

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION AND
FINANCE.

SECTION A.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Karnál district is under the control of the Commissioner of Dehli. The ordinary head-quarters staff of the district consists of a Deputy Commissioner and 2 Extra Assistant Commissioners. An Extra Assistant Commissioner is posted at Kaithal in charge of the Kaithal

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General
Administration.
Executive and Judicial.

<i>Tahsil.</i>	<i>Qaann- goes and naibs.</i>	<i>Girdawars.</i>	<i>Patwaris and assistants</i>
Karnal ..	2	2	92
Panipat ..	2	4	75
Kaithal ..	3	..	55

Sub-division. Each *tahsil* is in charge of a *Tahsildár* assisted by a *Naib*. The village revenue staff is shown in the margin. There is one *Munsiff* in the district, who has jurisdiction within the Karnál and Pánipat

tahsils, and also in *parganah* Asandh of the Kaithal *tahsil*. He sits alternately for 2 months at Karnál and 2 months at Pánipat. The statistics of civil and revenue litigation for the last five years are given in Table No. XXXIX.

The executive staff of the district is assisted by Bhái Jasmer Singh of Arnauli, Bhái Anokh Singh of Sidhowál, Nawáb Muhammad Ali Khán of Kunjpura and Devá Singh of Kaithal, the first with the powers of a Magistrate of the 1st class, the second and third with 2nd class powers, and the last with 3rd class powers. The first three exercise magisterial powers within the limits of their respective *jágirs* and the last in the town of Kaithal.

Criminal, Police and
Gaols.

The police force is controlled by a District Superintendent and one

Assistant. The strength of the force as given in Table No. I of the Police Report for 1881-82, is shown in the margin. In addition to this force 30 *daffadárs* and 1,095 village

Class of Police.	Total strength.	DISTRIBUTION.	
		Standing guard.	Protection and detection.
District Imperial ..	461	43	418
Municipal ..	156	..	156

watchmen (see Chapter III, page 139) are entertained and paid by the villagers half-yearly at each harvest time.

The *thánás* or principal police jurisdictions and the *chaukis* or police posts on the Trunk Road, are distributed as follows :—

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Criminal, Police and
Gaols.

TAHSIL KARNAL.—*Thánás*—Karnál, Sadr, Karnál city, Nísang, Gharaunda, Butána and Indri. *Road posts*—Samána, Butána, Takhána, Shángarh, Uchána, Mirán Gháti, Púl Bádsháhi, Jhíl, Gharaunda, Kohand and Badauli.

TAHSIL PANIPAT.—*Thánús*—Pánípat, Alápúr and Simbhálka. *Road posts*—Pánípat, Seva, Machhrauli, Simbhálka and Pati Kaliána.

TAHSIL KAITHAL.—*Thánás*—Kaithal, Gúla, Rájáund, Asandh. Púndri and Budláda.

There is a cattle-pound at each *thánó* and one at Kunjpura, the former under the control of the police and the latter under the *Tahsildár* of Karnál. There are also pounds at Singhoa, Rer, Phurlak, Naultha, Khukrána, Pabri, Isrána, Joshi, Mowána, Goli, Sínk and Kurána, under the management of the Canal Department. The district lies within the Ambála Police Circle, under the control of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police at Ambála.

The district gaol at head-quarters consists of some old gun-sheds, to which barracks and work-sheds have been added. It contains accommodation for 262 prisoners. Table No. XL gives statistics of criminal trials, Table No. XLI of Police enquiries, and Table No. XLII of convicts in gaol for the last five years.

Criminal tribes, and
crime.

The Sásís, Biluchís and Tágús are proclaimed under the Criminal

Tribe.	Men.	Women.	Children.
Sásís ...	143	135	161
Tágús ...	283	...	116
Biluchís ...	79	...	25

worked well as regards the Sásís

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Bálu | 7. Bádsháta. |
| 2. Pakka Khera. | 8. Urlána Kalán. |
| 3. Púlla. | 9. Do. Khurd. |
| 4. Jákauli. | 10. Nain. |
| 5. Pattanpúri. | 11. Adána. |
| 6. Kúrak. | 12. Sálwan. |

Tribes Act, and the number of each on the register in 1882 is shown in the margin. They were brought under the Criminal Tribes Act in 1874, 1876 and 1881 respectively. The rules on the subject have and Biluchís. A large number of Sásís was struck off the register in 1882, only those being retained who were residing in 12 villages noted in the margin which have a bad reputation. The Biluchís have behaved very well

during the past few years, and there have been hardly any cases against them; it is therefore proposed to strike off gradually all the names from the register who are proved to be of good character and have ostensible means of livelihood. Thus in a few years hence it is hoped that the Biluchís and Sásís will be entirely free from the operations of the Criminal Tribes Act. As regards the Tágús they are still addicted to thieving and they travel long distances for this purpose. There is every reason to believe that the application of the Act to this tribe, if it be rigorously enforced, will be beneficial.

Cattle-stealing may be said to be the normal crime of this district, the Nardak wilds affording much facility for its successful accomplishment. Thefts of this nature are performed in a very systematic manner, the animals being rapidly transferred to great distances, and to other districts through the medium of accomplices. Cattle-lifting, however, now is become less prevalent owing to the heavy punishment offenders. Formerly the greater families or even headmen of villages would occasionally demur to give a daughter in marriage to a man who had not proved his capability to support a family by cattle

theft; and before British rule cattle raids in the most extensive scale were by no means uncommon throughout the Kaithal and Asandh *pargana*s of the district.

The gross revenue collections of the district for the last 14 years, so far as they are made by the Financial Commissioner, are shown in Table No. XXVIII, while Tables Nos. XXIX, XXXV, XXXIV and XXXIII give further details for Land Revenue, Excise, License Tax, and Stamps respectively. Table No. XXXIIIA shows the number and situation of Registration offices. The central distillery for the manufacture of country liquor is situated at Karnál. The cultivation of the poppy is forbidden in this district. Table No. XXXVI gives the income and expenditure from district funds, which are controlled by a Committee consisting of 30 members selected by the Deputy Commissioner from among the leading men of the various *tahsils*, and of the Civil Surgeon, Inspector of Schools, Executive Engineer or Assistant Engineer, 3 Extra Assistant Commissioners, and 3 *Tahsildárs* as ex-officio members, and the Deputy Commissioner as President. Table No. XLV gives statistics for Municipal Taxation, while the Municipalities themselves are noticed in Chapter VI. The income from Provincial properties for the last five years is shown below:—

Source of income.	1877-78.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Ferries with boat bridges ...	5,588	15,002	9,158	8,449	13,129
Ferries without boat bridges ...	3,693	3,050	5,083	4,207	3,765
Staging bungalows ...	336	335	209	281	292
Encamping-grounds ...	834	1,110	1,002	1,186	1,028
Cattle-pounds ...	3,025	2,049	2,056	2,190	2,016
<i>Nazul</i> properties ...	288	433	414	339	355
Total ...	13,769	21,979	17,922	16,652	20,585

The ferries, bungalows and encamping-grounds have already been noticed at pages 202—206, and the cattle-pounds at page 208. The *nazul* properties in the Karnál district consist of 17 old buildings, 12 gardens and 15 pieces of waste land and sites of old forts, &c. Among the old buildings there are 1 *sarái* at Karnál, 2 gateways of the old Imperial *sarái* at Gharaunda, and one palace at Kaithal. The *sarái* at Karnál was built by a banker named Bhara Mal in the time of the Emperor Akbar; and there was a *sarái* at Gharaunda which is said to have been built in the time of Sháhjahán. Only the gateways are now standing, the architecture of which is after the style of the Kutab at Delhi. The old palace at Kaithal belonged to the Bháis of Kaithal, and became Government property when Kaithal fell to the British on the failure of the ruling line. Figures for other Government estates are given in Table No. XVII, and they and their proceeds are noticed in the succeeding section of this Chapter, in which the land revenue administration of the district is treated of.

Table No. XXIX gives figures for the principal items and the totals of land revenue collections since 1868-69. The remaining

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Revenue, Taxation,
and Registration.

Statistics of land
revenue.

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Source of revenue.	1880-81.	1881-82.
	Rs.	Rs.
Surplus warrant <i>talabānah</i> ...	510	436
Fisheries ...	57	57
Revenue fines and forfeitures ...	20	...
Fees ...	301	354
Other items of miscellaneous land revenue ...	...	12,552

items for 1880-81 and 1881-82 are shown in the margin.

Table No. XXXI gives details of balances, remissions and agricultural advances for the last fourteen years ; Table

No. XXX shows the amount of assigned land revenue ; while Table No. XIV gives the areas upon which the present land revenue of the district is assessed. The incidence of the fixed demand per acre as it stood in 1878-79 was Re. 1-3-7 on cultivated, Re. 0-11-9 on culturable, and Re. 0-9-3 on total area. The statistics given in the following tables throw some light upon the working of the Settlement :—Table No. XXXI—Balances, remissions, and *takavi* advances. Table No. XXXII—Sales and mortgages of land. Tables Nos. XXXIII and XXXIII A—Registration.

Education.

Table No. XXXVII gives figures for the Government and aided, middle and primary schools of the district. There are middle schools, for boys at Karnāl, Pānīpat, Kaithal, Kunjpura and Pūndri ; while the primary schools are situated at Amin, Biānā, Barsat, Bairsāl, Barās, Farīdpur, Gharaunda, Ghīr, Indrī, Jūndla, Julmānā, Kalsaurā, Kaimlā, Kutel, Mūnak, Nisang, Rambhā, Sandir, and Tarāori, in the Karnāl *tahsil* ; at Bābail, Jaurāsi, Manāna, Patta Kaliāna, Rākasahrā, Simbhāika, Siwa, and Ugra Kheri, in the Pānīpat *tahsil* ; and at Budlāda, Chika, Fattehpur, Hābrī, Kheri Ghulām Ali, Rājāund and Sīwan in the Kaithal *tahsil*. The district lies within the Ambāla circle, which forms the charge of the Inspector of Schools at Dehli.

Table No. XIII gives statistics of education collected at the Census of 1881 ; and the general state of education has already been described at page 82. Among indigenous schools the Arabic school at Pānīpat is worthy of notice. It is supported by the voluntary contributions of the more wealthy Musalmāns, and some 30 to 40 boys attend, chiefly sons of the middle class Muhammadans of the town. Ladies of the Dehli *Zanāna* Mission are located at Karnāl, and visit women in the city and teach them and their children.

Karnāl District
school.

The Karnāl Zillah School, now called the District School, was established in 1860. The school is situated in an old fort, within three minutes' walk of the city of Karnāl. In addition to the main building, there are two detached rooms used for the lower primary school class rooms, as well as separate boarding houses for the Hindū and Muhammadan boarders, and separate kitchens for both, built along the fort walls, with a room for the Superintendent of the Boarding House between the two. The staff consists of a head master, 2nd master, mathematical teacher, and one Persian teacher in the middle school ; two English and one Persian teacher in the upper primary, and five Persian teachers in the lower primary school. There are two vernacular branch schools in the city and one in the *sadr bāzār*. In the city branches there are two Persian teachers, one Nāgri and one

Hindi teacher; and in the *sadr bazar* branch one Persian teacher. The *sadr bazar* branch and the Hindi portion of the city branch are under the "payment by results" system. The accompanying statements give the figures of the last five years, showing expenditure, number of pupils and results as shown by examinations. During the past five years the accommodation for classes and boarders has been doubled, but it is still far from meeting the requirements of boys, who are yearly increasing on the rolls of the establishment:—

YEARS.	Annual expenditure of past five years.	Average No. on rolls.	Candidates for Middle School Examination.	Passed the Middle School Examination.	Candidates for Upper Primary School Examination.	Passed the Upper Primary School Examination.	Candidates for Lower Primary School Examination.	Passed the Lower Primary School Examination.
	Rs.							
1878-1879	6,045	334	3	3	...	...	36	35
1879-1880	6,747	343	1	...	20	13	18	12
1880-1881	6,189	289	7	6	22	12	25	19
1881-1882	5,970	304	6	3	17	13	26	25
1882-1883	6,526	327	3	3	18	17	28	26

Table No. XXXVIII gives separate figures for the last five years for each of the dispensaries of the district which are under the general control of the Civil Surgeon, and in the immediate charge of Hospital Assistants at Karnal, Pánípat, Kaithal, Kunjpura, Asandh and Budlāda.

The *Sadr* dispensary of Karnal, which was founded in 1861, is situated at the north-west corner of the town, between it and the civil lines, and contains accommodation for 22 male and 12 female in-patients. Its staff consists of a Hospital assistant, compounder, and menials.

There is a small Church at Karnal capable of seating some 50 persons. No Chaplain is posted here, but one of the Cambridge Missionaries at Dehli visits Karnal once every two months to hold a service at the station. An ordained Native Missionary of the S. P. G. Mission, Dehli, is located at Karnal, and he holds service in the Church on Sundays.

The portion of the Grand Trunk Road which runs through the district is in the charge of the Executive Engineer Provincial Works Division Dehli. The Western Jamná Canal, as far down as Rer, is under the charge of the Executive Engineer Karnal Division stationed at Dádupur (Ambála *viâ* Jagádhri); the main line below Rer is in the charge of the Executive Engineer, Dehli Division stationed at Dehli; while the Rohtak Branch belongs to the Hissár Division under the control of an Executive Engineer stationed at Hissár. The Superintending Engineer of the Canal has his head-quarters at Dehli. The Grand Trunk Road north and south of Karnal is under the Executive Engineer Provincial Works Division, Dehli, who has charge of the public buildings of the district, while he is subordinate to the Superintending Engineer, 2nd Circle, at Ambála. The Military buildings (stables for the cattle and horse farms) are in charge of the

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Karnal District school.

Medical.

Ecclesiastical.

Head-quarters of other departments.

* There was no Upper Primary in 1878-79.

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Head-quarters of
other departments.

Executive Engineer Military Works at Ambála, and the Superintending Engineer Military Works, at Lahore. The Post Offices are controlled by the Superintendent of Post Offices at Dehli. The cattle farm at Karnál is under the Superintendent of the Cattle Farm at Hissár.

SECTION B.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

Introductory.

It may be imagined, from the manner in which the district was constituted, that its revenue history is exceedingly complicated. The primary division of the district is into two portions—that which came to us in 1803 and formed part of the old Pánípat district, and that which came to us after the Sikh wars, and was included in the old Thánesar district. The latter is now under revision of Settlement by Mr. Douie; in the former the Settlement has recently been revised by Mr. Ibbetson. But each of these main divisions may again be sub-divided. Of the Pánípat district, the part assigned to the Mandals has a very different fiscal history from the *khálsa* portion; while of the Thánesar district, the Kaithal tract was settled separately from the Thánesar and Ládwa estates. Thus the present section will be divided into three portions, the first treating of the Thánesar district, the second of the Pánípat district, and the third of general matters common to both.

PART I.—THE THANESAR DISTRICT.

Sikh revenue system.

