

REPORT
ON
THE TERRITORIES OF THE RAJA OF NAGPUR

SUBMITTED TO THE
SUPREME GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

BY
RICHARD JENKINS, Esq.,
Resident at the Court of His Highness the Raja of Nagpur

1827



NAGPUR
REPRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS
1923

Agents for the sale of Books published by the Central Provinces
Administration.

IN ENGLAND.

E. A. ARNOLD, 37, Bedford Street, Strand, W. C., London.
CONSTABLE & CO., 2, Whitehall Gardens, S. W., London.
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & CO., St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E. C., London.
P. S. KING & SON, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster, S. W., London.
LUZAC & CO., 46, Great Russell Street, W. C., London.
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., Charing Cross Road, W. C., London.
B. QUARITCH, 15, Piccadilly, W., London.
WILLIAMS & NORGATE, 7, Broad Street, Oxford.
DEIGHTON BELL & CO., Cambridge.

ON THE CONTINENT.

FRIEDLANDER & SOHN, 11, Carlstrasse, Berlin.
OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, Leipzig.
J. H. HERSHMAN, Leipzig.
ERNEST LEROUX, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.
MARTINUS NIJHOFF, The Hague.

IN INDIA.

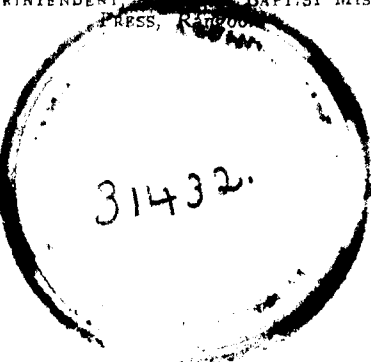
THACKER, SPINK & CO., Calcutta and Simla.
NEWMAN & CO., Calcutta.
THACKER & CO., LD., Bombay.
HIGGINBOTHAM & CO., Madras.
RAI SAHIB M. GULAB SINGH & SON, Lahore.
SUPERINTENDENT, BAPTIST MISSION
PRESS, KATUGO.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
SECTION I.—General description of the country ...	1
„ II.—Population and general description of the inhabitants ...	9
„ III.—Agriculture, Trades, and Manufactures, and Commerce ...	33
„ IV.—History of Nagpur ...	47
„ V.—Government and Court of Nagpur ...	63
„ VI.—Administratn of Revenue—	
PART I.—Land Revenue ...	71
„ II.—Sayer, Kalali, Siwai and Pandhri ...	98
„ III.—City Customs ...	100
„ IV.—Ubari, or Tribute, and account of the Zamindars ...	109

V 23128 M

N 25



REPORT ON THE TERRITORIES OF THE RAJA OF NAGPUR.

By RICHARD JENKINS, Esq.

SECTION I.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

The dominions of the Raja of Berar, before the war 1803, extended east and west from the 76th to the 87th degree of east longitude, and north and south from the 19th to the 24th degree of north latitude. Within their limits were included, to the westward, nearly all the province of Berar; in the centre, Gondwana and Garha Mandla, with part of Rewa, Chhattisgarh, and its dependencies of Sirguja, Sambalpur, and Bastar; and to the eastward, Cuttack and Orissa. The peace of Deogaon was purchased by Raghoji with the sacrifice of Berar and Cuttack; and Appa Sahib's treachery has been the cause of transferring to the Company much more of the territories of the Nagpur State, to the north, to the east, and the west, so that it is difficult to give a description of the parts remaining to the present Raja, with any reference to ancient divisions or well-known barriers, whether of mountains or rivers.

Districts acquired by the Company.

The following may be mentioned as the general designation of the districts acquired by the Company:—

North of the Nerbudda—Jubbulpore and Dhamoni, with Sohagpur.

South of the river—Mandla and Seoni-Chapara, to the east and south; the southern part of the valley of the Nerbudda, from Srinagar to Seoni, Hosbangabad on the north, and Betul, Multai, &c., to the west and south.

In Berar—Gawalgarh and Nurnalla, with the districts of Akote, Argaon, &c.

To the east—Sirguja and Sambalpur, with their dependencies.

Territory reserved to the Raja.

The following were the districts reserved to the Raja:—

- (1) The district of Deogarh above the Ghâts
- (2) Deogarh below the Ghâts, or Nagpur.
- (3) The Wainganga District and Lanji.
- (4) Chanda.
- (5) Chhattisgarh and its dependencies.

These territories, as shown by the map, are divided on the west from Berar by the river Wardha, running south from the point where it issued from the Injardi hills to its junction with the Wainganga, and by the latter river to its junction with the Godavari at Chimur.

The boundary to the south and south-east can only be described in general by an imaginary waving line, extending westward from Gumser, near Ganjam, to the source of the Indravati river, and along the course of that river to its junction with the Godavari, near Mahadeopur and below Cihmur. North and north-west of this line are the wild Zamindaris subject to Chanda and Chhattisgarh—Arpalli, Ahiri, Baster, and Karonde* belonging to Nagpur; and to the south and south-east, other uncivilized districts belonging to the Nizam, and Jaipur and Visramcotta dependencies of the Company in the Northern Circars. To the eastward, the province of Chhattisgarh, belonging to Nagpur, is separated from the Company's newly acquired dependencies of Sirguja and Sambalpur, &c., by the Sirguja and Korba ranges of hills, following the course of the Hatsu river, from Amarkantak to within ten or twelve miles of the Mahanadi river; and to the south of that river by the Phuljar and Sonakhan mountains; but the eastern limits of Bastar and Karonde are not known. The boundaries of the Raja's territory on the north can be better understood by inspection of the map than by any elaborate description.

The general situation of these territories is between $18^{\circ} 40'$ and $20^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude, and $78^{\circ} 20'$ and 83° east longitude, though Karonde and Bastar probably extend as far as 84° ; and in a line drawn south-west from the Wardha, near Amner, to the mountains near Gumser, the greatest length is about 550 miles. From north to south, and from east to west, the average length and breadth may, however, be computed at 300 miles. Colonel Blacker estimates the area at 70,000 square miles.

The figure of the country is extremely irregular, as may be concluded from the General geographical and preceding observations. Its general aspect may be said to be mountainous and woody, interspersed with occasional tracts of cultivated lands of various forms and sizes. To the north-east and south are situated regions particularly mountainous, inhabited by wild tribes, chiefly Gonds, and composing the Zamindari, or, as it is here called, the mokasa portion of the Raja's dominions; that is, they are held by petty chiefs, paying only a tribute, or quit-rent, to the Government, and exercising an almost independent power over their lands.

The northern portion above alluded to is composed of Deogarh-Balaghat encompassed on three sides by the Company's acquired territories, and the hilly tract lying more to the eastward, in the neighbourhood of Amarkantak. The second is the country extending from Amarkantak, along the eastern hills of Chhattisgarh, to the Mahanadi, and the wilds of Bastar and Karonde, the mountains of which are branches of the great range which runs parallel to the shores of the Bay of Bengal, in the rear of Cuttuck and the northern Circars; and the third comprises the greater part of the district of Chanda. Besides these, there is a fourth tract of a similar description, being a strip of mountains and jungle, nowhere less than thirty miles in breadth, branching off from the Vindhyan range, near Lanji, and running south into the wilds of Chanda, so as to form a strongly-marked boundary between Chhattisgarh and the districts of the Wainganga and Lanji.

*The Kalahandi of the old maps.

Taking for a guide the system of its rivers, the country again seems to divide itself naturally into two portions. The first comprehends the western districts, watered by the Wainganga and Wardha rivers, and their tributary streams,—in other words the whole of the Nagpur territories west of the Lanji hills. The second includes Chhattisgarh and its dependencies, watered by the Mahanadi and its tributaries. Bastar and Karonde might, indeed, be separated into a third division, as the Indravati, which is the principal river of the former, flows into the Godavari, and the rivers of Karonde both into it and the Mahanadi, which itself takes its rise at Sihawa, in Bastar.

Deogarh above the Ghâts is an elevated tract looking down to the north on the valley of the Nerbudda, and to the south on the plains of Nagpur; and it is situated on the table-land of the portion of the Vindhyan hills lying south of the Nerbudda.

It may be said to consist of a regular succession of hill and dale, formed by the larger and smaller ranges of hills which cover its surface, and whose general direction is east and west. The highest of these ridges is that commencing on the confines of Adegoan and the Harrai Jagir, near Amarwara, which may be said to form its northern boundary, and which, with a mean breadth of about eight miles, extends for seventy miles in a direction a little to the south-west, as far as the Shahpur Ghât. From nearly the centre of this ridge rises the high land near Bhardagarh, and from the western extremity the mass of the Mahadeo mountains, the highest of which is Dhawlagiri.* Throughout its whole extent this ridge can be approached from the south and north only by ascending Ghâts more or less difficult; the ascent from the south however being, in general, the easiest. At the bottom of this high land lies a beautiful valley extending from Chapara east to Bhardagarh west, and this is divided by an ill-defined range of hills from a third strip, which consists of a very hilly tract, from which you descend to the plains of Nagpur by the Ghâts, extending from Pandhurna to Kamarpani and Khurai.

The country immediately to the south of this table-land is intersected with various ranges of hills branching from the Vindhyan one: Deogarh below the Ghâts. they are generally covered with loose stones and jungle, and broken with ravines and valleys. The rest of Deogarh, situated between the rivers Wardha and Wainganga and extending to the southward as far as the confines of the Chanda District, with the exception of an extensive hilly tract stretching from the vicinity of Nagpur to near Wardha, and from Katol to Anji, is generally open and undulating, watered by several considerable streams, and chequered by detached hills and low ridges. In the immediate vicinity of Nagpur, the absence of trees and enclosures gives the country a bare appearance; but in other parts, particularly in the vicinity of the hills, plantations of tamarind, mango, and other fruit trees surrounding the villages, with detached patches of jungle and numbers of mahua trees, render its aspect less sterile and unpromising.†

*The height of the Mahadeo mountains has not been ascertained. Ambarmap, apparently the highest part of the north-eastern quarter of Deogarh, is about 2,500 feet above the sea. Chhindwara farther south, on the second level, is 2,100; and the third step, about 1,900, at the top of the Taraghat, or 800 feet above Nagpur. The top of the Khamarpani Ghât is only 1,641 feet.

†The height of Nagpur, on rather Takli, near it, has been found to be 1,101 feet above the level of the sea; but probably the general level of the plain may be taken at 1,050 feet. The country falls towards Bhandara, also towards the north, rising again, near the foot of the Ghâts, to the level of Nagpur.

To the eastward of the Wainganga is the extensive tract of jungle and hills already mentioned as bounding Chhattisgarh to the west. The hills form low and rocky ridges, with extensive valleys and some open and cultivated plains between: the country is more open and even in the vicinity of the Wainganga than to the eastward, where the hills are higher and more abrupt, and are covered with large and lofty forest trees, giving it a bold and romantic appearance.

Adjoining these districts to the south, and touching them at Brahmapuri on the Wainganga, and near Wun on the Wardha, is Chanda. The northern and western parts of this district are of a description very similar to the adjoining one of Deogarh, but somewhat more covered with jungle. Two ranges of hills intersect these parts of it—one running from Shankarpur to Pirzagarh, for about ten miles; the other extending about forty miles from Ramdigga, in the direction of the south, and afterwards south-east to north. The eastern and southern parts are the mountainous and woody tracts occupied by the Gond Zamindars, adjoining to Chhattisgarh and Bastar.

To the eastward of the divisions already described, and divided from them by the Lanji range of hills, lies the province of Chhattisgarh and its dependencies.* The form of the country, Bastar and Karonde not included, approaches most to an oval, the length lying nearly north and south. In the centre it is open and level, or at most slightly undulated. The only exceptions to this general description consist in a narrow strip of jungle, stretching across the district in a westerly direction along the Seo river, and a partial discontinuance of the surrounding belt of jungle in the valley through which the Mahanadi passes towards the sea.

Bastar and Karonde are both described to be woody and hilly tracts, the valleys of which alone are cultivated and partially cleared of jungle.

Chhattisgarh is everywhere surrounded by hills. The range near Lanji to the west, the mountains of Amarkantak to the north, and those near Sirguja to the north east, are the most woody and inaccessible. Sonakhan, to the south-east, is also strong from the closeness of the bamboo jungle and suddenness of the ascents, but everywhere there are, probably, roads through them, many of which, with little trouble, might be made practicable for wheel carriages.

The general system of the rivers has been already alluded to. The four districts first described are watered by the rivers and streams which ultimately fall into the Godaveri, and take their rise in the Vindyhan mountains, or some of the southern branches of that chain. There are some streams which, rising in the Kar-pathar, or most mountainous portions of Deogarh above the Ghâts, run into the Nerbudda. The

*The height of the Lanji hills has not been ascertained at the highest point by barometrical observations. Bhandara, on the Wainganga, is only 892.754 feet above the sea, and whilst Nagpur is 1,101.814 and Raipur 1,747.100, Amarkantak was found to be only 3,463.810. The height of the hills towards Sirguja has not been ascertained. Kanker to the south is 1,953.041, and Sihawa, at the source of the Mahanadi, 2,117.289. Ratanpur is 1,538.662, and Dhamtari, just below the point where the Mahanadi emerges into the plain of Chhattisgarh from the high country near its source, is 1,720.397. Dighori near the Seo river where it joins the Mahanadi is 1,384.745.

chief rivers, however, *viz.*, the Wardha and the Wainganga and the Kanhan, the Pench and the Kolar, which are tributaries to the latter, flow to the south.

The largest river is the Wainganga, which rises in the district of Seoni-Chapara,* and, passing through the town of Chapara, emerges from the hills at Tamburda, about twenty miles north from Rampaili. Flowing thence in a southerly course, by Bhandara, Ambora, and Paoni, and through the district of Chanda, it enters the Godaveri at Koleshwar, near Chimur. The channel of this river is upwards of half a mile in breadth in many parts of its course, but where it is confined by the hills, it does not exceed four or five hundred yards. It is fordable in most places in the hot weather.

The Wainganga receives no streams of any magnitude from the eastern hills.

The Kanhan and Pench are the largest rivers which flow into it from the west. They rise in the Mahadeo hills, or in their vicinity, and passing the former by Deogarh, and the latter by Chaurai, after entering the plains a little to the north of Palora and Khapa, form a junction at Bina, about nine miles north of Nagpur. These rivers are again joined by the Kolar at Waregaon, and, under the joint name of Kanhan, flow in the rear of the British Cantonment at Kamptee, and fall into the Wainganga about two miles north from Ambhora. It is five hundred yards wide near Nagpur.

The Wardha rises in the district of Multai, and, flowing south, joins the Wainganga at Seoni, below Chanda. This river, to the southward of Hinganghat, is about the size of the Kanhan opposite Nagpur. It has many fine pools in the hottest weather, but is generally fordable at all seasons, excepting in the height of the rains. The streams and rivulets which have their source in the hilly tract to the west of Nagpur all flow, north or south, into the Wardha.

The beds of the larger rivers are usually confined by high and steep banks, becoming less abrupt when the country is open and level. The channels are sandy, crossed in many parts by ledges of rocks, sandbanks, and shallows, which prevent them from being navigable soon after the termination of the rains. During the rainy season, however, they may be navigated by loaded boats and rafts, but they are not so much used as they might be for the purposes of inland trade. The Wainganga yet serves for transporting timber, brought into it down its principal tributaries, from the hills, in considerable quantities, as well as rice, and other articles of raw produce, between the districts on its banks. The Kanhan, Pench, and Kolar are used for the same purpose, and by means of them, and the Wainganga, the city of Nagpur and Cantonments are supplied with most of the timber required for building. The Wainganga, in the lower part of its course, is said to be navigable during the rains for boats of six hundred maunds burden. The Wardha is also navigable during the rains, as high as Ralegaon; above that point, excepting in very high floods, the navigation would be impracticable owing to a fall in the river about three miles from Nachangaon. The Wunna river, which passes the large trading town of Hinganghat, and falls into the Wardha, is also navigable for boats, some way above the latter place, in the height of the rains.

* The source of the Wainganga is 1,350.180 feet above the sea.



The rivers of Chhattisgarh are the Mahanadi, which rises near Sihawa, in Bastar, about thirty miles east of Kanker, and does not run in the course assigned to it by Arrowsmith. It is navigable as far as its junction with the Seo river, beyond Seorinarain, from July to February, after which it becomes too shallow; and during the rains, boats might come up to Raju, or even further. On either side of Sambalpur, the bed is rocky, and some rapids are formed, but they are not material impediments, and there are no others. Supplies from Calcutta by water have been landed twenty-six miles from Raipur, at Simga, on the Seo river, in perfect good order. They were conveyed from Seorinarain in the small canoes in common use on the river; but boats of a considerable size may, at the most favourable season, come up into Chhattisgarh. This stream, and the other navigable rivers of the province, afford a means of transporting its produce to the sea, and to the markets of the eastern coasts, which it is probable will, one day, be resorted to, and tend, by giving activity to trade, materially to add to its prosperity.

Next in importance to the Mahanadi, is the Seo; it rises in Wairagarh, and, after traversing the western part of Chhattisgarh, joins the Mahanadi about ten miles north-east of Loan. It is navigable to beyond Simga from July till February, and partially throughout the whole year, the water lying in extensive and deep pools.

The Karu river rises in Kanker, and, passing Raipur, joins the Seo not far from Simga. It is navigable during the rains. As an experiment, Colonel Agnew brought some supplies, which had arrived at Simga from Calcutta, up this stream to Raipur.

The Jonk river rises in Bindra-Nawagarh, and flowing north along the eastern boundary of Chhattisgarh, falls into the Mahanadi, nearly opposite to Seorinarain. Gold, in small quantities, is said to be found in its bed.

The Katsu rises in the district of Sohagpur, and, running south along the eastern frontier of Chhattisgarh, falls into the Mahanadi about ten miles east of Seorinarain. It is navigable to a considerable extent of its course.

The Arpa, which passes Bilaspur, is also navigable during the rains.

Next to the rivers might be specified lakes, or natural sheets of water, but this country furnishes no object worthy of notice strictly coming under that designation.

The springs of the different rivers furnish some natural pieces of water of a smaller size, as the Kund or well at Amarkantak, from which the Nerbudda rises, and which has been built up into a tank; as well as those of the Sone and the Wainganga. The first indications of the Mahanadi are some pools of considerable length and depth, which are kept full all the year by the moisture of the neighbouring plains; and at the top of the first table-land, between Ratanpur and Amarkantak, there are very deep and extensive bogs, whence the Arpa and other streams which flow into Chhattisgarh take their rise.

The largest artificial tanks, and in the greatest number, are to be found in the districts east of the Wainganga. The most deserving of notice, which may almost be termed natural lakes,—since art has had so little share in their construction,—are those called Nawagaon Band of Partabgarh and the Seoni Band at Subangarhi. The former is about twenty-four miles in circumference, and is formed by two embankments of very small extent.

The circumference of the Seoni Band is about six miles. These banks are used for the cultivation of sugarcane and rice, in which the districts east of the Wainganga abound.

In the Nagpur District, there are several fine artificial tanks, particularly three near the city, one at Ramtek, one in the vicinity of Mansar, and several at Killodh and other places. These works, however, are not generally applied to cultivation, excepting that of gardens in their immediate vicinity.

In Deogarh above the Ghats, the tanks are few and of no account. The sugar cultivation, for which it is famous, is carried on by means of wells.

In Chhattisgarh, the tanks are numerous, particularly at Ratanpur, Raipur, Dhamda, &c., where, besides contributing to assist the cultivation of the rice, which is the most common product of the district, they have been converted to the purposes of defence for the forts at those places. Most of these are artificially excavated, and many built round with masonry, and they are of a different character from those above described, which are formed by taking advantage of nallas, when they happen to flow through natural basins surrounded by heights, and requiring the gorge only to be filled up with masonry.

Already has been described, generally, the situation of the masses and belts of forests and jungle which cover so large a part of the territories of the Raja of Nagpur. Captain Gordon and Captain Wilkinson, the Superintendents of the Nagpur and Wainganga districts, which are the most cultivated parts of the country, estimate that one-third of the whole area is occupied by jungle, and an equal portion by hilly, barren tracts.

In the hills, on the confines of Deogarh above the Ghats, good teak and a variety of other timber trees are produced, which are floated down the Pench and Kanhan rivers to Kamptee; and in the Lanji range, timber of a still larger size is also found, and brought into the Wainganga by means of the streams that flow into it from the eastward. Timber of a similar description, and in considerable quantity, is found in Chanda and Deogarh above the Ghats, but for the want of water-carriage it has not been hitherto turned to much account.

Teak is not abundant in Chhattisgarh, although it is produced in the direction of Lanji, Wairagarh and Balod; but in Bastar it is found in great quantities, and of sufficient size to render it an object of pursuit for building vessels of the dimensions which navigate the Coromandal Coasts, and the Indravati river affords facilities for bringing it from the interior to a point where it can be formed into rafts, and conveyed down the Godaveri to Karinja.

The rall, or resin tree, as also other large wood, is obtained in the forests of Kanker, and in the hills north of Ratanpur, and the sal, or *shorea robusta*, attains a considerable size and is the most common tree observed in the Amarkantak range.

The grains produced in the greatest quantities are wheat, gram (*cicer arietinum*), juari (*sorghum vulgare*) and rice. The two first are raised in almost every part of the country, whilst the principal seats of the juari cultivation are in the vicinity of Nagpur, and of the rice in the Wainganga districts, Chanda and Chhattisgarh. Kodon (*paspalum frumentaceum*) and kutki are grown in the inferior soils; and Indian corn, barley, and bajra are found, but in no great abundance, in most of the districts.

The pulses are of various kinds, common to most parts of India.

The vegetable productions, which may be termed spices, are the coriander seed, cummin, aniseed, sweet fennel, ginger, mustard, chillies, turmeric, and some others, used as medicine or curry stuff.

There is a great variety of gums produced in the jungles, particularly about Lanji and in Chhattisgarh, and large quantities are exported. Colonel Agnew mentions the practice common

in Chhattisgarh of mixing the gums of different trees together. They are used also in the country food, and most frequently prepared as sweetmeats. There are many gums said to possess medicinal properties.

The dyes are the safflower, the *morinda citrifolia* and turmeric, which are cultivated plants, and *lac*, *kumkela*, *hirda*, and other jungle productions. The indigo, though not uncommon in its wild state, has never been cultivated.

The oil plants are the linseed, safflower, sesame, castor, *sarson* (a kind of mustard seed), *mahua*, *ambari*, and *hirdi* which are all abundant, but oil is only made from the five first.

There are no metals produced, except iron. The ore is found in the Lanji district, at Umrer, in Deogarh above the Ghâts, in Chanda, and in most of the hilly parts of the country.

Very small quantities of gold-dust are procurable in the Jonk river, near Sonakhan, in Chhattisgarh, and in two rivers of Lanji. A caste called Sonjharis in Lanji gain a poor livelihood by collecting the sand, which they wash, and then separating the gold from the finest particles, by means of quicksilver.

The diamond mines of Wairagarh were formerly celebrated, though now they do not yield sufficient returns to render them worth working. The diamonds were found in a yellowish earth, which forms small hills in the vicinity of Wairagarh. The spots are still distinguishable where they have been dug up. At Dongri, Palora, and Parseoni are found marbles capable of receiving a fine polish, and at Koradi, near Nagpur, a magnesian marble much used in building. Talc is found also in different parts of the country, and red ochre, dug out of the Lanji hills, is exported in considerable quantities. Lime-stone is plentiful; but good clay for making bricks is scarce.

The other productions are cotton, sugar-cane, hemp, tobacco, ganja, opium, arrowroot, the betel-leaf, bees-wax, and a great deal of the coarse silk, called tassar.

Of wild animals, I have not observed any species peculiar to the country.

Few good horses are now bred in the country, and, excepting in the Raja's stud and those of principal Mahratta Chiefs, breeding establishments were never numerous. Many parts of the country are, indeed, considered unfavourable to that animal. The foreign importations from Hindustan and the Deccan have long ceased, though a few Arabs are brought for the British cantonments. The Raja of Berar was formerly famed for a breed of horses, of which few now remain. Bullocks, cows, and buffaloes are reared; the former in great numbers in Chhattisgarh, but they are small, and often swept away by periodical distempers. They are also raised in the Wainganga District, but not a fourth of the number required for the purposes of agriculture.

The deficiency was formerly supplied from Chhattisgarh, of which the cattle though small, answer well for the rice cultivation, but recourse is now had to more distant parts. Mandia and even Sohagpur and Belhari, to the northward, are called upon to replace the scarcity, and the Company's grazing district of Dongartal is a nearer, but inadequate, source of supply. Buffaloes, though large, fine, and indigenous to the country, are not numerous, but are, together with the large kinds of bullocks, brought from Berar, and sold at Hinganghat. The country above the Ghats was formerly noted for the number of herds of cattle grazing on its surface, but they have long disappeared, and everywhere, partly from the destruction of war and partly from the great demands of increasing cultivation, cattle are nearly doubled in price since 1817.

Sheep are reared in great numbers in the parganas of Pauni, Umrer, and Kuli, west of the Wainganga. In Chhattisgarh, a woolly and short-legged breed are reared, but not in abundance. In Chanda, both sheep and goats are in considerable numbers, but chiefly valued for their wool and manure. Goats are found, more or less, in every village, as are pigs; but they are generally consumed where they are reared.

There are three well-marked seasons in this part of India, *viz.*, the cold, hot, and rainy. The decidedly cold months are November, December, and January; February is mild and pleasant; March becomes more warm, and the hot winds blow in April, May, and until the first general fall of rain in June; but for some time after the air is close and sultry. In July, August, and September, excepting during the rain, the air is clear and comfortable to the feelings. In October, there is a similar state to that of June, *viz.*, close and sultry. In the hot season, Nagpur has a most decided advantage over many other stations, inasmuch as the nights are cool and pleasant, with very few exceptions.

In the cold season, the thermometer falls very low, and in the small tanks on the table-land, elevated about two thousand feet above the sea, to the north of Nagpur, ice is frequently obtained. On the same, or nearly the same, level with Nagpur, a few marches to the eastward, the thermometer has been observed, at sun-rise, below the freezing point, with the grass and stumps of trees covered with hoar frost.

Rain occasionally falls during every month of the year, but, excepting the regular monsoon of June, July, August, and September, it is very partial, and sometimes only a single shower. Although the north-east monsoon influences the winds, it does not bring much rain. Hail-storms are usual in January and February, when they frequently do much damage to the crops.

Throughout the whole of the Nagpur territory, the months of September, October, and November appear to be those in which natives, as well as Europeans, suffer most from disease; but where there is much jungle, disease occurs even at much later periods after the rains. The character of the disease is of one general nature, and truly endemic, varying in severity from a simple intermittent fever to a remittent of the most violent type. We must look for the source of this to the jungle and soil. The former covers large tracts of country and in many places is almost impenetrable. The latter is chiefly a black heavy loam, swelling from the absorption of moisture, and when dry, exposing large cracks or crevices, giving free exit to the effluvia from decomposed vegetable matter,—a generally acknowledged cause of similar endemics in all parts of the world.

SECTION II.

POPULATION AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS.

