LAND
REVENUE SETTLEMENTS
A. THIRTY YEARS' SETTLEMENT
B. SETTLEMENT OF 1887-1897
C. SETTLEMENT OF 1911-1916
The last years of the 'twenty years' settlement were one of considerable anxiety and difficulty to the people because as explained in the previous chapter, the troubles and the results of the short-term settlements had befallen the district, and which so retarded its progress that the material and social condition of the people was much behind the average standard of people in most of the districts of the Central Provinces.

With the view that the administration coupled with some efforts for the welfare would bring better revenue and would also induce trust in the 'Mai-Bap Sarkar', they took a step further and tried to bring a change. In 1854 preliminary measures for a new settlement were taken and Captain Montgomery, then Deputy Commissioner of the district, was appointed Settlement Officer, with a suitable staff of two assistants and means etc. It was thought that the settlement of Sagar would be completed by the end of 1858 but the desired result was not attained and 'since then it has been dragging its slow length along.' The reasons


for this delay were the natural misfortunes and the revolt of 1857. Ill health of Captain Montgomery also contributed to the delay. In the result in 1856 Captain Montgomery was succeeded by Colonel Western, under whom the work progressed favourably up to the middle of May, 1857, but it was not until August 1862, that the settlement operations were pushed forward with vigour. Moreover, the length of time which intervened between measurements and assessment, entailed the necessity of an 'A'm Portal' of great part of the district. It also caused delay. The settlement, so brought to a completion after a gap of thirteen years was confirmed for thirty years; and was therefore, generally known as the 'thirty years' settlement!

It was for the first time that the settlement was preceded by a regular survey and preparation of field maps and records of rights. The settlement operations were completed in several stages, such as demarcation of village boundaries, the adjustment of the boundaries of the district, the preparation of maps, measurements of the field, general testing of the maps, inspections, assessments and the preparation of the

3. Letter from G. Bernard, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Settlement Officer, Central Provinces, No. 1111/103 dated Nagpore, the 26th March, 1867.
record. In March, 1854, 'Hud bundee' mouzabar measurements were started under the superintendence of Mr. Kishan Narayan Deputy Collector. This work was completed in the beginning of 1856. 'Kistwar' survey was then commenced by the same agency and finished in 1861. The 'Hud bundee' survey of Kanjia and Shahgarh paragana, the former annexed in 1861 and the latter in 1859, was made in 1861-62, and the 'Kistwar' survey in 1863. The operations of marking the boundaries, where dispute arose or doubts existed, were performed by Mr. Kishan Narayan, Deputy Collector in 1854-55, and the boundaries of Kanjia, bordered on the north west by Gwalior and Shahgarh, on the north by Lalitpur and on the east by Panna, were settled and marked off in 1861-62 by Mr. Ahfud Hussain, Extra Assistant Commissioner, who diligently performed his duties. The total number of villages demarcated in the district was 2,107.


5. Ibid., P. 30.
6. Ibid., P. 30.
7. Ibid., P. 30.
8. Ibid., P. 110.
9. Ibid., P. 30.
Each field as surveyed was entered in the surveyor's map, particulars regarding the dimensions of a field, its name together with that of its occupant, nature of the land and information about, as well as revenue were entered into the field book maintained by the surveyor. The map thus prepared was known as Shajrah and the field book as the Khasra. The whole of the work was tested by the supervising officers. Two thousand one hundred and seven of these maps and field books were prepared, but twenty six of these villages (in the Pithoria rent free jageer) were excluded from settlement operations.

The assessment and inspection of villages was also given due weight. The assessment was made in hot and wet weather and the inspections were conducted during the cold weather. These maps were checked as a general check was effected throughout the district. But only in few instances the village maps were found incorrect.

'Khatonees,' the register of rights of each holding with details of the plots in each holding and the rent, were prepared by the patwaris and they were attested by the Assistant Settlement Officer and Exta


Assistant Commissioner. This work took a period of two years.

The operation of adjustment of rents was also started in November 1863 and it was completed in 1865 in which 1564 cases were taken up. As regards the administration papers they were prepared under the direct supervision of Mr. H. Read, Assistant Settlement Officer and other staff.

'Khwat' the record of proprietary or land holders rights, described the share of each and contained other details as well. There were one thousand nine hundred and seventy seven of them. Moreover, a list of revenue free tenures in each village was also prepared. There were 13,839 cases out of which 2385 cases were reported for sanction and were ultimately sanctioned.

The total cost of the settlement amounts to Rs. 2,84,134-3.5. The settlement officers, who worked up to the close of the settlement, were Lieutent H. Montgomery (Nov. 1853 to 5-11-56), Captain G.F.S. Brown (13-9-56 to 6-11-56), Major W.C. western (7-11-56 to 17-12-56); Captain J.N.H. Maclean (18-12-56 to 31-5-59)


13. Ibid., P. 31.

14. Ibid., P. 100.
Captain G.F.S. Brown (1.4.59 to 19.9.61); Major J.R. Denny (20.9.61 to 6.4.1862) Captain V.P. Newmarch (7.3.1862 to 7.12.62); Captain G.F.S. Brown (8.12.62 to 22.5.1863); Mr. Reed (23.5.1863 to 8.10.1863) and Lieutenant-Colonel J.H.H. Maclean (9.10.63 up to the end of the settlement. Pandit Krishun Narayan (28.7.54 to 18.5.59; 5.6.59 to 30.9.61); Babu Pran Kishan (19.3.59 to 4.6.59) Syed Ahfud Muzzam and Mr. H. Reed were the Assistant Settlement Officers.