The Sikh revenue administration of the Kaithal tract is thus described by Captain Abbott :—

"The revenue collection was nominally a *batái* of one-third or one-fourth of the produce, with *zabtí* at fixed rates one rupee per *kachcha bigah*. The one-third produce was taken generally, but one-fourth in some of the Bángar villages; but in addition to this numerous taxes made up the revenue. In the *parganahs* where the *rabi* crop is unknown, and indeed in others where it promised unfavourably, an arbitrary assessment was fixed, which in addition to the numerous taxes was collected by the *zamindárs* by a "*bach*" upon cattle, poll, hearths and ploughs in the Bángar, but on the three latter only in the Khádar *parganahs*. It may be interesting and instructive to record the items that composed the revenues of a village for a *rabi* instalment as demanded by the state, and which it must be remembered is exclusive of many items that swell the village account. For instance, the village of Hursola paid as follows :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
<i>Mushakhsah</i> , or fixed demand for one crop	310	0	0
Percentage on do. at 35·8 ...	79	0	9
<i>Sirdebi</i> ...	30	1	0
<i>Nazarána</i> to State ...	19	0	0
Do. to <i>Musáhibs</i> ...	6	0	0
<i>Nazar</i> to (all the <i>Ranis</i>) ...	13	0	0
Bricks to repair fort, &c., ...	13	12	9
<i>Kázi</i> allowance to ...	1	0	0
<i>Talabána</i> ...	1	0	0
<i>Nira</i> , rate fixed at 4 ...	4	0	0
<i>Thanadári</i> ...	14	0	0
<i>Ugáhi</i> or expense of collections ...	7	3	6
<i>Amini</i> @ 1·8 per cent. and Record Keeper ...	4	10	6
	192	12	6
	502	12	6

This is not given as a solitary instance, but as a type of the prevailing system. Each village furnished a certain number of *Chamars* who, if not required, paid one rupee per head per harvest. The sum above entered as *jama* was arbitrarily fixed, according to the season and past collections. When the *batāi* prevailed, which was usual only when the crops promised well, a poll tax of Rs. 2 per head was taken in addition, but a cattle tax had never been demanded by the State as is usually supposed. When the *Mushakhsah* system was adopted, it included the poll tax. The arm of the law, if law it can be called, was weak, paralyzed; no protection was given to person or property, indeed the State set the example, and plundered without remorse. It was the most common occurrence to mark off a slice out of a village on which to locate a favourite;—entire disregard being had to right or possession. The State considered all land its own, to be dealt with as it pleased. Cattle at graze were attended by bodies of armed men; forays and bloodshed were frequent and common; and want of security caused the *zamindars* to plunder in self-defence. Occasional attempts were made to extend cultivation by cuts from the rivers, but these required a dam across the stream, which it was necessary to protect by a tower; indeed a well could not be worked without a tower into which the wood-work and bullocks were deposited during the night or on approach of plunderers. The powerful villages only paid so much revenue as they found it convenient to do; those of *Pai* and *Chátar* invariably resisted the forces of the *Bháí*, which were either unable or unwilling to make an impression upon them. Few crimes were acknowledged, and such as were, were punished by fine—with imprisonment until paid; open evidence was unnecessary to conviction: the secret information of an informer was ample, and the fact of possessing the wherewithal to meet the demand more than conclusive. Cattle foray was the chief crime; murder was punishable by fine; cheating, forgery, and indeed crimes deemed unnatural in civilised countries were here considered good jokes. The fiscal rule, it may therefore be said, was oppressive in the extreme, the judicial weak and tyrannical.

The tract of country, formerly known as the *Thánesar* district, formed part of the Sikh conquests in 1763, and, together with the rest of the states into which the newly acquired territory was parcelled out by the conquerors, came under the protection of British Government in 1808-9. Subsequently, on the principle that the paramount power is entitled to some benefit in return for the protection it affords, it was held with regard to large estates, like *Jind* and *Kaithal*, that on failure of heirs male in the direct line of the original conqueror the property be escheated to Government. By the operation of this rule, and those subsequently framed and promulgated for regulating successions to, and lapses in *jágir* estates, commonly known as the *pattidari* rules, all the land revenue in the district has been created. The territory thus acquired consisted for the greater part of the possessions of three great houses and their dependants:—

1.—The *Bháís* of *Kaithal*. 2.—The *Sardárs* of *Thánesar*. 3.—The *Rájá* of *Ládwa*. The first-named family became extinct on the demise without issue of *Bháí Ude Sing* on the 14th March 1843, when the estate known as the *Kaithal* district lapsed, and was sum-

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Sikh revenue system.

Constitution of the Thánesar district.

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marily assessed for three years by Colonel (Sir Henry) Lawrence. It consisted of the *tahsils* of Kaithal and Gúlah, and a few *parganahs* since separated from the district and otherwise disposed of. The Thánesar estate was conquered by Sardárs Bhág Singh and Bhangá Singh, and was divided between them in the proportions of 2-5ths and 3-5ths respectively. The share of the former lapsed to Government on the death without heirs of his grandson Jamaíyat Singh in 1832, and the villages comprised in it were summarily assessed by Captain Murray. The possessions of the latter escheated on the death of Sardárni Chandkaur, the last surviving widow of his son Fatteh Singh, which occurred in 1850, and the estate was settled by Captain Larkins in the same year. The lands of these two chiefships lie principally in the present *pargana* of Thánesar, with a few villages in Indrí and in the Ambála district. The possessions of the Rájá of Ládwa consisted of the tract of country jointly acquired by Sáhib Singh and Gurdit Singh in 1763. The estate descended undivided to the son of the latter, Ajit Singh, and was lost by him when he deserted our cause and joined his countrymen Trans-Satléj on the breaking out of the first Sikh war. It was summarily settled by Captain Abbott in 1846, immediately after the Rájá's defection. The territory which thus came into our possession embraces a large part of the Ládwa and part of the Thánesar *pargana*hs.

Regular Settle-
ments.

The Regular Settlements of the district were made independently in two divisions, and at distinct periods by different officers. In December 1846, Captain Abbott, then District Officer, received orders permanently to assess the western division, which went by the name of the Kaithal district. The task was completed and reported on by him in the October following, or in eight months from its commencement. The result of this haste was, that the records were found to be erroneous, and the assessments heavy and unequal. The Settlement was in consequence not reported for confirmation, and after some years of further trial it was decided in 1853 that the whole work should be done over again. This duty was at first assigned to Mr. Melvill, to be taken up after he had completed the Settlement of the Ambála district, but eventually entrusted to Captain Larkins, who brought it to a close in February 1856. It was proved, however, that the returns were still inaccurate. In his anxiety to get them off before his departure on leave, Captain Larkins had had them hurriedly prepared, and errors had thus crept in. The whole were finally revised by Captain Busk, who succeeded him in the charge of the district, and were re-submitted by that officer with Captain Larkins' report in February 1857.

The regular assessment of the eastern portion of the district formed part of Mr. Wynyard's duty as Settlement Officer of the Cis-Satléj States. He commenced operations in the Ládwa *pargana* of the *tahsil* of that name in 1848, and working round by Indrí and Thánesar finished off with Sháhábád in 1852, making over the papers to Captain Larkins. Much, however, still remained to be done before the Settlement could be considered complete. The records of the Sháhábád *pargana* had to be prepared *ab initio*, and 106 *jágir* villages for which in the first instance "rules of practice" had been drawn up, had under recent orders of the Board of Administration to be assessed.

While this work was progressing it became evident to Captain Larkins that Mr. Wynyard's *jamas* in Ládwa were in many cases too high, and some of the best villages were in consequence being ruined. At the same time numerous petitions complaining of over-assessment poured in to the Commissioner. A special report was called for by him, and the upshot was that Captain Larkins was authorized to revise Mr. Wynyard's assessments in Thánesar and Ládwa. The whole of this work was completed and reported by that officer in February 1856. But it soon appeared that, notwithstanding the large reductions that had been given, the *jamas* in particular cases were still too high; Captain Busk, the then Deputy Commissioner, was therefore allowed to give further relief where it might be required. This was done, and the result reported with his letter No. 83 of the 25th March 1859, re-submitting Captain Larkins' original report and revised returns.

At last it was believed that the long-sought-for object, a light and equable assessment, had been attained, and the formal sanction of Government alone was wanting to bring the proceedings authoritatively to a close. Not so however: for great as had been the reductions, and theoretically light as might appear the assessments when compared with those of surrounding districts, it was found that practically the Settlement would not work; coercive measures to realize the Government demands had constantly to be resorted to, and repeated applications were sent up for permission to transfer or farm the lands of defaulters. This state of things attracted the attention of Mr. Roberts, then Officiating Financial Commissioner, who pronounced the condition of the district "a blot on our administration", and at his recommendation it was decided that the Settlement of the district, excepting the Sháhábád *parganah*, should be again revised. Captain Elphinstone was selected for the duty; and in a letter of instructions, No. 131 of the 27th February 1860, the Commissioner, Mr. Barnes, pointed out to him the weak points of the Settlement to which he was especially to direct his attention. That officer arrived in the district in the beginning of March, and brought the work of revision to a close on the 26th April, reporting the results in his letter No. 81 of that date. Mr. Barnes in reply stated that he approved generally of Captain Elphinstone's proposals, and the latter was soon transferred to another district. It appears that afterwards, on closer examination, Mr. Barnes began to have doubts as to the judgment displayed by Captain Elphinstone with respect both to the scope and the amount of the reductions proposed by him, and the Commissioner, therefore proposed himself to visit the district and bring the Settlement to a close. The drought and famine intervened, and caused the matter to be put off for another season, the Commissioner reporting that in his opinion it would be waste of time to attempt a revision then. The Financial Commissioner concurred in this view, and conveyed the sanction of Government to the proposal that the Commissioner's final report should be delayed till he could visit the district in person. But Mr. Barnes was not spared to the work; before another cold season came round he had died; and the duty of bringing the unfinished task to a close devolved on Captain (now Colonel) Davies, who reported the results of his revision in 1862.

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Regular Settlements.

Farther revisions.

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Causes of the break-
down.

The following passages, extracted from the reports of Mr. Barnes and Captain Davies, show the demand, even after these repeated revisions, was too high till finally reduced by Captain Davies :—"I believe that the assessments would not have broken down if there had not been year by year most ruinous falls in the price of agricultural produce. When Mr. Wynyard was settling Ládwa, wheat was selling at sixteen seers for the rupee and other articles at corresponding rates. At the present day the same wheat is at 38 seers, and the money value of a crop is thus diminished by more than 100 per cent. Such variations in price are the true cause for the almost universal failure of all early settlements."

"Reductions were given with open hand in the Government villages. But there was some reluctance to deal with equal liberality with the *jágir* village. In the first case we were giving away our own revenue, and had nothing to consult but the interests of the people. In the second case, the Settlement Officer felt that he must also regard the interests of the *jágirdárs*. Formerly they had collected their rents in kind, and had realized by this process a much greater revenue than they could expect under our system of money rates. Under Mr. Wynyard's Settlement the power was still left to them, but eventually all *jágir* villages, by the orders of the Board of Administration for the Panjáb, were made subject to our system of Settlement. Captain Larkins' *jama* therefore, had materially abridged the income received by the *jágirdárs*; and when this class had resigned themselves to the loss, and begun to consider the measure final, the Government resolved upon a still larger abatement of revenue in their own estates. By equal justice the *zamindárs* of the *jágir* villages were also entitled to the full benefit of the reduced rates; but, as I have said before, the Settlement Officer was restrained by consideration for the *jágirdár*. Wherever relief was really necessary, it was of course granted, but no interference was made without absolute necessity. So perhaps, as a general rule, the *jágir* villages will show higher rates of assessment than our own possessions. But these rates can be paid, and are infinitely preferable to the rates in kind which were formerly leviable from the people.

* * * * *

"We need I think go no further than the history of the working of the Settlement itself; that alone is sufficient proof that over-assessment was the cause. Even in the *best years* the revenue was collected with difficulty, and frequent remissions had to be made; but now that the assessments have been subjected to a really severe test, a long continued drought, there has been an utter collapse, and fully half the demand has been suspended, the greater part of which will have to be remitted. With a previously light assessment the famine would have found the people prepared to meet it, their sufferings would have been comparatively light, and the Government revenue would not have been permanently affected as it now has been. Other causes, of which I may have to speak hereafter, have been at work, and have doubtless contributed to bring about this result, but over-assessment is the first and foremost and the root of nearly all the evils which have followed in its train.

"It will be seen that while the rates of the Thánesar *parganah* are higher than any except those of the highly favoured *parganahs* of Ládwa and Indrí, watered by the Jamná and its canal, the agricultural population is thinner there than in any but the Asandh *parganah*. This to my mind sufficiently accounts for the breaking down of the Settlement in

the former, and at the same time convinces me of the truth of the complaint that has met me everywhere during my tour through this district, that there are *not hands sufficient* to keep up the cultivation to a point which will enable the people to pay the revenue and support themselves. A series of dry years, ending in a famine, accompanied by a season of unprecedented sickness, have greatly added to the burthen borne by the population, and have aggravated the evils of over-assessment to such a degree that in addition to their actual losses in men and cattle, from which it will take them years to recover, their spirit seems literally to have been broken and their energies paralyzed. It is not too much to say that if we had no famine, the Settlement, after Captain Elphinstone's revision of it, would have worked well; and again, on the other hand, that if the revision had not taken place, half the villages in the Thānesar *parganah* would have been *irretrievably ruined*."

The following paragraphs, taken from Captain Davies' report, describe his operations in each *parganah*.

"The condition of this portion of the district taken as a whole is prosperous. It has much to make it so: an abundance of both natural and artificial irrigation, with, at the same time, a thick and industrious population. To this description there is, however, a marked exception in the tract of high Bāngar land lying to the north of a line drawn from Radaur on the east to the point where the Suruswati enters the Thānesar *parganah* on the west. This high plain is dependent for its cultivation principally on wells and the periodical rains. It is here and there also flooded in good seasons by the Suruswati and Chautang, which, however, nearly as often do harm as good. Yet, notwithstanding the uncertain character of its cultivation, the rates of the original assessment in this part of the *parganah*, were actually higher than in the more favoured localities watered by the Jamná and its canal, where the crops are, so to speak, independent of seasons. Hence, as might have been anticipated, the Settlement here has not worked well, and frequent reductions have followed. During the drought, while the villages along the canal profited immensely both by the drying up of their swamps, which enabled a larger area to be brought under cultivation, and by the increased value of the crops produced, these Bāngar villages were suffering all the horrors of famine, cattle died for want of pasture, others were slaughtered for food, and numerous desertions took place among proprietors and tenants, man and beast alike leaving a spot where existence was sustained against such fearful odds, to seek some more promising locality. Of the extent to which emigrations took place during the famine, I shall again speak when I come to describe the condition of the Thānesar *parganah*, which suffered in a still greater degree. It is to this cause that many of the reductions proposed by me in the Ládwa *parganah* are due.