Under the Maratha Government, there existed a kind of ground-work for a census in most of the districts, in what is called the *Khana Sumari*, or annual enumeration of the houses of each district, with a specification of the castes and professions of each householder, and other particulars, made by the Government officers for the purpose of adjusting the *pardhri* dues of Government. A census which was ordered by the Resident in 1819 was only an extension of this plan, and made through the *Pargana* officers and *patels* of villages, each of whom is fully competent to give an actual muster of all the inhabitants of his village. There appeared no reluctance to furnish this information anywhere but in *Chhattisgarh*, where the jealousy of the people regarding their women, and other prejudices about the unluckiness of a census, presented some obstacles, to which it was thought advisable to give way; and, accordingly, after the first enumeration of the inhabitants that was made, the subject was not followed up. In some of the other districts, too, information to the full extent required has not, from various causes, been furnished; but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the details as far as they go.

The returns from the city of Nagpur were procured by the Superintendent of Police, through the writers of the different companies of the Police corps, who were instructed to go to each house of the district, or quarter, of which their respective companies had charge, and to ascertain the necessary particulars from the heads of families. Some of the Musalman people of rank showed reluctance to answer such enquiries; but the census is thought to be generally correct, and every precaution was used to prevent any material errors.

According to the census of 1820-21, the population of the several districts

Amount of population.		and the city stood thus:—	
Deogarh below the Ghâts	...	...	484,657
Wainganga Districts	...	...	660,040
Chhattisgarh	...	...	571,915
Chanda	...	...	279,555
Deogarh above the Ghâts	...	...	107,506
City of Nagpur	...	...	111,231
Total		..	2,214,904

Assuming that the rate of increase in *Chhattisgarh* (where no subsequent census was taken) was the same as in other parts of the country, the population, according to the census of 1825, will stand thus:—

Deogarh below the Ghâts	...	572,792 in 1,890 towns and villages.	
Wainganga Districts	...	690,770 in 2,111 do.	
Chhattisgarh	...	639,603 in 4,434 do.	
Chanda	...	306,996 in 1,223 do.	
Deogarh above the Ghâts	...	145,363 in 1,241 do.	
City of Nagpur and suburbs...	...	115,228	
Total		...	2,470,752

being an increase of 255,848 in the course of five years.

Tables of births and deaths have been kept in the Wainganga District for the last four, and in Deogarh below the Ghâts for the last two, years. They give the following results:—

Wainganga District in 1231—

Total population 660,040
Births 25,436 Deaths 14,015

being as one hundred to fifty-five, nearly.

The births are one in twenty-six, nearly, and the deaths one in forty-seven, nearly.

The excess of births above the deaths is 11,421, and the proportion of excess of births above the deaths to the whole of the living nearly one to fifty-eight, so that, at this rate, the population would double in about forty years.

In 1232—

Total population 671,117
Births 27,692 Deaths 15,564

being as one hundred to fifty-six, nearly. The births are one in twenty-four, nearly: the deaths one in forty-three, nearly.

The excess of births above the deaths is 12,128, and the proportion of excess of births above the deaths to the whole of the living nearly one to fifty-five; consequently, the period of doubling is about thirty-eight years and a half.

In 1233—

Total population of the Wainganga and Deogarh Districts 1,263,562
The births 47,896 The deaths 23,103

the births being to the deaths as one hundred to fifty and a half, nearly.

The births are about one in twenty-nine and a half: the deaths are one in fifty-three and a half.

The excess of births above the deaths is 18,873; the proportion of the excess to the whole of the living being nearly one to sixty-five, the population would double in forty-five years.

In 1234—

Total population of the Wainganga and Deogarh Districts 1,263,562
Births 47,896 Deaths 29,946

The births to the deaths are one hundred to sixty-two and a half, nearly: the births, one in twenty-six: the deaths, one in forty-two. Excess of births above the deaths, 17,950, the proportion of this excess to the whole of the living being as one to seventy: at this rate, the population would double in about forty-eight years.

The above calculations, although not embracing a sufficiently long period to admit of general conclusions being drawn from them, will probably be considered as shown satisfactorily that, at present, the population is rapidly increasing; and that the average mortality is low, not exceeding that of the agricultural parts of England.

As the whole of the country has not been surveyed, the means of estimating the number of people to a square mile does not exist; it is, however, no doubt very low, as in Deogarh below the Ghâts, in extent six thousand square miles, and with the exception of part of the Wainganga District, by far the best peopled part of the country, there are, by the last census, only ninety-five and a half to the square mile, or, including city of Nagpur, one hundred and fourteen and two-thirds.

How classed. The total population, amounting to 2,470,766, may be thus classed:—

Musalmans	...	...	...	58,368
Gonds	...	...	...	291,603
Hindus of various castes	...	...	...	2,120,795
		Total	...	2,470,766

the Musalmans being to the whole population as 2·36 to 100, and the Gonds as 11·8 to 100.

As a general clue to the probable origin of the motley population which is scattered over the Nagpur territories, a short statement of the languages which prevail in the different provinces into which it is divided may be premised.

The Gondi language may be said to be spoken, more or less, with some trifling variations of words and phrases, throughout the whole of the present dominions of the Nagpur Government. It has no written character. The Gonds, in the Khalsa lands of Deogarh above the Ghâts, constitute more than one-fourth of the whole population; but their numbers have not been ascertained in the Zamindaris. In Deogarh below the Ghâts, they are not more than a twelfth; in the Wainganga District, a seventh; in Chanda, a fourteenth; and in Chhattisgarh, about one twenty-fifth of the whole population; but there are many more in the dependencies both of Chhattisgarh and Chanda.

Generally, the languages prevailing in the above districts are, in Deogarh above the Ghâts, a mixture of the Rangdi, or Hindi, of Malwa, and the Marathi, with the Gondi and Gaoli dialects. The two former are common to the whole population, whilst the Gondi and Gaoli are familiar only to the peculiar tribe to which either belongs, *viz.*, Gaolis and Gonds.

In Deogarh below the Ghâts, the Marathi is the prevalent language. Besides Gondi, Telugu is also spoken by some tribes of artisans; and there are several other petty tribes which have distinct dialects.

In the Wainganga District, the most common language is Marathi. The Gaolis speak a dialect of Canarese; the Powars and Lodhis, Hindi, and there are a few other varieties of dialect.

In the Chanda District, the Marathi and Telugu languages seem to be spoken by the people in nearly equal proportion.

The primitive inhabitants of Chhattisgarh speak either Gondi or Chhattisgarhi, which is a mixture of Hindustani and Gondi. To the eastward, towards Sambalpur, some of the inhabitants speak Uriya. On Karonde, the Koand language is spoken, which Colonel Agnew understands to be a mixture of the Gond and Uriya dialects. The Pardhi and Binderwa tribes, hereafter to be mentioned, speak dialects peculiar to themselves. Besides these, Hindustani, Marathi and Telugu have been introduced by the numerous settlers from other parts of India.

The Marathi is of course the language of the City and Court of Nagpur, and of all the functionaries of Government throughout the country.

The districts about the capital being those most advanced in civilization and opulence, and the information respecting them being more full and satisfactory than that which has been obtained from the others, it may be sufficient to take these districts as a specimen of the whole country, and to confine the principle details of the circumstances of the population to them, where no marked difference presents itself for observation in other quarters.

It appears, from Tables furnished by Captain Gordon in 1820-21, that the Hindu population in the Nagpur District is divided into one hundred and fourteen principal castes, exercising sixty-two professions, or, reckoning Musalmans and outcastes, that the whole population is divided into one hundred and nineteen castes, exercising sixty-eight different professions. The Musalman population is to the Hindu, including Gonds and outcastes, as one to thirty-four. The Gonds are as one to twelve of the whole population.

The total male population is 249,844, of which the employed persons are 140,230, and those without any fixed employment 109,230.

This last class consists of—Persons above fifty ... 11,549
Do. between sixteen and fifty ... 17,989
Do. under sixteen ... 80,077

In this list of unemployed persons are included, besides the old men and children of all families who are or are not employed, the pensioners of Government, individuals who possess the means of living without exercising any particular trade, with a numerous class of persons who are too idle to work and who live on their relations, or on the public. Even those who have no fixed employment are not pushed for subsistence in years of common plenty, and find occupation in many ways. Under this last head are included the numerous castes of common coolies and day-labourers of every description, who are not hired for fixed periods, and whose employment varies with the season of the year.

Although there are fixed occupations, strictly speaking, appropriate to each caste, yet a proportion of almost every caste exercises professions, which are not those of the tribe to which they belong.

The Brahmins consist of nine divisions, and 12,088 males: many of them are cultivators, writers, merchants, sahu-kars and even soldiers; but a large proportion of them subsist upon charity.

The agricultural castes are thirteen, and the males amount to 11,391. There are also 15,963 individuals of other castes engaged in cultivation, under the heads of Zamindars, patels, *kirsans* or cultivators, and *warsalas* or farm-servants making the grand total of the male agricultural persons 130,356, which is more than the half of the total male population. Of this number, again, 128,845 are Hindus. The number of individuals of the agricultural castes employed in foreign occupations is only 6,405, and the unemployed portion, composed as above explained, 51,450.

The total number of persons, of all descriptions, paying land rent to Government is 42,068, and the total of farm-servants of all kinds is 30,428.

Next to the thirteen castes of cultivators, the Brahmins, Gonds and Musalmans furnish the greatest number to that profession; but out of the one hundred and nineteen castes into which the whole population is divided, there are not above thirty, whose aggregate number is only one thousand and nine souls, who do not engage in agriculture.

The manufacturers, mechanics, and artisans compose twenty-nine castes, including two of outcastes, Chamars and Mahars, and amount to 77,668 males. Many of these castes exercise foreign occupations, but, with one or two exceptions, no persons of other castes will exercise theirs.

There are fourteen castes, containing 4,881, males, who are principally employed as merchants, bankers, or shop-keepers. A considerable number of Brahmins, Musalmans, and of the cultivating castes, are also found engaged in trading and banking concerns.

The coolies or common working castes are sixteen, amounting to 21,353 males. The Gonds, alone amounting to 18,629, are included in this number; and sixteen other castes, as well as three divisions, of outcastes, engage in these occupations. The Gonds are the best farm-servants next to the Kunbis. Many of them are cultivators and bhumaks of villages.

Of the mendicant tribes, amounting to 3,867, the most numerous are the Gosains and Bhats.

There are twelve miscellaneous castes, with a population of 9,025 males. Of these, the Gaolis and Govaris are herdsmen and shepherds; the Guraos are servants of temples, and the Vidurs are employed as scribes and schoolmasters.

The Musalmans are usually employed as sibundis, and many of them are retained on low wages by sahucars, shopkeepers, Zamindars and patels, to look after their property; a considerable number of them are cultivators, and one sect, the Pinjaras, are cotton carders.

The greater number of the castes trace their origin to different parts of Berar and the Deccan, and it appears from their traditions that fifty-three castes are from Berar, twenty-three from Hindustan, twelve from Telengana; that nineteen are itinerant; and that three castes, the Brahmins, Musalmans and Vidurs, are from several parts of India, indiscriminately.

The Gonds seem to bear the characters of an aboriginal people, distinct from the Hindus, though borrowing from them many of their institutions and practices. Their own religion is of the rudest caste. The chief object of their worship, called Phursipen, is represented by a small spear-head of iron, carefully preserved in particular trees, and his rites can only be performed in the jungles and forests.

The rest of their idols are of a similar kind, their originals generally possessing those attributes, whether of threatening or protecting power, most consonant to the hopes and fears of wild and uncivilized beings, alternately the prey of one another and of wild beasts. To these they offer sacrifices of hogs, goats, fowls, and a variety of other things, with many fantastic rites; even human sacrifices are not unknown; and were common formerly. They feast on the meat and other offerings; and hard drinking is the general accompaniment of all their rites, whether of a purely religious nature or of the mixed kind, as marriages, births,

and funerals. The women are as unrestrained in this vice as the men, and all join in dances and songs, rendered obstreperous and indecent by the state of inebriety in which they are usually performed. To their original divinities they have added several of the Hindu stock, but their worship of them is in their own forms.

The Gonds are particularly superstitious and attentive to omens, signs, and days. The practice of sorcery and witchcraft is also very general amongst them, and their supposed powers in these arts are constantly resorted to by their Hindu neighbours.

The Gonds are allowed, in this quarter, to class themselves under the second caste of Hindus. This is a stretch of complaisance in the Mahratta officers, owing probably to the country having been so long under Rajas of the Gond tribe. They, however, term themselves Koitur (a corruption of Kshatriya); the Rajas claim descent from the Pandus, and in their family rites, though they are Muhammadans, at marriage and births they interweave some observances specular to the Rajputs with those of the Gonds and Muhammadans.

In their own community, they class themselves under a variety of divisions and sub-divisions. The former are partly local and partly referable to differences in dialect. According to them, there is the Garha Gond, who inhabits Garha Mandla and Bhopal; the Raja Gond of Deogarh; the Madiya Gond of Bastar; the Khaloti Gond of the Khaloti, or low lands east and west of the Lanji Hills; the Jarria Gond of Chanda; the Mari Gond of Telengana and Bastar; and the Korku Gond of the Mahadeo Hills. The Madiya, Mari, and Korku Gonds speak dialects distinct from that which is common to the rest: of the two former, no specimens have been procured, but the Korku dialect is found to resemble that spoken by the Lurka Kols on the frontier of Singbhum.

The different tribes divide themselves, like their Hindu neighbours, into twelve and a half castes; and these, again, branch out into sub-divisions, denominated according to the number of their penates, or household gods. They range from two to twelve *deos*, and the rules of prohibited marriage and eating and drinking together are apparently as complicated as those of the Hindus. The Gonds, without distinction, eat animal flesh, even that of the cow, and they vie with the outcast Hindus in their eagerness after carrion.

The Gondi language contains, amongst its elementary words, several of Telugu and Tamil origin. The same is to be observed in the Korku, which, however, as far as it has been examined, has a larger proportion of the latter. Mr. Ellis, in a Dissertation prefixed to Campbell's Telugu Grammar, remarks a similar coincidence in the specimens of the dialect of the Rajmahal Hill tribes; and a small number of the common words in the dialect of the Ramosis, near Poona, which were obtained some time ago, contained several Telugu ones.

The Gonds are mentioned in the historical poems of the Hindus as being a powerful nation, or tribe, in early times. May they not have been one of the primitive people of India conquered by the Hindus and the remnant driven into the hills and forests?

The country over which they are now scattered seems to have been subject to different Hindu sovereigns at the time of the Musalman invasion of the Deccan. The great Maratha dynasty of Deogarh, or Doulatabad, is believed to have extended beyond Berar, east to the Wainganga, and north to the

Nerbudda, including Khandesh and the whole of the western districts of Multai, Betul, &c., lately acquired by the Company from the State of Nagpur. To the north and east of this empire was the kingdom of Garha, which on the north stretched over Deogarh above the Ghâts, the Company's eastern district, and the valley of the Nerbudda, and beyond that river to Bundelkhand and Malwa; and on the east, over the districts east of the Wainganga, and probably Chhattisgarh. To the south was the kingdom of Telingana, including Chanda and the south-west parts of Chhattisgarh, with Bastar. Telingana and the Maratha empire of Deogarh were early dismembered, and formed into the Bhamini sovereignty. Garha was not subdued until the reign of Akbar. The Muhammadan Princes of the Deccan carried their dominion over most of the country between the Wardha and Wainganga, and close upon the present western boundary of Deogarh above the Ghâts. Kherla, near Betul, which was also subdued by them, seems to have been the seat of a Hindu Prince, probably a remnant of the Maratha family of Deogarh; and the Muhammadan Princes of Malwa and Khandesh had pressed in upon the Garha kingdom, on the side of Bhopal and the valley of the Nerbudda, before its conquest by Akbar. A period, however, of almost total darkness follows the slight mention of these circumstances in the Muhammadan annals, and the chasm is ill supplied by tradition.

In Aurangzeb's time, we find three Gond Princes, of considerable power, established in Mandla, Deogarh and Chanda, and the amount of tribute in cash, jewels, and elephants, taken from the two latter, if the Musalman historian of the Deccan, Khafi Khan, is to be believed, indicates a much higher degree of opulence than can well be supposed to have been possessed by the petty chief of Deogarh at least.

Tradition says that most of the country of Deogarh above and below the Ghâts, after being ruined and devastated by some great calamity, had been overrun and conquered by tribes of Gaolis. Ferishta, indeed, mentions As-a-Ahir, the Gaoli Chief, and founder of Asirgarh, as having ruled over Gondwana, but how acquired is not hinted at. Jatba, a Gond, subverted their power above the Ghâts, and his descendant, Bakht Buland, carried his arms south beyond Nagpur, and made conquests and acquisitions both from Mandla and Chanda.

The Rajaship of Mandla also became the property of a Gond dynasty, by some unexplained revolution, and the reigning family at Chanda, termed Bulhur Sahi, probably a remnant of the Warangal race of Princes, were supplanted by successors of the Gond tribe.

But this digression is probably out of place in this report. It need, therefore, only be added respecting the Gonds, that they have everywhere a distinct physiognomy, which marks them from other tribes. They have usually broad and rather flat noses and thick lips, with not unfrequently curly hair when young. There is a great difference, as might naturally be expected, in general size and strength between the wilder and poorer tribes in the hills and jungles and those who inhabit the plains. The latter are tall, well formed, stout, and sometimes even handsome and fair. As observed above, they are good agricultural servants, and their labour is worth nearly double that of the other classes. They are sincere, faithful, and intelligent: they are less mendacious than their neighbours, Hindu or Muhammadan, everywhere; and since our administration, we have had

no reason to pronounce even the wildest of them, with whom Europeans have had direct intercourse, insensible to good treatment, or unwilling to quite habits of plunder and rapine, imposed upon them by poverty and oppression, for more regular and creditable modes of life.

There are, it is true, some of the rude tribes inhabiting the forests of Bastar and Karonde, who are as wild and untameable as any savages that have been discovered elsewhere; and it is amongst these chiefly that horrid sacrifices of human beings are now alone to be found. The Mahrattas have the merit of having put a stop to them generally, as far as their direct authority reached, and the Zamindars of Bastar and Karonde have been induced by us to make exertions to suppress them in their territories. It is to be feared, however, that this may not yet have been altogether accomplished.

The wildest of these Gonds are the Madis. They generally go in a state of complete nudity, and even their women have no covering, but aprons of leaves. Their food is generally roots, greens, and the tender springs of the bamboo. They pay but a nominal obedience to the Bastar Raja, reject all intercourse with other tribes, and hunt for strangers at stated times to sacrifice to their gods.

Human sacrifices to Danteshwari Devi, in Bastar, prevailed until lately, but these being public, under the authority of the Raja, have been, it is to be hoped, put down entirely. Culprits and prisoners made during war, and sometimes innocent persons, were sacrificed at the festivals of this sanguinary goddess, and it was not an unfrequent mode of punishment by the Gond Chiefs to direct an offender to be taken to pay his devotions before some favoured idol, and to put him to death at the moment he prostrated himself before it.

In Karonde, the inhabitants, called Koands, of some of the subordinate and most inaccessible Zamindaris, were in the habit of putting to death yearly several human victims, whose reeking bodies were torn into a thousand fragments for the purpose of being buried in the fields as the necessary condition of obtaining good returns. The Raja of Karonde has done all in his power to put a stop to this shocking practice, but his authority is imperfect, particularly over his Koand subjects, who inhabit the most unproductive and inaccessible parts of the country. Yet the Koands are stated by Colonel Agnew to be distinguished from the wild inhabitants of other jungles by the high character they are reputed to possess for veracity and fidelity. Their word, it is said, may be wholly relied on, and they will never desert those to whom they have promised to adhere, or betray those they have engaged to protect.

There are two other very wild tribes found in the hills north-east of Chhattisgarh. The Binderwas are one of them. They reside in the hilly and woody country near Ratanpur, particularly in the Korba and Sirguja hills, but they are so seldom seen by the other inhabitants of the country, that there is much reason to doubt the truth of all that is reported respecting them. They are, however, said to have scarcely any religion. They go entirely naked, are armed with bows and arrows, never build

any huts, or seek other shelter than that afforded by the jungles—feed principally on the *mahua* and *tendu* fruits furnished by the jungles, but sometimes cultivate small quantities of the coarse grains; are said to destroy their relations when too old to move about, and to eat their flesh, when a great entertainment takes place, to which all the family is invited. Their enemies, and the travellers they waylay, they are also said to eat. It is doubtful whether they have the ceremony of marriage.

The Pardhis, found in the same quarter, are another tribe, less wild than the Binderwas. They come occasionally into the villages to sell wood, tatties, and jungle fruits, and are not accused of being cannibals. They and the Binderwas have dialects peculiar to themselves, which are not understood by the other inhabitants of the country.

We will now revert to the more civilized inhabitants of the cultivated districts about Nagpur.

The oldest Brahmin inhabitants of Deogarh are the Narbudis, Malwis, Bhagoris, and Charuks. All the Brahmin watandars belong to some of these classes, who, like the other castes, trace their origin to different provinces of India. They have no particular account, however, of the period of their settlement here, though it seems to have been long before the Mahratta conquest. The Rigvedis, and the other Brahmin tribes, are supposed to have found their way here during the government of Bakht Buland, and chiefly after the Mahratta conquest. The classes of Brahmins in the other parts of the Raja's territories are of the same origin as the above. A small portion of those in Chanda only are of Telugu origin. In Chhattisgarh are some families from Tirhoot. The Brahmins of Chhattisgarh are said to have departed from the strictness of the observances required by the Shastras. They eat fish and animal food, and are, consequently, looked upon with great contempt by their more precise brethren.

Bakht Buland's visit to Delhi, mentioned in the historical section, and his connections with the Moguls, induced many of the better classes to resort hither, both from Hindustan and the Deccan. Many of them, especially Brahmins, found employment as officers of revenue and finance, and others as Zamindars, patels, and cultivators. The circumstances of an individual holding a situation of trust or power naturally drew many of his brethren to the spot. Bhijya Raj Mal, a Kayasth, was the Diwan of Bakht Buland, and many of the mercantile classes settled in Deogarh during his administration, particularly Kayasths, Kasts, and Kirars. The Marwaris, Agarwalas, and Lingayat, followed the Mahrattas.

All the cultivating classes were established in Deogarh previously to the Mahratta conquest. The four classes of Kshatriya cultivators came originally from Hindustan during the reign of Bakht Buland. The most numerous of these classes are Lodhis, great numbers of whom are settled in the districts on the Wainganga. Another class, the Powars, are also established in the same quarter. They say their ancestors were expelled from Dhar, in Malwa, in the reign of Aurangzeb.

Another class of cultivators, the Banjaras, or Wanjaris, date their arrival in the country from Hindustan in Bakht Buland's time. The Raghavi tribe of

cultivators also appear to have come from Hindustan, as well as the Kohera Kunbis, who cultivate the sugarcane in the Wainganga Districts. Some divisions of the Telis, or oilmen are from Hindustan, and some from the Deccan. The Pahars say they came from Berar and Telengana.

The greatest portion, however, of the agricultural population of these districts is composed of the eight remaining tribes, who exceed in number the five first mentioned tribes in the proportion of thirty-five to one. One of these eight tribes, the Jhari Kunbis* constitute more than one half of the whole thirteen tribes. They are considered as the oldest settlers, and are of Mahratta origin. They suppose that their progenitors came from the country about Poona and Khandesh, and from different parts of Berar, at a very early period. It may be here observed that the term Kunbi is, in its widest signification, applied to all the thirteen classes of cultivators, but amongst the people themselves it is only applied to the Jhari Kunbis and to one or two other castes.

The Jhari Kunbis are sub-divided into twelve inferior tribes, and they not only compose the main body of the agricultural population, but they are considered the most respectable of the whole. They all speak Mahrathi, and seldom Hindi. They more nearly resemble each other in colour, dress, and physical appearance than any of the other tribes, and there is said to be a greater uniformity in their religious and civil usages.

Those termed Mahratta Kunbis are said to be descendants of Mahratta horsemen, servants and adventurers of all descriptions, who accompanied the first Raghoji from Berar. They all properly belong to some of the tribes of Jhari Kunbis, consider themselves as the genuine Mahrattas, because many of them came from Maharashtra at comparatively recent periods, whilst the former tribes have been so long settled in Deogarh, that their connection with their original country is more obscure. The old cultivators usually designate the Mahratta Kunbis by the name of Deccani and Deshkar †.

The term Mahratta, though applied by other tribes to the inhabitants of Maharashtra in general, seems amongst the Mahrattas themselves to be limited to a few distinct classes only. The Jhari and Mahratta Kunbis are considered the genuine Mahrattas by all the other classes: besides these, the term is also more particularly applied to the numerous tribes or families from whom the most celebrated Mahratta leaders have sprung. The number of these families is, I believe, ninety-six and the best known in Deogarh are the Ghautkas, Marias, Baghuls, Salonkes, Nimbalkars, Gharpures, Bhonslas; and the six tribes, namely the Sirkias, Gujars, Mohtias, Ghautkas, Mahadiks and Patankars, with whom the latter caste inter-marry. All these tribes consider themselves as Kshatriyas, and will eat together, though they do not always inter-marry.

Some of the Mali caste of cultivators are termed Jhari Malis, and others are considered to be newcomers. The Mali class are both agriculturists and gardeners: the Baris cultivate and sell the betel leaf, and are the only class who rear that plant. The Telis are of various classes, generally designated by the oil plant they cultivate, as the Castor oil, or Sesame Telis, or by the number of bullocks they yoke in their mills, or as expressing the oil in hand-mills. The Telis

* By Jhari Kunbis is meant Kunbis of the wood or jungles.

† The country about Poona is usually termed, emphatically the Desh, or native land of the Mahrattas.

Malis, and Alkeris, or cultivators of the al, or morinda plant, are the least respectable of the cultivating classes. All these different classes of cultivators are found in the other provinces, and the Kunbis generally form the majority of the ryots, excepting in Chhattisgarh, where the castes of Gonds, Bijwars, Kowars, and Halbas, the two latter of which are peculiar to that province, are the principal agriculturists. The other castes of Telis, Malis, &c., do not differ in Chhattisgarh from those elsewhere in these territories.

Almost all the common classes of artisans and manufacturers were established in Deogarh previously to the Mahratta conquest; in fact, nearly all the Vaishyas and Sudras. The most skilful mechanics and masons were brought by the Mahrattas, and they appear to have been collected from Pattan, Aurangabad, Burhanpur and different parts of the Deccan by wealthy individuals, by whom they were employed in constructing temples and comfortable habitations. A few manufacturers of the finer cloths and stuffs, for native dresses, have been also encouraged to settle, but their fabrics have made little head against the superior goods imported from Hindustan and the Deccan. Either the whole or greater proportion of one of the tribes of outcastes, the Mangs, are said to have accompanied the troops of the first Raghoji from Berar, as horse-keepers and in other menial occupations: no peculiarities are known to exist in the tribes of artisans, with the exception of one instance. In Chhattisgarh, amongst the Musalmans, there is a class which makes bangles and dyes cloths. They are generally distinguished by the appellation of Turkaris, and are said to worship the Hindu idols and to besmear their houses with cow-dung in the manner of that caste. The women, in particular, observe all the Hindu superstitions, and have abandoned their own faith.

The outcastes comprise the four divisions of Mahars, or Dhers, Chamars, Mangs, and Bhangis. The Mahars outnumber the other castes in the proportion of eight to one. Many of the Dhers are weavers. In Chhattisgarh, beside the above, may be enumerated Khandairs, Gonds, Pankas and Ghassiahs as classes of outcastes, and in Chanda the Madgi and Katick.

