> (a tax on lac cultivation)	...	...	... 59
Lapha	...	...	... 1, 3, 7, 16, 25, 30 to 32, 34 to 36, 39, 44, 52, 54, 59, 61, 65, 73, 77, 78
<i>Lehi</i>	...	...	... 6
License fee	...	...	... 50
<i>Likhar</i> (fee for writing Kotwar's book)	...	...	... 59
Linseed	...	...	... 4, 6, 40
Lormi	...	...	... 78

M

Madanpur	...	...	... 35
<i>Mahabir</i>	...	...	... 11, 15
Mahanadi	...	...	... 1, 2, 37, 43, 47
Mahato	...	...	... 5, 10
Mahua	...	...	... 47

			PAGE.
Maikal Mountains	...	...	1
Maize (<i>Jondhri</i>)	...	...	5
<i>Malikana</i>	...	...	53, 57, 80
Malik-makbuza	...	...	26, 29, 54, 79, 80
Manjhi	...	...	10, 11, 68
Manjhwar	...	...	10, 11
Manure	...	...	5, 6, 40
Map-correction	...	...	39, 54, 79, 82
Marar	...	...	44
Marathas	...	...	21, 24, 25, 66, 79,
<i>Masahati Khasra</i>	...	...	54
Matin	...	...	1, 3, 7, 16, 25, 30 to 32, 34, 36, 39, 52, 54, 59, 61, 65, 74, 77, 78
Millets	...	...	5, 7 ²
Mirzapur	...	...	3
Muhammadans	...	...	7, 10
Money-lenders	...	...	11, 12
Monsoon	...	...	2
Muafi grants	...	...	57
Mungeli	...	...	1, 2, 4, 8, 18, 24, 36, 63
Murwara	...	...	14
Mukaddam	...	...	21, 69
N			
<i>Nagar</i>	...	...	63
<i>Naka</i> (outpost)	...	...	50
<i>Nar</i>	...	...	3
Nawagarh	...	...	8, 18, 24
<i>Nazarana</i>	...	...	12, 28, 29, 46, 59, 70
O			
Opium	...	...	45
Orissa	...	...	10
P			
<i>Pach-kathiya</i> (fee for nistar)	...	...	59
Paddy	...	...	4, 22, 63
Pandaria	...	...	1, 2, 5, 8 to 10, 20, 21, 24, 25, 30, to 39, 43, 52, 53, 55, 59, 61, 63, 65, 78, 79, 82
Paikra	...	...	10, 21
Palas	...	...	47
Pali	...	...	14
Pandhri (tax)	...	...	28, 29, 35
Panika	...	...	10, 11, 44, 45
<i>Parcha</i> (rent certificate)...	...	...	60
Pardhan	...	...	18, 68
Patel	...	...	18 to 20, 26

		PAGES.
<i>Pattas</i> (deeds of grants)...	...	26, 80
Patwari cess	...	29, 60
Pendra	...	1 to 5, 7, 9, 16, 18, 22, 24, 25, 30 to 32, 34, 36 to 40, 42, 44, 48, 52, 55, 57 to 59, 61, 65, 73, 77,
Phuljhar	...	8
Pig	...	5
Pillars, boundary	...	78
Plough jama	...	22, 23
Population	...	1, 6 to 9, 13, 16, 32, 36, 72, 79
Police	...	11, 18, 28, 35, 71, 79
Post-office	...	56
Pounds	...	11, 18, 35, 71, 79
Prices	...	42
Privy Council	...	36, 62, 79
Protected Status	...	25, 26, 29, 32, 33, 38, 62, 66, 67 to 71, 75, 76, 79, 80

Q

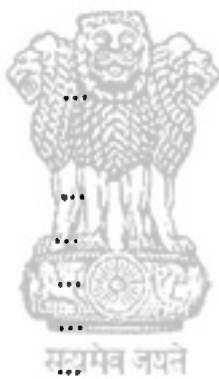
<i>Qabuliyats</i> (forms of acceptance)	...	39, 61, 62
---	-----	------------