The results of survey and settlement proceedings recorded in the aforesaid records show that at the time of thirty years' settlement Sagar district comprised an area of 4,005 Sq. miles, including the Jagir of Pitchre and Pitcheria. Out of 2,107 villages, 76 were waste, 194/f were held on a rent free tenure and the rest, namely 1,836/6 were ordinary Malguzar estates. The settlement report for sanction referred to 1977 villages because 130 villages belonged to the two aforesaid Jagirs. In Khurai and Benda tahsils, the proportion of cultivable to cultivated land was large while in Sagar and Kehli tahsils, if the follow were added to

15. Ibid., P. 29.

16. Letter from Settlement Commissioner, Central Provinces to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Central Provinces, No. 989 dated Jubbulpore 24th March, 1867, para 4.
the cultivated, the total cultivation would exceed the area fit for cultivation. The details are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tahsil</th>
<th>Cultivated area</th>
<th>Lately abandoned area</th>
<th>Culturable waste area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khurai</td>
<td>1,51,393</td>
<td>50,516</td>
<td>1,88,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banda</td>
<td>79,669</td>
<td>32,157</td>
<td>1,22,663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sager</td>
<td>2,08,930</td>
<td>20,087</td>
<td>1,92,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehli</td>
<td>1,88,315</td>
<td>31,650</td>
<td>1,57,501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,28,307</td>
<td>1,34,410</td>
<td>6,60,526</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It meant that there was ample room for the extension of cultivation all over the district.

The thirty years' settlement gave birth to the institution of landlords or Malguzars, as it conferred proprietary rights on either the then holders or the original hereditary Malguzars in 1950 villages out of 18 1977 in the district. In 27 villages no proprietary rights proved. The following table shows the number of malik mokbuzas, any person who owns one or more plots of land separately assessed to land revenue in

17. Ibid., Para 7.

18. Ibid., Para 14.
a mahal, declared in the district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of villages in which proprietary rights have been declared</th>
<th>No. of persons on whom absolute proprietary rights have been conferred in entire or part of villages</th>
<th>No. of superior proprietors declared</th>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,896</td>
<td>6,179</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of sub-proprietors declared</th>
<th>No. of proprietor of holding declared</th>
<th>No. of hereditary tenants recorded</th>
<th>No. of cultivators at will recorded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>2,936</td>
<td>20,424</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Government had a theory to offer about the proprietary right over land. They thought that they were the proprietors of the land and they had the rights to distribute it as they liked. They claimed that in the earlier periods such right lay with the sovereigns. The sovereign used to confer right of possession to different land holders and the British

claimed to inherit such right in the district. They hoped that by encouraging the class of land holders they would lighten their administrative work and the task of the collection of revenue would be easier.

It is an admitted fact of history that the objective of conferring the proprietary rights in Sagar was administrative convenience which converted the village headman into a landlord. Sir C. Ilbert, observed, that "we found a body of cultivators paying revenue to the state through their village headmen. Under and for purposes of the revenue system which we introduced, we converted the headmen into proprietors or landlords, the cultivators into their tenants and the payments made by the cultivators into rent."

When the malguzars were granted full proprietary rights in their villages and were converted into landlords from being revenue farmers or managers, care was also taken to protect ryotees of long standing against any oppressive exercise of proprietary privileges. A certain number were exempted altogether from the authority of malguzars by being made proprietors of their holdings. Other were granted the status

known as "absolute occupancy" which included security against ejectment even for rent arrears, fixity of rent for the term of settlement and powers of transfer subject to a right of pre-emption on the part of the malguzars. Under this status, those ryots were brought who were in possession of their lands, since, and prior to the last twenty-years' settlement, and whose possession was hereditary in character, who had expended money and labour on their lands, formed bunds to retain water and thereby increase the value of their lands or who had levelled their lands where it was uneven, built or dug wells for irrigation and such like; who held the land and were relatives of the proprietors and whose rights may be considered as a substitute, to some extent; for a share in proprietary rights; who had taken pains to cut away the jungle and cultivate the land and on account of these difficulties paid rent at a reduced rate to the proprietor and who, whether of long or short standing held their fields for twelve years or nearly twelve years, and had the possession, from a date antecedent to the proprietors connection with the village as land lords.

Others were given the simple "Occupancy" Status, which secured the ryot against ejectment and carried
powers of transfer subject to the malgazar's consent. The remainder, termed as "ordinary" tenants, were left in the position of the tenants-at-will, but were given the privilege of acquiring occupancy rights by twelve years continuous possession. It means the Government had applied the best remedy in its power, by taking the utmost care of subordinate rights, as fortunately it was most fully entitled to do by the guarded terms of the proclamation conferring proprietary rights."

The Government hoped that the thirty years' settlement would bring under cultivation larger area of land and thus add their revenue collection. Therefore, they thought it better to reserve more land as state property after allowing to the holders; and to bring more land under cultivation. In this respect, the waste land rules were equally favourable to the people as well as to the Government. Therefore, out of 1977 villages, 76 whole villages were reserved as state property, and Government estates formed out of the area of 389 others, after allowing an ample margin to the holders, sufficient to supply all their wants, and more

then to provide for all future extension of cultivation. The area thus marked off measured 479,506 acres, and comprised 305 chucks, of which 34 chucks or 20,130 acres were kept apart for the Forest Department, and the remaining was available for sale or being granted on usufruct leases. Upto March, 1867, eleven chucks or 5,575 acres were sold for Rs.26,682 under the waste land Rules. The Settlement Commissioner expressed his views thus in a forwarding letter addressed to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner; "I am sanguine that with good management and a strict system of conservancy, the above sum may be largely increased." In fact it was the desire of the authorities to encourage such methods so that in the next settlement they should be in a position to raise the collections substantially and at the same time people should get the land for cultivation.

As far as the assessment is concerned, the statistical data on which it was based obtained from a superior Khasra survey. Prevailing rates on each class of soil and average collections both net and gross were also


23. Letter from Settlement Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Central Provinces, No. 969 dated Jubbulpore 24th March, 1867, para, 8.

given due regard. Moreover, various facts were also considered, such as firstly, the hilly and rocky nature of the district. The Settlement Officer observed that "the district was, with little exception, a considerably elevated tract; at and about Sagar itself, there were several lofty ranges of hills. There were two extensive ranges towards the north-east extremity of the district and the other towards the south-west." A huge area of the district was covered with bush-wood and jungle. Therefore, the crops in most of the areas of each tract were much exposed to damage from all kinds of wild animals, especially sambar, Neilgai, wild pig and herds of antelope which found shelter in the surrounding hills and jungles, and consequently the labour and expense of fencing and watching was great.