Every class is primarily divided into the odd number of twelve and a half branches, each of which is sub-divided into Kuls. Some reckon one hundred or two hundred Kuls, each containing a certain number of families. No persons can inter-marry into their own Kuls, each of which has its distinctive appellation, which is borne by all the members in addition to their own names.

In such a number of divisions and sub-divisions of caste, and the distinctions they generate, few people can be expected to know even those of their own immediate concern with any minuteness. This want is supplied by genealogists, who, under the name of Pushtaks, Gurus, and Bhats, are to be found in many of the tribes. These genealogists keep registers of the Kuls in each caste, and of the gotra or pedigree of each, some knowledge of which is essential for the regulation of inter-marriages in the caste. They also pay periodical visits to its members, who consult them about their marriages, at which time they take cognizance of all deviations from the established usage of caste in this particular.

Similar sub-divisions, into twelve and a half castes and into Kuls, subsist amongst the Gonds and outcastes, and they have the same variety of prohibitions respecting inter-marriage, &c. The Gonds have their bards, called Ojabs, who keep their pedigrees, and sing the exploits of their Rajas; and the Mahars, amongst the outcastes, have also their class of genealogists.

The terms Gaoli and Ahir are indiscriminately applied to the whole class of cow-herds, the greater number of whom trace their origin to Hindustan. Three tribes only are from Telengana and two call themselves Mahratta Gaolis. Almost all of them claim a high descent, and pretend to trace their pedigree, through petty Rajas, to some of the gods.

Although the Gaolis are sometimes found settled in the country as patels, zamindars, and cultivators they are generally a pastoral and wandering race. They encamp in the jungles, seldom visiting the villages except to sell their cattle or dispose of the produce of the dairy. They are most numerous in the jungles about Ramtek; and the small Taluk of Kannurheti, in that neighbourhood is almost exclusively occupied by them. They are also found in Ambagarh and Lanji.

The mode of life of the Kannurheti Gaolis is singular, and is thus described by Captain A. Gordon:—

“They remain only during the rains in their villages in the jungles. Soon after the termination of the rainy season, when the grass begins to get scarce in this part of the country, they drive away their flocks to the rich pastures of Mandla, on which they feed their flocks until the end of the hot weather, when they return to Kannurheti. They pay a small tax in Mandla for ranwa, or the right of pasturage, amounting to about six rupees on the hundred head of cattle. The Gaolis who live in these sequestered spots have great simplicity in their appearance and manners; but, like all the wandering tribes, they are addicted to petty theft, and particularly to cattle-stealing. Many of them are, however, honest and take pride in the exploits and reputation of their ancient Rajas, whose praises are sung by the bards, and listened to with delight by all classes of Kirsans. The Gaolis are fair and robust in their form. They all speak Mahratti in their intercourse with the other castes, but amongst themselves they are said to use the vernacular dialect of the part of India from which they originally emigrated.

The Golars and Holars appear to be divisions of the same tribe. Their general name is Hutker, which is derived from the Hutkerwari, a district on the banks of the Godaveri from which the tribe is said to have last emigrated. They are most numerous in the districts to the eastward of Nagpur, and have their habitations chiefly in the Patthar, or stony portion of Ambagarh, and in the jungles about Rampalli and Sangarhi. The common tradition amongst them is, that about two thousand of them quitted their seats on the Godaveri in consequence of some dispute in the caste, and came to Deogarh in the reign of Bukht Buland, who received them favourably, and gave grants of land to them and their Naik, or hereditary chief, which they still hold. The condition on which these grants were given, was their assisting to protect the districts where they were stationed from robberies. This tribe, like the Gaolis, are a pastoral people, and chiefly subsist by their cattle and the produce of the dairy. They however, cultivate a little land near the villages which they occupy in the rains. They are a thieving,

plundering tribe, but perfectly under the control of their Naiks, and have never been troublesome when the latter have been conciliated. They speak the Canarese language, but have no account of their original expatriation.

The Kanjars are a tribe who follow various occupations, such as hiring out cattle for the carriage of grain, rearing asses, repairing looms or hand-mills, and making coarse canvas and ropes; but robbery and theft is common to the whole. The Kanjars have their hamlets chiefly in the jungles between Nagpur and Wardha, where they remain during the rains; but they are often moving about, carrying with them, on asses, their huts, which are composed of sticks and thin grass screens. There is no tribe so much addicted to cattle-stealing and highway robbery as the Kanjars, and all attempts to reclaim them by grants of waste land and advances of cash to induce them to cultivate have hitherto failed. Their constant depredations have caused many of them to be banished. Their whole tribe does not amount to more than two hundred persons. They speak the Rangri, or Malwa dialect of Hindi.

The Kaikaris, who are found in every district, are professional thieves, openly avowing their dependence on predatory occupations for subsistence. They are particularly dexterous in digging through the walls of houses, and secret pilfering. They also make mats and baskets, repair hand-mills, and hire out asses to the lower castes. Their dialect is a mixture of Mahratti and Telugu. Their women are fortune-tellers, and much consulted by all the castes.

The fixed military population is inconsiderable. It almost entirely consists of Musalmans and Rajputs, who, both together, do not amount in Deogarh to eight thousand males of all ages, and in the other quarters are quite insignificant in numbers. Many individuals belonging to the other classes have no objection to serve as soldiers, especially Brahmins and Mahratta Kunbis, but Musalmans and Rajputs are the only tribes who chiefly look to the military life as a regular profession. The Gonds, although ready on the slightest encouragement to unite with bands of free-booters in plundering the open villages and committing gang robberies, are destitute of courage, and never fail to fly on the appearance of pursuit or danger. The only individuals amongst them who have any pretensions to the name of soldiers are the petty Mukasas, scattered about the jungles to the southward and eastward of Nagpur. In Ambhora, Chimur, and Brahmapuri, there are eleven petty Mukasas, all of whom possess one or more hamlets in the jungles, or in their immediate vicinity, inhabited by Gonds. The chief strength, however, of this class, lies in Sangarhi and Partabgarh, in which are reckoned seventeen Mukasas, holding one hundred and thirty-three inhabited villages. The aggregate population of all these villages is not accurately known; it probably does not fall short of three or four thousand souls.

The Lanji Zamindars formerly maintained considerable parties of armed followers in their service, but almost the whole of them have been discharged or quitted the country.

It may be observed that the armies of the State were never raised or recruited in Deogarh, nor is there any ancient military force of the country like

the class of peons in Mysore, who were employed in police duties or in the preservation of internal tranquillity. The cavalry was composed of Mahrattas from the Peona territories and from different parts of the Deccan, with Musalman adventurers from Hindustan; and the infantry consisted of Arabs, Gosains, and Pardesis. Some of the cavalry have found employment in the auxiliary horse, and a portion of the infantry are retained as Sibandis. All the others have quitted the country, and dispersed in different directions. It seems remarkable that so few of the military adventurers, who accompanied the first Raghoji from Berar, and served in the armies of the successors, should have thought of forming permanent establishments in the district, and it is not improbable that the absence of a race of native soldiers, which must have grown out of a contrary system, has both contributed to the speedy and complete settlement of the country, and saved the Government from the expense of providing for a numerous class of individuals. These Mahratta soldiers do not appear to have considered this country as their home; in general they looked to military employment as the sole means of obtaining livelihood; and on the ruin of that service, they either retired to their paternal abodes or engaged in the armies of other States. A few Mahratta families were scattered over the districts in the vicinity of Nagpur, the members of whom both engaged in tillage and served as soldiers, or sent Bargirs to serve in their room. These individuals, who were termed Silledars, were most numerous about Katol, Kanoli, Paonar, and the districts to the southward of Nagpur. Some of them had small establishments of brood mares, and reared a few horses of an inferior size and value. The greater proportion, however, of this class, have quitted the country, and those who remain have broken up their breeding establishments, and entirely depend upon agriculture for a subsistence. The total number of this class scattered in the districts between the Wardha and Wainganga, according to a census made about five years ago, was only seven hundred and eighty-two, and it is supposed they now do not amount to half so many.

The food of all the lower classes is composed of the cheapest and coarsest grains, and exhibits little variety all the year round. Their usual diet consists of the meal of juari and other grains, mixed up with bran in equal quantities, or if grain is dear, in the proportions of two measures of bran to one of meal, which, with the addition of a little salt, are made into cakes, and eaten with red pepper, and perhaps a small quantity of split peas. They are sometimes boiled together and swallowed in a liquid state. In the rainy season, the small grains of the miller species are substituted for juari.

The insipidity of this diet is also relieved, during the rains, by the variety of garden vegetables, which are cultivated in the open fields, and are so cheap as to be accessible to the poorest classes.

The ordinary diet of persons of this description consists of bread made of the meal of juari or other grains with a proportion of flour, and peas or beans. The juari cakes are prepared in a great variety of ways: are dipped in oil or ghee, and are eaten with vegetables, pickles, and boiled peas. A very common and palatable dish is formed from juari meal, mixed up with butter-milk, and boiled into a

substance resembling porridge, and seasoned with pepper and vegetable oils. Milk and curds, prepared in various ways, are frequently added, although the produce of the dairy is more commonly reserved for the market, or rearing of cattle. The only difference between the diet of a family in the upper classes and that of common patels, or kirsans in easy circumstances, is, that the former consume a greater proportion of fine wheat and rice than the latter, and seasoning stuff, such as gur, ghee, &c.

The consumption of animal food is not great, but the mass of the population refrain from this diet, more frequently on account of its greater expense than from religious motives, and out of one hundred and eleven castes, only eighteen entirely refrain from it. All the cultivating classes eat the flesh of goats and sheep, with particular kinds of game, as well as fish, poultry, and eggs. Many of them have no objection to eating wild hog; they, however, seldom taste animal food, excepting at festivals and entertainments; and it need not be mentioned that all classes of Hindus abstain from it on particular days.

The common working classes have only one regular meal a day which is always after sunset. Persons of this description generally make a slight repast at noon, which usually consists of a portion of the stale victuals of the preceding night, and often nothing better than a few handfuls of parched peas or grain. Agricultural labourers, during the ploughing season, when they are hard-worked, have two regular meals, one of which, the mid-day meal, they eat in the fields. The poorer of them, when the juar begins to ripen, subsist during the day on the heads of the plant, which are roasted in the ashes, and are a favourite food with these classes. Amongst the poorer classes, men, women and children sit down to their meals together, nor is there any distinction in the quality of the food allotted to each.

The castes who abstain from animal food usually refrain from spirituous liquors. It has already been mentioned that eighteen castes never taste flesh, and they are said to abstain also from drinking. All the other castes drink, but many of them very sparingly. The castes most addicted to this vice are the Dhers, or Mahars, and the Gonds and Pardhans. Amongst the tribes of artificers, weavers, potters and chamars are considered the greatest drunkards; but all the castes of this division, with the exception of three or four, are fond of drinking, and many of them indulge in it to excess. The women of some of these castes are as fond of liquor as their husbands; and children, it is said, commence drinking at the age of eight or nine.

Amongst the cultivators, the only classes who drink hard are the Telis. Almost all the other castes drink occasionally, generally at festivals, marriages, and after the performance of hard labour, but few of them carry it to excess. The practice of drinking is considered disreputable amongst the better classes, and they will not do it publicly. Many of them smoke ganja and swallow bhang, but it is only individuals now and then who carry these practices to excess. The cultivators are fond of chewing and smoking tobacco, in common with almost all the other castes, and these may be said to be the only luxuries in which the more respectable classes of them indulge.

The use of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs—to what classes chiefly confined.

Rates of hire for common day labourers.

Labourers, hired by the day, are often paid eight months of the twelve in money.

When there is a demand for labour, able-bodied men get two and a half and three pice a day, but two seems to be the common rate for men and women in the country. The quantity of food and other necessities that a family depending on daily hire for its subsistence can procure depends upon the price of grain—as long as it is moderately cheap, they can procure a sufficient quantity of coarse food; but in dear years, they are often reduced to the greatest distress, are obliged to shift from one district to another, and to have recourse to petty plundering and theft for a subsistence.

Labourers hired for fixed periods, as by the month or year, are almost always paid in grain, and seldom in money, excepting when grain gets very dear. A farm-servant usually receives at the rate of five kuros, or forty pailies, per mensem. He also receives two rupees for a blanket and a pair of shoes. A few get six kuros a month, with the same money allowance. Hired labourers, not adults, get three kuros a month, with two rupees. In the vicinity of Nagpur, and some of the large towns, wages are higher, sometimes in the proportion of a third.

The labour of common farm-servants, when hired by the day, is more expensive than when they are hired for a fixed period; but as many persons find it convenient to employ them in this way, different rates have been introduced for different kinds of work.

All kinds of ploughing and sowing, when paid by the day, are at the rate of two pailies of grain to the man who holds the plough, and one paili to the boy who drives the cattle. Reaping, carrying, winnowing, and storing, with the different kinds of field work performed by men during the harvest, are usually at the same rate. In the rains, weeding and all kinds of hired labour are usually paid at the rate of two pice a day, although able-bodied men sometimes get three.

Many of the labours of husbandry are executed by contract; the labourers engaging for a certain share of the produce to perform certain tasks.

As no registers* are kept of the wages of labour, it is impossible to state, with any kind of precision, the fluctuations that have taken place in their rates. From what I can learn, it would appear that the money rates have increased within the last twenty years; that is, a man who now gets two or three pice a day, received then only one. The rise in the money rate has, however, been more nominal than real, and seems to be chiefly owing to the depreciation in the copper currency. In A. D. 1803, and previous to that period, there were forty pice to the rupee, which are now cut down to fifty-eight or sixty. Grain was, however, made dearer during the twenty years preceding our management than it had been before, and as the actual money-price of labour was nearly the same, the working classes gained little by the advance of wages until lately. In the reigns of Tanoji and Mudhoji, grain sold at the rate of three rupees a khandi, which is nearly the present rate; so that those who receive wages in money ought to be better off than ever they

*In the Appendix No. 1 is given a list of the present rate of wages, and price current of grain and some of the most common necessities in the city of Nagpur.

were before. All accounts agree in stating that labourers who are paid in kind receive less grain for their labour than they did formerly.

The fluctuations in the prices of grain were formerly very great, not only from year to year, but from month to month; being sometimes twice as dear, or a third dearer at one period of the year than the other. The abolition of the grain duties will, it is to be hoped, contribute to prevent this evil in future.

The cultivators and the poorer classes must work the greater part of the day to enable them to live. Almost all the inhabitants of a village rise with the dawn, and the cultivators generally an hour before it, and with the exception of a rest of two hours in the middle of the day, work until sunset. People employed in weeding, reaping, and out-of-door work are expected to labour about nine hours: they usually commence about nine in the morning and leave off at sunset. Mechanics who find employment in their own line, generally work the same number of hours. When labour is paid by the piece, or the quantity of work performed, it is always more quickly executed than when paid by the day. The cultivators are well aware of this circumstance, and when any of the operations of husbandry are required to be speedily executed, they are performed by contract.

Many of the common village mechanics are so situated that they can only exert a certain quantity of industry in their own particular line. They receive fees and perquisites from the peasants for the performance of services, both of which are fixed and invariable. There seems to be hardly any demand for their labour beyond what is required for the preparation and repairing of agricultural implements. Almost every inhabitant of the village both builds and furnishes his own house, and does not require the assistance of masons, carpenters, or blacksmiths. The village artificers are, consequently, often without employment in their own line, and when pressed for subsistence betake themselves to agriculture or some kind of day labour.

Labour is better rewarded in towns than in the country, and mechanics and petty manufacturers are said to be more industrious in the former than in the latter.

The children of the poorer Kirsans, and all the lower orders, begin to work about the age of eight or nine years, when they are usually employed in herding and looking after the cattle. The children of artificers and manufacturers begin to learn the trade of the caste about nine or ten, and earn full wages about eighteen or twenty. Cultivators plough and perform all the more laborious duties of husbandry until about the age of fifty-five, when they are employed in weeding, watching the crops, making ropes, and work about the house. The wages of a Warsala are reduced one-half when he becomes unfit for hard labour, but if he has been brought up in the family of a Kirsan, the latter supports him until his death, should he be unable to labour. This class of people, sometimes, continue to serve the same families for generations, and when this is the case, a strong attachment usually subsists between them and their masters. All the various classes of artificers work at their trades until about the age of fifty-five, after which, if their families cannot maintain them, they can earn sometimes by weeding. Women continue to work in the fields and perform hard labour until fifty or fifty-five, after which they are employed in spinning and work within doors.

Occupations in the stages of infancy, maturity, and old age.

The Brahmins of this country profess to pay equal adoration to Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; but nine-tenths of the whole body are considered as followers of Siva or Mahadeo who is the

Religion.

object of their peculiar worship, as well as of that of the cultivators, and almost all the other classes, to which the latter add a number of inferior gods and deities, or malignant spirits. Sub-divisions of the same caste, who trace their origin to different provinces, frequently adore separate deities. Eight divisions of the Gaolis, who came from Hindustan are votaries of Vishnu and Krishna, whilst Mahratta and Telinga Gaolis worship Mahadeo. Some divisions of the Kalars, as well as the Marwaris, Agarwallas, and others, are Jains. Religious rites and ceremonies occupy very little of the time of the common cultivators, excepting at the periodical feasts and festivals, when worship is paid to the rural deities, and at the times of pilgrimage to the sacred places. Almost every Kirsan has in his possession a set of household gods, consisting of little images of Mahadeo, Devi, and Khandoba, to whom adoration and sacrifice are offered on stated days. Those in easy circumstances offer daily worship to these images, wash and place flowers before them, invoking, at the same time, blessings on themselves and their families.

The fast-days amongst the Brahmins and the higher classes of Hindus are, as it is well known, very numerous. Amongst the cultivators the Monday of each week and the 11th of each month are fasts, as well as the greater portion of the months Shrawan and Bhadon. The grand fast of the Sivratri, which is kept on the 14th of Magh, in honour of the birth of Mahadeo, is very generally observed, and on this day they abstain for twenty-four hours from every species of nourishment.

Fasts.

The Kirsans reckon seventeen principal festivals within the year. All these festivals, except the *Feoti*, are known and celebrated in other parts of India; but this is said to be peculiar to the Mahratta nation. It falls on the 15th of Ashar, and is celebrated with worship and offerings of sheep, goats, and fowls to *Feoti*, one of the female attendants of Devi, who is supposed to be inimical to young children.

Festivals.

The Pola, which is kept on the 15th of Shrawan, is the festival in which the Mahratta peasantry appear to take peculiar delight. On this day worship is performed to Wrushabh, or the Bull, and to the oxen used in husbandry, &c., which are ornamented in various ways, and led about in solemn procession.

The grand festival, however, amongst the Mahrattas is the Dasehra, at which all classes endeavour to rival each other in their entertainments and decorations. On this day nearly the same festivities and ceremonies are observed by the patel and inhabitants of a village as by the head of the empire.

About twenty or thirty days are annually devoted by the Kirsans to these festivals, according to their leisure and circumstances, and their recurrence, as periods of festivity and recreation, is contemplated with delight by all ranks. The Kirsans, as well as artificers and manufacturers, cease from labour on these days. They paint and decorate their houses, bathe and dress in their best apparel, and when the religious ceremonies are over, they assemble and feast together with their relations and friends, enter into a variety of games and amusements, and dedicate the day to festivity and rest.

All the working classes offer sacrifices and worship on stated days to the implements through which their subsistence is obtained; sahucars and merchants, to their ledgers and hoards of treasure; and revenue servants, to the dafter, or public records of their departments.

The grand *jatra* is to the temple of Ramtek, which annually takes place on the full moon of Kartik, and lasts ten days. It is frequented by persons from all parts of the Nagpur territories, and from the Nizam's districts north of the Godaveri; and, in peaceable times, about one hundred thousand are supposed to resort thither at these periods. In 1821, the number exceeded that estimate. It is in honor of Ram.

Besides Ramtek, there are, in every district, one or more temples at which *jatras* assemble on particular days, at eclipses, and on other occasions; but they are only attended by people in the immediate neighbourhood. Out of four hundred and forty-three temples, only fifteen are maintained by Government, and they cost annually about eleven thousand rupees.

At Girar, about forty miles south from Nagpur, there is a hill supposed to contain the tomb of the celebrated Shaikh Farid, which is respected both by Hindus and Muhammadans; and the Rajas of Nagpur have frequently visited it. It costs the Government about eighteen hundred rupees a year. There are no other Muhammadan shrines of note.

The manners and habits of the people, in general, have few singularities to distinguish them from those frequently described of other parts of India.

The Brahmins are mild and courteous in their manners, particularly in the presence of superiors; but in their intercourse with the other classes, they are often proud and overbearing. They are great flatterers and dissemblers, and have a complete command over their tempers, which they never lose where their interests are at stake. They are quick, penetrating, and can express themselves with readiness and propriety on all occasions.

The manners of the peasantry and lower classes, both of the city and country though rougher than those of the Brahmins, are more pleasing to Europeans. The most remarkable feature, perhaps, in the character of the Mahrattas of all descriptions is the little regard they pay to show or ceremony in the common intercourse of life. A peasant or mechanic, of the lowest order, appearing before his superiors, will sit down of his own accord, tell his story without ceremony, and converse more like an equal than an inferior; and if he has a petition to present, he talks in a loud and boisterous tone, and fearlessly sets forth his claims. Both the peasantry and the better classes are often coarse and indelicate in their language, and many of the proverbs which they are fond of introducing into conversation are extremely gross. In general, the Mahrattas, and particularly the cultivators, are not possessed of much activity or energy of character, but that have a quick perception of their own interest, though their ignorance of writing and accounts often renders them the dupes of the artful Brahmins.

The morals of the Brahmins are described, both by Captain Wilkinson and Captain Gordon, to be very depraved. In all their dealings with the Government, they show a total disregard to truth and common honesty, and they are found to be a deceitful, intriguing, and unprincipled race. They are not naturally cruel, but to gratify their avarice, they do not scruple to employ torture and the most cruel punishments. They are considered to be bad masters. Their charity only extends to their own tribe. They unblushingly condemn anything like honest or upright conduct, and deceit is regarded by them as the perfection of wisdom. There are, no doubt, many respectable individuals amongst them; but so sensible are they of the venality of their own order, that if they recommend one of their own relations even for employment under Government, they either force him to give security, or hire a person to watch his proceedings. Their vices are, in part, redeemed by some virtues. The Brahmins are quiet, sober and intelligent; they are fond of their children, and kind to their women.

Not only the peasantry, but all classes of the population have a great disregard to truth, which, though most conspicuous in their dealings with Government, is not unfrequent in their transactions with one another. The great body of them are, notwithstanding, quiet, sober and industrious, and are not prone to the shedding of blood, robbery, drunkenness, or any great vices. The Gonds and other low tribes are the general perpetrators of great crimes. They are careless about human life or suffering, when any of their passions are to be gratified; and on conviction for capital offences, they evince great apathy; yet murders and highway robberies, which were at one time frequent, are now very uncommon, and though crimes which proceed from the common infirmities of our nature must every now and then be expected to occur, we have the satisfaction to know that we have been, in a very great degree, instrumental in putting down the gangs of professional villains who were the scourge of the country during the former Government.

As might be expected, all the low castes who are addicted to hard drinking are noted for their bad usage of woman and children. It is only amongst these classes that complaints are ever made by females of being beaten or abused; and the domestic brawls of many of them, particularly of the tribes of Koshtis, or weavers, potters, &c., are proverbial. All the other castes are said to behave well to females. The Mahratta women are under little personal restraint they appear unveiled in public, and are allowed to visit their relations for days and weeks together, unaccompanied by any of their male connections. The women of the peasantry have the character of being faithful to their husbands, although this is not the praise of those of many other castes. The treatment of children seems usually good and kind.

The reigning family, and the officers and pensioners of the late and present Government, may be called the highest class of society, or the gentry of the city. The manners of the reigning family, and the Mahratta chiefs in general, partake of the plainness and rude simplicity of the peasantry, a little tempered with the more polished demeanor of the Brahmins of which class the civil officers are chiefly composed. In morals, what is said above of the Brahmins of the country may be applied still more

The reigning family, and the officers and pensioners of the late and present Government, may be called the highest class of society, or the gentry of the city. The manners of the reigning family, and the Mahratta chiefs in general, partake of the plainness and rude simplicity of the peasantry, a little tempered with the more polished demeanor of the Brahmins of which class the civil officers are chiefly composed. In morals, what is said above of the Brahmins of the country may be applied still more

strongly to those of the court and capital, whilst it may be affirmed that nowhere are more depraved habits, more debauchery, and want of respectability, than in the interior and precincts of the palace.

The next, and decidedly the most respectable, class of the inhabitants, is that which consists of the mercantile part of the community. Middling classes. Among them are included the Marwaris, Bohras, Pawars, and Gosains. The Marwaris are the principal shroffs, or bankers, in the city. They are extremely intelligent, quick in the despatch of business, and correct and fair in their dealing. In their general conduct and demeanor, they are sedate and respectable, and they bear, perhaps, the highest character of any class in the community for integrity and fair dealing; although at the same time, they are the keenest and readiest of the merchants to take advantage of all changes in the state of the commercial and money markets. The Bohras, Pawars, and Gosains are also respectable merchants and traders, but in a secondary class, seldom entering into banking transactions. They are respectable also as members of the community, but not so much so, perhaps, as the Marwaris.

After these come the petty traders, shop-keepers, and persons who follow the trades and handicrafts peculiar to their own castes. Lower classes. These classes are, in general, quiet and orderly in their conduct and demeanor, and earn their livelihood by following the profession of the castes they belong to. One or two exceptions must, however, be made. The Sonars are very disreputable characters, and the principal encouragers of theft by purchasing and melting down stolen ornaments, which they have great facilities in doing; and it has been found impracticable to put a stop to the practice, although severe examples have been made of some of those convicted,—the traffic is so profitable. The lowest class of the community is composed of those who are employed as menial servants, day labourers, cultivators, and in professions which are considered as disrespectable, or belong to castes which are considered as infamous.

With regard to the people at large, or at least the inferior classes, the Superintendent of Police, Captain Wetherspoon, gives The people at large. a very unfavourable opinion; though he states it with the qualification that it is, perhaps, biassed in consequence of his intercourse with them being almost entirely confined to that arising out of his official situation in the Police, and that it is, therefore, generally, the most depraved and vicious portion of the people with whom he is brought in contact.

They are grossly ignorant, superstitious, and prejudiced; addicted to falsehood, and seldom to be credited, even in their oaths, General character. unless their testimony is supported by a train of circumstantial evidence or other collateral proof.

They are litigious, crafty, and designing, and take a pleasure in over-reaching those they have to deal with, and no faith is to be placed in any engagement they enter into, unless the fulfilment of it is secured by a bond, or the surety of a third party. This is so well understood amongst themselves, that it is usual to give bonds, regularly witnessed, for sums of ten, fifteen, and twenty rupees.

They are not addicted to cruelty or violence of any description. Instances of this kind are of rare occurrence. Their anger generally exhausts itself in abuse, or a trifling scuffle, and, on the whole, they may be considered as a quiet and orderly population. Drunkenness, however, is common among some of the lower classes, but this must be expected when there is no restriction on the sale of spirits, and it is so cheap that a sufficient quantity can be obtained to produce intoxication for two or three pice.