R

Railway	...	8, 16, 42
Rainfall	...	2, 16, 37
Raj-Gond	...	1
Rajputana	...	25
Raout	...	44
<i>Rapat</i> (reporting Kotwar)	...	62
Regularly settled areas	...	54
Religion	...	11, 13, 14
Rewa	...	3, 22, 36, 77
Rice	...	2, 3, 4, 5, 36
Ringing (of trees)	...	15, 16
Roads	...	28, 56
Ryotwari tenure	...	26, 27, 30, 32, 68

S

Sub-lambardar	...	61
Saja	...	15
<i>Saktaha</i>	...	11, 15
Sakti	...	58
Sal (Sarai)	...	15, 16, 31
<i>Salahi</i> (tax)	...	59
Sauad	...	62
Sarais	...	56
<i>Sarah Majid</i> (tax)	...	59
Sarguja State	...	3, 77



			PAGES.
<i>Sarson</i>	...	...	5
Saunta	...	...	10
Schools	...	...	28, 56
Sheorinarayan	...	...	2, 66
<i>Siras</i>	...	...	15
Siwai-income	...	...	28, 31, 39, 47, 51 to 54, 57, 58, 62
Sleepers	...	...	7, 15, 47
Sobhrai Dao	...	...	14, 19
Sonakhan	...	...	78
Subah	...	...	19
Subahdars	...	...	20, 32
Summary Settlement	...	...	28, 29, 38, 53, 54
Sub-proprietor	...	...	15, 21, 25, 28, 30 to 33, 50 to 53, 55, 57, 60 to 62, 69, 71, 73, 74 to 76, 79 to 81
Survey, Cadastral	...	...	28, 33, 77
„ Topographical	...	...	39, 77
„ Imperial Traverse	...	...	33, 78
„ Local Traverse	...	...	33
„ Stones	...	...	33, 78

T

<i>Tahlu</i> or <i>Tarar</i> (Watchman)	...	...	62
<i>Takoli</i>	...	...	18, 22, 24, 28 to 31, 35, 39, 48, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 58 to 62, 79 to 82
Taluq	...	...	18, 19, 25
Taluqdar	...	...	18, 19, 25
<i>Tangar</i>	...	...	40
Tanwar	...	...	1, 10, 44, 45
Teora	...	...	40
Teli	...	...	8, 13, 44, 45, 46
Thakur	...	...	18, 19, 25, 26
<i>Theka-jama</i>	...	...	48, 51, 54 to 58, 61
Tilsa	...	...	15
Tobacco	...	...	5
Transplanting	...	...	6
Trijunction	...	...	33
Tuman	...	...	14