"Comparatively few villages have required relief in this sub-division, the *jamás* of only 20 having been touched. The proposed modifications involve a reduction of Rs. 4,556, of which Rs. 2,550 were given by Captain Elphinstone. Most of the estates affected by the revision form part of the *jágír* of the Nawáb of Kunjpura, and the relief was necessitated by simple over-assessment. The Nawáb *jágírdár* being on hostile terms with his *zamindárs*, the task I have had to perform in this *parganah* has been a very delicate one. The *zamindárs* complained to me very bitterly of the many annoyances to which they were subjected by the Nawáb's underlings in those villages in which the *jágírdár* has been allowed to take his dues in kind; and as the Nawáb has had extensive magisterial and revenue powers, which he may be tempted to abuse in his private dealings with his *zamindárs*, it will be best in my opinion to remove all excuse for interference by directing that where the *zamindárs* are willing to accept the

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Causes of the breakdown.

Final revision by Captain Davies.

*Parganah Ládwa.**Parganah Indri.*

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Parganah Indri.

terms offered they be allowed to do so without giving the *jāgirdār* the option of holding *khām*. Two villages in this *parganah* have been almost deserted owing to the dissensions between the proprietors and the Nawāb. The villages were undoubtedly over-assessed in the first instance; with the usual shortsightedness of a native, the Nawāb would not admit it, and opposed reduction. A struggle ensued, in which as a matter of course the *zamindārs* carried the day. The tactics adopted by them were first neglecting their cultivation, and then deserting in a body. The result was a much greater reduction than if the *jāgirdār* had allowed a moderate amount of relief to be administered at the first.

*Parganahs Pehoa
and Chika.*

"Very few modifications have been found necessary in the *jamas* of these two *parganahs*. The reductions proposed amount altogether to Rs. 3,031, of which Rs. 1,714 are due to Captain Elphinstone's recommendation. The causes that have led to deterioration and loss of revenue in these cases were the famine and capricious inundation of the Suruswati and other hill streams, while in a few villages of Chika the silting up of old channel of the Ghagar, which used to flow through them, has combined to bring about this result.

Parganah Shāhābād.

"The total reductions in this *parganah* amount to Rs. 2,787-12-0, of which Captain Elphinstone gave Rs. 1,994-4-0. This *parganah* was believed to be so fairly assessed that it was specially exempted from revision by the Financial Commissioner. Mr. Barnes, however, pointed out to him that it was not so perfectly settled as was supposed, and directed his attention to the part where he anticipated over-assessment would be found to exist. That officer reduced the *jama* of a few villages before his departure, but strange to say none of them are situated in the jungly track indicated by the Commissioner. Yet it was there I found the greatest distress existed. A number of miserable hamlets scattered about through this belt of *dhāk* jungle, dependent in a great measure on rain for their crops, had been prostrated by the effects of the sustained drought, and like others similarly situated in the adjoining *parganah* called urgently for assistance. In some great distress prevailed, and a corresponding degree of relief has been suggested in others where a slight reduction for a few years has been deemed sufficient to enable them to rally and regain their original healthy tone. With these exceptions, the general condition of the *parganah* may be pronounced highly prosperous, and the assessment light and equitable.

Thānesar parganah.

"It cannot fail I think to strike the most casual observer moving about this *parganah* that its condition not long ago must have been infinitely more thriving than it now is. The ruinous state of the towns and villages, many of them disproportionately large for the numbers now occupying them; the numerous wells abounding in each estate, half of them now neglected; the proximity of the villages to one another; all point to some not very distant period when this part of the district was inhabited by a much denser population than that now located in it; and the evidence favouring this supposition is strengthened by the well known fact that under the Sikh rule it paid with ease a revenue twice the amount of the present assessment, and that such was the case my enquiries into the history of this district have fully established. The following are given as the causes that have operated to produce this change in the condition of the *parganah*:—The last Bhāi of Kaithal, Ude Singh, had in his employ as prime minister a certain Tulsī Rām, an ignorant, shortsighted and grasping man. He ground down the population of that part of the district by excessive taxation, to escape from which numbers crossed over the border and took refuge in this part, then owned by the Sardārs of Thānesar, where a more liberal policy prevailed. In conse-

quence of this immigration the population daily increased in numbers and prosperity until, by the death of Ude Singh in 1843, his estate passed into our hands. Since that time a gradual change has been taking place, by which the balance of taxation has been inverted. While the assessments of Kaithal have been gradually becoming lighter and lighter, those of Thānesar have been comparatively little reduced from the original high standard fixed by Mr. Wynyard. As might be expected, the tide of immigration has been turned back by this, and has from the date of the last revision of the Kaithal Settlement by Captain Larkins in 1854-55 set steadily in that direction, and has produced the state of things described above.

"The above would of itself have been sufficient to cause the Settlement to break down; but other circumstances have contributed to hasten that result, among the most prominent of which I may mention the following:—1st, periodical visitations of cholera; 2nd, calamities of season; 3rd, evil propensities of certain classes of the population. Cholera has repeatedly visited this ill-starred *parganah* and created great havoc; its ravages were greatest in the years 1855, 1857 and 1861, when many villages in both Thānesar and Shāhābād were almost depopulated. But (2) calamities of season have naturally created the most injurious and lasting effects. Hail-storms are frequent in this district, as was evidenced in the years 1851-52 and 1858; and although remissions were given, the relief thus afforded bore but a small proportion to the actual loss sustained. A still greater calamity, drought, commencing in the autumn months of 1859, reached its climax after the cutting of the *rabi* crop. The tract which suffered most is that broad expanse of jungle known in the language of the country as the *chachra*, lying to the north of the town of Thānesar, and extending east and west right cross the *parganah*. Here, from the scarcity of wells, the distress was so great that many villages were abandoned by the inhabitants *en masse*, and the losses by desertions and mortality among cattle in those which held together can scarcely be over-estimated. The suffering was, however, not confined to this part, but was general throughout the *parganah*, though from the greater number of wells in other parts and the high prices realized for the scanty crops raised on them, its intensity was much mitigated.—(3) The vicious propensities of certain classes of the population have not been without their effect in adding to the loss of revenue. The villages held by Rājputs, Hindús and Musalmáns, and especially the latter, better known by the name of Rángar, have invariably been found to be in worse condition than those in which the proprietors belonged to the industrious family of Játs, Kamboh, Ráms and Málís; because, although deficiency of assets might in both be primarily due to calamity of season, in the former it was aggravated by culpable laziness and neglect, whereas in the latter it was, in some measure at least, compensated for by increased exertion. The condition of the Rángar villages has been steadily going from bad to worse since the time of Settlement, nor is this to be wondered at, seeing that they systematically neglect the cultivation of their fields to follow the more congenial pursuit of cattle-stealing, which affords them both excitement and occupation. They all keep large herds of cattle, the losses in which are recruited by depredations on the property of their more peaceable neighbours, and the greater part of the village area is purposely left waste to serve as grazing grounds for their herds. At the same time, with the exception of their property in animals, they are miserably poor, and entirely without credit. The reductions proposed in this *parganah* amount altogether to Rs. 15,249, of which Rs. 8,435 appertain to Captain Elphinstone's revision. This may appear large, but not larger than the necessities of the

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Results of the several
revisions.

case warrant; and some portion of the relief suggested to be granted is only temporary."

The following is an abstract of the results arrived at on each occasion as follows. The figures refer to the Thanesar district as then constituted:—

	Assessment.	Total amount of decrease.
<i>Tahsil Laddoi.</i>	Rs.	Rs.
Mr. Wynyard's Settlements	2,56,282	...
Captain Larkins' Revision	2,36,657	...
" Busk's do.	2,16,970	39,412
" Davies' do.	2,06,723	10,247
<i>Tahsil Pipli.</i>		
Mr. Wynyard's Settlement	2,02,890	...
Captain Larkins' Revision	1,91,269	...
" Busk's do.	1,83,766	19,124
" Davies' do.	1,65,729	18,037
<i>Tahsil Kaithal.</i>		
Captain Abbott's Settlement	1,17,653	...
" Larkins' Revision	99,012	...
" Busk's do.	98,752	18,901
<i>Tahsil Gūlah.</i>		
Captain Abbott's Settlement	1,47,571	...
" Larkin's Revision	1,13,039	...
" Busk's do.	1,12,874	34,697
" Davies' do.	1,09,843	3,031

PART II.—THE PANIPAT DISTRICT.

Early Revenue History.

Panipat.
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Administration.

The state of the country when it first fell into our hands, has already been described in Chapter II. As soon as the establishment of British rule guaranteed the preservation of general order, the tract settled down as if by magic; the people who had taken shelter in the larger villages returned to their fields and hamlets; and those who had left the district altogether gradually came back again. But the habits which nearly a century of anarchy and confusion had engendered were not at once to be eradicated; and the oppressive manner in which we at first conduct our revenue administration greatly delayed the process. For the first few years revenue matters were practically in the hands of the people to whom we had assigned the various parts of the tract. But in 1817 we began to assess summarily the annual revenue to be paid by each village, not only in estates which had lapsed by the death of the assignees, but also, at the request of existing assignees, in many estates still held by them; and by 1824 this process was tolerably complete for the non-Mandal portion of the tract settled by Mr. Ibbetson.

The summary assessments were, throughout, incredibly oppressive. The assessment was based on the principle that Government was entitled by "the custom of the *parganah*" to half the *gross* produce of the cultivation; and a set of cash rates on the various crops which had sprung into existence under the Sikhs, and which had apparently been applied to a larger *bigah* than that used by us, were levied on areas taken from the *kánungo's* records (afterwards found to offer no sort of approximation to the real areas), or roughly measured at the expense of the village. The rates, as applied, were Rs. 16 per acre for sugarcane; Rs. 9-3 for wheat, cotton and rice; Rs. 6-14 for barley; and Rs. 3-7 for other crops. These rates, however, were only used in

well-developed estates. Where pasturage bore a large proportion to cultivation, a rate of Rs. 3 per acre was imposed on the *whole cultivable area*, "so as to induce the people to extend their cultivation." Besides this, a new tax on cattle was introduced at the rate of Rs. 2 per buffalo and Re. 1 per head of other cattle, the incidence of which was estimated at As. 10-6 per cultivated acre. The general incidence of the demands thus fixed averaged Rs. 5 to Rs. 5-8 per acre cultivated in 1828, when the first accurate survey was made. Mr. George Campbell reported that in many cases it would require *the whole gross produce* of the land and cattle to defray the Government demand. And in fact the assessments were purely nominal, as they were never collected—"in some instances not half of them—even in the first year of settlement." What could be got from the people was taken, and the remainder accumulated as balances. These were constantly added to the demand, so that year by year it increased in arithmetical progression; and if a good season rendered possible a surplus over the actual demand of the year, it was at once seized on account of the balances of less favourable seasons.

As early as 1822, before the Settlement was even completed, there were balances of a lakh-and-a-half in *tahsil* Pánípat alone; and the Board pointed out that "the inhabitants of some villages, nearly in mass, had abandoned their lands and homes and migrated to distant parts." In 1825 the Commissioner wrote:—"At a very early period after the conclusion of last Settlement, the error in the assessments was discovered; large balances occurred annually, till eventually *the whole of Pánípat Khádar* was taken under direct management, and the impoverished people, without the means to pay half or even a third of their original assessment, were once more content to remain on their soil." In 1836, four-and-a-half *lakhs* of balances, dating from as far back as 1814, were still outstanding. The system of Settlement was no less oppressive than that of assessment. Large portions of villages were made over to neighbouring communities to hold and cultivate; and some of them so hold and cultivate them to this day. The village headmen, who were inordinately numerous, were spoken of and treated as the proprietors; the other members of the community as "*rayats*." The settlement was made with the headmen alone, and no record existed of rights which had become a burden rather than a source of profit. There were no village accounts, no village accountants; and the collection of the revenue from individual cultivators was entirely unchecked so long as the amount was forthcoming. When a Settlement was made, the headmen were imprisoned till they agreed to the terms offered (in one case for ten, in another for seven months); and, having accepted them, till they furnished security for payment. One village refused to agree to the assessment, no farmer could be found, and the Commissioner directed the Assistant to "confine the people and their cattle to their houses and the immediate site of the village, and sequester all land, orchards, &c. and enough of cattle and goods to cover the balances." Farms were only not common, because no farmers were forthcoming, and village after village was held in direct management. In 1824 the Assistant writes:—"With whatever means a farmer may have commenced his agricultural career, he has

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"generally contrived to visit the jail four or five times, and to attain "an unenviable state of ruin in the course of three or four years."

The mode of collection was as vexatious and extortionate as the assessment was oppressive. The collections were made in February and September, long before the harvest; and the cultivator was thus "forced to part with his grain at a ruinous sacrifice." Guards were appointed to watch the crops in the interest of Government, but at the cost of the owner; and directly the revenue was overdue, horse and foot were quartered in the village at its own expense. One hundred and thirty-six horsemen were retained for the collection of the revenue, while 22 sufficed for the police duties of the same tract. The Board of Revenue writes:—"A pernicious practice prevails of "overwhelming the villages with swarms of hired servants furnished "with orders of demand for the instalments of the land revenue, without "any regard to the means of the people, the state of the crops, the powers "of the village, or the number of hired servants so employed. In this "way native officers provide for hungry dependants; and men of every "bad description, idle, lazy loiterers, are scattered over the land, and "find employment in for bearing to realize the monies they are sent to "collect." In 1822 the fees of these gentry were reported by the Collector to have amounted to more than a *lakh* of rupees, of which the revenue sheriff admitted having received Rs. 600 *per mensem*. In 1826, after two consecutive years of famine, a small village had all its crops seized, all its headmen thrown into prison, and one hundred and twenty head of cattle sold for arrears of an assessment, which had never been realized from it in *any one* year, which was two-and-three quarter times its *present* assessment and of which Mr. George Campbell had declared in 1824 that it would absorb nearly the whole gross produce of the village lands and cattle. In 1823, after a year of great distress, the headmen of 53 out of a tract of 209 villages were in prison for arrears, some for as long as 171 days; and in 1824 the jail force was increased on account of the number of revenue defaulters in custody. In 1826 the Collector reported as follows:—

"The *tahsildár* has urged the people to the extremity of their means, and they are consequently exhausted by a continuance of extraordinary struggles, grievously impoverished, and tremblingly apprehensive of a repetition of the grinding system. In many instances, and often in the largest villages, the whole village has fled in a body; for after the usual process of imprisonment and sale of property, desertion remained the common ultimatum."

As the Collector reported "everything was done by the *personal* "exertions of the *tahsildár*." Yet in the *tahsils* honesty would have been miraculous. In 1822 the *tahsildárs* were paid only Rs. 20 a month. In 1835 one *tahsildár* was officially stated to have been "the principal cause of the ruin of many villages in Pánipat Khádar." Till 1836 one *tahsildár*, collecting $2\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs* annually, enjoyed a monthly salary of Rs. 50; another collected Rs. 68,000 on a pay of Rs. 30; a third, Rs. 1,37,000 on a salary of Rs. 20; none received more than Rs. 100. Between 1821 and 1825 five *tahsildárs* were suspended for fraud, within *four months* of 1835, three were criminally convicted and dismissed, and a fourth committed to the Court of Circuit. A common practice was for the headmen to apply for a suspension of demand, and for the *tahsildár* to support the application.