Suicide is very common amongst them. From June 1823 till December 1825, not less than seventy-five instances of suicide have Suicide. occurred. The causes which lead to the commission of this crime are generally of a very trifling nature. Petty quarrels and disputes between relatives, and husbands and wives, frequently lead to this result, and it is resorted to as a means of being revenged on the persons by whom they imagine themselves to be aggrieved. Suicide is generally committed by the parties taking poison, or throwing themselves into wells. Hanging is sometimes had recourse to, but less frequently.

In their social and domestic relations, they seem to be deficient in natural affection, and the ties which commonly bind other Domestic relations. persons most strongly together, appear to sit very lightly on the Mahrattas. On occasions of distress or disaster occurring to their nearest relations, they exhibit great apathy, and consider nothing of moment in which they are not personally interested.

Chastity seems to be a virtue held in little estimation among the lower classes, and a deviation from it is considered of little moment. Husbands come to complain, without the least appearance of concern, that their wives have gone to live with other men, and apply to have them restored; and when the parties are brought together, they go away as if nothing had occurred; and, without taking away further notice of the circumstances, live together as formerly.

In their persons and habits they are dirty and slovenly, and have Want of cleanliness. little or no sense of shame or decency in many of their daily habits.

Captain Montgomerie's account of the moral character of the population of his district, particularly of the females, is not Inhabitants of Deogarh above the Ghâts. more encouraging; but we have a more favourable picture from Colonel Agnew of that of the inhabitants of Chhattigarh.

Considering the uninformed state of the people, their moral character appears Inhabitants of Chhattigarh. to Colonel Agnew to be superior to that met with in most other parts of India. Murders are rare, and are in most cases occasioned by jealousy or supposed acts of witchcraft, both which occasions are universally considered, if not a sufficient justification, at least a great palliation of the offence. Petty thieving seldom occurs, and the more daring robberies by gangs, and on the high-ways, are less frequent than might be expected from the facility to escape afforded by the surrounding jungles and zamindaris. In regard to women, their habits appear to be rather loose. On

the whole, Colonel Agnew considers them to be honest, to be unaddicted to great crimes, and to have more regard to truth than is common in India.

All classes, from the highest to the lowest, believe in witchcraft, and in the efficacy of spells and incantations; and many are the tragical consequences of this belief. The following account sent me by Colonel Agnew, is sufficiently descriptive of the general practice and opinions concerning it:—

Witchcraft. "The belief in witchcraft has no exceptions. The best informed and the most ignorant of the Hindus and Musalmans give credit to its existence. The art, however, is supposed to reside almost exclusively in old women, and the faith of this class in the general superstition is such, as actually to induce them to maintain that they are possessed of the power imputed to them, and frequently to acknowledge themselves *Tonis* (as the witches are called), although the consequence subjects them to immediate death, or at least expulsion from their caste, and severe punishment."

The usual test by which witches are discovered, is that of plunging them, tied up in a bag, into the water; if they sink, they are innocent; if they swim, guilty; and they are punished sometimes with death, at others their teeth are drawn; they are made to drink the water in which the skins of dead animals have been immersed; are beat with the twigs of a particular bush, supposed to have peculiar properties; and are turned out of their caste, and sometimes out of the village.

The superstitious practice of the ordeal, called *Dip*, as it seems chiefly to prevail in Chhattisgarh, may here, also, be given in Colonel Agnew's words:—

Ordeal. "In Chhattisgarh, as in other parts of India," he says, "little reliance is placed on the bare assertion of any individual, upon a fact in which he is interested. This has led to the practice called *Dip*, which was common until the introduction of our authority, of persons submitting the truth of their declarations to the following test: One of the parties, generally the complainant, having seven leaves of the pipal tree placed upon his two hands, and secured with cotton threads, and the whole rubbed with butter, receives into them a red-hot ball of iron, about the size of a four-pound shot, which, if he carries seven paces, without the flesh of the hands being burnt, his truth is established, and he is entitled to the redress which his cause requires. If his hands are burnt, he is adjudged to have told a falsehood, and is dismissed or punished."

In the country, slavery is hardly known, and only at all amongst the richer classes. The slaves that exist, are composed of persons of both sexes, chiefly females, whose parents have been constrained by necessity to part with them. They are purchased in infancy, and are said to be well treated by their masters, with whom they live more like hired servants than slaves. Their state of bondage is not indicated by wearing any badge. In A. D. 1818 to 1819, numbers of the poorer Kirsans, who were constrained to sell their children during the famine, on grain getting cheaper, came to reclaim them, when they were either gratuitously relinquished by the purchasers, or for a trifling compensation. In Hindu families, the children of female domestics, by any of the relations or inmates of the house, are considered as a kind of personal property. The head of the family to whom they belong cannot, however, sell them, or hire them out to another.

We have not been able to obtain any correct returns of the number of the slaves in the city. The persons who possess them seem reluctant to afford information on the subject, being, in all probability, impressed with a feeling that the inquiry regarding their numbers and condition is only a preliminary step to future measures which may operate to their prejudice. It has been endeavoured to remove any feeling of this kind, but ineffectually; for some of the higher classes of the inhabitants, in whose families slaves are most numerous, decline altogether to give any information on the subject.

The following is the total number of which any account has been received viz:—

	PURCHASED SLAVES.		BOUND FOR THEIR OWN LIVES.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Hindus	249	238	174	847	1,508
Musalmans	196	605	83	192	1,076
	445	843	257	1,039	
Total	1,288		1,296		2,584

To this number it is supposed that from five to six hundred of each description may be added, as belonging to the Raja's establishment, and the families of persons who have declined to give any account of them; making on the whole an aggregate total of three thousand five hundred slaves and bond servants. This can, however, be taken as only an approximation to the true number; for it is impossible to ascertain it correctly, without enforcing the making of the returns by some penal regulation.

The persons in a state of actual slavery, or who are bound for themselves and posterity to serve their proprietors and their heirs, have almost invariably been reduced to this condition in their early infancy, during times of famine, or the occurrence of disaster and misfortune to their parents, who, being thereby rendered incapable of providing for their children, sell them into slavery to prevent their falling victims to want. These are brought up in the families of their purchases, generally as domestic servants, and are frequently placed almost on an equality with their masters' children, in regard to food and clothing; and it is not uncommon for persons who have no children of their own, to adopt their slaves as their sons and leave their property to them at their death. Task-labour, or any work beyond what would be expected from a hired servant, is never exacted from the slaves; and in general they are treated with great kindness and consideration, and become more the attached servants, and it may be said, friends of the families in which they have been nurtured, than the degraded slaves, from whom no labour can be obtained, except what is extorted by fear of punishment. Neither law nor custom leaves it in the power of the master to inflict any punishment on a slave beyond that of moderate correction or chastisement, which is allowed to be exercised by masters of families over the members of their own families; and when a slave commits any fault of a nature which

requires a severe punishment, or induces the master to wish to get rid of the slave, the party is brought before the Court, and punished in the same manner as other persons, or is turned out of the house by the master, and emancipated from slavery, which is considered as a punishment, instead of being desired as a benefit so mild is the condition and treatment of slaves. Transfers of slaves, in the way of sale, are not known in Nagpur; such an occurrence as the sale of a grown-up slave from one person to another has not been known for a great length of time. The children of slaves continue in slavery, are looked on as the hereditary servants of the family in which their parents were brought up. They are, however, frequently emancipated by their master; and the number of slaves in the city is stated to have decreased very much in the last ten years, and to be still rapidly decreasing. In fact, it is only persons of property, or in easy circumstances, that can afford to keep slaves; for they more expensive than other servants, and they are also considered more trustworthy than hired servants, so that the slave of a family obtains more esteem and confidence than a common menial, instead of being degraded by his condition. In conclusion, it may be safely affirmed that slavery, as the term is understood in Europe, does not exist in the city of Nagpur, and that what is called slavery, so far from being a state of degradation and hardship, is one of respectability and comfort, compared with the condition of the mass of the labouring population.

The other class of slaves, or bond-servants, consists of persons who have no permanent means of subsistence, or who being without family and friends, and in distressed circumstances wish to obtain a permanent provision for their lives. A great portion of this class are females, generally widows, who, not being allowed to marry again, and having no means of obtaining a livelihood, engage to serve for life for their food and clothing. These women are called "Batkis," and great numbers of them are kept by the Raja's family, and the families of the principal persons about the Court. They are, generally, very loose and debauched in their habits, and frequently leave in concubinage in the city, with the sanction and approbation of their masters. The males, who enter into engagement of this kind, are called "Bandes." They are all bound to serve during their natural lives for their bare food and clothing, which their masters are, in return, bound to provide them with; but any children they may have are considered as free, and their masters have no claim on their services. The proprietors, both of slaves and batkis, frequently make concubines of them. The illegitimate progeny produced by this intercourse goes by the name of "Vidur," in general among the Hindus; but the illegitimate children of the Raja's family and connections are called Bhonslas by way of distinction. The whole of the class is considered as free.

Education is chiefly confined to the children of Brahmins and those of the mercantile classes, and the instruction they receive does not seem much calculated to promote their moral or intellectual improvement. All the other classes are extremely illiterate, and particularly the Kirsans. It is a rare circumstance, says Captain Gordon, to find one amongst them who can write his own name. Captain Wilkinson remarks that this ignorance in some measure arises from a prejudice which the cultivating class entertain against learning, as giving their children an aversion to their own profession, on which they must depend for subsistence.

Reading, writing, and accounts are the chief objects of education, and these are only carried to the extent necessary for each individual's profession. The only order who ever look at books are Brahmins; and their reading is confined to subjects of Hindu divinity. The knowledge of Sanskrit is professed by very few even of these. The modes of instruction are the same as described in other parts of India.

There are no schools exclusively for the education of Muhammadan children. The tribes of Mullahs and Kazis are quite uneducated, and few of them can even read or write the Persian language. They know nothing of Muhammadan law; but are sufficiently acquainted with the common rules and usages of the sect to enable them to officiate at marriages, and decide on disputes regarding religious matters.

In Captain Gordon's district, there are one hundred and thirteen schools, superintended by the same number of masters, who are usually Brahmins or Vidurs. These schools are all established in the large towns and kasbas, and in some of them there are two or three. The total number of children who receive instruction at these schools is one thousand one hundred and seventy; or, calculating the total children under sixteen years, beyond which age they never remain at school, at eighty thousand and seventy-seven, it would appear that public instruction is only extended to one in eighty. The payments of the children to their masters vary from two annas to one rupee per month, according to the circumstances of the parents.

In the Wainganga District there are fifty-five schools—twenty-eight in the kasbas and twenty-seven in villages; the number of pupils is four hundred and fifty-two, of whom forty-five are taught Persian, the rest Mahratti. The expense is on the same scale as the above.

In Captain Montgomerie's district, the number of schools is only seven. The number of scholars has not been ascertained. The expense to the children is from two annas to four per mensem. Of the schools in Chanda district there is no report.

In Chhattisgarh, there are four or five schools at Patanpur, five at Raipur, and perhaps one in each other pargana. The schoolmasters receive from two to four annas per month from each scholar. The languages generally taught are the Nagri and Mahratti, and some few are instructed in Persian and Hindustani.

Private tuition is gratuitously conveyed to a still greater number of children by the Brahmins, Vidurs, or village Pandias. The teachers are paid by the parents at the rate of two or three rupees per annum, or, as in Chhattisgarh, by presents on certain days; but more frequently by the tutor living free of expense with the parents of the children. If the Shastri, or principal Brahmin, teachers the children of the village, he has no other object than the performance of a praiseworthy and charitable act, and will seldom accept the presents which are offered him. There is no allowance for schools anywhere, in land or money, from the Government, the attention of which was never attracted to public education.

There are in the city and suburbs, one hundred and two instructors, including teachers of public schools, private tutors, and such as teach boys gratuitously, as a religious duty.

State of education in the city.

The number of public schools which are supported by the payments made by the parents of the pupils, for their instruction, is forty-six; of these there are for teaching—

Mahratti	...	...	40
Persian	...	...	2
Nagri	...	...	3
Mahratti and Hindustani (in the Persian character)	...	...	1

Total ... 46

The number of pupils attending these public schools is nine hundred and thirty-six, of which there are learning—

Mahratti	...	...	624
Persian	...	...	22
Nagri	...	...	39
Mahratti and Hindustani (in the Persian character)	...	...	51

Total ... 936

In addition to the public teachers there are fifty-one private tutors and teachers who instruct boys gratuitously. Of these there are for teaching the—

Shastras and Vedas	...	...	23
Persian	...	...	28
Arabic	...	...	4
Telugu	...	...	1

Total ... 56

The number of pupils taught by these instructors is three hundred and twenty-three. Of which there are learning the—

Vedas and Shastras	...	...	159
Persian	...	...	126
Arabic	...	...	33
Telugu	...	...	5

Total ... 323

Total number of pupils ... 1,259

The average number of pupils in the Mahratti public schools is about twenty and a half to each. The average rate of remuneration to the masters may be taken at three annas per mensem for each by, which makes about three rupees and twelve annas a month to each teacher. Some of them, however, do not receive so much as this, and others receive double the amount.

The school in which Mahratti and Hindustani is taught is supported by a private subscription among the writers in the public offices, and is superintended by a writer, named Henry Antone, attached to the Residency. Printed translations of the Old and New Testaments into Mahratti and Hindustani (in the Persian character) are in use in this school.

The remuneration to the private tutors varies from two rupees a month, in addition to their food and clothing, to thirty rupees. The private tutors are all Musalmans, and teach only Arabic and Persian. The education of the children

of the respectable part of the Musalman population is entirely entrusted to these private tutors, who are generally domesticated in the houses of the persons whose children they are employed to instruct.

The teaching and learning the Vedas and Shastras is exclusively confined to the Brahmin class, and no remuneration is ever made for instruction in the sacred books. It is considered as a religious obligation to afford instruction to all who are qualified, and desirous to learn, without receiving any reward or gratuity whatever.

It does not appear that any support is given by the Government for the encouragement of education among the inhabitants, either by the establishment of public schools or the grant of lands or pensions to any of the teachers. The teachers receive no public support whatever and depend entirely for subsistence on the monthly remuneration they receive for the instruction of the pupils entrusted to their charge.

Several Muhammadans teach Persian gratis under the impression that so meritorious an act will be taken into consideration in a future state. These persons usually earn a livelihood by some trade or profession, and devote their leisure hours to the instruction of children.

As the Raja advances in years, his attention ought to be drawn to the subject of education; and he might be induced to found a college in the city, and to give encouragement to schools, on the system adopted in the Company's provinces.

There is in the city a *langar-khana* or poor-house. All persons who are blind, lame, infirm, and helpless, or incapable of earning a livelihood, are admitted into this establishment. They receive food, and a blanket, which is all the clothing they require. There are generally from thirty-five to forty poor persons in the house. The expense is defrayed by Government, and comes to about one hundred rupees a month.

The disposition of the great body of the people to the present order of things is good. The great officers of Government, and those who hold lucrative employments about the Court, the Army, and the Revenue Department, cannot, of course, regard the change with a favourable eye. In the districts, those who dislike it the most are the Brahmins, who, as mamlatdars, revenue farmers, farnavises, and Accountants, engrossed the entire management of the revenue and the administration of civil justice, and cheated both the Government and the people. Many of this class have been thrown out of employment, and the power and emoluments of all have been abridged. Perhaps a few of the leading patels in each district, and the Zamindars generally, would prefer the old system to the one now established, because they formerly enjoyed great influence through the mamlatdars, who made use of their services. With the above exceptions, it may be asserted, that all the other classes, particularly the cultivators, are highly satisfied with the actual Government, and feel and acknowledge the benefits which they have derived from the interposition of British agency between them and their native rulers.

SECTION III.

AGRICULTURE, TRADES AND MANUFACTURES.
AND COMMERCE.

Agriculture.

The system of husbandry in the Nagpur Dominions is much the same as in other parts of India.

The general classification of land, according to the produce is into *Kharif* or *Sihari*, *Rabi* or *Unari*, and *Bagait*. According to the quality of soils, they are distributed into *Kali*, or the rich black loam; *Kardi*, or the looser earth, mixed with small stones; and *Bardi*, or the reddish earth found on rocky substrata. These, for purposes of revenue, are sub-divided respectively, according to the deterioration of quality, into first, second, and third sorts, and amongst the cultivators some further distinctions are observed, which it is unnecessary to notice here.

The chief grains of the *kharif* crop are—besides rice, which is chiefly produced in the districts of Wainganga, Chanda, and Chhattisgarh, and the smaller species, kodo,* kutki,† and sawa,‡—generally raised in the worst soils—juar§ and tur||. Those of the *rabi* are wheat, gram,¶ *alsi* or linseed, mung,** til or sesame, masur and erandi or castor plant.

In a good year, the average returns of grains are as follows:—

Kharif—

Tur, 15 to 20 returns, sometimes much more.

Juar, 30 to 40.

In Appendix No. 5, a statement of the principal weights and measures in use in the Nagpur Territories is given.

Rabi—

Mung	...	...	12 to 15 returns.
Wheat	...	...	8 to 14 "
Alsi	...	...	25 to 40 "
Lac	...	...	8 to 10 "
Gram	...	...	12 to 15 "
Peas	...	...	10 to 15 "
Tilli	...	...	140 to 160 "
Masur	...	...	8 to 12 "
Erandi	...	...	8 to 10 "

The chief implements of agriculture are the *bakhar*, a kind of paring plough, tow kinds of ploughs adapted to strong and light soil respectively; the *tifan*, or drill rake, used for sowing and a species of hoe plough, called *daoran*, for weeding.

The ploughing for the *kharif* harvest, of which the *juar* is the most important crop, begins in May. The paring plough is first used twice or thrice, to level all inequalities of the surface, and the ground is then ploughed four or five times over. Three or four ploughs, if procurable, follow each other in the same furrows.

* *Paspalum frumentaceum*. † *Panicum italicum*. ‡ *Panicum miliaceum*. § *Sorghum vulgare*. ¶ *Cytisus cajan*. ¶ *Cicer arietinum*. ** *Phaseolus mungo*. †† *Ervum hirsutum*.

When the ground is sufficiently prepared, the cultivator awaits the first fall of rain to sow the seed, which is done either with drill rake, by which three ridges are sown at once, or in single ridges with the plough, having a funnel fitted to it behind. It is common to sow tur and cotton in alternate ridges, and *juar* and mung generally go together. The *bakhar*, or paring plough reversed, serves for a harrow. After the grain has been twenty-five or thirty days above ground, the hoe plough is introduced between the drills for the double purpose of destroying the grass and thinning the crop, whilst it also covers up the roots. After a lapse of thirty days more the same instrument is used a second time and the field is weeded.

The *juar*, which is sown in June, throws out its head in September, and is ripe in November or December, in all which it reaches the threshing floor, and is trodden out by bullocks.

Rice is another grand crop of the *kharif*. There are several processes of rice cultivation.

If the rice is to be transplanted, it is first sown in a spot of ground carefully manured, ploughed and weeded, and when about a foot high, the plant is ready for removal.

The soil of the rice fields having been previously formed into mud of a proper consistency for receiving the plants, they are taken up and removed on a kind of sledge, and set by the hand; men, women and children being employed in the work, on the completion of which, the only thing to be attended to is to supply the fields with water, and to keep in repair the small embankments which retain it.

The first crop on lands newly brought into cultivation is generally not transplanted, but sown in the same manner, and at the same season, as other grains of the *kharif* harvest, and old lands even are frequently managed in the same manner; but the additional labour bestowed on transplanting is considered to be well repaid by the increased chance it gives of an abundant return.

There is another mode of proceeding some times resorted to, called *kawruk*, in which the seed is soaked in water for twelve hours, then heaped up in a dry place and covered with leaves; in two days, it begins to sprout, when it is sown. In the Lanji District, when the rice is about a foot high, should the crop be thin and much-choked with grass, the whole is ploughed up and left in that state; should continued rain follow, an excellent crop is obtained, but a few days of continued dry weather causes a total failure of it.

The returns of rice are, on an average, ten-fold; sometimes twenty, and not frequently, only five. They depend on the supply of water chiefly.

The ground for the *rabi* crop is generally worked with the paring plough in June or July, and then remains untouched till the rains are nearly over. The paring plough is now again used to cut down the growth of the two or three months preceding, and the success of the labourer at this time is greatly dependent on the weather. If a season of heavy and continued rain be succeeded by a sudden cessation of it, the ground becomes hard and caked, and baffles greatly, sometimes entirely, the efforts of the husbandman, whose implements are not calculated for such an emergency. To this, in a great degree, was owing the calamitous failure of the *rabi* crop in 1819, and the consequent famine.

The ploughman is kept hard at work, night and day, all this interesting period. Fresh bullocks and labourers are supplied at sunset during the moonlight nights, and they are relieved again at sunrise.

The seed is sown, either with the plough and funnel above mentioned in single drills, or with the plough-rake in three, in the months of November and December, ripens in February, and is cut in March.

The produce is trodden out by bullocks in the open air, and winnowed in the wind. The grain is usually preserved in large baskets, or in earthen vases, and in some parts of the country, in pits.

The grand crop of the garden cultivation is the sugarcane. It is chiefly cultivated in Deogarh above the Ghâts, and in the Wainganga Districts. The following account of it is given by Captain Montgomerie:—

"This is considered as the highest branch of husbandry. It requires capital, industry, and care, any deficiency in the two latter requisites inevitably entails the loss of the first." Captain Montgomerie says, "There is hardly a medium in the result of the labour of the cultivator of this article. He either makes a great profit, or is temporarily ruined."

"In preparing the ground for the sugarcane, the husbandman most commonly selects a piece of ground which has just borne a crop of urad.* He draws the bakhar over it, generally only once; the plough is then used, and the bakhar a second time applied, with a view to reduce and pulverize, as far as practicable, all the large lumps of earth."

"A wealthy ryot bestows much pains on this early portion of the year's labours. The field is then covered with a thick coat of manure."

"Aqueducts are next made in such a manner as to divide the field into compartments generally about twelve feet square, which are again sub-divided by transverse lines occupying the central space about two feet or under."

"The drains are now watered thoroughly, so as to afford a deep bedding to the plant which is to be laid."

"In preparing the cuttings, the finest canes of the preceding season are selected; each cane, for the most part, consists of from seven to nine knots, three of which are cut off, and the only process for bedding it, which is done lengthways in the drain already noticed is that of throwing it carelessly down, and burying it in the humid soil with the foot, none of it being allowed to remain above ground. This is accomplished about the middle of January."

"Great attention is now paid to ensuring a regular supply of water, which, above the ghâts, is generally from wells, but in the Wainganga Districts, chiefly from tanks."

"The plants generally throw out their sprouts in the course of forty days, one from each knot of the cutting. When they have risen above the ground, they are bolstered up with earth for a time, and increased assiduity is paid to irrigation."

"When the plant has acquired sufficient strength, the superfluous earth by which it had been supported in its less advanced stage is removed, and the water freely and thoroughly introduced to the roots. As the plant grows up, the branches are tied up, and a cloth with salt is placed in the drain, at the head of the field, to impregnate the water sufficiently to destroy insects. Increased attention is now also required to secure the crop from the depredations of wild animals. In eleven months it is fit to be cut."

The cultivator has, by this time, erected a temporary edifice, with a view to his last labour, of expressing and boiling the juice. The sugar mill consists of two upright cylinders of wood, which work together by a perpetual screw. Two pairs of bullocks turn the mill.

* *Phascolus max.*

The plants being rooted up, are stripped off their branches, and cut into several pieces. One man supplies the rollers with them, and another receives the macerated rind, whilst the juice flows through a trough into the receiver. Near the receiver is constructed an earthen furnace. On this is placed the iron boiler, sometimes large enough to make nine maunds of gur at once. When it is of a proper consistency, and the scumming is over, it is poured into a cooler, and thence into cloths spread on baskets, which are suspended with earthen pots placed under them, to receive the molasses as it exudes. It is afterwards collected into a bin. The coarser kind of sugar, called *Rab*, is made by shortening the process. The refuse of the mill is dried, and serves for fuel, and the tops and leaves of the plant feed the cattle.

Three boilers full may be prepared in the course of twenty-four hours, or, taking the contents of each at nine maunds, twenty-seven may be produced at one mill. About four thousand maunds of gur are produced in the two principal Parganas of the Wainganga District, in which the sugarcane is cultivated.

The pan, or betel creeper, is propagated from cuttings, which are set in July. It has a triennial duration, and takes one year for the leaves to be fit for use. They are then regularly gathered every fifteen days, and sold. The dues of Government are paid once a year, according to the following measurement. One cubit and three quarters makes a *guz*; two *guz* one *kathi*; fifty *kathis*, or twelve and a half square *kathis* one *lamb*. In a *lamb*, eight rows are planted, and each *lamb* pays to the Government from eight to six and a half rupees. The betel requires a particular kind of soil, much manure, of which milk is a favourite species, much water, and a good deal of care and expense.

Turmeric does not require much manure, but ought to be well watered. It is ready in eight or nine months. The roots are then dug up and boiled, until they become brittle, when they are dried and fit for use.

The plantain is extensively cultivated. It is not expensive, but the uses to the Hindus are numerous. It is propagated from sprouts of the old plants, set in rows, and has a triennial duration.

Tobacco is generally cultivated near villages, or on the sites of old ones. It is propagated from seed, which is first sown in beds and transplanted. It is ready in seven months.

Ganja is also produced in the soil near villages. The leaves, soaked in water, from the intoxicating drink called bhang. The tops are smoked.

Opium, &c. Opium is very little cultivated.

The other garden crops are carrots, onions, radishes, chillies, garlic, yams, ginger, &c.

The all or morinda citrifolia, produces from the root a red dye in general use. It is cultivated by a tribe of Rajputs, called Alkari. It is ready in three years. The roots are plucked up, cut in small pieces, and dried for sale.

The safflower, or kusum, is sown and cut with the rabi. The flowers are plucked as they are ready, bruised, and formed into a moist powder, made into cakes, and dried. It is common to adulterate it with cotton seed. The seeds produce an oil, but the dye is preferred.

The til, or sesame, belongs to the kharif. When cut, it is tied up in small bundles, and piled in sheaves at the threshing floor to dry. A cloth is spread, and the seeds shaken into it. When winnowed, they are ready for expressing the oil.

The alsí, or linseed, is of the rabi crop. The seeds are threshed out with a pestle, which prepares them for the mill.

The erāndi, or castor, is ready in the seventh month. When ripe, the heads are cut off and dried. The seed is then taken out, fried, pounded, and boiled; the oil floats on the surface, and is poured off. A kurdo of seed produces two pails of oil, which is a tenth.

There is nothing peculiar, I believe, in the oil mill of this country, which is worked by two or four bullocks. Monday is always a holiday for the cattle. The wife of the teli is employed in purchasing the seed, and selling the produce, whilst the husband tends the mill.

Cotton is produced both in the kharif and rabi seasons; that of the latter is most esteemed. In Deogarh it is generally collected when ripe, by women, who are rewarded each with the ninth part of what they bring in. Three or four times of collection exhaust the crop, and cattle are turned in to eat up the plant. Two work up the thread is the common and universal employment of the women in the houses of the cultivators.

There is no regular system for rotation of crops or fallows. Wheat is a standard crop, and seldom changed; but it is thought best for gram to be alternated with *lac* every other year, and cotton and tur with juari; sugarcane changes with turmeric, jams and carrots every other year, and pān requires fresh ground after every crop.