U

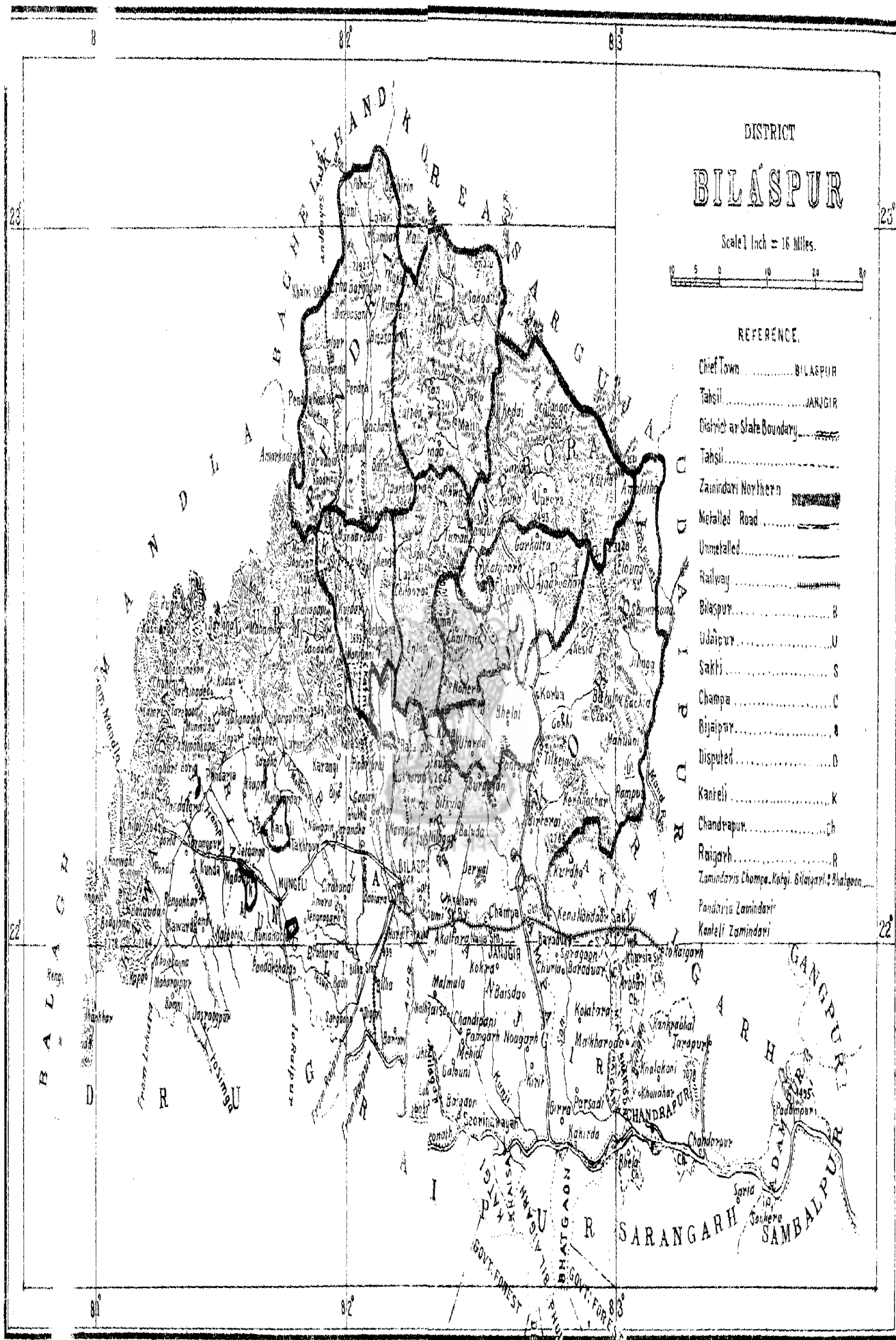
Udaipur	...	...	77
Upورا	...	...	1, 3, 7, 16, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 52, 54, 59, 61, 65, 77, 78
<i>Urad</i>	...	...	3, 4, 6, 7, 40

	W	PAGES.
<i>Wajib-ul-ars</i>	...	26, 27, 29, 35, 39, 41, 47, 51, 54, 59, 62, 65, 68, 82
Wheel-tax	...	31
Wheat	...	4, 5, 36, 63





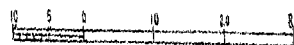
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DISTRICT

BILASPUR

Scale 1 Inch = 16 Miles.