Secondly, the general inferiority of the cultivation and crops was also considered. Though land, i.e., agriculture, was and is the mainstay of the people of Sagar and provides livelihood to the bulk of the population of the district, including cultivators of land whether owned or unowned, cultivating labourers and agricultural renters, yet out of a total culturable area of 1,852,129 acres, only 34% was cultivated. The

25. Ibid., P. 19.
tahsilwise position is clear in the enclosed table 'G'.

Thirdly, the cultivation showed a want or enterprise and system. The people contented themselves with scratching the upper soil without raising it sufficiently to develop its productive powers. The rotation of crops and the use of manure was almost unknown except on the tableland. The great prevalence of 2nd and 4th Class soil was also a drawback. The figures shown in the table 'H' make the situation clear. (Table 'H' is enclosed)

Fourthly, agricultural population was also scanty and impoverished. Their main implement was the plough. The position of the population is illustrated by table 'I'.

Fifthly, the total absence of irrigation was also considered. The outturn of the harvests was entirely dependent on rainfall, irrigation was in little use. Of the cultivated area only 6,891 acres i.e. 1% was irrigated and that too by dug-wells. There were numerous rivers, chiefly Sonar, Bubas, Dhussen, Bins and Betwa traversing the district, the banks of which were covered in many instances with foliage of beautiful and varied colours, and presented a most picturesque spectacle but irrigation potential went untapped. Only the sloping banks of some of the rivers were used to cult-
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-iveto vegetables and their sandy beds for the growth of melons. The figures given in the Table 'J' would be found to illustrate the extent of such cultivation.

Sixthly, the want of good roads and absence of any brisk trade was also looked into. The means of communication were not altogether satisfactory. Most of the roads were unmetalled and the majority of them were unbridged, except those within a certain distance of the city of Sagar. The relative lack of means of communication exercised a dispiriting effect on trade. Most of the area could boast of nothing remarkable in the way of manufacture, trade or natural products unless under the latter may be classed 'gur'.

The above mentioned facts, together with a series of natural calamities, compelled the Settlement Officer to comment that their previous excessive demands had made the greater portion of the district a desolate waste. He wrote: "the former demand was realised with the greatest pressure and difficulty, and had resulted in the distress and ruin of hundreds, the desertion of villages, as well as a general deterioration of the whole district." J.H. Morris, the then Settlement

Commissioner, while forwarding Lt. Col. Maclean's Report to the Government observed as follows:

"From a consideration of the above facts the Settlement Officer rightly came to the conclusion that the district was unsuited to the burden of a heavy land tax, and that a moderate settlement could alone work satisfactorily in it, or conducive to the prosperity of the people, and in this conclusion he was borne out by the working of the preceding settlements, each of which had seemed more or less high, so that, notwithstanding that large remissions of revenue were granted from time to time, still villages changed hands so rapidly that not unseldom the possession of a village was regarded as a misfortune rather than a privilege."

Therefore, in the thirty years' settlement the assets of the district were estimated at Rs. 8,94,276 out of which the Government demand was fixed at Rs. 4,63,493. The assets were made up of payment made by Malik nakbuzas tenants rental, rental value of home farm land and sivai or miscellaneous income, which was mainly derived from the malgujar's forests and from sale of grass, fruits and the leasing of tanks. The table II gives details of the assets and assessment of revenue.
The jumma was fixed not at one half of the net average assets, but at about one half of the average net assets. The rule for deducting the jumma from the ascertained assets was this: deduct cess (Road fund at ¼ on the assets, school fund at ¼ on the assets, dock fund at 2½ and choukidars pay at Rs. 3½ per mensem calculated at the rate of one for every 60 enclosures) from the assets and divide by 2. Result = jumma.

Seeing the aforesaid features of the thirty years' Settlement it may be concluded that this settlement introduced the features of revenue settlements in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. The Bengal feature was the artificial conversion of malguzars (whether old pates or revenue farmers) into proprietors of villages. The North-Western features were: (1) the settlement of the revenue in a lump-sum for the entire village which, in revenue language has become a 'zindari' village, and (2) of the careful measurement and survey of land, the record of all classes of rights, both as regards proprietors and tenants.


The thirty years' settlement also tried to clarify the position and duty of patwaris as well as of kotwars. The patwaris, a most intelligent and trustworthy body of village servants, were well trained. The custodians of the village records were roughly organised on the basis of the halka system. In forming these halkas, the object was to interfere little as possible with the arrangements which existed regarding halkas held by patwaris for many years. They used to keep a record of all changes in the maps and in the proprietary interests as they occurred by inheritance, gifts and sale, as well as the statistics of crops sown and other matters which local circumstances require. Moreover, an attempt was made to equalize their remuneration. The system of remuneration of patwaris was left to the land holders, and interference of the Settlement Officer was exercised as little as possible considering that the patwaris were properly paid. Besides, the money payments, they enjoyed other advantages, such as, patches of rent-free land, donations of grain at the time of harvest, small

30. Letter from Morris, J.H., Settlement Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, No. 969, dated Jubbulpoor, the 24th March, 1867, para 31.
money payments from cultivators for writing receipts and other such documents. These were entered in the wajib-ul-arz of the village to which the patwari belonged. They used to get some money as 'Dawat-puja' and 'chirawal' one a year. It was customary that they were provided with a blanket either yearly or once in two years by the melguzers, and a couple of shoes by the chamar community of the village. But these customs varied from village to village. In certain villages they used to get a part of the local products from the cultivators, for example, in village Basiyabhoti, patwari halka no. 98, the local product was tobacco. The patwari or that village, Panchamalal, used to get 1/2 ser tobacco per cultivator. In village Katangi, patwari halka No. 51, sugarcane was the local product, so the patwari, Pyarelal son of Bihari Lal used to get six set or gur prepared from the sugarcane, from the cultivators of the village. It is, therefore, reasonable to surmise that in certain villages the patwari were well off.

31. Missal Bandobast of village Basiyabhoti, Settlement Number 57, Patwari Halka No. 98; tehsil Sagar, District Sagar, 1860-64, P. 18.

'L' makes the position of patwars in the district, clear.