In bringing rabi waste land into cultivation, alsí or gram are sown the first and second year; or in rice districts, a crop of that grain is first taken and then the alsí or gram. In the third year the land is fit for wheat.

In the kharif waste land, rice, and the other small grains, or juar are cultivated for the first year; but the land is not considered to be at its maximum of fertility until the third year.

Manure is principally applied to rice and garden cultivation, and no other crops are irrigated. The manure is either produced from the cultivator's own stock, or purchased from shepherds.

Sheep and goats are often turned into fields for the night during a month or two. The rate of payment to the shepherd is a khandi of grain per mensem for four hundred sheep. The stubble, &c., pared from the fields by the bakhar is also burnt, and used as manure.

Enclosures. Excepting the garden lands, and sometimes those near high roads, none of the fields are enclosed.

The uncultivated lands of villages are used and considered as commons for pasture. The taxes called Kathapatti and Gharkari are supposed to be paid for the right of cutting jungle wood. Many grass preserves belong to the Raja, and those which he does not require are rented out to Gaolis, or others who keep cattle. The boundary banks between fields are also common to the cultivators, both for pasture and passage, whilst the grain is on the ground. The landmarks of villages are stones which are called *swarga*, literally terminus. Bheo Sen answers to the god Terminus, and the stones are worshipped as his representatives in the beginning of every year, when the pān is distributed to the ryots.

It is generally allowed that a ryot with a few bullocks is a more careful cultivator than a wealthy one, as neglect or accident affects him in a greater degree; but a patel will prefer a wealthy ryot to a poor one, being more certain of his fulfilling his agreement.

Kunbis change their places of abode less frequently than any other class of cultivators. After the Kunbis, the Rajput is said to be the most attentive and steadiest farmer. Gond and Gaolis next follow. Captain Cameron has observed that where patels fail, considering the number of the different castes who are patels, the Kunbis are very few.

The ryots are more fixed with them, they seem better calculators of the expenses of management, and to have a more systematic way of employing the different descriptions of land than the other patels.

The patels of most consequence in this part of the country have from ten to twenty ploughs.

Many enquiries have been instituted by the Superintendents for the purpose of ascertaining the profits of agriculture; but the results obtained are too widely different to admit of a satisfactory conclusion being come to on the subject. From the fact that capital seems to be flowing freely into that channel, we may, however, conclude that it is employed in agriculture to as great advantage as it could be in any other pursuit; and as the interest on money borrowed and thus invested is usually twenty-five per cent, we cannot reckon the returns to capitalists who conduct their own concerns at less, but might safely assume it to be more than at that rate. On the other hand, from the nature of the revenue system, and the readiness with which the ryots give up their fields when subject to increased assessment, it is probable that no great portion of the real rent is left in the hands of the agriculturists.

A simple enumeration of the different trades in the city of Nagpur will afford a general view of the degree in which the most civilized part of the population requires, or is furnished with, the chief products of handicraft and manufacturing labour :—

	Number of Males employed.
Builders, or masons	429
Stone-cutters	79
Carpenters	223
Blacksmiths	265
Potters, brick and tile makers	271
Sawyers	27
Lime-burners	13
Rop, twine and canvas makers	114
Bamboo, basket, and mat makers	75
Braziers	294
Burnishers and polishers of metals	74
Gold and silversmiths	356
Cotton carders	189
Thread-spinners	1,008
Weavers of cotton stuffs	4,162
Blanket-weavers	32
Dyers and printers of cloth	307
Silk-weavers	14
Tailors	286
Makers of bangles	198
Oil makers	1,594
Distillers of spirits	351
Distillers of perfumes	48
Brushmakers	25
Shoemakers and tanners	284
Saddlers and workers in leather	108
Confectioners	78
Gunpowder makers	14
Lacker workers	2

The rude and simple habits of the people, from the peasant to the prince, have given little scope to the employment of skill or grandeur in any structures dedicated to private comfort or luxury; and the temples on which those persons who have at all ventured upon erecting durable buildings have expended their surplus cash are neither large nor numerous. The stone-masons of Nagpur are above mediocrity, and excellent materials plentiful. Where, however, the skill of the statuary has been required it has been usual to have recourse to the artists of Benares, or other noted workshops of idols in Hindustan, either for ready-made images, or for workmen. The modern temples about Nagpur are far superior to the ancient ones, which are very rude; but none of them come up to the remains of ancient temples in Chhattisgarh, Garha, Mandla, and Chanda, where some beautiful specimens are to be found, both of architecture and sculpture.

The city of Nagpur, in which, as the residence of a Court, some tolerable specimens of architecture might be looked for, is totally devoid of them. The Raja's palace is, as it ought to be,

the finest edifice at the capital, but it has no pretensions to splendour or beauty, and even the imposing air it might possess, as a large pile of stone masonry, is completely obscured by the encroachments of mud and thatched huts, which are vested under its very walls, and by the unfinished state in which part of it has always been allowed to remain. The lofty pillars of carved wood, which support the roof of the portico at the entrance and that of the principal courts are very handsome. Some of the principal chiefs and ministers and of the bankers have large houses of brick and mortar, with flat roofs, but they are, for the most part, very old and ruinous. The general state of the capital, in respect to the materials of the buildings, is as follows :—

Matted huts of the meanest description	48
Thatched huts of a better sort	14,680
Tiled houses	11,120
Pucka or of burnt brick and mortar	1,301
Total	27,149

The site of Nagpur is in a low and originally swampy hollow, which has, in some degree, been improved by the excavation of tanks and water-courses, though still very wet and muddy in the rains. It is about seven miles in circumference, but very straggling and irregular in its shape.

The principal streets, except one, are narrow, mean, and dirty, intersected by numerous lanes and water-courses, which in the rains, are sometimes impassable; whilst the number of trees interspersed amongst the houses, and which at a distance give the city the appearance of a large wood, is by no means favourable either to health or cleanliness. Some few improvements have been lately made in the principal streets, but much remains to be effected; and the habits and prejudices of the people are a great bar to any material amelioration.

The other towns are still worse built, and the streets and lanes even more narrow and filthy than those of Nagpur. The houses of the more wealthy classes are of brick, with tiled roofs; but those of the greater proportion of the inhabitants are built of mud and loose stones, and covered with straw roofs.

Nothing can be more unprepossessing than the appearance of the generality of the villages about Nagpur. They consist of clusters of miserable huts, handled together without any regard to comfort or convenience. The lanes are filled with rubbish and filth of every description, and the approaches are often strewed with the carcasses and bones of dead animals, which are never removed. The walls of the houses of the common Kirsans are built of mud; or stakes are driven into the ground at irregular distances, and the intervals filled up with screens of split bamboos, stalks of the tur, or the branches of trees, which are plastered over with mud: the roofs are of grass. These huts are generally surrounded by low mud walls within which the Kirsan keeps his grain and agricultural implements, and ties up his cattle at night. One of these huts costs from two to ten rupees.

The implements and processes of these manufactures are of the same rude and simple nature which prevail in other parts of India, and which have been often described.

The articles for the common clothing of the peasantry are made in almost every district; and in Nagpur, and several places in the vicinity, cloths are woven also of a finer texture.

White cloths, called bhyros, are made by Dhers, or outcast weavers; the finest sell for twenty rupees a piece; the common sorts, at from ten annas to ten rupees. They are from twenty-two to thirty-two cubits long, and from one and a quarter to two broad. The best are those of Nagpur.

Selas are either single webs or double, forming *dupattas*. They are made by Koshtis and Momins (Hindu and Musalman weavers), from one rupee to one hundred rupees a piece, from eighteen to thirty-two cubits long, and from one to two and a half broad. The best are those of Pauni and Chanda. The *selas* generally manufactured do not exceed thirty rupees in value. The more expensive ones are only made to order.

Turbans cost from one rupee to twenty rupees; are in length from twenty-five to forty cubits, and in breadth from a half to one and a quarter cubits. The best are made at Nagpur.

Dorias are manufactured of several kinds—*chaukhani*, *sillaidar*, and imitations of those of Bengal, &c.—from eighteen to thirty-two cubits long and from one to two and a half broad. They sell from one and a quarter to twenty rupees a piece. These are made principally at Brahmapuri and Pauni.

Patalis, or *saris* worn by women, are either plain or striped, with a silk border, from five to forty rupees a piece, from fourteen to eighteen cubits long, and from two and a quarter to three broad. The best plain fabrics are made at Nagpur, the striped also, and at Umrer.

Dhotis, or the lower garments worn by Brahmins, &c., are generally made with silk, or selan tissue borders, from seven to eight rupees a pair, and of the value of eighty rupees to order; without such borders, from one rupee to twenty-five rupees. They are in length from sixteen to twenty-two cubits, and in breadth from two to three cubits. The best are those of Nagpur and Umrer.

The same for children, from one and a quarter to two cubits wide, and from seven to fourteen cubits long, selling at from one and a quarter to twenty-five rupees.

Handkerchiefs, with silk borders, from one and a quarter to three cubits square, and from four annas to ten rupees a piece. The best are made at Nagpur.

Pieces, for women's *cholis* or jackets, with silk borders, from two to three cubits long, by one to one and a quarter wide, sell at from two annas to six and a quarter rupees.

Another coarser cotton cloth, called *khadi*, is made in considerable quantities for tent cloth, chintzes, covers, and cloths for the people in general. It is from thirteen to twenty-two cubits long, and from one and a quarter to two wide; from twelve annas to three rupees a piece. The cloth is in considerable repute.

Purum, a coarse fabric used for native saddle-cloths, horse-clothing, &c., is made of a superior quality at Chanda, Bhandara, &c.

First—The coloured cotton cloths, called *Panjuri*, are woven of dyed thread, and are of two sorts, the *kutchha* and *pukka*, according as the colour is fixed, or otherwise.

Selas and turbans, of all colours, are made of the same dimensions as the above. The most expensive are the red, coloured with kusum, or safflower. The cheapest colour is the brown, prepared from the bark of the mango tree. These are not fixed.

Women's cloths, with a fixed dye, are made of four colours, dark-blue from indigo, light-blue, red from the all, or morinda, and green. These are manufactured best at Nagpur, and they are to be had of various patterns, and with silk borders, as far as twenty-five rupees each.

Saris, for girls, of all colours and patterns, as far as twelve rupees.

Khans or pieces for *cholis*, with silk borders, from two annas to one and a quarter rupee.

Coarse chintzes, and a kind of red *kharwa*, called *shendri*, are also made and exported. The chintzes of Chanda are much worn in Gondwana and Berar by the women.

Second—Cloths dyed after being manufactured are not prepared for sale in this country.

There are the following goods manufactured at Nagpur, some of silk and some of silk and cotton, or the wild silk, called tassar, mixed.

Those of mixed silk and cotton are women's cloths or *saris*, called *sillari*, from five to twenty-five rupees each.

Other women's cloths, some of silk and tassar mixed, and some of the latter and cotton, are also made at Mohali and Khapa, of from three to twenty-four rupees value.

The silk goods are *pitambars*, both for women and men, from four to thirty rupees for the former, and to twenty for the men. They were formerly also made with *kalabatu*, or gold or silver tissue, to the value of five hundred rupees to order.

The weavers of these goods are from Jalna and Pattan, and their works are imitations of the valuable fabrics of those places.

Dupattas for women are also made at Nagpur of silk, with rich *kalabatu* borders, as far as five hundred rupees. They were generally worn in pairs, of different colours, by Hindu women of rank.

The common *dhoti joras* and *saris* are much worn by all classes of Hindus and Mahrattas in the Deccan. The peculiar quality of *dhoti joras* made in the city, and for which they are so much prized, is the extreme fineness of the thread, which is spun exclusively by the Dhers, and finds employment to upwards of four hundred families. The weavers are all Koshtis, and the number of their families is estimated at about two hundred and seventy.

The cloth manufacture was brought to its present state of excellence by the exertions of the late Raghoji, who, during the great famine that raged in the Deccan after the war of 1803, induced many of the best workmen at Pytunt, in the Godaveri, and Zainabad and Burhanpur on the Tapti, to come and settle

at Nagpur. From these men, the Nagpur weavers learnt the art of weaving the beautiful silk and gold and silver borders at the same time with the cloth, and which makes the *saris*, &c., so expensive.

Woollen cloths

The woollen cloths manufactured in the country are only coarse blankets and namdahs for domestic use, of one and two rupees each.

The only cloth manufactured from *san*, or hemp, is the coarse *latpatti* used for grain bags, *satilas*, &c. It is made in pieces of thirty cubits long and half a cubit wide, and sells at eight and twelve annas. The Banjaras make their own, of a better quality than they can purchase it.

Hemp cloths

Utensils of copper and mixed metal are made principally at Bhandara, Ratanpur and Chanda; and the *Kasars*, or braziers, who manufacture them, have also long enjoyed an exclusive right of selling such articles in the country.

Other manufactures

The internal commerce of the country is but trifling. It consists chiefly of imports into the city of Nagpur of the common necessities of life, together with cloths of different descriptions, partly for the consumption of the inhabitants and partly for exportation.

The amount of grain imported in the last year is estimated at fifty-nine thousand cart-loads, containing about one hundred and seventy-seven thousand khandis, the value of which, at the lowest estimation, is upwards of seven lakhs of rupees.

The country receives from Nagpur articles of prime necessity, imported from foreign countries, such as salt, saltpetre, sulphur, metals, cocoanuts, spices, &c., with cloths both of city and foreign manufacture.

The imports consist of salt, brought by Banjaras from Berar and the Konkan for the use of Deogarh, and from the eastern coasts for Chhattisgarh and Chanda.

From Mirzapur, shawls, *kinkhabs*, silks, both raw and wrought, muslins of kinds from Dacca, piece-goods and chintzes, raw sugar and sugar-candy, indigo, and *kirana*, which term includes spices and drugs of all kinds.

From Bundelkund, red *kharwas*, piece-goods manufactured in Bundelkund, a small quantity of sugar and *kirana* and saltpetre.

From Bombay, Europe and China goods, pearls, corals, and salt,

From Poona and Aurangabad, bullion in coin and bars, principally the former: vessels and metals of all kinds, sandal-wood, scents, spices, drugs, and numerous other articles.

Exports

The exports consist of cloths, raw cotton, gur, grain, and a small quantity of stick lac.

The trade with Mirzapur and Benares in silks, brocades, muslins, &c., is chiefly in the hands of Gosains residing at Nagpur. They possessed much influence in the time of Raghoji.

Principal traders

and many of them were men of great wealth; but they have been, for some years, on the decline, together with the trade which was first established by them. Formerly, not only the quantity of articles in which they dealt, required for consumption here, but nearly all that was consumed in the country south and west of Nagpur, passed through their hands, in consequence of the route by Sirguja and Chhattisgarh being safer than that by Rewa and Jubbulpore; but the restoration of general tranquility that followed the suppression of the Pindaris, and other plunderers, induced the merchants of our provinces to resume the old route by Mirzapur, Rewa, and Jubbulpore, and thence to Amraoti direct; and this diversion of the transit trade, following up by the general depression of commerce, nearly put an end to this branch of trade. However, it still exists, though in a trifling degree.

The principal traders in indigo, sugar, and *kirana* from the northward, together with *kharwas* and chintzes manufactured in Bundelkund, are the Chatterpurias, who are agents of mercantile houses in Chatterpur and Mhow in Bundelkund. The trade formerly was a profitable one, when the communication with the chief marts in the Deccan was through Nagpur. It has much declined since the route was changed to that of Amraoti.

The traffic in Europe and China goods, pearls, corals, &c., from Bombay and Surat, is in the hands of the Bohras, numbers of whom are settled at Burhanpur on the Tapti, which is the great *entrepôt* for the trade carried on by them between Nagpur and the Western Coast. It never was an exclusive one, and is propably as flourishing now, if not more so, than it ever was, as Europe merchandize of all kinds is now wholly imported by them from Bombay.

The trade with the Eastern Coast is carried on by Uriya *gumashthas* of mercantile houses in Cuttack and *Jagannath*. It was formerly of considerable importance, but is now at a very low ebb.

The bullion traffic with Aurangabad and Amraoti is carried on by the bankers.

Bullion trade

It has increased considerably during the last and current year, and is one of their principal speculations. The Nagpur rupee of the new coinage is exported; and the Shamsheri and Hyderabad rupees imported, refined, and run into bars, from which Nagpur rupees are coined. The Nagpur rupee is required by the Amraoti merchants for the purchase of cotton from this country and the districts ceded in 1818 to the Company. The profit in each transaction seldom exceeds eight annas per cent, but when it is considered that the returns are made repeatedly during the twelve months, it is rather a lucrative speculation.

The bullion trade with Poona depends on the rate of exchange between the two cities. The specific value of the Poona rupee is from thirteen and a half to thirteen and three quarters per cent. better than the Nagpur rupee; the charges for insurance and carriage from Poona to Nagpur are two and a half per cent., and a further expense of about six annas per cent is incurred in agency and brokerage of bills. Whenever, therefore, the exchange from Poona, which generally fluctuates from twelve to fourteen per cent. premium, falls below ten per cent. premium, they are brought up, and their amounts brought to Nagpur in specie; and this event commonly occurs once a year, when the Poona and Pandharpur merchants arrive for the purpose of laying in their investments of cloth for the marts in the Deccan.

The cloths destined for exportation are generally purchased from the manufacturers early in the season by the Parwars, an industrious people of the Jain sect, by whom it is subsequently sold to the Poona and Pandharpur merchants.

The internal trade of the country is chiefly carried on by native Mahratta traders of various castes.

For carrying on commercial intercourse, wheel carriages are in general use between Chhattisgarh, Chanda, and Nagpur; bullocks are the common carriage between Nagpur, Garha Mandla, Seoni, and Hoshangabad; for more distant external commerce, buffaloes are occasionally used.

The bullocks in this part of the country carry about three quarters of a khandi, of all kinds of grains. In *kirana*, ten maunds of ten seers, each seer of eighty Nagpur rupees. In cotton cloths, twenty chaukaris of eight pieces each. In raw cotton, twelve maunds of ten seers. The wheel carriages drawn by two bullocks carry generally two and a half bullock-loads, which is the standard by which the goods thus carried are assessed for duties.

The bullocks from Mirzapur and Patna carry double of the loads of those of this country, and buffaloes one and a half a bullock load.

Asses, which are employed in the neighbouring districts, carry half a bullock load.

Of the value of imports and exports no satisfactory information can be given.

Shawls, silks, muslins, and piece-goods, to the value of three hundred and twenty thousand rupees, were imported into the city of Nagpur during the last year, of which two hundred and sixty-five thousand rupees worth was subsequently exported to the Nizam's territories.

The value of sugar imported in the same year into the city was forty-two thousand rupees.

Of Europe goods, there were imported into Nagpur during the last year:—

50 pieces of	Broad cloths,
333 "	Handkerchiefs,
340 "	Flowered muslin,
50 "	Plain muslin,
165 "	Long cloths,
200 "	Chintzes of various kinds,

and a quantity of cutlery, glass-ware and small mirrors, &c.

Bullion to the amount of about three hundred thousands of rupees was brought from Poona, and the value of cocoanuts imported from the Eastern Coasts was forty-five thousand rupees.

Of the value of gur and grain, which are the chief articles of raw produce exported, no estimate can be formed. A small quantity of raw cotton goes directly to Mirzapur. The value of cloths exported was about seven hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees last year, of which one hundred and fifty thousand were sent to the Peshawa's camp at Bithur; three hundred and fifty thousand to Amraoti, Poona, &c.; fifty thousand to Indore; one hundred thousand to Jubbulpore and Saugor; and seventy-five thousand to Hyderabad.

The kinds of cloths exported are *saris, pagris, dhoti joras, selas*, and handkerchiefs, manufactured in the city of Nagpur and other districts in the province of Deogarh.

Most of the Sahukars in this part of the country are Marwaris. There are only two banking houses in the city, conducted by Brahmans.

It is difficult to enumerate and describe their various speculations. As bankers and shroffs, generally, their profits arise:—

First, from the purchase or receipt upon the spot, in the course of their trade, of gold and silver coins, which they sell or pass at a dearer rate than that at which they receive them.

Secondly, from the importation from other quarters of gold, silver and copper coins, bullion and ornaments, which they dispose of at a profit.

Thirdly, from granting bills on other quarters.

Fourthly, from interest on loans.

Fifthly, from taking objectionable rupees at a discount, and re-selling them on more favourable terms.

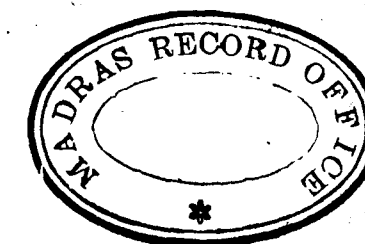
Sixthly, from the fluctuation in the current value of copper coins and cowries, for which purpose they have *dukans*, kept by people who are employed by them as *khurdias* or dealers in small charge.

The profits of the inferior classes of mahajans, banias, and sonars, as connected with the money market, are derived from more limited transactions of the nature specified, but their interest in loans is higher.

As traders, the Sahukars sell merchandize of various kinds both in the country and at a distance. They deal principally in the Mirzapur goods. They purchase the produce of the country and export it. They also buy up grain when it is cheap, and sell it at an advanced price, generally in the rains. They have also numerous *dukans* for the sale of all sorts of articles. This is practised by even the most wealthy. Property is often given to them, either in pawn or in payment for debts, which they are obliged to dispose of in the bazars, for which purpose these *dukans* are almost necessary.

Their country business is, besides the common affairs of money changing, to advance cash or grain to patels and ryots. For the latter purpose, some have large stores of grain, for the loan of which they take twenty-five per cent. for eight months, the time of repayment being usually at the harvest. They also trade in the produce and manufactures of the country, and lend money to artizans and mechanics.

Formerly, the rate of interest was higher than it now is. Under Raghoji and Appa Sahib, the general rate on money lent on common security was three and four per cent. per mensem, and never less than two on the best security, or pledges given to the full amount of the sum advanced, besides a deduction of two, three, and sometimes four per cent. from the amount of the loan.



Usually, the highest interest in the present day is two per cent. on good security or pledges given. To patels and ryots the terms are commonly two per cent. a month, and two per cent. deducted from the original sum; but to artisans and mechanics of the lower classes, they are more unfavourable, being three or four per cent. a month, or even more.

Khurdias, or small money changers, either trade for themselves, or are employed by shroffs, and get a percentage on their transactions. These people exchange copper and cowries for rupees, and take every advantage of the inexperienced and unwary. They purchase the copper coin and cowries, accumulated in their day's traffic by persons who sell vegetables, fire-wood, and other trifling articles, at a low rate, and retail them again at an advanced price. If a poor weaver has been disappointed in the sale of his cloth, a khurdia will perhaps receive it from him in pawn, and if the cloth be worth fifteen rupees, will advance him ten, and on each rupee will demand from half a pice to one pice of cowries interest every eight days, or from one and a half to three per cent. He will also lend cash in a small way, to the poorer classes, at similar rates of interest.

The traffic in *hundis* was formerly restricted to two, or at most, three houses, the individuals of which possessed great influence with the Raja, and were exempt from his depredations.

The sahukars, in general, were deterred from keeping in their houses the large sums of ready money required to carry on this species of trade with advantage. Now, all the respectable bankers and other individuals speculate deeply in these transactions, notwithstanding the profit arising therefrom have been considerably reduced owing to competition, and the extreme facility afforded by our regular daks of obtaining knowledge daily of the state of the money market in all the principal commercial cities connected with Nagpur.

It is quite impracticable to state with accuracy the amount of bills drawn during a twelve month by the bankers in the city or other places. Nearly the whole of this business is in the hands of the Marwaris; and two or three of the most intelligent individuals of that body have stated that fifty lakhs may be assumed as the average amount, one-half of which is drawn on Benares, a quarter on Poona, and the remaining fourth in Calcutta, Bombay, Jaipur, Hyderabad, and other places. Of the twenty-five lakhs drawn on Benares, from twelve to fifteen may be considered as drawn for mercantile purposes; one lakh in favour of pilgrims from the Deccan to the holy places on the Ganges, and the remainder as speculations in exchange.

The twelve and half lakhs on Poona are wholly speculations in exchange. The commercial transactions between Nagpur and that city consist chiefly, if not wholly, in exports of cloths, the manufacture of this country; and to purchase these, the Poona merchants, or agents on their part, resort annually to Nagpur, furnished with money or bills in Poona, the amount of the investment required.

Of the remaining fourth, drawn on Calcutta, Bombay, and other places, the greatest part is on account of remittances. The portion drawn on Hyderabad, which is from two to three lakhs, may be considered as speculations in exchange.

Nagpur could never, at any period, have been considered as ranking high in the scale of commercial cities; and its trade and manufactures have decreased since the years 1817 and 1818.

General reflections on the past and present state of trade.

This decline, which should be viewed in some degree as temporary, may be attributed chiefly to the great and sudden reduction in the amount of the population of the city and its environs, in the period above stated, when Appa Sahib was deposed, and our influence in the Government established. The word "population" is not meant to define only the native inhabitants of the city, but to comprehend the numerous bodies of armed men, which, in the short reign of Appa Sahib, and in that of his predecessor, were constantly assembled near the capital. The dispersion of these hordes, on the introduction by us of order and good government, necessarily diminished the consumption of produce, as well of the land as of the loom.

The expenses likewise of the Court in former times, in the purchase of shawls, *kinkhabs*, muslins, and other valuable articles of foreign manufactures, were, comparatively speaking, very great, being about three-fourths of the whole quantity imported. The reduced state of all the public establishments in the present day does not require, and the well regulated economy of the finance will not admit of, such lavish expenditure; consequently, the importation of those articles has greatly decreased, and the quantity that continues to be brought to market is principally for re-exportation.

The cloth manufacture also suffered severely by the extinction of the Poona State. Formerly, the exports of cloths (manufactured in the city and country adjacent) to Poona alone, amounted annually to from twelve to fourteen lakhs of rupees; at present, the exports to that place do not exceed three lakhs, and about one and half lakh to Bithur, for the use of Baji Rao and his adherents.

The resolution in 1818, however, is admitted to have been highly acceptable to the sahukars, or bankers. It is true that the profits acquired by a few of the wealthiest of this class under the former reigns, in their dealings with the Chiefs of the Bhonsla's armies, were very great; but they were obliged to conciliate the Raja, especially the late Raghoji, by large sums advanced as loans, that were seldom, if ever, wholly repaid; and although they generally received something like an equivalent in a lucrative contract, or in the purchase of their merchandise by the Sircar at an advanced price, yet these advantages were counterbalanced by the lamentable want of security for personal property from the tyranny and caprice of the Ruler.

Raghoji, in particular, hesitated not to resort to the most iniquitous means to obtain money when he required it, even to the length of directing *dakas* to be committed on the houses of individuals possessing, for the time, a large sum of money (of such events he had certain information from his spies), and who had declined the honour of becoming His Highness' creditors.

These, and other evils nearly as great, were completely suppressed on our assuming the management of affairs; and it is natural to conclude that a change of Government, which introduced order and tranquility throughout the State and gave perfect security to all property, must be hailed with satisfaction by the monied men, notwithstanding the same change destroyed the source from whence they derived their former great, though precarious, gains; and confidence placed by this class in our Government is exemplified by the fact of fifteen banking houses, principally Marwaris, and four or five of great wealth and respectability, having been established in the city since the year 1818.

SECTION IV. HISTORY OF NAGPUR.