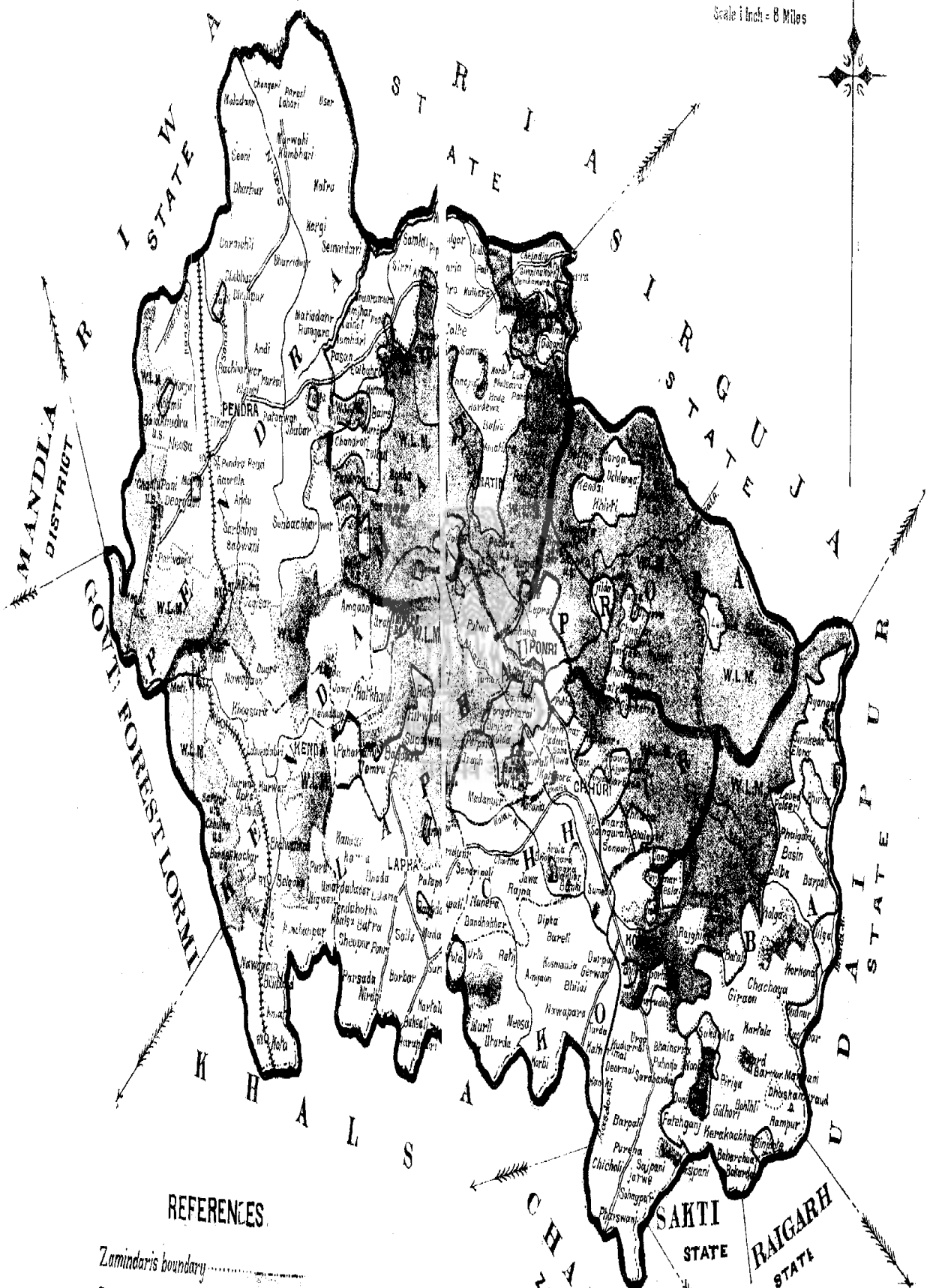


REFERENCE.

Chief Town	BILASPUR
Tahsil	JANAGIR
District or State Boundary	.....
Tahsil	.....
Zamindari Northern	.....
Metalled Road	.....
Unmetalled	.....
Railway	.....
Bilaspur	.....	B
Udaipur	.....	U
Sakti	.....	S
Champa	.....	C
Bijapur	.....	B
Disputed	.....	D
Kanelli	.....	K
Chandrapur	.....	Ch
Raigarh	.....	R
Zamindaris Champa, Kaly, Bijapur, Bilaspur	.....
Famindaris Zamindari	.....
Kanelli Zamindari	.....