Sanction being obtained, the full amount was collected from the village, and the *tahsildárs* and the headmen divided the difference. When the Collector visited the village and found that its condition did not justify a remission, he ordered the amount suspended to be realized, and the wretched proprietors had to pay twice over.

Under such circumstances the villagers became vagrants on the face of the earth. If neither of two villages could pay its revenue, the combined capacities of both might meet the demand on one of them. The revenue reports are full of such remarks as this:—"This village is entirely abandoned; half the villagers have run away; only five families left in this village." The protected Sikh state approached to within a mile of Karnál, and encircled the district on the north and west; petty *jágírs* lay thick among the Government villages; both offered a hearty welcome, land in plenty to cultivate, and lighter terms than our own to people driven from their homes by the burden of our rule. Desertion was so constant that the Collector in one case represented the uselessness of measuring the lands of a village eighteen months before assessing it, as "a year makes a great difference in the condition of a village; so prone are the people to go from one village to another;" and even the *owners* are described as "at times prepared to remove their ploughs and cattle to the waste lands of a neighbouring village."

The most stringent measures were adopted to check this evil. As late as 1837, if the people deserted their holdings, they were proclaimed, and if they did not return within *one month*, all their rights lapsed to Government, which forthwith bestowed them on another. Meanwhile the village which harboured the defaulters and allowed them to cultivate its lands was subject to fine and imprisonment, the village of Bhainswál, assessed at Rs. 1,148, was sold for a balance of Rs. 288, and bought by Colonel Skinner for Rs. 146. In one case efforts were made to hold a semi-independent chief liable for the arrears of defaulters who had fled to his protection. The correspondence of the day is full of "the contumacy of the people" and the decided measures necessary to "crush this sort of rebellion." The contumacy consisted in omitting to pay a demand which absorbed 60 per cent. of the whole yield of their herds and acres; the rebellion, in leaving, through fear of a prison, the homestead which is dearer perhaps to the Indian villager than to any other man on God's earth.

It is needless to describe at any length the steps by which a more reasonable system was arrived at. The famine of 1824 first forced upon the authorities a revision of the assessments, which was made under Regulation VII of 1822. The demands still averaged Rs. 3-8 to Rs. 4-3 on cultivation in small weakly estates, and Rs. 2-6 to Rs. 3-3 on the *whole cultivable area* in fully-peopled villages. But a great advance had been made. The revenue survey made in 1828, by giving firm ground to work upon, had rendered impossible those gross inequalities of assessments which had till then been unavoidable. The half-share principle, too, was abandoned, the demand being estimated to absorb about a fourth of the gross produce; and the revenue was collected after instead of before harvest. More attention was paid to the rights of individuals, field-to-field records were prepared showing the proprietary and cultivating tenures,

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tion.

each owner and each occupancy tenant received a slip stating the amount he was liable for, and *patwáris* of a sort were appointed; yet surplus land which a village could not cultivate was still largely settled with the neighbouring villages, and estates were farmed, even when the owners agreed to the assessment, if "poor and broken up," or, when flourishing, if the farmer would give 10 per cent. more than they offered. In fact, the system pursued throughout was that, having estimated the assessment as a guide, the Collector put up the estate to be bid for, allowing the owners a margin of 10 per cent. in their favour. Direct management was still frequently resorted to, many villages were still partly broken up or deserted by their inhabitants, the balances of twenty years still hung suspended over the people; but the general state of affairs was greatly improved, and in 1831 the Collector could report that "for the last four years the revenue has been collected with more reasonable regularity."

After the famine of 1833 the assessments were again largely reduced. It was found that cultivation had "very generally decreased" since the survey of 1828. The rates were still exceedingly high. A rate of Rs. 2-6-5 per *culturable* acre was taken as a standard to be worked up to, with "a considerable *sum* added for cattle" in sparsely peopled villages; and the average on cultivation was Rs. 3-2 to Rs. 3-12, while the rate in some cases reached Rs. 6 or even Rs. 9 an acre. A still greater boon was the remission of the outstanding balances, which was effected in 1836-39. Between this time and the Regular Settlement of 1842 the assessments of individual villages were, in the Khádar at least, continuously being reduced; but no complete revision of settlement was attempted. In January 1839, for the first time since the conquest of the tract, no one was in prison on account of revenue balances; and imprisonment on this score may be said to have ceased as a common practice from that date.

The Bángar villages, being for the most part larger and more populous than those of the Khádar, had suffered somewhat less from raids in the days preceding our rule; but, on the other hand, the greater labour which a stiffer soil entailed upon the cultivator, and the uncertainty of the yield in a tract almost entirely dependent upon rain, made the return of the inhabitants to a village which they had once deserted less easy. The irrigation from the Royal Canal had, till the failing of the Mughal power threw the country into confusion, been very extensive; and then no doubt, as now, wells were but little used where canal water could be got; while the troubles which closed the canal were not favourable to the laying out of capital in sinking new wells. The tract was therefore more than ordinarily dependent upon rainfall—a fact which kept down the cultivation to a far smaller proportion of the *culturable* area than in the Khádar. Thus while, on the one hand, demands based on cultivated or *culturable* areas pressed far more heavily than where abundant water was easily procurable; on the other hand, when security to life and property were once assured, the existence of an unlimited area of soil as fertile as any already under the plough, gave, with the rapid increase of cultivation, an elasticity under inordinate assessment which was want-

ing in the more fully developed riverain tract; and the gradual extension of canal irrigation so aided this increase, that from the time when the canal was restored by our Government, its history may almost be said to be the history of the Bángar. That history is sketched in the Appendix and need not be repeated here.

After 1833 cultivation made enormous strides; and from that time till the Regular Settlement the prosperity of the Bángar was unbroken save by the epidemics of 1841 and 1843; for scanty rain meant nothing more disagreeable than high prices to villages protected by the canal. These epidemics, however, assumed, a special severity in the canal-watered tracts, and inaugurated for them a reign of malaria, the continuity of which has never since been broken.

In 1837 a revision of Settlement under Regulation IX of 1833 was ordered; and Mr. Alexander Fraser reported on Pánipat Bángar in 1839. His report is lost; but he slightly reduced the current demand. His proposals were rejected, not only as being inadequate to the capabilities of the tract, but still more as being unequal in their incidence; while his survey was found to be so incorrect that the whole work had to be done over again. Mr. Edmonstone then took charge of the Settlement, and finally reported on it in 1842. The report has been reprinted in "Settlement Reports of the Delhi Territory, Lahore, 1874." In every Khádar village but one the new demand was lower than the existing one, and in every village but two, lower than that first assessed upon it; the total reduction was about 15 per cent., and the incidence of the revenue per cultivated acre was Rs. 2-11. In the Bángar the current demand was raised by 6 per cent; but reductions were given in all the finest and largest villages. The incidence upon cultivation was Rs. 2-8-11. At the recommendation of the Settlement Officer all outstanding balances were remitted; and the people at length had a fair chance of prosperity.

The new assessment not only possessed the unprecedented merit of moderation, but it bestowed the still greater boon of a distribution of the burden bearing some intelligible relation to the means of bearing it. Hitherto, each assessment had been chiefly based upon the one before it, reduced in such degree as was thought absolutely necessary to keep the inhabitants from absconding. What rates were used had been applied to cultivated or culturable areas, without distinction of kinds of soil, or of irrigated and unirrigated land. The new settlement was based upon rates carefully estimated for each of the three kinds of soil in both its irrigated and dry conditions. The extravagant difference between the rates paid by Játs and those demanded from Gújars, which had imposed upon the former what Mr. Edmonstone characterises as a severity of taxation "of which, in the course of my experience, I have seldom found similar instances," was in a great measure removed. The long term of the Settlement gave substance to the relief; and as Mr. Lawrence says, "the people were remarkably well pleased." The table on the next page gives the best figures obtainable for these old assessments.

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Regular Settlement
of 1842.

Early Pánípat Assessments.

Groups of villages.	No. of villages.	PANIPAT KHADAR.						PANIPAT BANGAR.						
		First Settlement, 1817-21.	Second Settle- ment, 1826-33.	Third Settlement, 1835-37.	Demand in 1841.	Regular Settle- ment, 1842.	CULTIVATED AREA IN		Regular Settle- ment in 1842.	Demand in 1841.	Fourth Settle- ment, 1834-36.	Regular Settle- ment in 1842.	CULTIVATED AREA IN	
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	1828.	1842.					1828.	1842.
Group I	53	1,40,355	1,13,000	1,08,609	1,13,721	87,965	28,732	31,662	12,73,856	55,263	...	...	17,946	18,652
II	8	...	22,480	17,862	18,116	14,622	5,070	5,237	25,66,100	...	71,994	72,716	21,064	29,036
III	5	...	...	14,237	14,339	12,667	3,824	4,746	50,260	45,430	41,880	43,659	13,193	17,701
IV	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28,545	27,795	27,275	30,308	8,192	13,346
V	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	15,780	15,983	5,363	6,676
Total,	66	...	...	1,40,708	1,46,176	1,15,254	37,626	41,645	64	...	2,02,783	2,13,652	65,758	85,411

The history of the Khádar since the Regular Settlement has, on the whole, been satisfactorily monotonous. In 1843 an epidemic occurred, more terrible even than that of 1841. In 1851 a drought began which, continued to 1852, almost caused a famine; and the effects upon the crops were "infinitely disastrous." The famine of 1859-60 was in some degree compensated for by the bumper crops of 1861-62. In 1869 it was estimated that 20,000 cattle died in the Khádar and Bángar tracts; and the effects of this loss are felt to this day, heightened as they have been by the grass famine of 1875-77. The absolutely useless Rer escape has been dug right across the tract, impeding traffic, holding up the Bángar drainage in a great lake between the Khádar bank and the Grand Trunk Road, and allowing it to burst through the rotten banks, to the great injury of the cultivation below it and of the health of the city of Pánipat. And much damage has been done by saline efflorescence and swamp in the north of the tract, where the canal and the Burhá Kherá escape traverse the Khádar. The river has done much harm by cutting away good soil; and in some years, by passing in flood down its old abandoned channels. In his assessment of 1842 Mr. Edmonstone did not sufficiently allow for the inferior soil and still more inferior cultivation of the Rájpúts and Saiyads who hold the more northern villages; and some of these villages have utterly broken down, and considerable reductions have been given, in one instance to the extent of 33 per cent. of the whole demand. But on the whole the settlement, especially in the Pánipat *tahsil*, has worked well; and the tract is prosperous with the exception of its northern extremity.

In the Bángar the later, no less than the earlier history depends almost wholly upon the canal and its action in the tract it traverses. The famine of 1859 is still remembered as the year in which all the canal villagers cleared up their accounts with the village money-lenders; while in 1869, though the cattle suffered no less than elsewhere, yet the luxuriant crops and high prices went far to compensate the people for the loss. From 1871 to 1874 they suffered severely from heavy rains; and in the drought of 1875 the peculiarities of the season conspired against them to prevent them from taking advantage, as usual, of a scanty rainfall. But the vicissitudes of the season are quite overshadowed in the Bángar by the terrible evils which the canal system has caused by interference with the natural drainage of the country. And which are fully described in the Appendix.

Very soon after the Regular Settlement, the deterioration of the soil forced itself upon the attention of Government. In 1850 the people of some of the worst villages determined to abandon them and settle in Jínd unless relief were afforded. The Government, however, decided that the terms of Settlement must be adhered to, and that the people had "no right to any consideration;" and all that was done was to take certain villages under direct management, the Sadr Board declining to deal with individual estates, and directing that a general report should be made when, and not till when the revenue could no longer be realized. As pointed out by Mr. Sherer, "the Játs of this district will pay up as long as it is possible for them

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"to raise money by any device, or at any immediate sacrifice; and "when they find default inevitable, they consider the worst come, and "leave their villages." Thus the break up was "sudden and complete." In 1856 most of the inhabitants of the worst villages deserted them and fled to Jīnd, and the villages utterly broke down. The Government censured the "lamentable apathy" of the Collector; and Mr. Sherer, Collector of Aligarh, was specially deputed to survey and report on the tract.

His admirable report was submitted in 1857, and is printed as part of Selections No. XLII (1864) from Government of India correspondence P. W. D., pages 4-15. He showed that the water-level had been raised by the canal from some 60 feet to, in many places, two or three feet from the surface; that the fertility of the soil had been very generally diminished; and that the evil had not nearly reached its limits, but must necessarily continue to spread almost indefinitely. He says:—"The possible resources of the *biswahdārs* of several estates are now exhausted. They have borrowed money at extravagant interest; they have become the mere farm slaves of some *banīā* residing in their village; they have sold the trees on their estates; they have sold their daughters; they have sold their silver ornaments and brass utensils, and as many of their cattle as it was possible to spare; and no conceivable source of income "is any longer available." Between 1859 and 1861 the villages were taken up in detail; considerable initial reductions were given; and principles were laid down upon which annual relief was to be afforded where necessary, and revenue was to be reimposed where land had recovered. The whole revenue remitted on this account since 1856 has been about Rs. 4,58,350. Mr. Ibbetson thus describes the result of these operations:—

"I have no hesitation in saying that the relief so afforded has been wholly inadequate. The initial reductions, welcome as they were to the sufferers, do not seem to me to have accurately measured the degree of mischief. The demand on such land as had become absolutely and obviously unculturable was remitted; but little, if any, allowance was made for the deterioration of the remaining cultivation, for the impoverishment due to an ever-increasing burden borne for so many years, for the sickness of people and cattle, or for the almost total absence of pasture. No reduction was given where the decrease in cultivation was less than 10 per cent. on the whole cultivated area of the villages; and the result was the individuals and sub-divisions of villages which had lost a much larger proportion of their land failed to obtain relief.

"As for the subsequent yearly action it is difficult to characterise it too strongly. The directions of Government would appear to have been entirely overlooked, and no intelligent review of the whole circumstances of a village ever attempted. No remissions have ever been made, so far as I can discover, on account of general deterioration, apart from decrease of cultivation. That it became merely a matter of arithmetic,—so many acres rendered barren at so much an acre, find the reduction in assessment—was perhaps only to be expected in what had become a part of the yearly routine of the *tahsil*. And, to crown all, a mistaken reading of the orders confined the inquiry to such parts only of the area of each village as had been badly injured before 1860; so that subsequent spread of the evil was not taken into account at all."