The countries now forming the State of Nagpur have, at different times, been subject to different rulers. It is probable that at a remote period a great portion of the northern part was subject to the Rajas of Gondwana, who reigned at Kherlah, near Betul; and we subsequently find the tract above the ghats possessed by petty Rajas of the Gond tribe, tributary to, or dependent on, the Princes of Garha Mandla, until the latter were overturned by the Musalmans in Akbar's reign. Of the districts between the Wardha and the Lanhi hills, some portion was subject to Rajas of the tribe of Gaolis, or herdsmen; some fell under the Musalman rulers of the Deccan, and the greater portion of them was subdued by the Gond Rajas of Deogarh.

The origin of that family and the steps by which it rose to eminence are involved in obscurity. Previously, however, to the reign of Bakht Buland, who was a contemporary of Aurangzeb, they had made considerable progress towards the subjugation of the country below the ghats. Bakht Buland, who had turned Musalman to secure the aid of the Mogul officers in establishing himself as Raja of Deogarh, made great additions to his possession in the same direction, and settled both the old and new conquests with great success. The country immediately above Nagpur is said, at that time, to have been in a very wild state. The spot upon which the city of Nagpur now stands was occupied by twelve small hamlets, known by the name of Rajpur Barsah. The principal streets of the city are built on the sites of these small hamlets, and are still known by their old names. The districts to the north-east of Nagpur, and others on the Wainganga, especially Pauni, were better cultivated, and some of the towns were respectable, both for their manufactures and for general trade.

Bakht Buland usually remained in the districts above the ghats, except when prosecuting his military expeditions. Towards the latter end of Aurangzeb's reign, or after his death, he plundered in Berar, and extended his devastations over the districts held by the Moguls, to the southward and westward of Nagpur. The Gond Rajas up to this time, it appears, paid a tribute to the Emperor of Delhi, and an officer resided at one of the hamlets above described, on the part of the Fowjdar of Paunar, which was the chief seat of the Musalman Government east of Wardha, for the purpose of collecting it.

Chand Sultan, who was the next Raja, is said to have encouraged agriculture, and during his reign the *chouth* was levied by Kanoji Bhonsla, and other Mahratta officers. Chand Sultan resided principally at Nagpur which he made his capital, and built a wall round it.

On the death of Chand Sultan, the government was usurped by Walli Shah, an illegitimate son of Bakht Buland, and soon afterwards Raghoji Bhonsla was called in by the widow of Chand Sultan to expel the usurper and secure the Raj to her sons Akbar Shah and Burhan Shah.

The early history of the Nagpur branch of the Bhonsla family, or tribe, is obscure. The present members of the family do not profess to trace their origin above Mudhoji, the great

Raghoji Bhonsla 1st.

grandfather of the founder of the Nagpur State; and their pretensions to a defined relationship with the first sovereigns of the Mahratta empire have either fallen into oblivion or were never seriously believed.

Mudhoji's sons were Bapuji, Parsoji, and Subuji, contemporaries of the great Shivaji and in his military service. Parsoji only was distinguished; and under Sahu Raja, he was entrusted with an extensive military command, and the collection of *chouth* in Berar.

He died about the year 1709 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Kanoji, who fixed his residence at Bhaum in Berar.

1709 A. D.

Raghoji Bhonsla was the son of Bimbaji, the third son of Bapuji, the brother of Parsoji. He was born about the year 1698 A. D. at his father's village of Pandauri, near Poona. He served for some years with his relation Kanoji, who, it is said, at one time proposed to adopt him as his heir, but on a son being born to him, Raghoji quitted his service in disgust, and remained for a short time with Chand Sultan at Nagpur. From thence he went to Satara, and was pitched upon as a fit person to supplant Kanoji, who had rendered himself obnoxious at Court. Raghoji's appointment to

1731 A. D.

Berar is generally referred to the year 1731 A. D., though the earliest orders in the records, for the collection of the *chouth* of Berar and Gondwana, directed to Raghoji, are dated in 1737 A. D., to which were added, the year following, more extensive predatory commissions, including Bengal, Behar, Oudh, &c.

1738 A. D.

It was in this year that Raghoji came to Nagpur, and having put Walli Shah to death, and set up Burhan Shah and Akbar Shah, the two legitimate sons of Chand Sultan, he concluded a treaty with them, by which he received eleven lakhs of rupees and several districts on the Wainganga as the price of his assistance, and was appointed the organ of all communication between the Gonds and the Government of Satara. Raghoji returned for the present to Berar.

In the year 1740 occurred Raghoji's expedition to the Carnatic, and immediately after commenced that series of expeditions to Bengal, which terminated, after a contest of ten years, in the acquisition to the Mahrattas of Cuttack, and the promise of twelve lakhs annually from Alliverdy Khan at the *chouth* of Bengal.

1740 A. D. Establishes the Mahratta authority in Cuttack.

About the year 1743, a perfidious Diwan having excited dissensions between the brothers Burhan Shah and Akbar Shah, the Mahrattas were called in to the aid of the former, whilst the latter was supported by the Gonds. Akbar Shah was forced to fly to Hyderabad, the Gonds who sided with him being hunted down and massacred without mercy. Raghoji then became protector, established himself at Nagpur as his capital, and gradually subdued the whole of Deogarh. He kept up the forms of Burhan Shah's authority, and gave him a fixed share of the collections.

The Mahratta authority was partially established in Chhattisgarh during Bhasker Pandit's first expedition to Bengal in 1741-42. It is uncertain whether before this period the Mahrattas ever penetrated into Chhattisgarh, which was

governed by two Rajas of the old Ratanpur family, termed by the inhabitants of the country, Haihai Bansis, whose respective residence were at Ratanpur and Raipur. The first settlement involved only a tribute; but in 1745 the Raja of Ratanpur was deposed, and by the year 1755, the Mahratta yoke was extended over the whole of Chhattisgarh and Sambalpur, and the other surrounding Zamindaris were rendered tributary.

The Rajas of Chanda, as well as those of Deogarh, were Gonds and paid a *peshkash* to the Moguls, and the Mahratta claims had been established, which Raghoji levied. Nilkanth Shah, the Raja, had assisted Kanoji, and afterwards Akbar Shah. Pretences were not wanting, and internal dissensions opened a door for Raghoji's interference.

The fort of Chanda was delivered up to Raghoji by the treachery of a Diwan, and after some fighting, a treaty of partition was concluded in 1749 between him and Nilkanth Shah as follows:—

From 110 Rupees.	
Raghoji Bhonsla.—	Nilkanth Shah.—
Sudermukhi ...	10 0 0 Swasthanik 37 8 0
Choute ...	25 0 0
Brother's share ...	37 8 0
	72 8 0

In 1751, the fort and town of Chanda were finally ceded to Raghoji, and the Raja became a prisoner.

In his ambition to extend his conquests on the side of Berar, during the disturbances which attended the French interference in the affairs of Hyderabad, Raghoji drew upon himself the united forces of Sullabat Jung and Bussy in 1754.

The result of the war was disastrous to him, and would have been more so, had not Bussy been anxious to visit some newly acquired districts in the Northern Circars. This misfortune was in some measure compensated by the acquisition of the fortress of Gawilgarh, which was made over to Raghoji by a Gond Chief; and the absence of the French

prevented the terms of the treaty which had been imposed upon him from being enforced. Raghoji died at Nagpur in February or March 1755. He is said to have been about 57 years of age.

The amount of his revenue cannot be accurately given. The countries in his dominion, or paying him tribute, may be generally described as extending east and west from the Bay of Bengal to the Ajunta Hills, and north and south, from the Nerbudda to the Godaveri. His army was principally composed of horse. His standing force was about fifteen thousands, but liable to be augmented every year, according to the exigencies of the moment.

Raghoji left four sons, Janoji, Sabaji, Mudhoji, and Bimbaji. He was succeeded by his eldest son Janoji. The succession, however, was disputed by Mudhoji, excited to opposition by the Peshwa, who was jealous of the rapid rise of the Nagpur State. Mudhoji

worsted in some encounters with his brother, and the matter was referred to the Peshwa, whither both brothers were summoned. They joined the Peshwa on the occasion of his expedition to Savanur in 1756, and the dispute was afterwards thus settled.

Janoji was confirmed in the title of Sena Sahib Subah and the Government of Nagpur. To Mudhoji were given, as an appanage, Chanda and Chhattisgarh, with some districts in Berar.

The Government of Berar has now been conferred, by Sullabat Jung, on Nizam Ali Khan, who resisted the Mahratta encroachments in that province, and brought Janoji to a treaty in 1757, defining their respective rights with some degree of minuteness.

A temporary breach with Nizam Ali took place in 1758; but Janoji was defeated in his aims, and he seems to have turned his whole attention to the improvement of his dominions for some time after this affair was settled. Mudhoji, on the contrary, was improvident and rapacious, and ruined both his country and himself. He left Chanda in the hands of his creditors, and went to Raghunath Rao to Hindustan.

In the war between Balaji and the Nizam, in the beginning of 1760, both Janoji and Mudhoji were in the Peshwa's camp, with their respective contingents, and the former accompanied the Peshwa to the Nerbudda, but returned to Nagpur before the battle of Paniput.

The effect of this reverse was to induce the Court of Poona to conciliate Janoji, for the purpose of opposing the Nizam, who was preparing to take advantage of Madho Rao's minority; and there is a treaty on record, by which the Sirdeshmuki of Berar is ceded to Janoji, who is also empowered to seize his brother Mudhoji's appanage, and to appropriate the whole of Berar, when conquered from the Nizam. It does not appear, however, that Janoji took any part in the war, which terminated in the Nizam dictating a peace, almost at the gates of Poona. On the contrary, about this time,

Janoji formed an alliance with Nizam Ali, who had now confined Sullabat Jung in the fort of Bedar. The object of this alliance was to obtain for Janoji the office of Peshwa. They together sacked and burnt the city of Poona. This was followed by the battle of Rakshes-Bhuwan, in which owing to the treachery of

Janoji, Nizam Ali was defeated, and his minister, Pratabwant, was killed. Janoji hoped, by this perfidy, to recover the good will of the Court of Poona, but Madho Rao could not forget the sack of Poona; and as soon as he had made peace with Hyder, in 1765, he directed his attention towards Janoji, and he found the Nizam equally disposed to punish him.

The confederates advanced to the Wardha, and Nagpur was burnt. Janoji obtained peace, however, on his submission, but he still continued to withhold his quota of troops, and to carry on intrigues with Raghunath Rao. In 1768, accordingly, Madho Rao again entered Berar, and advanced as far as Nagpur. Janoji left his own dominions and made forced marches to surprise Poona. In this he was unsuccessful, and he concluded a treaty of peace in April 1769.

In this treaty Janoji's dependence upon the Peshwa is fully acknowledged. He is to furnish his quota of six thousand men, and to attend the Peshwa in person, whenever required. He is to pay an annual nazar of five lakhs of rupees; to enter into no general negotiation with foreign powers, and to make no war without the Peshwa's sanction.

In 1770, Sabaji was sent with Janoji's contingent to attend Madho Rao in the war against Hyder, and in the following year 1770 A. D. Janoji went in person to Poona to obtain the concurrence of the Peshwa in the adoption of Raghoji, the eldest son of Mudhoji, as his successor. This adoption had been for some time past resolved on, and seems to have formed the cement of the good understanding which had subsisted between Janoji and Mudhoji during the most difficult periods of the late wars with the Peshwa and the Nizam.

The Peshwa's assent to this arrangement had been obtained, and Janoji was on his return to Nagpur, when he was taken suddenly ill at a small village, near Fuljapur, on the Godaveri, and died in the beginning of May 1772 A. D.

As a politician, Janoji was not a successful ruler, though he made some additions to his dominions on the side of Berar. He seems to have overacted his part towards both the Peshwa and the Nizam, and to have ended by making them unanimous in their hostility towards him. His internal civil arrangements did him more credit, and he has the reputation of having settled what his father had only conquered, and of being the best of the Mahratta rulers of the Nagpur family.

Before Mudhoji, with his son Raghoji, could reach Nagpur, Sabaji S. B. Bhonsla.—1772 A. D. Bhonsla, by the contrivance of Deria Bai, Janoji's widow, and the principal ministers of the State, had assumed the Government, and written to Poona for a confirmation of their proceedings; and, whether from superior advantages being promised on the part of Sabaji, or from his character appearing better suited to the situation of a dependent Chief than that of Mudhoji, the Court of Poona did not hesitate to set aside the arrangement which Madho Rao had so recently sanctioned. At home he was opposed by Deria Bai, who had acquired so much influence during Janoji's life-time, that she was hardly dreaded less than himself. As Mudhoji had lived separate from his brother at Chanda, and had his own Court and ministers, the interests of the old servants of Janoji were also at stake should affairs fall into Mudhoji's hands, who claimed to act as regent during the minority of his son. At the head of the opposition was Dewakar Pandit, who had mortally offended Mudhoji during his brother's life-time, and naturally dreaded retaliation.

Mudhoji was at first unable to resist the combination against him, and retired to Chanda; but on the death of Madho Rao, and the accession of Raghunath Rao to power, as the guardian of Narain Rao, he prepared to assert his claim. He was defeated by Sabaji and Deria Bai near Akola, in Berar, and to prevent further bloodshed, the Mahratta Chiefs on each side interfered to establish a reconciliation, the terms

1773 A. D.

of which were negotiated through the Peshwa's Vakil, and guaranteed by the Chiefs in question. By this treaty Raghoji was adopted by Deria Bai, and Sabaji and Mudhoji were jointly to exercise the government.

The reconciliation on such terms (as might be expected) was of short duration, and we find Deria Bai herself soon after ranged on the side of Mudhoji. The Nizam came in to the assistance of Sabaji, and Mudhoji was hard pressed, until the murder of Narain Rao called off the attention of the Court of Hyderabad to a more interesting scene. August 1773 A. D. Mudhoji now took the side of Raghunath Rao, and Sabaji that of the ministerial party, and each joined the contending armies then in the field. Raghunath Rao was soon borne down by the combination against him, and fled to Burhanpur. Mudhoji had shared in his disasters, and came to Ellichpur destitute of everything. Deria Bai had deserted his cause for that of Sabaji, and being suspected of an intention again to change her party, she was seized, and her camp was plundered by a party of the Nizam's troops at Burhanpur, by the contrivance of Sabaji, who, at the same time, got possession of Raghoji whom she had detained from his father.

With the aid of Ismael Khan, the Nawab of Ellichpur, and joined by a small, but veteran force under Muhammad Yusuf, one of the murderers of Narain Rao, Mudhoji was enabled to take the field after the rains of 1774, and the battle of Panchgaon, near Nagpur, which ended in Sabaji's death by the hand of his brother, in a moment of apparent January 1775 A. D. victory, confirmed the nominal designation of Raja, with the title of Sena Saheb Subah, to Raghoji, and the real power, with the inferior title of Sena Dhurandhar, to Mudhoji.

As soon as the mourning for Sabaji had expired, Mudhoji seated his son Raghoji on the masnad, and employed himself in settling the affairs of the Government, which had fallen into some confusion. With some exceptions, he confirmed in their offices the ministers of Sabaji, but he confined Diwakar Pandit, whom, however, he was shortly afterwards compelled to release, as the only person qualified to restore order to his finances, particularly to make peace with the Nizam and Peshwa. Peace with the Nizam was accomplished with the loss of the fort of Amner, and some other places in Berar. To complete his reconciliation with the ruling party at Poona, he submitted to a sacrifice which must ever stain his name with the charges of perfidy and ingratitude—the sacrifice of Muhammad Yusuf, whom he seized and delivered up to the Poona ministers.

He seems to have taken little or no part in the stormy politics of the day, and his reconciliation with the Poona ministers was not cordial. In the end of 1776 the death of the Raja of Mandla induced him to prepare an army to invade that country, to which he advanced a claim, founded on some former sanads from Poona, giving away, as usual, what was not theirs to bestow, but which were sufficient in the eyes of Mahrattas to sanction any violation of the rights of other Chiefs or States. To secure the acquiescence of the Peshwa in his views, he sent his son Raghoji with

1776 A. D.

Dewakar Pandit to Purundhur in January 1777; nothing, however, of consequence resulted from this embassy, and more important matters soon after intervened to divert his attention.

An alliance with the State of Nagpur had long been the object of the Bengal Presidency, and some advances had been made to it, under Lord Clive, in the reign of Janoji. Sabaji had sent a Vakil to Calcutta in 1773, and through the same person, named Beni Ram Pandit, a confidential intercourse had been established by Mr. Hastings, both with Mudhoji and with his minister Dewakar Pandit. Lord Clive had endeavoured to obtain Cuttack from Janoji, but without success; nor was Mr. Hastings' proposal, to rent a tract of country along that coast, more acceptable to Mudhoji. Still the forms of confidence were kept up by Mudhoji, and Mr. Hastings hoped that he would enter cordially into the war now commencing in support of Raghoba.

To communicate with the Court of Nagpur, Mr. Elliot was despatched from Calcutta, and on his untimely death, his powers were transferred to Colonel Goddard. Mudhoji gave every assistance to the march of Goddard's detachment, in hopes of obtaining Hoshangabad and Mandla, through its assistance, but he was backward in assenting to Mr. Hastings' general plans in favour of Raghoba, which were somewhat at variance with his own pretensions.

Mudhoji's neutrality was a great point gained to the British Government; but his conduct having rendered him suspected to the Poona ministers, and negotiations for peace occurring with Goddard, Mudhoji sent Dewakar Pandit, in June 1779 to Poona. The pacific discussions having terminated, Dewakar Pandit concluded a treaty in the name of his master with the Peshwa, in September 1779, in which Mudhoji engaged to invade Bengal, and in reward for this service, when duly performed, Mandla was to be conferred, as a military fief of the Poona State, on his son Chimnaji Bhonsla, with the title of Sena Bahadur. This was part of a confederacy between the Mahrattas, Nizam and Hyder, for the subversion of the British power.

Mudhoji performed his part, in sending Chimnaji with a large army to Cuttack, where, however, he did not arrive until late in May 1780, precluding any operations for that season. Every part of his proceedings was made known by Mudhoji to Mr. Hastings, with assurances that he would do nothing against the English to which he was not forced by a regard to appearances and his own safety. At this time, the defeat of Colonel Baillie's detachment, the retreat of the army under General Munro, and the desperate state of affairs on the coast of Coromandel, rendered it necessary that every other object should give place to the preservation of the Carnatic. Under these circumstances, Mr. Hastings did not hesitate to buy off Mudhoji, and as the latter had entered into the war, chiefly to save his credit at Poona, and with the subsidiary view of making the most of circumstances, he did not refuse the compromise. Being, moreover, disgusted at the want of confidence shown towards him by the Poona ministers in settling the affair of Mandla, the sanads for which were still withheld, Chimnaji not only gave a free passage to Colonel Pearse's detachment, but, in a treaty, dated the 6th April 1781, agreed to leave

Orissa for the sum of thirteen lakhs of rupees paid down, and a loan of ten more promised, with our aid to put him in possession of Garha Mandla and to furnish two thousand horse, at the expense of the Company, to act against Hyder. Diwakar Pandit was to have met Mr. Hastings at Benares to settle other matters; but on his death, Mr. Chapman was sent to Nagpur for the purpose of endeavouring, through Mudhoji, to conclude a peace with the Mahrathas. In the meantime, however, Scindia had been employed by General Goddard for the same end, and a treaty was concluded in May 1782; the war with Hyder, and after his death with Tippu, continuing until March 1784.

Mudhoji was engaged during a part of this period in suppressing a formidable insurrection of the Pathan jagirdars in Berar, who had always borne the Mahratta yoke with great impatience, and were incited by the Nizam's authorities to frequent conflicts with those of the Bhonsla. On this occasion, they were defeated with great slaughter, near Akot, and Mudhoji succeeded in getting the Nizam's chief officer in Berar replaced by Salabat Khan, who has since been distinguished for his attachment to the English.

Mudhoji now resolved on paying a visit to Poona, as necessary to establish confidence between him and the Peshwa; and a treaty, favourable to Mudhoji, was concluded by him in September 1785. He shortly afterwards obtained the long withheld sanads for Mandla and the valley of the Nerbudda, on giving a written engagement to pay twenty-seven lakhs of rupees.

Mudhoji sent his son Chimnaji to attend the Peshwa's army in the war with Tippu, which had then broken out, and returned himself to Nagpur.

His brother Bimbaji died in November 1787 and Mudhoji in 1788, leaving his dominions in a perfect state of tranquility, and bequeathing a considerable treasure, both in cash and jewels, to his son Raghoji.

Raghoji was twenty-eight years of age when he assumed the Government. He had been brought up to business, and having remained during the life-time of Mudhoji in perfect submission and obedience to his father, and on the best terms with his ministers, his succession produced none of those changes in the administration which usually attend the commencement of a new reign. The only disturbances which existed in the country were caused by the widow of Bimbaji in Chhattisgarh; but these were soon remedied, and in December, Raghoji repaired to Poona, where he concluded a new treaty, by which he obtained a confirmation of his titles and dignity, and of all former grants, and bound himself to furnish a force of ten thousand men to the Poona State, when called upon. He also procured for his younger brother, Yenkeji, his father's title of Sena Dhurandhar, and Chanda and Chhattisgarh were allotted to him as an appanage. Chimnaji retained what had formerly been conferred upon him in

Mandla and Berar, but he did not live long after his brother's return to Nagpur. He died suddenly in August 1789, and his death was generally attributed to witchcraft or poison, employed at the instigation of Raghoji to rid himself of a brother whom he both hated and feared.

1789 A. D.

Raghoji's contingent accompanied the Peshwa's troops in the war with Tippu, which commenced in 1789; but his attention was chiefly absorbed in domestic arrangements, and in watching the politics of Poona under the ascendancy of Mahadji Scindia, of which he was very jealous. He entered heartily into the war with the Nizam, which led to the battle of Khudlah in March 1795, and participated in the advantages of the disgraceful terms imposed upon the Nizam in consequence of that event. He then accompanied the Peshwa to Poona, where he renewed his engagements, and obtained fresh orders for the delivery of the districts on the south bank of the Nerbudda, which were withheld from him through the influence of Scindia, as well as a promise of Hoshangabad, and other places in Bhopal. He had scarcely reached Jalna, on his return towards Nagpur, when he received intelligence of the death of the Peshwa, Madho Rao. On this event Raghoji sent his ministers to Poona, and remained himself in Berar.

1790 A. D.

11th March 1795 A. D.

Resolving to take advantage of the confusion caused by the death of Madho Rao, and authorized by the late treaty, and by the advice of Nana Farnavis, he despatched a force to seize upon Hoshangabad and the Nerbudda Valley. The former place was taken by storm in the middle of March 1796. Little progress had been made in the conquest of the other districts, when Raghoji was summoned to Poona, to be present at the inauguration of Baji Rao in the dignity of Peshwa, which took place in December.

27th October 1795 A. D.

1796 A. D.

In all proceedings previous to this event, Raghoji's ministers, at Poona, co-operated with Nana, and Azim-ul-Umra, who, though a prisoner, exercised a wonderful influence over all parties, and accomplished his own deliverance, as well as the release of his master, from the most burdensome of the terms recently extorted from him by the Mahrattas. Raghoji also, who had not lost a moment in repairing to Poona, when he learnt that Nana had returned thither from Mhar, obtained some further advantages in a new treaty concluded in March 1797. The chief articles were the cession to himself of the whole of Garha Mandla north of the Nerbudda, on the terms annexed to the original grant to Chimnaji, *viz.*, the payment of twenty-six lakhs of rupees, and a quota of three thousand troops, and that of the fort of Chowargarh, which was necessary to the safe occupation of the valley of the Nerbudda.

March 1797 A. D.

During the following year Raghoji obtained possession of nearly the whole of Garha Mandla, and the valley of the Nerbudda. Chowargarh was not taken until February 1799, and the forts of Tejgarh and Mandla were given up by the Chief of Saugor in recompense of the aid afforded to him by the Nagpur troops against an invasion by

1798 A. D.

Mir Khan in November of the same year. Dhamoni, another strong fort detached from the Mandla District, had been previously acquired by cession from a Lodhi Rajput, who had seized it from the Bundelas; so that nothing now remained but to settle the newly acquired districts.

Raghoji took no part in the transactions at Poona, which followed his last visit to that capital, under the ascendancy of Dowlat Rao Scindia. The imprisonment of Nana Farnavis was a severe blow to his interests and feelings. It was during this period that Yeshwant Rao Holkar fled to Nagpur, after the murder of his brother at Poona. The Raja, in order to conciliate Scindia, seized him and kept him in prison for some months, until the beginning of March 1799, when he effected his escape to Malwa, and commenced his eminent career.

1799 A. D.

With the British Government Raghoji's relations were those of simple amity. Since Mr. Forster, who was deputed to Nagpur during the last war with Tippu, and who died there in January 1791, no English envoy has been sent to Nagpur. Few subjects of collision between the Governments existed, but the degraded state of the Peshwa's power under the ascendancy of Scindia, the profligate character of his minister Sirji Rao, and the evident hostility of that person towards the English and the Nizam, coupled with the expectation of a war with Tippu, which would have presented an opportunity to give it effect, rendered it expedient to endeavour to draw Raghoji into the triple alliance existing between the English, the Nizam, and the Peshwa, as a means at once of strengthening the confederacy against Tippu, and of forming a counterpoise to the dangerous influence of Scindia. For this purpose, Mr. Colebrooke was appointed Resident at Nagpur on the 23rd July 1798; but he did not arrive at that capital until the 18th March 1799.

1799 A. D.

The Raja willingly assented to the proposed march of a Bengal force through his territories to join the army of Fort St. George, which was the first point proposed to him, and he professed a readiness to enter into a separate treaty with the British Government in preference to a joint one, when all necessity for it, in its main object, was ended by the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippu in May 1799.

The object of opposing Scindia remained to be provided for, and Mr. Colebrooke was still instructed to endeavour to obtain the accession of the Raja to a treaty of defensive alliance expressly against that Chief. For a time there seemed some prospect of inducing Raghoji, through his fears of Scindia, to join the confederacy, and even to accept a subsidiary force; but the jealousy entertained by the other Mahratta powers of the great increase derived to the British ascendancy from the fall of Tippu, and the partition of his dominions, was soon paramount in Raghoji's mind over his former apprehensions, and there being no prospect of a change in his feelings, and even suspicions of his meditating to join Scindia in his projected confederacy against the British Government, Mr. Colebrooke quitted Nagpur in May 1801.

1801 A. D.

In the end of the same year Raghoji despatched his ministers, Sridhar Pandit and Krishna Rao Chitnavis, to Poona, agreeably to repeated applications from Baji Rao. In the meantime, he stood aloof from the contest which was

carrying on between Holkar and Scindia, and which had obliged the latter to repair to Malwa. He exhorted them, however, to compose their quarrel, with a view to future operations against the English. Raghoji was unsuccessful in his endeavours to this effect; and his ministers at Poona were equally so in theirs to prevent matters from proceeding to extremities between Holkar and Baji Rao. The battle of Poona, in October 1802, defeated all his immediate plans, by inducing the Peshwa to conclude the treaty of Bassein.