The kotwars were generally men of low caste i.e., korees and chadars, and were paid by the tenants and malguzars at fixed rates on the rent and revenue. But even in normal times, their remuneration was often pitifully scanty. The Thirty Years Settlement took some steps to define the status and perquisites of villages kotwars. The first step was to abolish the system of money payments which had been imposed in recent years by district officers, and at the time of adjustments of rents, opportunity was taken to allow malguzars and cultivators to arrange for the perquisites of kotwars according to custom, and their ideas of what was best. In all instances the headmen were instructed that kotwars were in future to be considered village institutions, the appointment resting with the malguzars, and the removal on the requisition of the community for proved misconduct.

At the time of adjustment of rents, on the beak of the 'Chitta khatoni' the perquisites, in grain etc. payable

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by each cultivator was entered and attested and remuneration to kotwars as agreed to by the parties, was recorded in the wajib-ul-ahriz. A tenure of office as kotwar for twenty years, was considered to constitute a "merousee" kotwar. Their position was also defined in the wajib-ul-ahriz, the record of village custom and practice, having the force of law except in case of conflict with statutory law. There were altogether 1,707 kotwars in the district, and 679 of them were ancestral or merousee.

As regards the impact of the thirty years settlement on society, it appears that the Government evolved mulguzers, as a new institution.

The tenants, who were the most important class were 192,466 in number i.e. 32.5% of the whole population. As regards the impact of thirty

34. Ibid., P. 103.

35. Khema S.S.


years' settlement on the status of tenants, it is clear that the area held by tenants under occupancy rights increased very largely under the old twelve years rule and this was one of the most satisfactory features in agrarian history of the last thirty years.' As a result, some of them reaped the full advantage of the product in prices which changed their life altogether. Mr. Cleveland observed, while inspecting the great majority of the villages of the District, "in the case of these the standard of comfort has risen with the increase of income, and they wear better clothes, more ornaments, and eat more condiments with their food than their fathers did before them." But mostly the tenants were in the habit of spending more than their income which forced them to borrow money and that as a class they were heavily indebted. Mr. Cleveland observed that "in a very large number of cases the tenant gets a bare subsistence allowance from his creditors, the whole profits going to them."

38. Fuller J. B. : Review of the Progress the Central Provinces during the for thirty years and of the present and past condition of the people, Nagpur, 1892, P. 48.


40. Quoted in the Review of the Progress the Central Provinces during the for thirty years and of the present and past condition of the people, Nagpur, 1892, P. 46.
The position of the farm servants and field labourers, who were about 17,401, i.e. 2.9% and 47,685, i.e., 8.5% respectively, improved during this period their wages rose considerably. The enquiries of 1888 indicate that in Sagar which was reported as a district where poverty was most widespread as was the case in Damoh, out of 259 labourers whose circumstances were investigated, only 7% were found to have an income of less than Rs. 30, a fifth of the number earning over Rs. 100/-.

In general it may be said that the field labourers, as a class were sufficiently fed and satisfied with their lives, in spite of much which seemed miserable and squalid. Their circular earnings were mostly spent on liquor and they subscribed very largely indeed to the excise revenue of the Government.

During this period population increased by 18.7%. The occupied area extended 35% and the cropped area 48%.


42. Fuller J.B. Review of the Progress the Central Provinces during the for thirty years end of the present and past condition of the people, Nagpur, 1892, P. 52.

Harvests, in spite of inevitable ups and downs, were fairly favourable. In 1868 famine conditions prevailed in the districts but they were overcome. Allotment of five lakhs of rupees for seed advances (takali) was also made for Nager and Damoh. The extension of railway communication via Kajeli, and afterwards by the Bina-Nager branch, steadied prices and improved trade. Development was not as startling as in the Nerbudda valley, which was served directly by the main line, but was still remarkable. Careful enquiries clarify that though the cost of production had increased very largely, its rise was not equal to the rise in prices.

Though it has been observed by J. M. Sil that the district enjoyed a period of almost unbroken agricultural prosperity during the currency of the thirty years' Settlement, there was very little improvement of any kind in the system of agriculture which remained


45. Fuller J.B. : Review of the Progress the Central Provinces during the for thirty years' end of the present and past condition of the people, Nagpur, 1892, P. 16.

almost the same as it had been from time immemorial. Manure was not as adequately and skilfully used as it might have been. Rotation of crops was not sufficiently practised and little trouble was taken to prevent the erosion of soil by the rush of rain water. Moreover, in the thirty years' Settlement the rents of tenants were not fixed because the Settlement Officer was not called upon to fix the rents of tenants. He had merely to determine the sum which could fairly be demanded as revenue from each village. It was left to the malguzars and tenants to settle what the rents should be after the demand of the Government had been made known to them. In fact the thirty years' Settlement left things very much as they were under the latter half of the Maratha rule. It defined and described rights which were generally understood but it took care leave unaltered the respective position of the village community and of the village head.

It is clear that in the thirty years' settlement, the rents of tenants were not fixed and no arrangements had been made "for the annual check and correction of the village area records." These drawbacks

47. Fuller J.B. : Review of the Progress of the Central Provinces during the past thirty years' and of the present and past condition of the people, Nagpur, 1892, P. 1.
prepared the background for creation difficulties, misunderstanding, and ill feeling between the melguzers and tenants and increased litigation. The need to rectify this defect in the revenue system was realised and attended to in the next settlement. Preparations for the next settlement commenced in 1891, after a preliminary cadastral survey had been completed (1887-1891) under the guidance of Mr. Swiney, Assistant Settlement Officer, the settlement could not however take the final shape till 1897 but owing to interruptions caused by famine. This settlement marked an advance over the previous settlement.

Firstly, the survey work was taken up. The maps of the thirty years' settlement were of little use and it was found necessary that a fresh survey should be done. In order to carry out this work, two separate agencies were employed. The professional survey party first made a preliminary traverse and provided sheets for each village on which they laid down the position of survey marks, which they placed

as near the boundaries of the village as possible. In the case of large villages an inner line of survey marks was also laid down. The patwaris followed the professional surveyors and, with the help of the marks laid down by the latter, plotted the field boundaries and other details. It was an easy matter for them to do this, for they had only to cut up the village area into blocks by running lines from one set of survey marks to the next and then plot the details for each of these blocks. They had under the system very little excuse for making mistakes, and if any mistakes were by chance made, they were easily detected and remedied.