The early history of the Mandal tract, which had been made over to the assignees in 1806, differs materially from that of the remainder of the tract as sketched above; for up to 1847 there was no fixed demand, the Mandals collecting their share of the produce in kind. The state of the tract has been described in Chapter III, (pages 141-149), and the Mandal villages were pre-eminently notorious for turbulence and crime. They were almost wholly held by Rájputés, proud, quarrelsome and fearless: looking upon agriculture as derogatory, they were cattle-graziers by profession, and cattle-lifters by hereditary taste. The few large villages in which they were concentrated were elevated far above the surrounding plain upon the accumulations of centuries, were surrounded by deep ditches and high walls with forts at the four corners, could only be entered by strong gateways with massive doors, were composed of lofty houses which turned their loopholed backs to the narrow winding streets, and were built almost entirely of brick. From these strongholds they drove forth their herds to pasture, while their servants tilled the scanty fields. Watchers on watch-towers and high trees throughout the jungle constantly scanned the plain beneath; and on the approach of danger, men and cattle sought the shelter of the village, or found yet greater safety in the pathless intricacies of the forest. Such were the people from whom the Mandals "holding, indeed, the title of *jágirdár*, yet possessing neither the name nor the authority of an executive officer," had to realize the revenue assigned to them by Government.

Under these circumstances the collection of rent from the villagers by the Mandals was a constant struggle between exaction and oppression on the one side, and audacity and cunning on the other. The Mandals themselves, deprived of the mental stimulus to which the warlike times just past had accustomed them, found that harassing and opposing the Government officers, even to lengths which would now-a-days infallibly end in a visit to jail, did not afford them sufficient excitement, and fell to quarrelling among themselves. The villagers fully entered into the spirit of this pursuit. Many of the largest villages were held jointly by the various Mandal families, and the boundaries of all were but loosely defined; and the people found that it was at once profitable and exciting to play off one Mandal against another. The chiefs themselves were for the most part ignorant and illiterate, and more inclined to pleasure than business; and the management of the estates was left in the hands of dishonest and unscrupulous stewards, whose interest in them was strictly confined to the immediate profit that could be made from them. Thus arose that bitter feeling of hostility between the villagers and the Mandals which exists in scarcely diminished intensity to the present day.*

The *parganah*, thus managed, had always been a thorn in the side of the authorities. At first the villagers had probably rather the best of the contest. But as order spread and authority was established, the position enjoyed by the Mandals, their greater knowledge of the law, and their longer purses, gave them a very decided advantage. As early as 1827 the Collector reported that the Mandals exercised very great

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The Mandal Tract.

* The villagers to this day commonly speak of the Mandal who receives their revenue as their "*mudai*"—or "prosecutor."

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oppression. In 1834 Mr. John Lawrence wrote that they were brutally unfair and extortionate; and the instances he gave in support of his assertion are such as it is almost incredible should have been permitted by the authorities. Eventually matters reached such a pitch that Government had to appoint a manager to act for the Mandals in some of the larger estates. Meanwhile the Bángar and Khádar had been steadily progressing and cultivation extending. Even in the Nardak improved administration had done much to reclaim the people from their lawless habits; and in 1847 only 12 of the 93 villages were uninhabited, and those were small ones. But the proportion of the area under cultivation was still exceedingly small; the "police officials openly connived with the notorious depredators of those parts;" and the Nardak was "the most troublesome and the only turbulent part of the district." Such was the condition of the tract when the Lieutenant-Governor marched through it in the end of 1844. The impression made upon him by what he then saw, and the detailed instructions which he issued, will be found at length in Mr. Ibbetson's Assessment Reports. The following extracts will show the considerations which led him to direct that a Regular Settlement of the Mandal villages should be effected:—

"In marching from Karnál to Kaithal, the Lieutenant-Governor was much struck with the poorness and bad management of a great part of this estate. * * * The estate is large and valuable, whilst the permanent quit-rent with which it is charged is trifling. The Mandals are understood to have been already great gainers by the exchange; whilst by good management the value may be very greatly improved. The villages are British territory, subject to our laws in all branches of the administration. It is very doubtful if any circumstances justify the Government in leaving subordinate proprietors at the mercy of an assignee of the Government revenue, without interfering to define and record the rights of all parties. Circumstances in this case, however, particularly bind the Government to interfere. The lands were assigned by this Government, who are therefore bound to come forward and provide that no wrong is inflicted by the act of assignment, which resulted from the policy of the day. There are no old-established and doubtful claims of proprietary right to investigate. The village communities remain in all their integrity the unquestioned owners of the soil, and often able to resist by physical strength even the just demand of their superiors. If by our police we deprive them of the benefit of their strength, we are bound to substitute for their innate means of resistance the protection of legal arbitration. The Mandals did not very strongly object to the measure. They were apprehensive that it might curtail their influence and consideration, though they perceived that it might augment their income. The measure ought not to rest on their approval or rejection, and the Lieutenant-Governor is fully convinced that justice and sound policy alike demand its execution."

Mandal Settlement
of 1847.

Mr. Gubbins at once commenced the Settlement which was sanctioned in 1847. The operations were conducted under circumstances of the greatest difficulty. The conquest of the Panjáb was then in progress, and at the frontier station of Karnál the demands upon the time of the civil officer were heavy and inexorable. The Mandals prosecuted their conflicting interests with "money, argument and occasionally armed retainers;" the people, unaware of its importance, were profoundly indifferent to the correctness of the record. The Settlement Officer did his best to patch up his material by arbitrarily

increasing or diminishing all recorded areas in different villages according as he thought the survey figures too small or too large ; but he confessed that the record was eminently unsatisfactory ; and therefore proposed that sanction should be accorded to the Settlement for a term of five years only. But the errors of survey and record were immaterial, compared with the capital error which vitiated his assessments. His duty was to assess the dues of the Mandals, which were measured by "the legal and regulated right of Government to the land revenue." Hitherto the Mandals had collected rent, not revenue ; and almost always in kind. Theoretically, the new demand should have been, under the rule of the day, two-thirds of the average collections thus made. Instead of this he assessed the Nardak *at more than the average past collections as stated by the Mandals themselves*, though their statements were known to be grossly exaggerated, and though a fixed money demand was being substituted for a self-adjusting levy of a share of the produce as it varied with the varying seasons.

The Settlement thus made was received with the greatest discontent. The people refused to accept it ; and the Mandals, while petitioning against it as unduly low, encouraged the people in their refusal by promising them easier terms. The feeling of the people was especially embittered by the transfer to the Mandals in absolute property, under the directions of Government, of all villages which had been abandoned when the Mandals took over the tract, and to the resettling of which they had in any way contributed, either by loans expenditure of capital, or settling cultivators. Ten inhabited and 12 uninhabited villages, comprising an area of 20,850 acres, were thus made over to the Mandals ; they still hold them as owners ; and this more than anything else, has conduced to envenom the minds of the people against the *jāgirdārs*. The Settlement was sanctioned, at the request of the Settlement Officer, for five years only ; and the people eventually accepted the terms offered. Mr. Gubbins' report is printed as No. XXXI, Part VI, Vol. II of Selections from public correspondence, North-Western Provinces, Agrā, 1852.

Within these five years balances of Rs. 65,500 had accrued on an assessment of Rs. 30,763 in the 28 leading villages of the Nardak. Some balances were also owing in the Khādar. The Collector reported that the most of the people would gladly return to direct management, and would certainly refuse to renew their engagements ; that it would be impossible to find farmers ; and that the Mandals had taken out decrees for their balances, and would probably put up the villages to sale. The Lieutenant-Governor discussed the matter at Dehli, and Mr. Ross was directed to revise the assessment. He was directed to "arbitrate between the Mandals and the people as he would between Government and its revenue-payers." He was to reduce the assessment, if too heavy ; and to endeavour to induce the Mandals to relinquish so much of the balances as might appear to be due to over-assessment. As they held decrees, nothing more than persuasion could be used ; but if they declined to abandon unjust claims, the estates were to be assessed at exceedingly low rates, so as to render the liquidation of balances possible. Mr. Ross failed to induce the Mandals to relinquish any part of their balances : but with

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great difficulty he brought them to accept payment by instalments. He reported that "he had seen many parts of the country, but nowhere had he beheld so much poverty and depression as in many of the large villages of the Nardak; that house after house was deserted and in ruins; that there was an absence of everything indicative of comfort; and that the number of cattle that had died during the season would still further affect the prosperity of the villages." He also pointed out that, independently of the impoverished state of the estates (which alone would make it impossible), the absence of the majority of the villagers must render any attempt to collect even a portion of the balances abortive; for famine had driven the greater part of the Nardak population to other and more fertile districts, there to gain a livelihood as they best could, and graze their starving herds. Yet he wholly failed to realize the inordinate nature of the assessments he was revising; he was of opinion that their failure was owing to a quite exceptional run of bad seasons; and while he proposed a quite nominal reduction of 6 per cent. in the Nardak and 2 per cent. on the whole tract, he directed the balances to be liquidated by yearly instalments of half the assessment, thus really *enhancing* the demand, which the people had been wholly unable to pay, by 46 per cent.

The people of most of the Nardak and of some of the Bángar villages, where the canal was beginning to do harm, refused the terms; and of a total demand of Rs. 1,00,901, only Rs. 56,239, was engaged for. No farmers were forthcoming, and the Mandals took the recusant villages into direct management. They also sued out execution of their decrees for balances; but the Sadr Board flatly refused to allow any estate to be put up for sale till Government orders on the revised Settlement should be received, and thus saved the Nardak from wholesale confiscation. The orders of Government were delayed, and in 1855 it was found that direct management had not even realized the assessment, much less reduced the balances; while in the Nardak villages which had engaged for the new assessments, new balances had steadily accrued year by year.

The Lieutenant-Governor once more discussed the matter at Dehli. He decided with regret that it was not within the competence of Government to take the *parganah* entirely under its own management, paying the revenue collected to the Mandals. He remarked that there was "good reason to apprehend that frequent failure of crops was much more the rule prevailing over the tract than Mr. Ross had been led to believe in 1852;" and he refused sanction to the assessments of 1852, and directed Mr. Ross to make another revision.

Revision of 1856.

Mr. Ross reported that most of the Nardak, and especially the recusant villages, had sensibly deteriorated even from their "wretchedly depressed and impoverished condition in 1852; that one-and-a-half out of the three years that had elapsed since the *parganah* had been last assessed, had been, if not seasons of complete drought, at least seasons of partial famine; and that it was only surprising that the estates had not sunk altogether." The canal villages he found to have been impoverished by the "steady and rapid increase of *reh*, all being more or less affected, and in some instances incalculable damage having been done, while every year sees it increasing." He

also animadverted upon the Mandal management :—"No consideration is ever shown, no concession granted with a good grace, and in seasons of scarcity there is no disposition to be moderate. On the contrary, the sole aim is to squeeze as much out of the estates as possible;" and he instanced a village in which no crops had been sown owing to drought, and where the Mandal waited till a lapse of nine months had removed all proof of this fact, and then applied for the realization of a money-rate, on the ground that the people had prevented his servants from measuring and appraising the crops as they stood. He took the rates Captain Larkins was then using in his revision of the Kaithal Settlement, increased them somewhat, and adopted them as a guide. But his assessment and note-books show that he made but little use of them, trusting rather to his knowledge of the tract, and to the past history of each village. He reduced the assessment of the whole *parganah* by 20 per cent. In the canal tract he relieved 10 out of the 15 villages, the total reductions being 16 per cent. In the Khádar a reduction was given in six villages, amounting to 12 per cent. on the whole. In the Nardak the demands of all but five villages were reduced, in many cases to less than half the demand of 1847; the assessment being Rs. 38,190 against Rs. 50,759 in 1852, and Rs. 53,848 in 1847. As nothing more is heard of the old balances, it is probable that the collections between 1852 and 1856 were credited against them, and they were thus got rid of. The figures on the next page show the result of the two reductions of assessment.

The mutiny and the transfer of the district to the Panjáb caused some delay; but in 1860 the Panjáb Government, while regretting that the pasture lands had been assessed, and remarking that the assessments were still considerably higher than those of the Kaithal district, which was itself "a bye-word in the Panjáb," sanctioned the Settlement as having already been in operation for some years. The Board of Revenue, agreeing with the Collector, had recommended that the collection of the revenue should be altogether taken away from the Mandals; but the chief of the family had done good service in the mutiny; and as the proposed measure would have been looked upon by him as an indignity, it was not carried out; and Government "contented itself with confirming the assessments, on the distinct understanding that the rights of the Mandals are limited to an assignment of the revenue, and do not extend to the management of the land; and that in the event of calamities of season, deterioration by saline efflorescence, or other reasonable cause, the *zamindárs* shall receive the same equitable indulgences as are granted to *khálsa* villages." The Settlement so confirmed is that which has just been revised.

Since 1856 the Nardak villages have, except in famine years, paid the demands then imposed without any very large balances or remissions, so far as is known. But of course, we know nothing about the realization of the Mandal revenue except when matters reach such a point that Government is compelled to interfere: and the Mandals themselves admit that the revenue has been realized very irregularly and with the greatest difficulty. The only events worthy of notice have been the terrible famines of 1860 and 1869, and the drought of 1877, already fully described. During the famine of 1869, the right

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Early Karnal Assessments.

TRACT ASSESSED.	No. of villages.	REVENUE-PAYING AREAS.				AMOUNT OF ASSESSMENT.			
		FIRST SETTLEMENT, 1842-47.		PRESENT STATE, 1876.		First Settlement, 1842-47.	Reduced in 1852.	Reduced in 1856.	Existing in 1876.
		Cultivation.	Pasture.	Cultivation.	Pasture.				
NARDAK.	Mandal estates	34,481	97,989	38,177	82,289	53,848	50,759	38,190	37,917
	Other villages	2,249	8,606	2,977	10,709	4,700	..	..	4,246
	TOTAL	36,730	106,595	41,154	92,998	58,548	..	..	42,163
KHADAR.	Mandal estates	7,618	5,975	7,698	3,820	15,050	15,014	13,297	12,770
	Other villages	20,753	11,577	21,755	12,653	48,125	..	..	44,264
	TOTAL	28,371	17,552	29,453	16,473	63,175	..	..	57,034
BANGAR.	Mandal estates	16,406	11,385	15,402	6,692	36,098	35,128	29,470	29,371
	Other villages	14,426	10,087	17,442	9,101	32,588	..	..	30,602
	TOTAL	30,832	21,472	32,844	15,793	68,686	..	..	59,973
TOTAL.	Mandal estates	58,505	115,349	61,277	92,801	104,966	100,901	80,957	80,058
	Other villages	37,428	30,370	42,204	32,463	85,413	..	..	79,112
	TOTAL	95,933	145,719	103,481	125,264	190,379	..	..	159,170

of Government to suspend and remit revenue in the villages granted to the Mandals, which had been distinctly postulated by the Financial Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor when the Settlement was sanctioned in 1860 was discussed and finally affirmed. The revenue history of the Khádar and Bángar has already been noticed at pages 226-228.

The Settlement of 1872-80.