1802 A. D.

Before the return of Raghoji's ministers in March 1803, Scindia had sent a vakil to Nagpur to urge the Raja to join him in bringing Holkar to reason, and remedying the step taken by Baji Rao of throwing himself into the hands of the English; and shortly afterwards, Scindia's minister, Jadhoo Rao Bhaskar, arrived on a similar mission. The result of these negotiations was, that a meeting was appointed to take place between the Raja and Scindia, and that Holkar was also to be invited to an interview, to concert measures for the preservation of the Mahratta empire. Scindia who had collected a large force at Ujain, to chastise Holkar, crossed the Nerbudda on the 4th of February 1803, and on the 23rd reached Burhanpur where he was joined by the British Resident, Colonel Collins. Raghoji did not leave Nagpur till the middle of May, and the concerted meeting between him and Scindia took place on the 4th of June, near Malkapur in Berar.

Raghoji had, in the meantime, again exerted himself unsuccessfully to settle the differences between Holkar and Scindia, but Holkar seems to have been either distrustful of the issue of the confederacy, or desirous to benefit himself by withholding his aid, until he could obtain more advantageous terms than those he had rejected: at the same time, he advised the confederates to avoid general actions, and to invade the British dominions, instead of defending their own. He offered himself to conduct the war in Hindustan, if they would entrust it entirely to him, but no stipulations could be agreed upon.

The battle of Assaye was fatal to Scindia's military career in the Deccan.

23th September 1803 A. D.

Raghoji's troops had little share in this action. In the battle of Argaon, he in his turn suffered the loss of the best part of his regular infantry and artillery. Cuttack had previously been occupied, and his dominions were threatened on the side of Chhattisgarh. The fall of Gawilgarh completed his ruin, and on the 17th December, he no longer hesitated to sign the treaty of Deogaon, which deprived him of Berar and Cuttack, as well as of some dependencies on the frontier of the latter province, and obliged him to submit all his differences with the Nizam and Peshwa to the British Government, and to admit a British Resident to be stationary at his Court for the future.

17th December.

Raghoji's territories, before the war yielded a revenue of about one crore of rupees. By the treaty they were reduced to sixty lakhs. The Nizam gained about twenty-six lakhs in Berar, and the Company the rest. Raghoji's military force, at the commencement of the war, consisted of eighteen thousand horse, and twenty-five thousand infantry, of which eleven thousand were regular battalions, and four thousand Arabs, both of which suffered severely at Argaon and Gawilgarh. His field artillery consisted of about ninety pieces of ordnance, of which

he lost thirty-eight at Argaon. The regular infantry were never replaced, and he reduced his cavalry very considerably at the peace.

Raghoji reached Nagpur, on his return from this disastrous contest, on the 25th of January 1804, attended by the British representative, the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone. His immediate

1804 A. D.

attention, on reaching his capital, was directed to recover Hoshangabad and Seoni which had been re-taken by the Nawab of Bhopal during the war, in settling his new boundaries, and in securing his subjects from the effects of the famine, which was felt over the rest of the Deccan, but which his dominions only partially experienced. To retrieve his finances, he exacted considerable sums of money from his ministers and richest subjects, and he was not more scrupulous in settling the arrears of his troops.

Some discussions arose with the British Resident, connected with the recent treaty, which were not settled before the middle of the year; and the successes of Holkar during the rains, and Scindia's dubious conduct under the counsels of his father-in-law, Sirji Rao, for a time made upon Raghoji, smarting under his recent losses, an impression unfavorable to the continuance of peace. Some actual hostilities even were committed by His Highness's troops in Berar; but for these he made ample apologies and atonement before the end of the year; and though pressed both by Scindia and Holkar to join them against the British Government, and even harassed by the Pindaris of the former Chief, in resentment for the backwardness in the common cause, Raghoji persisted in maintaining his relations with the British Government essentially unimpaired during the transactions of the following year, which ended in the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Holkar on the banks of the Hyphesis on the 24th of December.

1805 A. D.

Some attempts had been made by the British Resident to induce the Raja to accede to a subsidiary treaty, but his jealousy on this point was not to be overcome, though he at one time, offered to pay for the temporary aid of some British troops. Lord Cornwallis had projected to restore to the Raja, Sambalpur and other late dependencies of Chhattisgarh on the Cuttack frontier, and Sir George Barlow intended, if the Nizam's consent could be obtained, to add some districts on the east bank of the Wardha, of which the Raja and the Nizam had the joint collections. The first mentioned cessions were made during the year 1806, though it was not until the year 1808 that

1806 A. D.

they took full effect, owing to the resistance of some of the zamindars to the change of masters; but the Raja declined, from motives of pride, accepting the districts on the Wardha, which the Nizam would only grant as a Jagir. Indeed, the Raja was by no means thankful for the restoration of Sambalpur, &c., having formed exaggerated expectations, from misconceiving some general expression in a letter from Lord Cornwallis of the intentions of the British Government towards him, and which he long continued to maintain, had extended to giving him back Berar and Cuttack,—in one word, the whole of the conquests made from him in the late war.

The recovery of Hoshangabad and Seoni, and the conquest of Chainpur Bari belonging to Bhopal were effected by Raghoji in 1807, in prosecution of a confederacy formed with Scindia.

1807 A. D.

for the entire conquest and partition of that principality, but these acquisitions were but a poor compensation for the expenses attending them, and for the constant loss, both of revenue and credit, which the Nagpur State continued to sustain from the Pindaris, until a more imminent danger threatened it from the aggression of Mir Khan in 1809.

1809 A. D.

This danger arose partly in a demand made by Holkar for a restoration of jewels and property, said to have been plundered from him when he was confined at Nagpur, as formerly mentioned, but chiefly in the restless and ambitious character of Mir Khan and the want of the predatory bands collected under this standard. Mir Khan advanced to the vicinity of Bhopal in the middle of 1809, where he was joined by the Nawab and most of the Pindaris. He ravaged Garha Mandla, and as soon as the Nerbudda became fordable, after the rains, he crossed that river, and had reduced the Raja's commander at Srinagar to promise a considerable sum of money in the name of the Raja as the price of his retreat, when he received a letter from the Governor-General, warning him to desist from his unwarrantable designs against the State of Nagpur. The Raja, on his part, refused to confirm the agreement entered into by his commander, and Mir Khan suffered a defeat, on quitting Jubbulpore, from the Raja's troops that hung upon his rear. He made some subsequent attacks, in conjunction with the Nawab of Bhopal, on the Raja's army on the Nerbudda, to revenge, what he called, a double treachery; but his attacks were repelled, and he finally desisted from them on the approach of the British army under Colonel Close.

The Raja had made no application for aid from the British Government, but the Governor-General, Lord Minto, considering the general peace and tranquillity of India, and, more directly, the security of our allies in the Deccan, to be menaced by Mir Khan's proceedings, and being desirous to show some indulgence to Raghoji, on account of his losses in the late war, which exceeded those of Scindia in proportion to their respective resources, resolved to afford that aid, both without its being asked and without any demand of compensation. Even this liberal conduct failed to have its proper effect on Raghoji's jealous disposition, and when, on the return of the British troops from Seronje to Hoshangabad, the Raja was offered a force, on certain conditions, of a subsidiary nature, to secure him in future from similar dangers to that which he had just escaped, he declined it in rather offensive terms. He shortly afterwards repented of his refusal, and wished to detain the British troops on the Nerbudda; but Lord Minto thought it would be undignified to listen to his forced and jealous proposals, and subsequently, when they were again renewed by Raghoji, on being hard pressed by the Pindaris, who in November 1811, had even burnt one of the suburbs of his capital, the expeditions to the French islands and Java, which were in progress, were a bar to their acceptance on our part. After these unsuccessful overtures on Raghoji's part, the irruptions of the Pindaris into the Company's territories seem to have induced in him a belief that the British Government must, for its own sake, be forced to suppress the Pindaris, and a consequent determination, either not to accede to a subsidiary treaty to all, or at least not without additional advantages which he thought he might obtain by waiting for the crisis. In this mind

1811 A. D.

1814 A. D.

Raghoji evaded all attempts to bring forward the negotiation on our side in 1814, and his rejection of it was now

deemed final by the Marquis of Hastings.

After being relieved by our aid from the danger which had threatened him from Mir Khan, Raghoji's views were turned towards making acquisitions of territory in Bhopal and Garhakota, a petty chiefship in the vicinity of Saugor, which had assisted Mir Khan in his recent invasion. In these objects, he was very anxious to obtain our countenance; and our unwillingness to encourage unreasonable plans of conquest, which were in direct opposition to the spirit of the alliance we proposed to him, was, in no small degree, an obstacle to his acceding to that alliance. The Raja's troops had been besieging Garhakota for several months, when Baptiste, one of Scindia's commanders, obtained possession of the place for his master in April 1811, and attacked the Nagpur forces, which were compelled to retire with considerable loss. This was the termination of Raghoji's views of aggrandisement in that quarter.

On the side of Bhopal, he had recovered possession of Chainpur Bari and Chowkigarh, through our means, in 1810 and on the

1810 A. D.

failure of our endeavours to mediate a peace between him and the Nawab, he negotiated with Scindia for co-operation in the entire conquest and partition of that principality. The unsuccessful siege of Bhopal, by the combined forces of Raghoji and Scindia, which lasted from November 1813 to July 1814 and which is memorable for the display it afforded of the bravery and devotion of Wazir Muhammad Khan and a gallant band of Pathans, in its defence, was the chief result of the confederacy. Further attempts against Bhopal were prevented by the interference of the British Government, which, on the final rejection of our offers of alliance at Nagpur, had determined to take that principality under its protection, with a view of forming there a station for the British force to keep the Pindaris in check. This interference, however unpalatable to the Raja, was productive of no material change in his general conduct. He submitted, though with reluctance, to the prohibition from prosecuting hostilities against Bhopal, and when he was apprised in 1815 that our views in that quarter had failed, he still abstained from hostilities, because we would not declare that we abandoned that principality to his disposal.

Raghoji Bhonsla died on the 22nd of March 1816 at the age of fifty-eight years. He was coarse in his person and rustic in his manners. His affability was without dignity, and though

1816 A. D.

to a certain degree popular and successful for the attainment of his immediate ends, it too frequently degenerated into meanness when money was his object.

He was particularly fond of children—a kind and too indulgent father and uncle to his son and nephew as children, though too easily estranged from them when they grew up, from the natural jealousy of his temper. He was a dutiful son, but a bad brother.

He was always indefatigable in business, but too minute and prying in his inspection into the details of his Government. He was passionate but timid; obstinate and vindictive. His ruling passions were avarice and rapacity, and they seemed to increase with his years; whilst they had an excuse, to silence the scruples which might otherwise have opposed themselves to the odious and

Mandla and Berar, but he did not live long after his brother's return to Nagpur. He died suddenly in August 1789, and his death was generally attributed to witchcraft or poison, employed at the instigation of Raghoji to rid himself of a brother whom he both hated and feared.

Raghoji's contingent accompanied the Peshwa's troops in the war with Tippu, which commenced in 1789; but his attention was chiefly absorbed in domestic arrangements, and in watching the politics of Poona under the ascendancy of Mahadji Scindia, of which he was very jealous. He entered heartily into the war with the Nizam, which led to the battle of Khudlah in March 1795, and participated in the advantages of the disgraceful terms imposed upon the Nizam in consequence of that event. He then accompanied the Peshwa to Poona, where he renewed his engagements, and obtained fresh orders for the delivery of the districts on the south bank of the Nerbudda, which were withheld from him through the influence of Scindia, as well as a promise of Hoshangabad, and other places in Bhopal. He had scarcely reached Jalna, on his return towards Nagpur, when he received intelligence of the death of the Peshwa, Madho Rao. On this event Raghoji sent his ministers to Poona, and remained himself in Berar.

Resolving to take advantage of the confusion caused by the death of Madho Rao, and authorized by the late treaty, and by the advice of Nana Farnavis, he despatched a force to seize upon Hoshangabad and the Nerbudda Valley. The former place was taken by storm in the middle of March 1796. Little progress had been made in the conquest of the other districts, when Raghoji was summoned to Poona, to be present at the inauguration of Baji Rao in the dignity of Peshwa, which took place in December.

In all proceedings previous to this event, Raghoji's ministers, at Poona, co-operated with Nana, and Azim-ul-Umra, who, though a prisoner, exercised a wonderful influence over all parties, and accomplished his own deliverance, as well as the release of his master, from the most burdensome of the terms recently extorted from him by the Mahrattas. Raghoji also, who had not lost a moment in repairing to Poona, when he learnt that Nana had returned thither from Mhar, obtained some further advantages in a new treaty concluded in

March 1797. The chief articles were the cession to himself of the whole of Garha Mandla north of the Nerbudda, on the terms annexed to the original grant to Chimnaji, *vis.*, the payment of twenty-six lakhs of rupees, and a quota of three thousand troops, and that of the fort of Chowragarh, which was necessary to the safe occupation of the valley of the Nerbudda.

During the following year Raghoji obtained possession of nearly the whole of Garha Mandla, and the valley of the Nerbudda. Chowragarh was not taken until February 1799, and the forts of Tejgarh and Mandla were given up by the Chief of Saugor in recompense of the aid afforded to him by the Nagpur troops against an invasion by

Mir Khan in November of the same year. Dhamoni, another strong fort detached from the Mandla District, had been previously acquired by cession from a Lodhi Rajput, who had seized it from the Bundelas; so that nothing now remained but to settle the newly acquired districts.

Raghoji took no part in the transactions at Poona, which followed his last visit to that capital, under the ascendancy of Dowlat Rao Scindia. The imprisonment of Nana Farnavis was a severe blow to his interests and feelings. It was during this period that Yeshwant Rao Holkar fled to Nagpur, after the murder of his brother at Poona. The Raja, in order to conciliate Scindia, seized him and kept him in prison for some months, until the beginning of March 1799, when he effected his escape to Malwa, and commenced his eminent career.

With the British Government Raghoji's relations were those of simple amity. Since Mr. Forster, who was deputed to Nagpur during the last war with Tippu, and who died there in January 1791, no English envoy has been sent to Nagpur. Few subjects of collision between the Governments existed, but the degraded state of the Peshwa's power under the ascendancy of Scindia, the profligate character of his minister Sirji Rao, and the evident hostility of that person towards the English and the Nizam, coupled with the expectation of a war with Tippu, which would have presented an opportunity to give it effect, rendered it expedient to endeavour to draw Raghoji into the triple alliance existing between the English, the Nizam, and the Peshwa, as a means at once of strengthening the confederacy against Tippu, and of forming a counterpoise to the dangerous influence of Scindia. For this purpose, Mr. Colebrooke was appointed Resident at Nagpur on the 23rd July 1798; but he did not arrive at that capital until the 18th March 1799.

The Raja willingly assented to the proposed march of a Bengal force through his territories to join the army of Fort St. George, which was the first point proposed to him, and he professed a readiness to enter into a separate treaty with the British Government in preference to a joint one, when all necessity for it, in its main object, was ended by the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippu in May 1799.

The object of opposing Scindia remained to be provided for, and Mr. Colebrooke was still instructed to endeavour to obtain the accession of the Raja to a treaty of defensive alliance expressly against that Chief. For a time there seemed some prospect of inducing Raghoji, through his fears of Scindia, to join the confederacy, and even to accept a subsidiary force; but the jealousy entertained by the other Mahratta powers of the great increase derived to the British ascendancy from the fall of Tippu, and the partition of his dominions, was soon paramount in Raghoji's mind over his former apprehensions, and there being no prospect of a change in his feelings, and even suspicions of his meditating to join Scindia in his projected confederacy against the British Government, Mr. Colebrooke quitted Nagpur in May 1801.

In the end of the same year Raghoji despatched his ministers, Sridhar Pandit and Krishna Rao Chitnavis, to Poona, agreeably to repeated applications from Baji Rao. In the meantime, he stood aloof from the contest which was

for the entire conquest and partition of that principality, but these acquisitions were but a poor compensation for the expenses attending them, and for the constant loss, both of revenue and credit, which the Nagpur State continued to sustain from the Pindaris, until a more imminent danger threatened it from the aggression of Mir Khan in 1809.

1809 A. D.

This danger arose partly in a demand made by Holkar for a restoration of jewels and property, said to have been plundered from him when he was confined at Nagpur, as formerly mentioned, but chiefly in the restless and ambitious character of Mir Khan and the want of the predatory bands collected under this standard. Mir Khan advanced to the vicinity of Bhopal in the middle of 1809, where he was joined by the Nawab and most of the Pindaris. He ravaged Garha Mandla, and as soon as the Nerbudda became fordable, after the rains, he crossed that river, and had reduced the Raja's commander at Srinagar to promise a considerable sum of money in the name of the Raja as the price of his retreat, when he received a letter from the Governor-General, warning him to desist from his unwarrantable designs against the State of Nagpur. The Raja, on his part, refused to confirm the agreement entered into by his commander, and Mir Khan suffered a defeat, on quitting Jubbulpore, from the Raja's troops that hung upon his rear. He made some subsequent attacks, in conjunction with the Nawab of Bhopal, on the Raja's army on the Nerbudda, to revenge, what he called, a double treachery; but his attacks were repelled, and he finally desisted from them on the approach of the British army under Colonel Close.

The Raja had made no application for aid from the British Government, but the Governor-General, Lord Minto, considering the general peace and tranquillity of India, and, more directly, the security of our allies in the Deccan, to be menaced by Mir Khan's proceedings, and being desirous to show some indulgence to Raghoji, on account of his losses in the late war, which exceeded those of Scindia in proportion to their respective resources, resolved to afford that aid, both without its being asked and without any demand of compensation. Even this liberal conduct failed to have its proper effect on Raghoji's jealous disposition, and when, on the return of the British troops from Seronje to Hoshangabad, the Raja was offered a force, on certain conditions, of a subsidiary nature, to secure him in future from similar dangers to that which he had just escaped, he declined it in rather offensive terms. He shortly afterwards repented of his refusal, and wished to detain the British troops on the Nerbudda; but Lord Minto thought it would be undignified to listen to his forced and jealous proposals, and subsequently, when they were again renewed by Raghoji, on being hard pressed by the Pindaris, who in November 1811, had even burnt one of the suburbs of his capital, the expeditions to the French islands and Java, which were in progress, were a bar to their acceptance on our part. After these unsuccessful overtures on Raghoji's part, the irruptions of the Pindaris into the Company's territories seem to have induced in him a belief that the British Government must, for its own sake, be forced to suppress the Pindaris, and a consequent determination, either not to accede to a subsidiary treaty to all, or at least not without additional advantages which he thought he might obtain by waiting for the crisis. In this mind

1811 A. D.

1814 A. D.

Raghoji evaded all attempts to bring forward the negotiation on our side in 1814, and his rejection of it was now

deemed final by the Marquis of Hastings.

After being relieved by our aid from the danger which had threatened him from Mir Khan, Raghoji's views were turned towards making acquisitions of territory in Bhopal and Garhakota, a petty chiefship in the vicinity of Saugor, which had assisted Mir Khan in his recent invasion. In these objects, he was very anxious to obtain our countenance; and our unwillingness to encourage unreasonable plans of conquest, which were in direct opposition to the spirit of the alliance we proposed to him, was, in no small degree, an obstacle to his acceding to that alliance. The Raja's troops had been besieging Garhakota for several months, when Bapiste, one of Scindia's commanders, obtained possession of the place for his master in April 1811, and attacked the Nagpur forces, which were compelled to retire with considerable loss. This was the termination of Raghoji's views of aggrandisement in that quarter.

On the side of Bhopal, he had recovered possession of Chainpur Bari and Chowkigarh, through our means, in 1810 and on the

1810 A. D.

failure of our endeavours to mediate a peace between him and the Nawab, he negotiated with Scindia for co-operation in the entire conquest and partition of that principality. The unsuccessful siege of Bhopal, by the combined forces of Raghoji and Scindia, which lasted from November 1813 to July 1814 and which is memorable for the display it afforded of the bravery and devotion of Wazir Muhammad Khan and a gallant band of Pathans, in its defence, was the chief result of the confederacy. Further attempts against Bhopal were prevented by the interference of the British Government, which, on the final rejection of our offers of alliance at Nagpur, had determined to take that principality under its protection, with a view of forming there a station for the British force to keep the Pindaris in check. This interference, however unpalatable to the Raja, was productive of no material change in his general conduct. He submitted, though with reluctance, to the prohibition from prosecuting hostilities against Bhopal, and when he was apprised in 1815 that our views in that quarter had failed, he still abstained from hostilities, because we would not declare that we abandoned that principality to his disposal.

Raghoji Bhonsla died on the 22nd of March 1816 at the age of fifty-eight years. He was coarse in his person and rustic in his

1816 A. D.

manners. His affability was without dignity, and though to a certain degree popular and successful for the attainment of his immediate ends, it too frequently degenerated into meanness when money was his object.

He was particularly fond of children—a kind and too indulgent father and uncle to his son and nephew as children, though too easily estranged from them when they grew up, from the natural jealousy of his temper. He was a dutiful son, but a bad brother.

He was always indefatigable in business, but too minute and prying in his inspection into the details of his Government. He was passionate but timid; obstinate and vindictive. His ruling passions were avarice and rapacity, and they seemed to increase with his years; whilst they had an excuse, to silence the scruples which might otherwise have opposed themselves to the odious and

tyrannical means by which alone they could be gratified, in the reduction of his means and their inadequacy to his expenditure, which his pride would not allow him avowedly to lessen. He was badly served, both in his civil affairs and in the field. In the former, his prying temper rendered him a prey to the professional mutsaddis, whom he desired to outwit; and his shameful treatment of his troops on several occasions, and his general system of trickery in the paymaster's department, as well as his proverbial cowardice, were inconsistent with any sentiment of respect or devotion towards his person in any branch of his army. His Government was, in fact, kept together, chiefly from the absence of any external pressure to dissolve it, and in some degree by his personal weight and experience, and the remembrance of what had been.

He was certainly hostile to the British Government, and no benefits could efface from his recollection the losses he had sustained; but he bitterly repented having been betrayed into an abandonment of the temporizing policy of his family, by joining the Mahratta confederacy of 1803. He had sense enough to see that nothing open could be attempted with any probability of success to shake our power, but he was not deterred from encouraging any surreptitious efforts to undermine it, and credulous to an absurd degree with regard to any reports to our disadvantage. He was too old to be enterprising, saw the folly of coalitions with such materials as India presented, and whilst he seemed resolved never to part with his fancied independence, he strove carefully to avoid giving us tangible offence, though he was equally disinclined to do anything to please us, when he had no immediate object in view.

This Prince was Raghoji's only son, and at his father's death about thirty-eight years of age. Early sensual indulgences, and injudicious remedies for diseases contracted therefrom, had gradually undermined a constitution originally strong, and he was now, in intellect, weak, if not quite dementate; in body totally helpless, being blind and lame, from a paralysis of his lower extremities.

Under such circumstances, disputes arose in the family as to the proper person to act as regent for a prince who was utterly incapable of conducting his own affairs. The immediate possession of his person, and of the treasures and jewels of the State, enabled one of the late Raja's widows (not Parsoji's mother, who had been long dead) with the aid of Gujaba Dada Gujar, a nephew of Raghoji by the female side, and Dharmaji Bhonsla, a *chela* of the family, to hold, for a short time, the reins of government to the exclusion of Mudhoji Bhonsla, commonly called Appa Sahib.

This Prince was the only son of Raghoji's younger brother, Venkoji Bhonsla, who died at Benares in 1811, and consequently, as next heir, he was entitled to the regency, to which also the general voice of the ministers and military commanders acknowledge his right. By their aid and countenance, Appa Sahib succeeded in wresting the authority and person of the Raja out of the hands of his opponents, though not until near the middle of April, when the ceremony of seating Parsoji on the *masnad* was performed.

During this struggle, Appa Sahib had made continual overtures to the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, expressive of his anxiety to obtain the protection of the

British Government; but no interference in his favour had hitherto taken place. Although, however, he had apparently established his authority without danger of its subversion, Appa Sahib by no means felt secure. He had witnessed the difficulties and embarrassments of the latter years of Raghoji, who had left the Government, in every department, in a state of confusion, through which he required all his experience and knowledge, as well as the weight of his long administration, to steer. The army, too numerous for the finances, was unpaid, and the revenues were, in a great measure, anticipated. Still there was treasure; but it was not to be thought of as an available resource, excepting in a case of extremity. Appa Sahib, too, was

constitutionally timid; and a natural view of the exigencies of his situation, particularly the necessity of reductions in the military branch and the dread of the unpopularity which they would draw upon him, as well as a good disposition towards the British Government, caused chiefly by the hospitable attentions he and his father had received in the Company's provinces, led him still to court the British alliance. As soon, therefore, as instructions to that effect were received by the Resident, the negotiation was entered upon, and a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded on the 28th May, with

18th May. Parsoji Bhonsla, through Appa Sahib as regent.

It had originally been proposed by the British Government to station the force which the Raja might stipulate to subsidize on the Nerbudda; but at Appa Sahib's particular request, as he was not less anxious about his personal safety than about the general objects of the treaty, an additional brigade of infantry was granted to him, to be posted at the capital. The only payment on account of the subsidiary force, consisting of six battalions of infantry, and a regiment of cavalry, with artillery and pioneers, demanded from the Nagpur State, was the yearly sum of seven lakhs and a half of rupees; in case of a failure in which, it was to cede an equivalent portion of territory on demand. It was further to maintain a contingent of three thousand horse, and two thousand infantry, for the purposes of the alliance, with a proviso that this force should be subject to the muster inspection and review of the Resident, and

1816 A. D. his recommendations respecting its equipment, discipline, pay, &c., be attended to. On the 18th of June, the stationary brigade arrived at Nagpur, and the main body of the force encamped in the vicinity previous to taking up a more advanced position for the rains.

Renewed intrigues against Appa Sahib's authority followed the knowledge of his negotiations with the British Government. Though these were discouraged by the Resident, to whom the opposite party now applied for countenance, Appa Sahib did not consider himself altogether safe in the palace, and moved out to a garden-house near the city, close to the new British cantonment, as ensuring his personal safety and the remainder of the British force was detained in its original positions during the rains, to give still greater countenance to his authority. Here Appa Sahib remained until the end of August, when he had settled everything to his satisfaction in the Court and army, and though he might, without danger to his person, return to the city.

As soon as practicable after the rains, the main body of the British subsidiary force took up positions on the Nerbudda, calculated to cover the Raja's

territories from the incursions of the Pindaris, and were joined by the contingent. Little aid, however, was derived from the latter, though, had the horse been at all efficient, much might have been effected to prevent the ravages which, in spite of the most active exertions of the British troops, were committed by the Pindaris during the favourable season for their operations.

In January 1817, Appa Sahib went to Chanda on the plea of settling some urgent affairs. During his absence, Raja Parsoji Bhonsla died, suddenly, on the morning of the 1st of February.

Though his death was unexpected, yet there seemed no ground, at the time, for attributing it to any extraordinary cause, though whispers were heard, accusing Appa Sahib of having hastened his end. Such whispers had even been heard on the death of Raghoji, but without any apparent foundation beyond the vulgar love of the marvellous. They were afterwards found in the former case to be too true. However, Appa Sahib, now becoming the undoubted heir to the Government, immediately took upon himself the office and state of Raja, though he was not publicly installed on the masnad until the 21st of April.

Soon after his accession, Appa Sahib began to alter his conduct towards the British Government, dismissing from his councils the ministers who had negotiated the late treaty, and carrying on communications contrary to that treaty, with Baji Rao and the other Mahratta chiefs. His entire

failure in the performance of his engagements with regard to the contingent, imposing upon the British Government the charge of maintaining a much larger force for the protection of his territories than he was entitled to, was another ground of just complaint against him. His conduct thus early manifested a spirit of unsteadiness, and even hostility, which it is probable would even then have broken out into action, had not the pacific termination of the discussions at

Poona, in June 1817, obliged him to feign a return to his original sentiments of cordiality and friendship towards his ally.