Patwaris were not called to do any survey work outside their own circle. This system made the patwaris aware of the extent of work which they had to get through, they were thereby induced to put forth all their energies and dispose of their task as soon as possible. Encouragement was also given to them in the shape of extra pay for accurate work quickly done. The procedure was appreciated by the patwaris themselves and they were able to earn under it a sum of Rs. 7,961-9-2 or Rs. 2-7-10 per square mile. 49

services were also rewarded by the grant of silk puggreens.

In order to bring the good results of the cadastral survey, ten or twelve patwaris were placed under the charge of a revenue Inspector, who was expected to move about constantly amongst them and exercise a constant check over their work. 21% to 31% fields were checked on the map by test-chaining. Supervision was exercised by the Assistant Settlement Officer.

The work of attestation and village inspections was taken up simultaneously by C.R. Cleveland, Settlement officer, in 1892. He was assisted in this work by Gajrajsingh and Kishen Prasad, Assistant Settlement Officers. Subsequently Gajraj Singh, who was "an able, intelligent and trustworthy assistant," was given the title of Rai Bahadur. Special attention was paid to record the entries relating to malguzars, sir lands and to malik-kakbujas, and absolute occupancy tenements and holdings were compared in detail with the records of the last settlement. Care was also taken to ascertain the areas entitled to exemption from assessment, or to a lenient assessment on account.

of improvements carried out by malguzars or cultivators. The malguzars miscellaneous income was ascertained, and enquiries were made into the customs of the villages, while the names of the village servants and the details of their remuneration were also noted. The village maps were also brought up to date.

The record was prepared by the patwaris. Khasra and Jumabandi were the important records. The preparation of the Khasra was somewhat difficult task because it was necessary to clarify each field according to the right in which it was held, and in order to do this the history of every fields had to be traced from the time of the last settlement, down to the beginning of the eighteen-nineteen. But not much difficulty was experienced in preparing of the records of proprietary rights, for the district office had registered all changes among the proprietors as and when these had occurred. A register of revenue free-grants was also prepared.

As regards assessment, the Settlement Officer


52. Ibid., P. 66.
was required to take the tenants holding, and not the village as the unit of assessment and to fix the rent of all protected tenants who held not less than fifty percent of the occupied area in the district. It was necessary for arriving at a fair assessment that a correct comparison should be made between the different holdings and different villages. The method was evolved by J.B. Fuller who explained it as follows:

Zaminderi and maufi villages are assessed by the determination of a lump sum for each village or separate, partitioned portion of a village (mahal), for the payment of which the proprietors of such village or mahal are jointly or severally responsible. The assessment is then made by villages (or mauzah) or mahals and not by plots, whether arbitrarily determined or representing actual fields save in the case of malik-makbuz holdings, each of which bears a separate assessment calculated independently of the assessment of the village in which it is situated. The sum which is fixed as the revenue payable by each village or mahal is calculated by reference to the assets of such village or mahal.

53. Ibid., P. 52.

In determining the site rent emphasis was laid on proper soil classification. In the first instance the classification of soil was affected by the patwaris and Revenue Inspectors, but their work was again checked by a staff of specially trained inspectors working under an Assistant District Superintendent of Land Records. Later on, it was checked by the attesting staff and the Assistant Settlement Officers and the Settlement Officer. The cultivators were also asked to depute their representative to accompany the attesting officer and state any objections which they might have to urge against the classification adopted.

As regards assets the rent actually payable by ryots, the fair rental of the air and khudkast lands and of lands held by service tenants or dependents of the landlords and the income derived from the village waste, and such miscellaneous sources as tanks or fisheries i.e. siwai. At this settlement assets were estimated at Rs. 13,68,949, out of which the Government demand was fixed at Rs. 6,92,773. At that time the actual current demand was Rs. 4,68,421 and thus the new demand represented an increase of
Rs.2,24,352 i.e. 48%. Tehsilwise details are given in the table 'M'.

As far as the village officials were concerned in 1886 patwari arrangement were revised and the number of circles was increased to 420 but in this settlement it was reduced to 387. The minimum pay under the arrangement of 1886 was Rs. 89 per month and maximum was Rs. 150/ per month but under this settlement the minimum pay was raised to Rs. 100 and maximum was left unchanged at Rs. 150. The malguzars were required to pay 5% per annum on the land revenue as patwari cess, while the tenants 3 pies per rupee of the rental. Wherever a malguzar had given the patwari rent-free land in lieu of service, he was allowed to set off the rental value of that land against the amount payable as patwari cess.

It was also found necessary to bring the patwara under greater control of the district authority and deal more directly with them and not with the malguzars. In 1891 fresh rules were issued under


section 147 (A) of the Land Revenue Act, defining their position and duty. At the revision of settle-
ment it was decided to leave the kotwars as village
servants whose pay should be made up by contributions
from the malguzars and tenants of the village or
villages under his charge. The contributions from
tenants were fixed in cash, and the malguzars were
also directed to pay cash, unless they had granted
the kotwar a sufficient plot of land rentfree in
return for his services. At the time of revision of
the settlement 1,877 kotwars were found to be working
receiving as remuneration Rs. 38,800-14-0 or on an
average Rs. 20-11-0 per annum each. On revision the
number was reduced to 1,523 and their emoluments were
increased to Rs. 55,299-9-9 which works out to Rs.36-5-0
per annum for each kotwar.

In short in this settlement an attempt
was to avoid litigation on the basis of entries in
the records. Due care was taken of the relationship
between the malguzars and tenants by preparing a rent-
roll for each tenants. Village administration and

57. Ibid., P. 66
village officials were also given due importance in order to make certain changes.

But the revenue target proposed by in this settlement could never be realised because a series of unparalleled crop disasters which culminated in the famines of 1897 and 1900. It is an admitted fact that in Sagar as elsewhere in India agriculture, the base of the revenue administration, depends entirely on rainfall and so no decade could escape one or two famines. Famines of 1897 and 1900 are known for their widespread devastation and ruin. The result was that the occupied area contracted 10%, the cropped area 30%, rabi area 50% and the wheat area 64%. Kharif which had frequently been substituted for rabi on the best wheat land, had increased by 9%. The fall in the occupied area would probably have been more, but absconding tenants often continued to be recorded as in possession of their holdings. Surrendered land, so long as it was new fallow, was again some times shown by the land record staff as malguzars khudkash. At the census of 1901 the fall in the rural population was to the tune of 23%. This state of the agriculture provided the opportunity
for the growth of the kans weed, and in some tracts agriculture was almost obliterated.