The instructions by which the Settlement Officer was to be guided in the assessment, were conveyed in Government Panjáb No. 1615, dated 3rd November 1873. They laid down that the demand was "not to exceed the estimated value of half the net produce of an estate; or, in other words, half the share of the produce of an estate (ordinary receivable by the landlord, either in money or kind)." They directed him to pay special attention to produce estimates; and they further ruled that he was to "take into consideration all circumstances directly or indirectly bearing upon the assessment, such as rent-rates where money-rates exist, the habits and character of the people, the proximity of marts for the disposal of produce, the incidence of past assessments, the existence of profits from grazing, and the like. These and other considerations must be allowed their weight." Finally, they laid down that, after sanction had been received to the rates and gross assessment proposed for each *tahsil*, "full consideration must be given to the special circumstances of each estate in fixing the assessment to be ultimately adopted." The most satisfactory basis of the Settlement would have been rent-rates, had such been forthcoming. But true rent at competition rates is almost unknown in the district. Accordingly, as the share of the produce ordinarily receivable in kind by the landlord is fairly well established, estimates of the gross produce of the land assumed a peculiar importance.

Mr. Ibbetson divided the tract into the five circles, of Nardak, Karnál and Pánípat Khádar, and Karnál and Pánípat Bángar, for assessment purposes. To utilise the produce estimates for purposes of assessment, it was necessary to fix the share of the produce ordinarily receivable by the landlord, and further to fix prices which, applied to that share of the gross produce, would give the estimated rental. Rents have already been discussed in Chapter III, (Section E). The proportions finally adopted were—

Nardak—		
Irrigated or manured	...	one-third.
Other land	...	one-fourth.
Other Circles—		
Irrigated	...	one-third.
Dry	...	two-fifths.

The tables on the next two pages give the results of Mr. Ibbetson's assessment. The rates used in previous Settlements are given in full detail in his report. Those sanctioned for his Settlement were as shown in the margin per acre.

SOIL.	Panipat.		Karnal.		
	Bangar.	Khadar.	Nardak.	Bangar.	Khadar.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Irrigated	2 12 0	2 14 0	1 14 0	2 4 0	2 2 0
Dry dakar	1 6 0	1 8 0	0 12 0	1 1 0	1 4 0
" rauli	0 12 0	0 8 0	0 9 0
" bhur
Moist rauli	0 10 0
Pasture	0 0 5
Canal land in its dry aspect	1 13 0	1 5 0	..

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Basis and scheme of the assessment.

Results of the assessment.

Results of the assessment.

Statements showing Assessments and Rates of Incidence in Rupees.

	ASSESSMENT IN RUPEES.				RATES OF INCIDENCE PER ACRE.							
	Parganah Karnal.				Parganah Panipat.				Parganah Panipat.			
	Nardak.	Khadar.	Bangar.	Khadar.	Bangar.	Total.	Cultiva- tion.	Cultu- rable.	Khadar.	Bangar.	Khadar.	Bangar.
Assessment, 1842-47, with cesses	63,233	68,229	74,150	1,01,234	2,67,777	6,34,623	1 11 7	0 7 1	2 6 6	2 6 6	2 14 2	2 10 4
Assessment, 1856, with cesses	47,233	66,950	67,643	...	...	6,10,837	1 4 7	0 5 3	2 5 9	2 3 1	...	...
Current demand, 1876, with cesses	49,160	69,269	69,269	...	...	6,23,846	1 4 3	0 5 10	2 4 7	2 10 2	2 13 2	2 11 1
New assessment, with cesses	40,876	62,937	80,960	1,89,401	2,84,285	6,49,459	1 0 10	0 4 11	2 11 2	3 5 5	3 0 0	2 14 3
Assessment of 1842-47	58,548	63,175	68,656	1,49,290	2,47,939	5,87,608	1 8 4	0 7 0	2 3 7	2 3 7	2 12 5	2 7 3
" " 1856	42,890	61,422	62,058	...	...	5,63,599	1 1 9	0 4 0	2 0 2	...	...	...
Current demand of 1876	42,163	57,034	59,978	1,46,777	2,33,779	5,39,726	1 1 5	0 5 0	1 15 8	14 2	2 6 9	2 5 8
New assessment	34,040	52,086	67,420	1,50,230	2,36,740	5,40,516	0 14 0	0 4 1	1 12 1	1 8	2 8 0	2 6 6
Revenue rates } Sanctioned }	33,497	51,835	63,114	1,51,112	2,41,569	5,41,127	0 13 10	0 4 1	1 12 10	15 9	2 7 10	2 7 3
demand } Proposed }	31,598	50,712	65,097	1,52,740	2,43,238	5,65,424	0 13 1	0 3 10	1 12 2	0 9	2 7 6	2 10 2
Produce estimate	31,598	52,249	65,500	1,51,937	2,66,973	5,65,877	0 13 0	0 3 10	1 13 0	2 1 0	2 6 8	2 10 7
Rent	...	...	...	1,46,782	2,64,375	5,60,406	...	...	...	...	...	...
Percentages.	86.5	94.0	119.7	111.9	106.2	106.3	Nardak	...	...	...	...	...
New on last assessment.	79.4	84.8	103.6	109.7	95.5	95.9	Karnal Khadar	...	...	...	...	...
New on current demand.	83.2	95.6	116.9	106.4	102.3	104.1	Karnal Bangar	...	...	...	...	...
Assessment on revenue rates demand	80.7	91.3	112.4	102.4	101.4	100.2	Panipat Khadar	...	...	...	...	...
	101.6	100.5	106.8	99.4	93.1	99.9	Panipat Bangar	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total	...	...	...	...	...

Statement showing General Results of the Assessment in Rupees.

	MANDAL TRACT.			OTHER VILLAGES.		WHOLE TRACT.		
	Revenue as- signed to Mandals.	Revenue assigned to others.	Revenue not as- signed.	Revenue assigned.	Revenue not assigned.	Revenue assigned.	Revenue not assigned.	Total Revenue.
Assessed revenue	57,042 8 0	3,527 8 0	100	33,104 8 0	3,42,746 8 0	93,674 8 0	3,42,846 8 0	4,36,521 0 0
Deduct fees of <i>zaidars</i> and chief headmen.	899 8 0	33 0 0	1	449 0 0	6,206 8 0	1,381 8 0	6,207 8 0	7,539 0 0
Deduct quit-rent	10,000 0 0	126 0 0	...	3,091 7 0	...	13,217 7 0	..	13,217 7 0
Balance	46,143 0 0	3,368 8 0	99	29,564 1 0	3,36,540 0 0	79,075 9 0	3,36,639 0 0	4,15,714 9 0
Add quit-rent	196 0 0	...	10,000	...	3,091 7 0	126 0 0	13,091 7 0	13,217 7 0
Net fixed revenue	46,269 0 0	3,368 8 0	10,099	29,564 1 0	3,39,631 7 0	79,201 9 0	3,49,730 7 0	4,28,932 0 0
Add estimated owners' rates*	...	...	14,595	...	89,235 0 0	...	1,03,830 0 0	1,03,830 0 0
Total income	46,269 0 0	3,368 8 0	24,694	29,564 1 0	4,28,866 7 0	79,201 9 0	4,53,560 7 0	5,32,762 0 0

* The owner's rates of the Mandal and certain other revenue-free villages have since been assigned to the revenue grantees.

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Results of the assess-
ment.

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ment. The Nardak.

The following pages, taken from the report, form a compendious description of the assessment :—

We have in the Nardak a high arid tract of scanty rainfall, held by a population which largely supplements agriculture by cattle farming, and having only 27 per cent. of its area cultivated. Of the cultivation, 9 per cent. is irrigated by wells, while 3 per cent. is protected by, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ordinarily watered from, the canal. Only 5 per cent. is manured. Nine per cent. of the cultivation is held by alien landlords, 60 per cent. by Rájputs and Gújars, and only 31 per cent. by Játs and Rors. These last are chiefly found in the fringing villages of the tract, which, though the soil is distinctly inferior, have water at a moderate depth. These villages constitute only a sixth of the total area, but comprise two-sevenths of the cultivation, of which 32 per cent. is irrigated, including all the canal land. The remainder of the tract constituting the Nardak proper, and principally held by Rájputs, has only 5 per cent. of its cultivation irrigated, water being at a depth of 90 to 140 feet; the crops are therefore entirely dependent upon an uncertain rainfall averaging less than 18 inches, while the great stiffness of the soil enhances the eminently precarious nature of the yield. Thus of the last 40 crops, 16 have failed almost completely. Ninety-two per cent. of the whole cultivated area is under inferior sorts of grain, the yield of which, on the average of a number of years, is only sufficient for the subsistence of not quite two-thirds of the whole village population. At least 15 per cent. of the cultivation is in the hands of tenants paying no rent to the owners, while strangers own or hold in mortgage 9 per cent. more. There is an ample supply of cultivators; and agricultural appliances are, considering the inferior nature of the cultivation, fairly equal, over the whole tract, to the area under the plough; though the fringing villages have been much crippled in this respect by the cattle epidemic of 1869. The existing cultivation, if not supplemented by the produce of cattle, would be quite unequal to the needs of the population; but, though all the low-lying ground is already cultivated, there is ample room for expansion in the higher and drier soils.

The circle was held till 1849 on grain collections: an assessment was then made which was never realised; and the reductions effected in 1852 being insufficient, the greater part of it was held in direct management, or rather mismanagement, till 1856, when a reduction of more than 30 per cent. was made in the demand. Since then the revenue has been, except in years of actual famine, collected, though with great difficulty and irregularity. Early figures afford no trustworthy basis for a comparison; but it is probable that, setting aside the extraordinary seasons of 1873-75, cultivation has not materially increased since 1847; while the wells have decreased in number by 28 per cent. on the whole, and 42 per cent. in the Nardak proper. Meanwhile the population is multiplying rapidly. The cost of production has increased largely; but while the average yield has probably not sensibly altered, prices have risen by a quarter. The people are still, as Mr. Lawrence described them to be in 1843 "the poorest in the district;" their herds, which form their mainstay in bad seasons, have been terribly diminished by the cattle epidemic

of 1869, and are now suffering greatly; most of the estates are impoverished; there is no hope of consideration being ever shown them by the Mandals, and therefore no hope of any consideration except when distress rises to a pitch which justifies the district officials in interfering. It was very necessary to give the Nardak villages very general relief in the shape of reduction of assessment.

In this circle a reduction of 19·3 per cent. has been given in the current demand, which additional cesses, amounting to 12 per cent. on the revenue imposed since last Settlement, have reduced to 16·8 per cent. on the whole burden as it stood in 1876, and to 13·5 on that of 1856. The demand so imposed forms 101·6 per cent. of the assessment at sanctioned rates, and 108·1 and 107·7 per cent. of those given by rent and produce estimates respectively. The relief afforded by redistribution of the demand over the individual villages, has perhaps been even greater than that afforded by the general reduction, and was even more urgently needed. The all round rate on cultivation is still 10 per cent. higher than that imposed in 1860 upon the neighbouring and similar villages of the Kaithal and Indri *parganahs*.

In Pá nipat Khá dar we have a tract of which 59 per cent. is under cultivation. The soil is for the most part fertile, especially when carefully tilled, but a considerable portion is very sandy and poor, and 2½ per cent. is exposed to flooding by the river. Its lightness and the nearness of the water reduce the labour of agriculture; and 74 per cent. of the cultivation is protected from drought by canals and permanent wells, while 11 per cent. is partially protected by temporary wells; the crops are, however, exceedingly liable to damage by excess of moisture: 32 per cent. of the cultivation is manured. The mass of the cultivation is carried on by the proprietors themselves, but at least 11 per cent. of it is in the hands of very small tenants who pay no rent to the owners; and strangers own or hold in mortgage 4½ per cent. of it. Thirty-eight per cent. of the cultivated area is in the hands of the best, and 33 per cent. in those of the worst cultivators in India; while the remainder is with castes but little better than the Gú jars. Agricultural appliances are fairly equal, and cultivators more than equal to the area under the plough; but the cattle are not sufficient to enable full use to be made of the existing means of irrigation. The population, especially in Ját villages, is disproportionately large, even to the verge of distress, and the sub-division of holdings is excessive.

After cruel over-assessment which impoverished the Játs and drove away the others, gradual but insufficient relief was followed at the end of 25 years of suffering by an assessment which, though light only by comparison, was fairly distributed, and must be said to have worked distinctly well. During 35 years of this assessment the people have been free from distress, except such as has been caused by famine; the cultivated area has increased by 9 per cent., and has in a large number of villages, and notably in the best ones, almost reached the limit of profitable expansion; while the population is rapidly increasing. The cost of production has increased largely, and the average yield must have somewhat decreased; but prices have risen by a quarter, and agricultural appliances have fully kept pace with the cultivation. The people of the tract may be said, in general, to be prosperous, though not inordinately so; but many of the Gú jar villages, and some Ját ones

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in which sufficient reduction was not given in 1842, required relief, though not in any large degree. Some of the Gújar and many of the Ját villages have naturally had their demand enhanced, though, on the whole, increase in the assessment is smaller than that in the cultivation; and in some villages, where the advance made has been very great, it has been thought inadvisable to realise the full demand at once. In this circle the demand has been enhanced by 2·4 per cent., while additional cesses imposed have raised the total increase to 6·4 per cent. on the burden of 1876, and to 11·9 per cent. on that of last Settlement. The new assessment is 99·4 per cent. of that given by Mr. Ibbetson's sanctioned rates, and 2·3 per cent. in excess of rent, and 0·7 per cent. below his produce estimates. At the same time the incidence of the burden has been redistributed so as to afford much-needed relief to many of the estates which had, from various reasons, become impoverished.

Resumé of the
assessment. Karnál
Khádar,

This tract is, in many respects, the exact antithesis of the Nardak. The soil in general is not infertile, and well repays careful cultivation; though without it its yield is small, and a considerable portion of it is always very sandy and poor. Eleven per cent. of it is liable to most destructive inundation by the river, while the whole northern corner has been seriously damaged by *reh* and swamp from the canal and its escape—evils which are slowly increasing. The lightness of the soil and the nearness of water reduce the labour of agriculture to a minimum. Of the cultivation 64 per cent. is irrigated from permanent wells, which, however, can only water some 72 per cent. of this area in any one year; temporary wells partly protect 4 per cent. more, and 22 per cent. of the whole is manured. Tenants hold, at least, 23 per cent. of the cultivation, most of whom pay only a nominal rent to the owners; while strangers own or hold in mortgage 9 per cent. more. Only 18 per cent. of the cultivated area is in the hands of good cultivators, while the remainder is held by quite the worst in India, 6 per cent. of the owners abstaining from manual labour of every sort. Appliances and cultivators alike are barely equal to the needs of the cultivation, being abundant in the Ját and Ror villages, but in marked defect in the others; the appliances for irrigation also are specially insufficient. The population, especially in Ját villages, is disproportionately large; and as it is increasing rapidly, while there is little or no room for profitable expansion, and as the relief now afforded by cultivation in other villages will gradually be withdrawn, distress must certainly ensue even if it be not already present. The sub-division of holdings caused by over-population is enhanced by the adhesion to the Muhammadan law of inheritance of a considerable Saiyad community.