NORTHERN ZAMINDARIS
 PENDRA KENDA LAPHA MATIN
 UPRORA CHHURI & KORBA
 DISTRICT BILASPUR

Scale 1 Inch = 8 Miles



REFERENCES

- Zamindaris boundary
- Summarily Settled Villages
- Unsurveyed Villages
- Waste Land Mahal
- Rivers

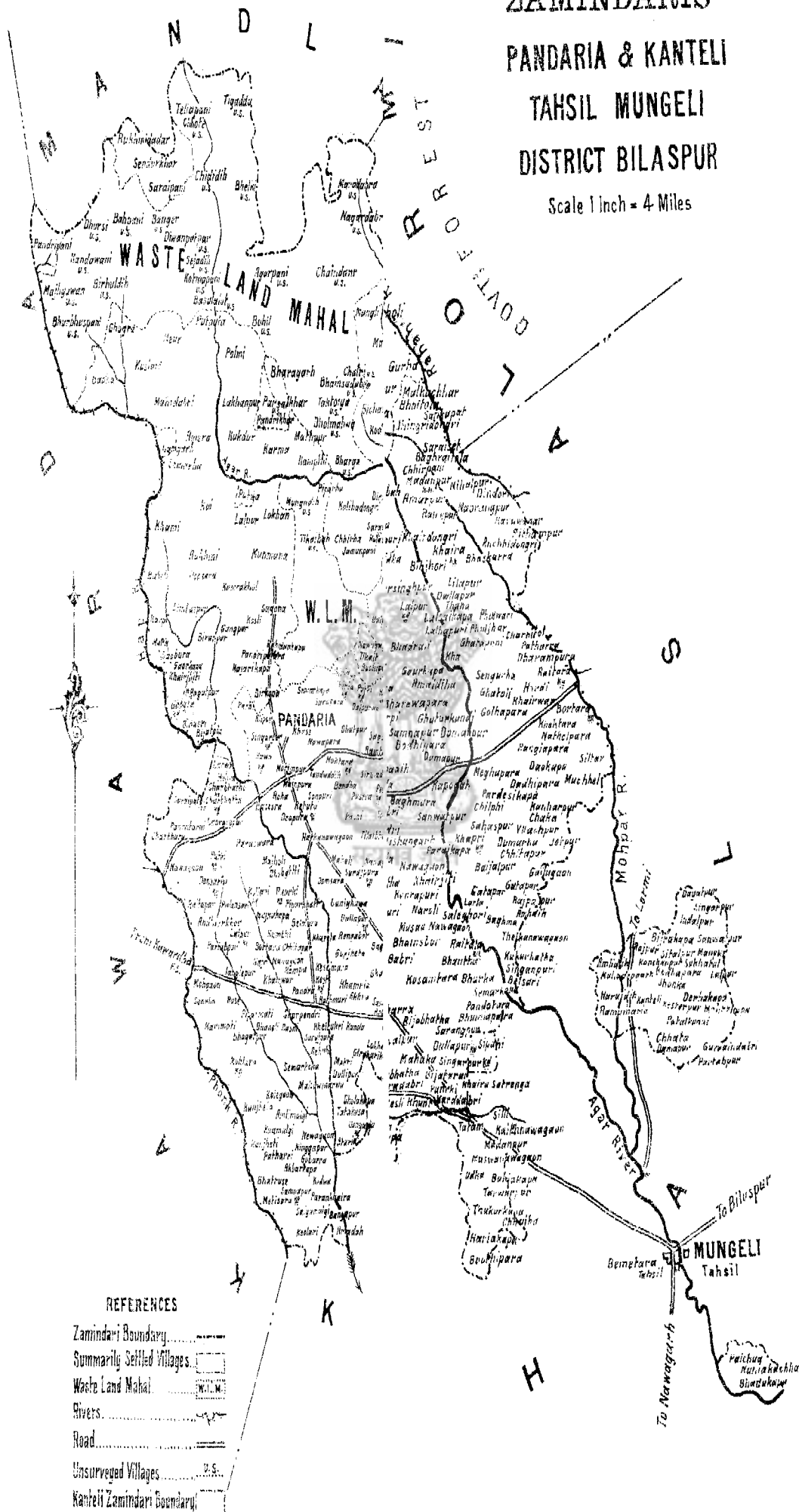
ZAMINDARIS

PANDARIA & KANTELI

TAHSIL MUNGELI

DISTRICT BILASPUK

Scale 1 inch = 4 Miles



Scale 1" = 4 Miles.