In order to meet the problem a sum of Rs. 1,372 was raised locally in July 1894 and a 'poor house' was opened in the Sagar town. It was continued with frequent intervals up to November, 1896. The money incurred on these operations was Rs. 15,736. The Swedish Mission, both at Sagar and Khurai, and the Christian Mission at Bina provided employment and help in kind. From 1, December, 1896, state relief works and institutions were opened, seeds were provided under the Agriculturists Loans Act, 1884, and Land Improvement Loins Act, 1893. 'Famine Charitable Relief Fund, 1897, provided some relief to the people and assistance in the form of grain, compensation allowance to the low-paid Government officials whose pay was less Rs. 16 per mensem. The amount disbursed was permitted to stand in lieu of extra pay. The total amount expended on these allowances during the year was Rs. 2,51,242; i.e., P.W.D. 4920, Forest


Department Rs. 35842 and other civil Departments, Rs. 1,90480.

Patwars were not entitled to any concession under the rules of the Account Code, but in view of the importance of the functions which they performed allowances were given wherever their remuneration consisted largely of local dues, and distress was so severe as to make it likely that they would not be able to collect much. These allowances were paid out of the balances of the 'Patwari fund'. Allowances, varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 a month, were paid to a certain number of Kotwars also. The total of these allowances amounted to Rs. 20,260.

On 6th March, 1897 District Committee was also formed under the chairmanship of F.A.T. Phillips, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Kashi Nath Rao, Pleader, was the Hon. Secretary, and the members were Rai Bahadur Lala Nand Kishore, Rao Seheb Vyankat Rao, Munshi Mahmood Azimulla Khan, and Babu Kali Prasanna Mukerji. The Committee tried to give relief by way of clothes, doles.

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60. Ibid., para 106.


62. Ibid., para 155.

63. Ibid., para 155.
chair and grain. The following statement shows the
number of persons to whom one kind of relief
or another was provided:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cloth</th>
<th>Extre</th>
<th>Orphans</th>
<th>Cloth</th>
<th>Agricult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10,522</td>
<td>4,121</td>
<td></td>
<td>467</td>
<td>16,546</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gopal Dutt Joshi, civil judge, one of the distributing
officer expresses that, "the recipients of relief
very gratefully accepted the gifts, and conscious
as they were of their own helplessness and destitution,
their expressions of gratitude towards their generous
donors at the timely help extended to them were so
loud and profuse as to defy description."

In spite of the aforesaid measures, statements
of rents and revenue were also ordered almost simulta-
neously. Moreover, a number of villages which had
not been regularly abated but continued to deteriorate
after the famine, were granted temporary reductions
of revenue only from year to year. The regular abate-
ments reduced the revenue of the district by Rs.1,63,539
i.e. 26%, of which Rs. 1,07,535 were abated temporarily.

64. Report of the Central Executive Committee-Indian
65. Quoted in the Report of the Central Executive
Committee Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund,
1897, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1898, para 211.
and Rs. 76,004 permanently. The abated demand was Rs. 5,09,194. This was only Rs. 45,701 or 10% more than the thirty years' settlement revenue, which was itself admitted by Colonel Maclean to be a sacrifice of legitimate revenue compelled by years of calamity.

These abatements of rent and revenue, which were based mainly on the figures of fellows, encouraged the policy of "holding back" land from cultivation and in many villages recovery was deliberately retarded. In some cases apparent deterioration was deliberately aggravated. This tendency was noticed on the part of malguzars, mostly in Khurai tehsil. The reasons behind this tendency were: the belief that a lenient assessment would be secured at the settlement which was going on, the expectation that the landlords would retain their grip on the best land for the extension of home farm or for lease on grain-rents, which was generally regarded as a tenancy-at-will, and cattle-breeding, dairy-farming and the sale of grass

would yield a fair compensatory income, which, though less than the profits of home-farm cultivation, might be as much as could be obtained as rent from tenants. But the chief cause at the back of it all, which made "holding back" on a big scale possible, was undoubtedly abatement. If the Government had not foregone the revenue which was late legitimate interest, the capital, that is, the land would not have been allowed to lie unproductive or be only partially productive. And continued abatement, long after "holding back" had become an open scandal, encouraged the land lords to expect that waste land would again be exempted from assessment.

This practice had become so widespread that the Government decided, "these cases must be strongly dealt with and the best way to deal with them is to place a valuation on fellow and fix a fair revenue accordingly. The state should not allow itself to be defrauded by unscrupulous gamblers in future. The malguzars will either surrenders the villages to Government or pay the revised revenue. If they accept


68. Ibid., p. 32.
but fail to pay, they should be sold up! the Government itself buying their villages at an upset price, if no other bids are forthcoming. While Government is granting to landlords various concessions and dealing with them as a body with much indulgence, it must show clearly that it is not going to be defrauded by any action of this kind. In September, 1910, Sir Reginald Crookshock, then Chief Commissioner, warned the melguzars in open Durbar at Sagar in substantially the same words. This had a good effect on most of the melguzars and those who still left the land uncultivated were made to pay at the next settlement. The assessment of 1897 was sanctioned to continue up to 1913.

As a preliminary to the next re-settlement, reimposition proceedings were undertaken in 1909-1910, in Sagar, Rehli, and Banda tehsils where abatements of revenue were not sanctioned permanently. As a result,

69. Mr. Moss King's letter No. 254-XI-4-132 dated 30th March, 1911 to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture, para 8, quoted in the Report on the Revision on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Seogur District 1911-1916, Nagpur, 1918, P. 57.


a revenue of Rs. 76,131 was reimposed raising the revenue of the district to Rs. 5,35,300.