About a quarter of the tract was held in direct management by the Mandals; till the Settlement of 1847, the remainder suffered for 25 years cruel over-assessment, and the relief afforded in 1842 was found to be insufficient. Throughout the whole tract the demand has had to be reduced considerably since Settlement. Meanwhile, though the cultivation has increased by some 4 per cent., the masonry wells have slightly diminished in number, while 6 per cent. of the irrigation, the most important element in Khádar cultivation, has deteriorated from permanent to temporary. The cost of produc-

tion, has increased largely, and the average yield must have somewhat decreased, but prices have risen by a quarter since Settlement. The Ját and Ror villages are on the whole prosperous, except where the pressure of population is unusually great; but some of the Tagá, many of the Rájpút, and all the Saiyad villages, were greatly impoverished, and sadly needed relief. In this circle a reduction of 8·7 per cent. on the current demand has been given, which the imposition of new cesses has reduced to a relief of Rs. 4·4 per cent. on the total burden. The demand so increased forms 100·5 per cent. of that given by the sanctioned rates, and 99·7 and 102·8 per cent. respectively of the rent and produce estimates. A re-distribution of the demand was urgently called for and while in many prosperous villages the assessment has been raised, much-needed relief has been granted to a still greater number.

In Pánipat Bángar we have a tract of which 52½ per cent. is cultivated, 1½ per cent. has been lately thrown out of cultivation, because it is either absolutely unculturable or only culturable in an unusually dry year, 29 per cent. is positively barren, and the remaining 17 per cent., which is shown as culturable, includes a good deal of land which is really not worth the labour of tillage. The soil is naturally most fertile, and when not exhausted by over-cropping and not deteriorated by external causes, yields crops of the most splendid luxuriance. But the faulty alignment of the canal and its distributaries and the excessive irrigation practised have water-logged the country, and called into existence two terrible evils—saline efflorescence and swamp or soakage—which have not only rendered absolutely barren thousands of cultivated acres, but have seriously diminished the fertility of much of the remaining cultivation; while a system of ruinous over-cropping, partly due to the decrease in cultivation, and partly owing to the system of assessment adopted, has enhanced the deterioration. Seventy-seven per cent. is protected from drought by an irrigation which, though often uncertain in supply, yet can never altogether fail, and which is obtained with little or no labour and at a very moderate cost; twenty-one per cent. is manured. More than seven per cent.* of the cultivation is in the hands of the Skinners, and is cultivated by tenants at a rack rent, usually of the most cruel nature. Of the remainder the greater part is cultivated by the owners themselves, but 6 per cent. at the *very least* is held by tenants in excessively small holdings, while strangers own or hold in mortgage 3½ per cent. Fifty-four per cent. of the cultivation is owned by Játs, and 18 per cent. by Rors, who are almost as good: the Skinners own 7 per cent., and the remaining 21 per cent. is held by Gújars, Rángars, and other equally bad cultivators. The cultivators are on the whole equal to the area under the plough; but the agricultural appliances are not only insufficient, but are badly distributed, being most scanty where most needed. The population in the injured villages is excessive, and is being rapidly decreased by emigration while the cultivated area is already largely supplemented by land held in a neighbouring native state.

The early assessments were exorbitant, but the spread of canal irrigation and increase of cultivation were attended by a gradual reduc-

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assessment. Karnál
Khádar.

Resumé of assess-
ment. Pánipat
Bángar.

* NOTE.—Excluding villages the farm of which has now lapsed.

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Resumé of assess-
ment. Pánpat
Bágar.

tion of the demand; and in 1842, when canal irrigation had nearly reached its maximum, and the tract had, as Mr. Sherer says, "obtained "its highest point of prosperity," a very moderate assessment seemed to secure it from the possibility of distress. But from 1850 up till now the history of a very large portion of the tract has been one of deadly sickness, decreasing cultivation, and diminishing fertility; and the relief afforded has been tardy and insufficient. While on the whole the cultivation has remained stationary, an increase in some villages of 16 per cent. has been counterbalanced by a loss of as much as 25 per cent. in many others; the population has throughout advanced upon the cultivated area, and in a large portion expansion is impossible, and further diminution of cultivation almost a matter of certainty. The cost of production has increased largely, and the cost of canal irrigation enormously, while the average yield has diminished, and prices have only risen by a quarter. While the high villages which have not suffered are in the most prosperous condition, the estates which have been most severely stricken by swamp and *reh* are in the most pitiable state; and the villages of the tract include examples of stages intermediate between the two extremes.

In this circle the demand has been increased by 1·4 per cent., while additional cesses raise the enhancement to 5·3 per cent. on the total burden of 1876 and to 6·2 per cent. on that of last Settlement. The demand is 98·1 per cent. of that given by sanctioned rates, and 89·6 and 88·7 per cent. respectively of the rent and produce estimates. While many of the finest villages have had their demand very considerably enhanced, liberal relief has been granted to the injured villages. And especially the separation of a portion of the demand in the form of owner's rates has for the first time rendered it possible for those villages to reduce their irrigation in which that irrigation was most extensive, and its excessive nature most deleterious. It is probable that this reduction of irrigation will somewhat reduce the revenue of the circle below the estimates; but the water thus set free will be available in the Nardak or elsewhere, where it will bring in the same revenue as it would have done in this circle; while its transfer from a swamp-stricken to a thirsty tract will be an unmixed benefit to both.

Resumé of assess-
ment. Karnál Bán-
gar.

Of Karnál Bágar 47½ per cent. is cultivated, 1½ per cent. is tottering on the verge of barrenness, 27 per cent. is absolutely barren, while of the 24 per cent. entered as pasture, much is really not worth the labour of tillage. The soil, in all the lower parts, of the tract, is naturally fertile, and when fairly treated, and not deteriorated by external causes, yields crops as fine as could be desired. But the terrible evils of *reh* and swamp, which have thrown hundreds of acres out of cultivation, have forced the people to replace the loss, where possible, by bringing under the plough high arid tracts characterised by most of the features of Nardak cultivation; and, where this was impossible, to exhaust their remaining fields by a system of the most ruinous over-cropping. These evils are ever increasing; and if they are, in their present degree, of later date in Karnál than in Pánpat they are in one respect more injurious, inasmuch as they more often hold out delusive hopes which lead to much fruitless

expenditure of seed and labour. Seventy per cent. of the cultivation is protected from drought by an irrigation which, though often uncertain in supply, yet never altogether fails, and is obtained with little labour and at a very moderate cost: 22 per cent. is manured. Tenants paying no rent to the owners hold at least 24 per cent. of the cultivation, while strangers own or hold in mortgage 6 per cent. more; Jâts and Bors cultivate 54 per cent., the remainder being held by Râjpûts and the like. The cultivators are on the whole equal to the area under the plough; but the agricultural appliances are insufficient, while both are badly distributed, being most scanty where most needed. The population in the injured villages is excessive, and is already being decreased by emigration chiefly, at present, of the non-cultivating classes.

More than a third of the tract was held by the Mandals in direct management till 1847, when it was assessed fairly enough; as the remainder also had been, after a period of exorbitant over-assessment, in 1842. But from 1850 till now, the history of almost every village in the tract has been one of deadly sickness, increase of swamp, and diminution of fertility. On the whole, cultivation has increased by 6 per cent. but the area has been largely kept up by the substitution of bad land for good; while the irrigation, which has increased still faster, has, with the exception of three villages, mainly extended where it was least wanted. Nine villages have lost 26 per cent. of their whole cultivation; eight more have lost 11 per cent.; increase has taken place in seven villages only; population has throughout gained upon the cultivated area; while not only is expansion impossible in those villages in which it is most needed, but the productive area will contract year by year. The cost of production has increased largely, and the cost of canal irrigation enormously, while the average yield has very greatly diminished, and prices have only risen by a quarter. The villages may be classified as were classified those of Pânîpat and it is enough to say that while the first class includes four villages only, and one of those over-peopled, the third and worst class comprises most of the estates, if not most of the cultivation, in the circle. In the villages where progress has been made, it was impossible to enhance the demand in anything like the same proportion, as almost the whole increase in cultivation was confined to two villages which now cultivate 7,905 acres against 4,270 at Settlement; and it is evident that their assessment could not be doubled.

In this circle the demand has been enhanced by 12·4 per cent., an increase which 12 per cent. of additional cesses imposed since 1847, raised to 16·9 per cent. on the burden of 1876, and to 19·7 of that of last Settlement. This demand is 106·8 of the demand given by the sanctioned rates, and 102·9 and 103·5 per cent. of Mr. Ibbetson's rent and produce estimates respectively. The detailed assessment has conferred the same boon in this circle as in Pânîpat Bângar; but the benefit of the separation of the owner's rates will be even more valuable here than in that circle, in proportion as the swamp is more extensive.

Up to the revision of settlement, the canal irrigated land had been assessed exactly like any other land, a full assessment being realised year by year. This led to over-irrigation, and at the revision the owner's rate system was introduced, by which a portion of the revenue

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takes the form of a rate, called the owner's rate, which is realised in any year, only on land irrigated from the canal in that year. After much discussion it was decided that this rate should, on the Western Jamná Canal, be fixed at half the occupier's rates, or rates charged by the Canal Department for the water they supply. The Canal Act under which these rates were imposed, had declared that they should not exceed the assessment leviable on the increase in value of the land due to canal irrigation; and an impression had thus been created that whole assessment thus leviable was to take the form of owner's rates, the remainder or fixed assessment being assessed on the land in its dry aspect; and payable from it without any irrigation whatever. But the owner's rates, being fixed by Government could not possibly represent an assessment, the amount of which must necessarily vary with the circumstances of each village. The real nature of the assessment made is shown by the following extracts from Mr. Ibbetson's report. The subject is one of especial importance in the district of Karnál:—

Nature of the fixed
demand,

"It is obvious that fixing positively the amount of the owner's rates at once does away with the principle of dividing the total demand upon the village into a fixed demand representing half the unirrigated rental, and an owner's rates demand estimated to represent half the additional rental due to irrigation; in other words, that the demand announced to the people is a *fixed*, but not a *dry* assessment. Thus, directly this point was decided, it became necessary to reduce the unirrigated rate for canal land in Karnál Bángar from Re. 1-10 to Re. 1-5; for as the land was to be assessed at an all-round rate of Rs. 2-4, and as half occupier's rates averaged As. 15 an acre, only Re. 1-5 remained to represent the fixed demand, though Re. 1-10 of course represented as before the true dry demand. It is because I wish specially to bring out this point forcibly and clearly, that I have dwelt upon the nature of my original proposals, and upon the orders passed on them. Those proposals were framed on the understanding that I was bound to fix in all cases a true dry assessment, added to which the varying owner's rates would give the total assessment. The final decision was, that the owner's rates were to be fixed; and that in cases in which those fixed rates would probably fall short of or exceed the true additional demand due to irrigation in each village, the difference was to be added to or deducted from the fixed part of the demand. The latter method is far more uniform and simpler in its working; the only difficulty it presents is the necessity for revision of the fixed demand in certain villages, in the event of the supply of water being materially circumscribed or the rates materially enhanced; and in very many villages there is practically no difference between the fixed demand arrived at under it and a true dry demand. All I wish to insist upon is, that the fixed demand is by no means *necessarily* a dry demand; and that the circumstances of the individual village must be examined before it can be assumed that no enforced reduction in irrigation will affect the ability of the village to pay its fixed demand. And it is necessary to insist upon this point, because the canal officers are most properly aiming at a gradual reduction of the excessive irrigation which is too common in the tract, and they have understood that the new demands are *bárání* or dry demands, and that they may accordingly set them wholly aside in considering the question of irrigation.

The detailed assess-
ment.

"Thus the general principle on which the detailed assessments have been framed is as follows:—The total burden which a village can bear

has first been assessed on the old principle, without any reference to owner's rates. The probable amount which the village will have to pay in the form of owner's rates has then been deduced from the figures for past occupier's rates, viewed in the light of the present circumstances of the village, and the difference between the two amounts has been announced as the fixed demand. Take two extreme instances: suppose two villages, *A* and *B*, each consisting of 1,000 acres of canal irrigated land on which they pay the flow rate of Rs. 2-4; the former, one of the finest of the high Pánipat villages, raised well out of the reach of *reh* and swamp, and held by a large and wealthy Ját community; the latter, a low-lying swampy village in Karnál, with *reh* in its borders, and owned by a depressed Rájput community. *A* will yield, after deducting all costs of cultivation except canal rates, a surplus of some Rs. 8,000; leaving, after paying Rs. 2,250 as occupier's rate, a rental of Rs. 5,750 upon which to assess; without irrigation, the rental would be at the most Rs. 2,000. *B* with irrigation will yield a surplus, as before, of Rs. 6,000 at the most; leaving, after paying occupier's rate, a rental of Rs. 3,750 upon which to assess: without irrigation the rental would be perhaps Rs. 2,500.

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ment.

		Village A.		Village B.
Total assessment	...	Rs. 2,875	...	Rs. 1,875
Half occupier's rate	...	„ 1,125	...	„ 1,125
Difference, or fixed demand announced	...	„ 1,750	...	750
True dry demand	...	„ 1,000	...	„ 1,250
or, if <i>A</i> irrigates by lift only—				
		Village A.		Village B.
Total assessment	...	Rs. 2,875	...	Rs. 1,875
Half occupier's rates	...	„ 750	...	„ 1,125
Difference, or fixed demand announced	...	„ 2,125	...	Rs. 750
True dry demand	...	„ 1,000	...	„ 1,250

“In the case of *A* and similar villages the difference of Rs. 1,750 or Rs. 2,125, according as the irrigation is by flow or lift, has been announced as the fixed demand; but, as the true unirrigated assessment of the village is only Rs. 1,000, it is obvious that the fixed demand really includes a large portion of the demand due to irrigation, and could not possibly be paid if the irrigation were appreciably reduced. And the figures of the example are by no means exaggerated, though of course such villages are exceptional. Take the village of Isráná, the most marked example in the tract. It cultivates 2,250 acres, of which it irrigates only half, and that wholly by flow, and it has no wells. I assessed it at Rs. 7,500; and as half occupier's rates only amounted to Rs. 1,300, I announced a fixed demand of Rs. 4,400. But without irrigation it most certainly could not pay more than Rs. 2,250. Applying the same method to village *B* we find ourselves confronted by a new difficulty, for the fixed demand given by the figures is only Rs. 750, while the true dry assessment is Rs. 1,250. Thus, if we announce Rs. 750, the village has only to relinquish irrigation to pay Rs. 500 less than it ought to pay to Government; and here too the figures of the example, though representing very exceptional cases, are so far from being exaggerated that they actually fall short of the facts in some villages, where half average occupier's rates actually exceeded the total assessment which I thought the village able to bear, so that the fixed demand given by my figures was a minus quantity.