Operations for re-settlement were begun in 1911 under the sanction of the Government of India, conveyed in the Hon'ble Mr. E.D. Maclagen's letter No. 596-800-2 dated 4 July, 1911, and were concluded in 1916. By this time the district had fully recovered from the effects of the bad years and its condition was more stable than before. There was a marked and substantial change in the character of cropping. The lesson taught by famine was that stability was ensured by variety of cropping, and additional areas were now placed under jowar, cotton and oilseeds. (table enclosed) (AE-B)

Though it was a sign not so much of recovery from the recent depression as of a lasting change for the better in the method of the tenant; fellow in holding increased, there being a large rise in the area of actual grass reserves in the possession of tenants, but the figures shown in the table 'O' make it clear that fellow within reasonable limits, in Sagar, was a sign of prosperity, not of depression.

Buffaloes had increased by 20% since settlement, and in respect of actual plough-cattle the small area
of 17 acres that fell to each pair of bullocks in three of the four tahsils and the still smaller area of 10 acres in the fourth tahsils was ample proof that fellow was not due to shortage of animals to plough the land. At the thirty years' settlement, when there were no railway communications at all, the cultivator with surplus produce to sell, could not rely on prices being lower than thirty or even 40 sers to the rupee, and until the latter-eighties 25 sers was a reasonable price in a year of fair harvest. At the last settlement when direct railway communications had been opened, 16 to 18 sers was an average price in normal years. But at that time it was 13 sers. It meant that prices had more than doubled since the thirty years' settlement and had risen by about 30%. Since the settlement of 1887-1897.

The condition of the agricultural class was satisfactory. The majority of landlords were agriculturist of the same caste and often of much the same social standing as their tenants. Some of the leading landowners were Deccani Pandits, remnants of the old


73. Ibid., p. 32.
Maratha ruling caste. On the one hand, the taluqdarin of Etawa, and the shrimsats of Pithoria in the Khurai tahsil, had fallen on evil days and had lost a large part of their estates to money-lenders. On the other hand, the taluqdar of Jaisingar in the Sagar tahsil had husbanded their resources and improved and even enlarged their estates, which amounted to 57 villages. The subedars of Sanadhe in the Sagar tahsil and the three pandit families of Deori in the Rehli tahsil were in fair circumstances. The Tiwari's of Dhma had also extended their estates mainly in Sagar and Rehli tahsils. The old gond jagir of Pithora, which forgernerly included 77 villages of the Rehli tahsil, had been broken up. In Khurai tahsil five money lenders, namely, Diwan Behadur Seth Brilabhad of Jabalpur, Shrimant Seth Mohanlal of Khurai, Rai shahb Seth Mohanlal of Ronda, Nathuram Singhal of Bina-Etawa, and Seth Khetsingh of Khurai, held between them shares in 189 villages. Transfers of proprietary rights were numerous since the settlement of 1887-1897. To outward appearance the malguzars had prospered but their position had as a matter of fact deteriorated.

The Sagar tenants were perfectly sound and stable.

74. Letter from P. Hemingway, Commissioner of Settlement Central Provinces, to the Secretary of Chief Commissioner, Survey and Settlement Department, Central Provinces, dated 26th Feb., 1919, para 5.
But they were not free from the clutches of the wringers as well as of money lenders. The labour problem was very acute. It hampered agricultural operations. At harvest time the local supply was supplemented by the influx from the surrounding jungle tracts and areas. But even so, a heavy crop was harvested only with difficulty, and in 1913 many of the bigger farmers, who were more dependent than the small tenants on outside labour, saw their grain damaged by the heavy rain in the middle of May.

The shortage was aggravated in some parts by the increasing demand from railways and the towns. Wages, therefore, tended to increase. During the last settlement, cash wages were 6 paisa a day but they increased in 1913 to two annas and then to three annas and even more in the vicinity of towns.

In these circumstances, the settlement of 1911–1916 was based on the principles that it "must not be too lenient to demoralize, or too strict to discourage," and that it should take into consideration the fact that the district is subject to frequent

vicissitudes, and which must leave severe calamities to be dealt with as they occur, not only by prompt liberal suspensions and remissions, but also by firm collection of what is capable of being fairly paid, by the ready distribution of advances and by such measures for the early prevention of deterioration as may seem necessary from time to time.

At this settlement it was found that there were two ways of settling the district. One was a settlement so lenient that the profits of a normal year could be set off against the losses of a year of failure, and the full demand would be uninterruptedly collected. The other was an assessment based on the assumption of fair, or at least moderate harvests. Considering the interest of the Government the second way was chosen.

Attempts were made for the proper classification of soils and tenants, soil classification, which was primarily a check of the old classification, was entrusted to specially trained inspectors, assisted by a Panchayat of villagers, whose responsibility was

recognised. Their work was carefully examined and explained by a party officer, whose first duty was to keep the work of his party uniform. The settlement officer, during inspections, invited objections and pulled together the work of the different parties in order to secure uniformity throughout. The classification, as finally accepted was coloured on the village map, and malguzars were encouraged to buy copies. On the basis of soil classification zones were developed, and crop classes were abolished. Soil factors were checked by all available tests. Crop-cutting experiments were carefully handled. Relative values were canvassed and discussed at village inspection, and were formally submitted to a representative committee which was advised by the Deputy Director of Agriculture. The soil factors answered well to the test of actual rents. The settlement officer observed that; "it was a sound and practical method of rent distribution and enhancement."

The need of a steadily increasing revenue at the outbreak of the First World War, and the rise in

prices and the increased profits of agriculture prepared the back-ground for the enhancement of the rents at the revision by 28% but the actual net addition to existing rents was 25%, the balance being cash rents fixed for the first time or commuted grain rents, in the case of old abatements. P. Hemingway Commissioner of Settlements, Central Provinces observed that "this was manifestly lenient treatment." The details of enhancement are given in table 'P'.

The enhancement was naturally heaviest in the Khorei tehsil, where there was no preliminary reimp- sition. Low protected rents were enhanced more than pure ordinary. Personal factor, the capacity of individual to pay was considered. It meant, it gave due regard to the class of the tenants, the history of the rent and the reasons for its present pitch.

In the case of malik kaqbaiz, the enhancement was more free. These holders always paid at an abnormally easy rate and inspite of an enhancement of 42% at the time of the settlement of 1887-1897 the pressure of their payments before the revision was

78. Letter from P. Hemingway, Commissioner of Settlement Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Survey and Settlement Department, Central Provinces, dated Nagpur, 26 Feb. 1919, para 8.
soil for soil little more than half of tenancy rents. These payments were raised by 45%, allowing for reimpsonition but even then their incidence remained about 6% lower than that of the tenancy demand. Home-farm and privileged tenants land had been valued at the village rates sanctioned for tenants. In a few villages, where rental enhancement did not work up to the village rate, corresponding margin was allowed for home-farm.

Assets of the district were estimated Rs. 17,45,342 out of which an amount of Rs. 8,71,917 was fixed as the Government demand. This meant an increase of Rs. 1,79,184 or 26% over the demand of the last settlement, and of Rs. 2,77,635 or 47% over the demand as it stood immediately before the revision. The details of the assets and assessment are given in table ‘Q’.

The term of the settlement was fixed at twenty years, and was to expire at different dates between 1933 and 1935 in the various parts of the district.


80. Ibid., P. 61.
The first instalment of revenue was payable in the district on December 15th and the second on April 15th of each year. The first instalment amounted to 32% and the second to 68%, while at the last settlement the first instalment amounted to 34% and the second instalment to 66%. The total cost of the settlement including reimposition and map correction operations amounted to Rs. 3,69,225.

The prevalent customs, that is management of forests, grazing rights, easements, rights of tenants over trees, disposal of hides and carcasses of dead cattle, were recorded in the wajis-ularz.

Halkabendi was revised, reducing the number of posts to 312. The staff was put into the pay scale of Rs. 10-11-12-13. Rules prohibiting the patwari from undertaking cultivation were replaced in accordance with the then current opinion that it was most suitable occupation for a patwari in his spare time, to take a personal interest in the agricultural condition of his charge.

The number of kotwars was raised from 1,493 to 1,533. The Kotwars used to collect his pay directly

82. Corbett et al op cit, P. 65.
from tenants as assess and the malguzar used to pay a fixed sum which was often commuted into service land. Before revisions the average pay of a kotwar was Rs. 36 per annum, the maximum was Rs. 57 and minimum Rs. 4. The average cess was 8 pies per rupee of revenue, the maximum one anna and the minimum 1½ pies. But at settlement of 1911-1916 it was revised. The average pay came to Rs. 53 per annum, the maximum being Rs. 70 and the minimum Rs. 48. The average cess came to 9 pies per rupee of revenue, that is, to one anna at the maximum and 3 pies at the minimum. This increase in the kotwars remuneration was hardly felt by malguzars and tenants. It was a well deserved concession to a worthy and hardworking body of men, whose pay was disproportionate to their responsibilities.

As a result of the re-settlement the malguzars gained a substantial sum of Rs. 39,541 in the Sagar, Rehli and Banda tahsils. The break-up of this aforesaid amount was like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Increase</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Additional cash assets from enhancement of rent and malik makbuja payments</td>
<td>2,04,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in revenue</td>
<td>- 1,65,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain to malguzars</td>
<td>+ 39,541</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83. Corbett et al op cit p. 60.
In Khurai, where there was no rent imposition, the malguzars who had enjoyed enormous abatement for years were bound to lose heavily, on account, partly, of the lowness of the abated revenue, and partly, of the deliberate retardation, though only 47% of the assets were taken as revenue. The loss to 84 malguzars was follows:

<p>| Additional cash assets from enhancement of rents and melik madhuja payments | Rs. 63,753 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Increase in revenue</th>
<th>Rs.1,12,659</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- 48,906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inspite of their losses, the Khurai malguzars accepted the new settlement willingly. As testified by the settlement officer, the only appeals filed came from non-resident estate-holders who had perfected if not initiated the policy of retardation. There were also two revenue appeals. One was merely objection to the affect that an old ubari was being resumed too abruptly. The other was from a malguzar who had been assessed at more than half of his assets.

84. Corbett et al op cit pp 60-61
contrary to the principles of the settlement. There were four appeals against rent-enhancement. Two were from temples with small but valuable plots of garden land in Sagar city, which were sub let for more than the revised rent. The third appeal was from a wealthy mortgagee in possession, who made a bogus complaint in the name of mortgagee. The fourth appeal was a general petition from a rich village which, curiously enough, had been treated with peculiar moderation. There was only one appeal from a malik-makbuja. He was a railway servant with a plot at Bina station, the revenue of which had been wrongly enhanced above its agricultural value on account of income derived from bungalow rent. There was no protest from the local malguzars.

The malguzars who gained by the settlement of 1911-1916 were naturally satisfied. G.L. Corbett, settlement officer writes, "one old Ahir proprietor came fifty miles to tell me that the new settlement had cleared him of debt. Malguzars have continually assured me that the revised rents are uniformly fair not more than that can comfortably be collected, but
not unnecessarily low." Even in Khurai, the settlement was more lenient and was introduced by easier stage than was expected. No one hoped for an assessment at less than half assets, or imagined that the first stage in any mehal would be less than full reimpositions. It was fully recognised that the abatements could not be indefinitely continued. The "holding back" gamble had created an unwholesome atmosphere and the end of it was a relief to everyone. The new demand was paid without difficulty. In Khurai, where the first kist had been postponed pending announcement, which was delayed by a reference to the Government of India, almost the whole of the newly-announced revenue was collected in one instalment at the second kist.

The tenants could not, of course be expected to enjoy rent-enhancement. But it was generally felt that the enhancement was reasonable and was fairly distributed. In Khurai, and in other groups where enhancement was sharp, hardly any objections were made.

But in fact neither the malguzars were satisfied.

nor the tenants. During this period land was responsible for the public revenue and every malguzar or land holder held his land subject to this condition. The malguzar had not that degree of independence and authority which the Government conferred on them because of the attitude of the Government in the matter of collection and of the extending influence of the money-lenders, who were actually playing to suit the malguzars. The malguzars were constantly worried as to how to meet the Government demand and retain land without getting in the clutches of the money lenders.

As regards tenants, these settlements had provided a little sense of security but they remained under the influence of the malguzars. In the earlier period, the Government believing in laissez faire had left the tenants to protect themselves from the exploitation of the malguzars. Later on by way of Settlements and Acts the Government provided some security but in fact theoretically, the Government provided for the security and welfare of tenants, in practice little was achieved.