“The fact is that the figures for occupier's rates, based as they are upon the actual payments made by each village between 1866 and 1875, are not, in the swampiest villages, a wholly satisfactory basis for an

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estimate of the probable future owner's rates demand. In the first case they include a rate called *sailābī*, which has hitherto been charged upon spring crops not themselves irrigated from the canal, but immediately following rice which has been so irrigated; and in very bad villages where nothing but rice will grow in the autumn, and spring crops must be sown after it for fodder, this rate forms an appreciable proportion of the whole, in so much that in some of the worst villages the average area on which water rates had been levied was 130 per cent. of the whole cultivated area. Again, the figures include water rates paid upon a certain area of land which has since become unculturable owing to the spread of *reh* and swamp; and finally, there can be little doubt that in many moist villages the enhanced cost of irrigation, under the new system will lead the people to contract their irrigation, in some cases probably to a considerable extent. At the same time it was, as pointed out by the Financial Commissioner in his orders upon my Pānīpat Report, necessary to exercise "great caution in calculating in advance on the discontinuance of the use of canal water in water-logged villages in consequence of the lightness of the fixed assessment." The soil of such villages has been described as a sponge which holds up the plants, while they draw such nutrition as they do derive from the canal water alone; and the description is exaggerated rather than untrue. Moreover, many of the worst villages are so wet that nothing but rice can be grown in the autumn; and though, when the rains set in, water is plentiful without irrigation, yet canal water must be taken to start the crop; and when once taken, full rates are charged. These considerations are much less forcible in those few villages in which a good many wells still exist in fairly good order, irrigation from which could be substituted for irrigation from the canal. But even here, too much stress must not be laid upon the existence of the wells; for it will in many cases need both time and capital to put them in working order, and to procure the oxen necessary to work them.

"To meet these cases I adopted the two following principles: *first*, that the fixed demand should never fall below such a moderate dry demand as I felt certain the village could pay, even if irrigation were wholly denied it; *secondly*, that though the greatest caution was needed in discounting beforehand a probable decrease in irrigation, yet in villages whose history and circumstances rendered it practically certain that irrigation would in future reach the old figures, only in the event of such a reduction of swamp and consequent improvement in the condition of the village taking place as would fully compensate for the increased burden, it was not only possible but necessary to make allowance for the facts, and to raise the fixed demand, even when it was already above the true dry demand, to a higher figure than that obtained by the deduction of half the full occupier's rates of past years. The application of the first principle was called for in only a very few villages; the second was more often applied, especially in Karnāl, but even there the villages falling under it were comparatively few.

"And as so large a portion of the fixed demand is so often an assessment on irrigation, I have, in accordance with the directions of the Financial Commissioner, carefully reviewed my assessment of each village of the canal tract, have estimated roughly how much of the fixed demand I consider to be assessed on the present irrigated area, have tabulated this assessment, its incidence upon the canal area, the area shown as canal irrigated, and the average past irrigation, and have classified the villages according as reduction of irrigation might be made to a greater or less extent without entailing reduction of demand. The general result was that in 23 villages the fixed demand could be paid without irrigation

at all; in 43 more, irrigation might be very considerably, and in 13 more less largely circumscribed without necessitating revision of assessment; in 21 more any very material reduction of irrigation would call for corresponding relief; while in the remaining 36 the fixed demand was so high that it could not be paid in full unless the supply of water was kept up, practically speaking, to the present standard.

"Under these circumstances the Financial Commissioner suggested that it might be well to settle the canal tract for 15 years only. On general grounds, the shortening the term of Settlement was of course objectionable if it could be avoided, and the Government finally directed that the term of the Settlement should be for 30 years; but that Government should reserve discretion to revise at the end of each five-yearly period the assessment of those villages in which the fixed demand fell short of the true dry assessment of the village. As already explained, I had endeavoured so to frame my assessments that in no village should the fixed demand fall below a moderate dry assessment. But when re-considering the assessment of each canal village in connection with the question to be discussed presently of future reduction of canal irrigation, I selected the five villages of Begampur, Rer and Kutáná in *tahsil* Karnál, and Báholi and Wazirpur Titáná in *tahsil* Pánipat, and inserted in their administration papers a clause securing to Government the power of five-yearly revision. They are all swampy villages of the most aggravated description, in which the cultivators have been reduced to abject poverty by injury from the canal unaccompanied by sufficient relief; and in assessing them I had been obliged to consider what they could pay in their present abnormally depressed condition, while leaving room for them to recover themselves. I do not think it would have been wise to have demanded, in the first instance, more than the very moderate fixed demand I imposed; but it is almost certain that they will improve rapidly under a moderate assessment, and especially if, as is probable, the realignment of the canal relieves them of their swamps; and that their assessment is lower in relation to their mere physical capacity than that of any other villages in the tract."

It has been provisionally decided, subject to the final orders of the Government of India, that all cesses will be levied upon owner's rates as though they were land revenue. It has also been ruled that no allowances to *zaildars* or chief headmen will be made out of this rate. It has been decided that owner's rates, not being land revenue, go to Government, whether the land on which they are levied is assigned or not. But the Panjáb Government, in its No. 1365 of 18th December 1879, sanctioned the exemption from these rates of all canal irrigated land in the city of Pánipat on the ground that the city lands, which are held either revenue-free or on a quit rent, enjoyed canal irrigation at the time of the granting; and the same principle has been extended to the Mandals and other assignees, the owner's rate of all revenue-free villages which were irrigated from the canal during the currency of the Regular Settlement, going to the assignees for the term of the revised Settlement.

PART III.—GENERAL.

The cesses are as follows:—

Local rates	...	Rs. 8 5 4	School cess	...	Rs. 1 0 0
Road cess	...	" 1 0 0	Lambardari cess,	..	" 5 0 0
Postal "	...	" 0 8 0	Patwardi cess	...	" 4 4 0

20 1 4

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The detailed assessment.

Five-yearly revision of assessment.

Incidents attached to owner's rates.

Cesses.

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Di-alluvion.

These are percentages levied on the fixed revenue and owners' rates. The local rates have been fixed by legislative enactment.

Under the Regular Settlement the 10 per cent. rule was in force ; and as it was unaccompanied by any provision for distributing the loss caused by diluvion over the community, and as land newly thrown up is invariably the common property of the village, even when found on the spot where the land of an individual has just been cut away, the result was that great hardship was inflicted upon particular land-owners, who often lost a large proportion of their land, but could obtain no relief because the injury did not amount to a tenth of the whole assessed area of the village. In accordance with the orders of Government, each case of gain and loss will in future be considered without limit as to extent.

Assignments of land
revenue.

Table No. XXX shows the number of villages, parts of villages and plots, and the area of land of which the revenue is assigned, the amount of that revenue, the period of assignment, and the number of assignees for each *tahsil* as the figures stood in 1881-82. Very nearly one-fourth of the whole land revenue of the district is assigned. The principal *jāgīrdār* families have already been noticed in Section F of Chapter III. The revenue-free holdings of the Dehli territory being released under the regulations, or in accordance with their spirit, are subject to rules wholly different from those which govern similar tenures in the remainder of the Panjāb. The peculiar assignments which we took over from the Sikhs in the Cis-Satlēj tract, known as *chahāramts* and horsemen's shares, are described in the Ambāla Gazetteer. Within a very few years of the establishment of English rule, the revenue-free tenures of the Pānīpat district came under investigation. The claims brought forward were numbered by thousands ; forged grants manufactured at Dehli found a ready sale in the tract ; there was hardly a village in which assignments of revenue were not asserted to have been made ; good land was claimed in the place of bad in the most unblushing manner, and the revenue recovered by Government on land resumed as having been held free on invalid titles amounted to some Rs. 20,000 annually. The investigation dragged on in a very dilatory manner, and may be said to have been only really concluded during the recent Settlement.

Assessment of assign-
ned revenue.

At first no sort of settlement was made of any land of which the revenue was assigned, the assignee being left to collect rent from the owners. So long as the Government practically took the whole rent in the shape of revenue, this omission was of no importance ; in fact, the owner of such land was better off than he who owned land assessed to Government revenue, for the former paid a demand varying with the seasons, the latter, a fixed demand of excessive severity. But as the Government revenue became gradually so limited as to leave a margin of profit for the owner, attention was attracted to the fact that unless we interfered between the owner and assignee so as to secure to the former the same margin of profit which he would have enjoyed had the revenue of his land not been assigned, we were doing him an injustice, and conferring on the assignee larger rights than we claimed for ourselves, and therefore larger than we had it in our power to alienate. This view appears to have been first authoritatively accepted for this part of India in 1830, when the Sadr Board pointed out that

‘ where the assignment had been made by the British Government, it could have had no intention to inflict injury on all the resident proprietors of the *parganah*, or to compromise the rights the maintenance of which had been pledged to them in common with their fellows throughout the country, by Regulation XXV of 1803; and that Government had always declared that in granting *jágirs* or other lands they merely proposed to assign away their own revenue, and not the rights of the people. That Government would also appear, though somewhat tardily, to have at last received the conviction that the only way in which the ruling power could do its duty and secure the rights of the proprietors in such cases, was to come forward and make similar arrangements on behalf of the assignees of these revenue-free holdings as it makes with communities paying revenue to Government.”

But the Board went further than this, and extended the same principle to *all* assignments including such as had been granted under native governments, and only confirmed by the British. It remarked:—“ The same rule appears to the Board to hold good as regards all free holdings and wherever a resident occupant community are found in possession of land assigned as rent free, they should, as provided by section 17 Regulation VII of 1822, have similar terms made in their behalf with the Government assignee as the people of the neighbourhood obtain directly from Government.” The Lieutenant-Governor, N. W. P. accepted these principles in his No. 1058 of 9th August 1839; he pointed out several capital instances in which they had already been acted upon, and remarked that he “ believed that every rent-free holding, small and great, had been already subjected to this process in the districts in which the revised Settlements had been concluded.” Upon this the Board remarked that “ the principle had thus been declared applicable to every rent-free holding, small and great,” called for a report at once upon the larger holdings, and remarked that “ the smaller holdings would be dealt with as the investigation into revenue-free tenures was completed for each district.” The principle was embodied in § 117 of the Directions to Settlement Officers, and the Settlement of the Mandal tract was effected in accordance with it in 1847.

In the Settlement of 1842, the Settlement Officer proposed to settle villages of which the revenue had been assigned, together with the Government villages of *parganah* Pánipat. But he was directed by the Board not to interfere, as it was “ not the wish of Government that sub-settlement should be made with the proprietary communities in *maáfi* estates.” Accordingly, no records were prepared, and the assignees continued to realise rent till 1850. The omission to make a proper Settlement was then brought by petition to the notice of Government, which called for a report, and remarked that “ if the rights in confirmed revenue-free villages in the Dehli division have hitherto remained undetermined, it is time that this state of things should cease.” The Board reported on the question, which in that tract concerned only grants made by former governments and confirmed by us. The Senior Member held strongly that the native government which had made the grant had put the assignee in the position of landlord with the power to collect rents; and that it was

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unjust to "form a theory" that the Government had no right to alienate the rights of the owner and to reverse an arrangement of long standing. The Junior Member pointed out that what was proposed to be done was to ascertain and record existing rights, and that the Senior Member's objection did not touch the advisability of this process. The Lieutenant-Governor agreed with the Junior Member and directed all existing rights in revenue-free holdings to be investigated and adjusted. Accordingly between 1850 and 1852, records were prepared and Summary Settlements made for all lands of which the revenue was assigned. In some few cases the demand thus fixed was so high that the owners preferred to continue the old terms; but, as a rule, the Settlements then made were acted upon up to the recent revision.

Unfortunately, too, the records were not prepared as carefully as they should have been; and the record of ownership was sometimes indefinite or entirely wanting. In some of these cases the revenue assignees of plots of land, locally called *milk* to distinguish them from assignments of villages, or share of villages claimed ownership in the recent Settlement. But their claim was entirely without foundation. Mr. Hugh Frazer wrote:—"The *milkis* in this district have not any occasion that I am aware of laid claim to any proprietary right in the soil. All they contend for is that share of the produce which would belong to the State if the lands had not been alienated. This is the opinion of every *milkī* that I have ever spoken to on the subject." Again:—"In this district the *zamīndār's* right is not only distinct from, but scarcely ever belongs to, the person on whom has been bestowed the Government share of the produce. From among the hundreds of *milk* tenures which I have had occasion to investigate during my residence in this district, I can only recollect one instance in which the *milkis* claimed the *biwahdāri haqq*; and in that case a distinct *qibālah* was forthcoming."

Government lands,
forests, &c.

Table No. XVII shows the area and income of Government estates; while Table No. XIX shows the area of land acquired by Government for public purposes. The cantonment lands have already been discussed in Chapter III (pages 123, 124). There are 55 estates belonging to Government of which one *viz.*, the Roharian is annually put up to auction and the others are let for the period of Settlement on certain conditions. The conditions were not complied with in many cases, and the matter is being enquired into by the settlement department as all the estates are situated in the tract under settlement.

Government rights
in canal land.

Mr. Ibbetson thus describes the action taken at revision of Settlement regarding Government rights in canal land, a burning question in the Karnāl district:—

"Government, in its separate departments, is in possession of a great deal of land situated in the tract, occupied chiefly by the canal channels and distributaries. But the question of ownership was more difficult. All the canal land, I think without a single exception, had been entered as property either of the village or of the individuals in the old record. Where land had been taken up and paid for by Government there was no dispute; or in the very rare cases when there was, the file was forthcoming, as no Karnāl records had been destroyed in the mutiny. As regards the old distributaries, too, it was admitted that the

people had made them themselves on their own land—a fact specifically stated by the Superintendent of Canals in his No. 334 of 5th December 1847 to Commissioner, Dehli, as a ground for refusing remission of revenue on the land so occupied,—and that though Government had, when the water rates were raised, taken over the arrangements for their clearance, yet it had acquired only possession, and not property in them. But the Canal Department claimed property in the old canal bed and banks, on the score of long possession, of inheritance from the preceding Government, and of what was described in 1827 by Captain Colvin as “a long existing custom, authorised when first acted upon, though the dates cannot be traced, affirming the right of Government, as lord paramount, to the occupation of the ancient line of water-course; declaring its bounds to extend to 10 yards from the edge of the banks; and applying equally to the line of canal, and the lines of outlets and escapes from the canal.” This claim the people in most instances resisted; and we could not listen to it in the face of section 19 of the Land Revenue Act. In his No. 6501 of 6th October 1873, the Financial Commissioner directed us to ask the people, where they refused to admit the proprietary right of Government, whether they objected to the entry of a Government right of occupancy; and on our doing so, the villagers readily consented in every single instance to an entry to the effect that Government was entitled to hold the land so long as it was needed for canal purposes. This entry was accordingly made, and its meaning defined by a clause in the administration paper. In his No. 1261 of 3rd March 1879, and subsequent correspondence, the Financial Commissioner ruled that land for which no compensation had been paid was held by Government only for so long as it was needed; and that the original owners retained the reversionary right when this ceased to be the case; this being precisely the view urged all along by the people. He directed that—(1) land for which compensation had been made should be entered as Government property; (2) where no compensation had been made, the entry already described was sufficient; (3) and that even where the people had entered such land as Government property, their reversionary right should be recorded. Compensation was defined to include exchange of land, as well as each payment; and when land had been taken and payment made for the cultivated parts only, it was ruled that the payment covered the whole.”

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