Some measures were agreed to, in July and August, by Appa Sahib, which promised some benefit to the common cause from his contingent, in the operations against the Pindaris now resolved upon; notwithstanding however, his professions he continued his evasive conduct on this point, and his secret negotiations with Baji Rao Scindia, and even the Pindaris, were unceasing; whilst, on the other hand, he omitted no professions calculated to lull the British Resident into a false security as to his real views. These were placed beyond a doubt soon after the development of Baji Rao's similar treachery, and the immediate result

was the battle of Sitabaldi, on the 26th and 27th of November--and action so glorious to the handful of British troops engaged, and so decisive in its effects on the subsequent conduct of Appa Sahib.

A cessation of hostilities having been granted to the Raja on his petition, amicable communications continued until the arrival of General Doveton on the 12th of December. Appa Sahib's conduct, however, was still doubtful, and no instruction having yet reached Nagpur, it was then necessary to bring matters to some decision. Terms were, accordingly, offered, which, if accepted, were considered as placing affairs at Nagpur on a footing as favourable as the most successful battle

could have been expected to produce. Amongst these terms was the personal surrender of Appa Sahib, which from his cowardly character, the Resident judged might be demanded with great hopes of success; and this being accomplished, would ensure the early termination of the war, thereby leaving General Doveton's army disposable either against the Peshwa, or to support the armies in advance. The battle of

Nagpur on the 16th December, after Appa Sahib had surrendered himself to the mercy and clemency of the British Government, was brought on by the military feeling of some of the Chiefs, who disdained to follow the example their of recreant Prince; and the city of Nagpur, which, as well as all his artillery, Appa Sahib had agreed to surrender, was defended with obstinacy by the Arabs in his service.

Its surrender on the 30th December was considered as the termination of the war with the State of Nagpur, and a provisional engagement to retain Appa Sahib on the masnad was concluded on the following conditions:-- "That he should cede all his territories to the northward of the Nerbudda, as well as certain possessions on the southern bank, and all his rights in Berar, Gawilgarh, Sirguja and Jashpur, in lieu of the subsidy and contingent; that the civil and military affairs of his Government should be settled and conducted by ministers in the confidence of the British Government, according to the advice of the Resident; that the Raja, with his family, should reside in the palace at Nagpur, under the protection of the British troops; that the arrears of subsidy should be paid up until the final transfer of the above-

mentioned territories had taken place; that any forts in the territory which we might wish to occupy, should immediately be given up; that the person whom he described as principally resisting his orders should, if possible, be seized and delivered up to the British Government; and that the two hills of Sitabaldi, with the bazars, and an adequate portion of land adjoining, should be ceded to the British Government, which should be at liberty to erect on them such military works as might be deemed necessary." Under these conditions, Appa Sahib was permitted to return to his palace on the 9th of January,

both that and the city being still garrisoned by British troops. The ladies of the palace, with the jewels and other valuable effects of the State, which had been placed by Appa Sahib, for security, in Bhandara, about thirty-seven miles east from Nagpur, were escorted in, on the 19th January, by a detachment of British troops.

The war was thus finished in little more than a month after its commencement; and General Doveton left Nagpur on the 22nd January with the main body of his army. The forts of Gawilgarh and Narnalla were surrendered to him on Appa Sahib's order.

The troops under General Hardyman and Colonel McMorine had been successful on the Nerbudda, in the actions at Jubbulpore and Srinagar, on the 19th December and 15th January, and the whole of the ceded territory in that quarter was brought under subjection before the end of the latter month, with the exception of the forts of

Dhamoni, Chowragarh and Mandla.

Appa Sahib was not long in again commencing his intrigues against the British power. The Gonds and other mountain Chiefs were encouraged to

act against the British authorities and molest their convoys. The Killadars of Chowragarh and Mandla were secretly ordered to disobey the public instructions sent them for the surrender of those forts. The Killadar of Chanda was directed to recruit, and agents were sent to Baji Rao to invite him to assist Appa Sahib. Having ascertained these points, and also receiving intelligence of Baji Rao's proposed movements towards the Nagpur territories, whilst Appa Sahib had almost matured a plan for escaping from the capital to Chanda, the Resident

March 15th. arrested him on the 15th of March, and again brought him to the Residency. The Raja and his minister, Nagu Pandit, now confessed the whole of their plans. The guilt also of Appa Sahib in the murder of his relation and sovereign, Parsoji, had at this period, come to light.

The van of Baji Rao's army reached the Wardha, near Chanda, on the 2nd April, but was there checked by Colonel Scott, who had been despatched with a greater part of the force then at Nagpur, to endeavour to prevent Baji Rao from getting into Chanda, and to keep him in check until the arrival of Colonel

April 17th. Adams, who had been called down by the Resident, on the reports of Baji Rao's movements to the eastward.

On the 17th April, Baji Rao himself was attacked and routed near the Wardha, 1818 A. D. by the force under Colonel Adams, joined by that under Colonel Scott, and it was afterwards deemed expedient to besiege the fort of

2nd May. Chanda, which was taken by storm on the 2nd May.

The necessity for further military operations seemed now at an end; but Appa Sahib, who had been sent from Nagpur under an escort towards Allahabad in the beginning of May, unfortunately contrived to make his escape on the march, and effected his retreat to the Mahadeo Hills, where he was received and protected by the Gonds.

The fort of Dhamoni, belonging to the Bhonsla, to the northward of the Nerbudda, the Killadar of which, as well as those of Mandla and Chowragarh, had orders from Appa Sahib to resist their transfer to the British Government, was taken by General Marshall in March, and the two latter in April and May.

During the rains, Appa Sahib had collected a considerable body of Arabs, Pindaris and Gonds about him; and some of the ceded country above the ghâts, to the westward, fell into their temporary possession. His partisans were, in the meantime, very active in raising men, which, from the numerous bodies recently thrown out of employ, was not difficult, and a great part of the country became seriously disturbed. The spirited and active operations of different detachments had dispersed the insurgents in almost every direction, with the exception of the bodies in Appa Sahib's vicinity, by the end of the year; and in February Appa

1819 A. D. Sahib's flight to Asirgarh, and subsequently to Hindustan, left us nothing to do, but to bring the refractory Gonds to reason, an object which was soon satisfactorily accomplished, in spite of the difficulties presented to our troops by the mountainous nature of the country, and to our civil arrangements by the wild character of the people.

On the deposition of Appa Sahib, which was finally determined upon, in consequence of his continued infidelity, the grandson of the late Raghoji, by a daughter married to Nana Gujar, was selected to be placed on the *gaddi* or masnad.

Raghoji Bhonsla, 3rd, 1818 A. D.

According to the Mahratta custom, it was necessary that he should be previously adopted by the widow of the last Raja, to entitle him to the name of Bhonsla, and this adoption, accordingly, took place. He was formally seated on the *gaddi* on the 26th of June 1818, with the usual ceremonies, and

1818 A. D. 26th June. assumed the name of Raghoji in honour of his grandfather. As he was a minor, between nine and ten years of age, it became necessary to establish a Regency, at the head of which was his grandmother, Baka Bai. To her was entrusted the care of the Raja's person, and the command over the household and court, and at her own request, Gujaba Dada, the maternal nephew of the late Raghoji, was appointed to assist her in this office. The best arrangements for the civil administration were more difficult to choose.

It may suffice to mention here that the general superintendence of affairs was, from that period, assumed by the Resident, acting in the name of the Raja, with the assistance of British officers at the head of every department; and that this plan of government, having received the sanction of the Supreme Government, still continues.

SECTION V.

GOVERNMENT AND COURT OF NAGPUR.

The Government existing in the different parts of the dominions of the Bhonsla family previously to the Mahratta conquest were various. Berar was under the Nizam; Gondwana, including Deogarh, Chanda, and Mandla, were subject to Gond chiefs; Chhattisgarh and its dependencies were also under petty Rajas of different races; and Cuttack was a province of Bengal.

Gond Princes—origin and progress of their power.

Mandla had been long occupied by the Saugor Mahrattas before its cession to Raghoji. Chhattisgarh and Cuttack had little influence on the general system of the paramount state, whatever differences might exist in their local usages, and whatever effect those differences might be allowed to have on their local administration under the Mahrattas. Deogarh and Chanda formed the nucleus, as it were, of the Bhonsla dominion. The rights originally exercised by the Mahrattas in those provinces were acquired by treaty; and though the Chief of Chanda was soon reduced to the situation of a mere pensioner both in name and in reality, the Deogarh Prince preserved his nominal superiority to the Mahratta masters of his country, and his officers were associated in most of the acts of the Government relating to the revenue. A few words on the subject of the former Government of Deogarh and Chanda will, therefore, be a proper introduction to an account of the Mahratta system.

In both provinces the original principles of the Gond Government were the same. The Rajas were, at first, little more than the feudal superiors of a number of petty chiefs, their relations or dependents, who contributed nothing but their military service. The Rajas, like their feudatories, possessed a territorial domain, in which alone they exercised direct authority. As this was enlarged by conquest from their neighbours, or usurpation from their feudatories, they naturally became a little more civilized than the rest of their tribe. Their growing power, and pretensions to rank and title, as independent Princes, having attracted the notice of the neighbouring Muhammadan rulers they were, in their turn, rendered tributaries and feudatories. Their consequent intercourse with a more civilised people led them to imitate their manners, to court their notice, and to aim at acquiring the distinctions which the imperial power of Delhi was equally disposed to lavish as the source of influence over tribes hitherto unconquered, and of pride in the enumeration of barbarous races amongst the nominal creatures of their will.

The Rajas of Chanda and Deogarh are said, at different times, to have made their appearance at the Court of Delhi. The latter became a Musalman to ensure the imperial protection; and the family are still of that persuasion. Though the political conduct of the converted Prince, Bakht Buland, which title meaning "of high fortune," was conferred upon him by his Muhammadan god-fathers, frequently obtained for him from the imperial officers the inverted appellation, or nickname, of Nigon Bakht, or "of mean fortune;" yet his rule was the era of great improvement in the state of the country he governed. He employed, indiscriminately, Musalmans and Hindus of ability to introduce order and regularity into his immediate domain. Industrious settlers from all quarters were attracted to Gondwana; many towns and villages were founded; and

agriculture, manufactures, and even commerce, made considerable advances. His court was the resort of many military adventurers, the descendants of some of whom still remain; and the superior discipline and courage of his foreign troops rendered his power more respectable both at home and abroad. Through their means he made considerable conquests from Chanda and Mandla, both of which seem, originally, to have been far superior to Deogarh in opulence and power, and he derived considerable advantage from the convulsions, caused by Aurangzeb's contests with the rising power of the Mahrattas. Though time had not matured the fruits of these improvements, before domestic dissensions amongst the descendants of Bakht Buland rendered them a prey to foreign conquest, yet it may with truth be said, that much of the success of the Mahratta administration, which no doubt accelerated the general prosperity, was owing to the ground-work already established by him.

The Bhonsla family then, as we have seen, founds its right to the Government of Deogarh on treaty with its original possessors; and it still allows the title of Raja to the Gond princes, with a commutation for the original share of the revenues of the country, as it stood at the period of the conquest, and with the privilege of receiving it through their own officers; whilst the observances due to the ancient proprietor of the State are carefully and even ostentatiously adhered to. The Gond Raja gives the *tika*, or mark of royalty, to the Bhonsla princes on their accession to the *gaddi*, and he is entitled to put his seal to certain revenue papers.

These circumstances, though indicating a nominal partition of the sovereign dignity, do not, however, detract to any practical purpose from the political independence of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur. In all foreign transactions, they were constituted by the Gond Prince the only channel of intercourse with other States, and in their domestic administration, it has probably been less from a sense of obligation, than of policy and convenience, that they have allowed any marks of the original terms of their entry into Deogarh to be preserved: of convenience for internal government, as all unnecessary change is troublesome, and the actual system promised every benefit both of revenue and general prosperity; of policy for foreign purposes perhaps, as allaying jealousy, or as indicating that their dominion was obtained from the ruler of the country, and not from the Peshwa or the Raja of Satara, though permitted by the latter, and accomplished by Raghoji, whilst holding the high office of Sena Sahib Subah and Collector of the *chouth* of Berar. The former

Titles of pretensions.

title, with that of Raja, has always been held by the Bhonslas, and they have maintained their right to be considered as superior in rank to the other feudatories of the Mahratta empire, as related, however distantly, to the Raja of Satara, and deriving their original office directly from him, whilst the rest were military chiefs, who owed their elevation to the favour of the Peshwa.

In support of these pretensions, they have had frequent wars with the Peshwas, but the different treaties which have been noticed in the historical memoir show how little they have been able to maintain them and how much disposed they have always been to abandon them for political purposes of the moment. Still their submission to the authority of the Peshwas rests on extorted compliance and the basis of treaties as between independent rulers.

With the shades of difference arising from these circumstances, Sir John Malcolm's description of the general situation and character of the Mahratta Prince of Malwa, equally applies to the Bhonsla family of Nagpur. They were military leaders, with the habits generated from that profession. They have never left the plain manners of their nation; they are connected by the ties of blood, and by constant familiar intercourse with every one of their principal officers, and born in the class of cultivators, consequently having a hereditary respect for that order, and though not restrained by it from every degree of cupidity and rapacity, yet seldom cruel to the lower classes, and almost always paying attention to established forms and institutions. With the restraints arising from such considerations, the Rajas of Nagpur are, in theory, equally absolute as the Mahratta chiefs of Malwa in the internal government of their dominions.

In their own family and court, there were particular rights and immunities which they were compelled to admit, as imposed partly by what may be termed a family compact, and partly by their original relation to the head of the Mahratta empire; and in their external concerns, there were certain obligations extorted, as we have seen, by treaty, due to that head, which detracted from their sovereignty, not indeed to the extent of reducing them to the condition of mere feudatories, but certainly to that of rendering them accountable for their political and military operations and, even bound to certain pecuniary payments, as well as military services.

It is more easy, however, to give an idea of the political situation of the Rajas of Nagpur, from a reference to the particular circumstances of their domestic and foreign history than from any attempt at a general description of their rights and duties.

From the former, then, it appears that there was always a division of the territories of the State amongst the brothers of the reigning Prince after the first Raghoji. First, between the sons of Raghoji, Janoji, Sabaji, Mudhoji and Bimbaji; secondly, between the sons of Mudhoji *viz.*, Raghoji, Chimnaji, and Yenkoji; and thirdly, after Yenkoji's death, Appa Sahib, his son, succeeded to his appanage under his uncle Raghoji. In all these cases of division, the elder brother, as the Raja, or sovereign, had a right to the allegiance of the others, and to certain military services, on account of their fiefs or appanages. But the latter managed their country entirely, and they had their separate courts, households, ministers, and armies subject to no interference whatever on the part of the Raja. With regard, however, to foreign States, the Raja legally represented the whole; appeals even to the Peshwa, though not uncommon on the part of the younger branches of the family, were considered irregular, and their reception by the court of Poona expressly guarded against by treaty. Yet were the obligations to foreign States contracted by the tenure of jagirs, as that of Sabaji in Berar, under the Nizam, and that of Chimnaji in Mandla, under the Peshwa, not deemed inconsistent with the general principle above noticed. This division in the dominions of the State was always a source of weakness. It originated in the application of the Hindu laws of private to political inheritance, supported in the

original division between the sons of the first Raghoji by the maxim of the court of Poona to govern by dividing. It was continued partly through the influence of the same policy, and partly from its having become a rule by prescription.

The same history tells us that when Raghoji was deputed to Berar, certain officers of that State, called Durukdars and Mankaris, were appointed to attend him from Satara, and they followed him to Nagpur. For these officers he was bound to provide; and their dependence on the court of Poona rendered them a check upon that in which they were stationed as spies and informers. Whilst the Peshwas continued in the energetic exercise of power, these persons were constantly employed in effecting their purposes. Although the Rajas had many means of conciliating them by gifts and salaries, still they all looked to the Poona dominions as their home, and, consequently, to the Peshwa as their sovereign. In the wars between the latter and the Bhonslas, they were always secretly employed in forwarding the views of the Peshwas, and in the civil discord that frequently arose between the members of the Bhonsla family, that party which was favoured at Poona was always upheld by them.

Under Appa Sahib all the possessions of the State became united under one head; and it will rest with the British Government to decide whether it shall ever again be sub-divided, should the occasions occur in which it has formerly become so.

The dependence on the court of Poona was nominally dissolved by the treaties of Bassein and Deogaon. Virtually, however, it continued to possess a certain degree of substance during the reign of the last Raghoji, and the headlong folly of Appa Sahib, notwithstanding a new treaty, which still further abrogated that dependence, rendered it a source of destruction to himself. The British Government now stands in the light of the paramount State, and that of Nagpur is entirely dependent upon it as to its foreign concerns as well as its domestic government.

It may be useful here to give a sketch of the general principles which are acknowledged to regulate the succession to the *gaddi*, or *masnad*, in the Bhonsla family. The fundamental maxim upon which it depends is that "it is hereditary in the entire male line, from the common ancestor, or first founder of the dynasty, to the exclusion of females or their issue, but that the right may be limited or changed by the reigning Prince adopting a successor according to the rules of the Hindu law."

That the Government is hereditary may be shown from the course of descent in the Bhonsla family, and the exclusion of females and their issue may be collected from it, and from the general practice of other Hindu States. Both these maxims were fully acknowledged by all parties at the court of Nagpur in the disputes which arose, on the death of the last Raghoji, between Appa Sahib and the partisans of the adoption by Parsoji, of the present Raja in 1816. It was by adoption alone that they pretended to effect the defeat of Appa Sahib's claim to succeed his first cousin, Parsoji, in the event of his death though the present Raja was the grandson of Raghoji by his daughter, and Appa Sahib was his nephew, the son of his brother. We recognized Appa Sahib's right, because Parsoji was acknowledged to be too imbecile in intellect to exercise, *sui juris*, the privilege of adoption.

The right of the reigning Prince to supersede the claim of the presumptive heirs, by adopting a successor, was once exercised: Janoji, the eldest son and successor of the first Raghoji, having no children, adopted his nephew, Raghoji, for this purpose. In spite of this act, his brother Sabaji, supported by the court of Poona, seated himself on the masnad and subsequently, Mudhoji, the father of Raghoji; but, though the latter wielded the sceptre until his death, he governed in the name of his son Raghoji, and Janoji's nomination was, in the end, sanctioned by the court of Poona conferring upon Raghoji the superior title of Sena Sahib Subah, whilst Mudhoji the inferior one of Sena Dhurandar.

Raghoji the 2nd in the latter years of his life, seeing the imbecility of his son Parsoji, and either feeling temporary disgust towards Appa Sahib, or apprehending the ruin he would be likely to bring upon the Nagpur State, had serious thoughts of adopting a child of the Amraoti family of Bhonslas, or of a more distant branch; but the plan appears to have been abandoned almost as soon as formed.

Another maxim generally acknowledged is that on the death of a Raja leaving no male heir, it is the privilege of his principal widow to adopt a child from the relations of her husband to succeed him, and herself to govern in his name. We followed this principle in our arrangements for setting up the present Raja.

His Highness has not yet any children, and should he die without them, the question of adoption would recur. It seems that this right is generally, though not absolutely, limited in the choice of persons to relations. In the discussions on the subject which have taken place at Nagpur, the plans of adoption have never gone beyond the male relations of the family above the common ancestor, Raghoji the 1st, or those of his female descendants. The nearest remaining male descendants, in the direct female line, after the present Raja are a son of his sister, and Gujaba, the nephew of the last Raghoji, on the sister's side. Salu Bai, the youngest daughter of the last Raghoji, and married to Kanoji Mohite, has at present no issue. Taking the same rule which was followed with regard to the present Raja of choosing the nearest male descendant of the last Raja who had any, the sister's son of the reigning Prince, who stands in the relation of great-grandson to Raghoji 2nd, the immediate ancestor, and any son who may hereafter be born to Salu Bai, would be preferred to Gujaba, who is only descended from Mudhoji.

The wives of the Rajas (for the Bhonslas have all had several) hold rank nominally, according to priority of marriage, but their real consideration arises from the degree of favour which they may enjoy. They have occasionally exercised great influence in the affairs of State, but less so perhaps, at Nagpur than in other Mahratta courts.

The reigning family, or those who can by possibility succeed by inheritance, to the masnad, have always been confined to the descendants of the first Raghoji. The next nearest relations, taking the higher ancestor, Bapuji, the grandfather of Raghoji, are the Bhonslas of Amraoti, who reside at Nagpur, but enjoy no peculiar privileges or rank in the State. The sons or nephews, in the male line, or the Bhonslas alone, have never been regarded with any particular respect. These, as well as the

wives or daughters of the Raja, are allowed provisions in land and money, besides the supply of certain necessities and luxuries direct from the Raja's palace. The females when married pass into the family of their husbands, but retain rank during their lives, which sets them somewhat above their condition by marriage. The immediate descendants from females were, perhaps, treated as secondary princes, but being the sons of Mahratta chiefs, called Mankaris, they have no right to anything but the rank and allowances of their parents.

The rank and privileges of the different chiefs and ministers at the court of Nagpur, are so little defined by any fixed rules, that after the reigning family, and their immediate connections amongst the Mankaris, it is sufficient to distinguish the rest of the court into civil and military functionaries of the Government.

When Raghoji Bhonsla established himself at Nagpur, the following were the civil officers of his Government. The Muzumdar, or Diwan, was the head of all departments of the State under the Raja, and was his own immediate servant.

The Farnavis was originally appointed by the Raja of Sattara, to keep an account of the receipts and disbursements of Raghoji as mokasdar or collector of the *chout* of Berar. The same person continued to exercise these duties in Deogarh, and subordinate Farnavises his deputies, were sent to all the districts. All sanads, orders, and grants on the revenue proceed from this office, and he may be considered as the Accountant-General of the Government.

The Warar Pande was an officer, with deputies all over the country, to keep the *lagwan* accounts of the actual state of the cultivation, occupancy, and rents of the lands. The office existed under the Gonds, and was continued by the Mahrattas.

The office of Priti, under the Gond Raja, corresponded to the Mahratta one of Farnavis, and during the reign of Raghoji they were allowed to keep a double set of accounts. In the country, the Gond Raja had only Hurdars to keep accounts of the Hissa Prasad, or partition established by treaty, and copies of those of the Farnavis. They also countersigned and sealed all revenue papers and grants. Janoji transferred the Priti and his *dafter* to his own *katcherry*, but the office subsequently became merely nominal. The Hurdars still continue, on the part of the Gond Raja, in all districts of which he enjoys a share of the revenue.

The Chitnavis is the general secretary, in whose office all orders, grants, and letters are expedited or answered.

The Jamdar was at once the treasurer and keeper of the wardrobe and jewel office.

When Raghoji first came to Nagpur, he had an officer in the situation of Sikkanavis but it has been long extinct. The sikka is kept in the Sillakhana, and the ancient emoluments have been resumed. The mere act of affixing the seal to public papers and some fees are usually given to the minister who acts as Diwan.

The Munshi is, properly speaking, the secretary for Persian correspondence. After the death of Dewaji Pant Chorghore, who was, for so many years, prime

minister under Janoji and Mudhoji. Bhawani Pandit and his son Sridhar Pandit Munshi, successively became premiers and enjoyed at once the prerequisites of the Diwan, and the office and emoluments of secretary for foreign affairs.

The principal bankers of the city had not only a place in the Darbar, according to their wealth and consequence, but frequently a voice in deliberations on State affairs. One of them had the superior title of Naggar Naik, which imparted a general authority over the mercantile and banking community, and was also intended as the means of facilitating loans and other financial arrangements.

It is to be observed that all the principal officers of the State are by custom Ministry under the late Mahratta Princes. hereditary; and though a person may lose the consideration and perquisites, and be supplanted in the duties of his office, he is never deprived of the name and share of the regulated allowances of it. In the details and executive part of the administration, the officers of each department are confined to their particular duties, but in deliberations on general questions of the external and internal policy, the Raja calls, indifferently, any of the ministers to his councils. Since the peace of Deogaon, the ministry have been divided into two parties, who had the care of the Raja according to the prevailing disposition of the moment. Sridhar Pandit was consulted by Raghoji in every thing, even his domestic affairs, and was, as far as Raghoji's jealous and meddling temper allowed, his prime minister: under him, in English affairs, were Jeshwant Rao Ramchander, the person who negotiated the treaty of Deogaon and Jaikishan Pandit, who together transacted business with the British Resident. Narba Chitnavis, who was allowed to usurp many of the functions of his principal, Gangadhar Rao, was the principal support of the party of the Peshwa, Scindia and Holkar, or of the old principles of policy, consisting in keeping up the Mahratta confederacy. Sadik Ali Khan, Jeshwant Rao Bhau, Amrit Rao Bakshi, Narain Pandit, and some others, were not unfrequently associated in cabinet councils, but the Raja usually decided for himself.

Sridhar Pandit, Narain Pandit, and Amrit Rao Bakshi are dead; the former without issue, so that his office is, at present in abeyance.

Appa Sahib's councils were composed, in addition to the above, of several low and intriguing characters, whose names were only brought to notice by his momentary caprice; but who can never rise to distinction under any regular or respectable order of things.

Inferior to the ministers above mentioned were the Khasgiwalla, or manager Inferior department. of the private revenue and trade and controller of the household expenses; a chief of the Shagird Pesha, who superintended the internal economy of the palace; also superintendents of the wardrobe, the jewel office, the *kolhi*, or magazine of grain, &c., the elephant and camel department, and of buildings, aqueducts, &c. There was also the Naik, or chief of the hirkaras, or jasuses, who was not only the head of the foreign intelligence department, but had establishments in every pargana, at once to assist and to overlook the proceedings of the Kamaishdars.

The principal military guards were those of the Bakshi, who may be termed Military Officers. secretary at war, and paymaster general; subehdars of provinces, as Berar, Garha Mandla, &c., who had high

civil and military powers; the Mahratta chiefs, or Mankaris, of old families, not holding high commands; and the Yukas, or Yukandis, who are single horsemen with high pay, and of good families, either Hindus or Mohammadans, whose post was near the person of the Raja, or of the chief, sometimes a member of the family, to whom the *Zari Putka*, or royal standard, was entrusted; the commandants of divisions of horse and infantry; the rissaldars of horse, the chiefs of the *pagah*, or household troops, and the commandants of infantry and artillery.

The ministers connected with the military department were the sur-daftar of the army estimates; the Bakshi who superintended the paymasters of the troops, and received the general returns, having under him deputies for the horse and infantry, respectively; the Farnavis who conducted all the business of the *pagah*, and a similar officer for the artillery. The expenses, both of the *pagah* and the artillery, were superintended by the Khasgiwalla, or controller of the household expenses, the house, cattle, and every thing belonging to both being the property of the Raja.

There were no separate officers of rank connected with judicature or police.

General course of business. The revenue officers of the districts had the charge of these branches, though there were courts in the city for civil justice in petty suits, and for police. The higher causes of a civil nature and crimes of magnitude were usually sent to the Raja himself, who decided upon them with the advice of his ministers and occasional *panchayats*, but without any of the regularity or parade of judicial sittings. Such cases were treated like common questions of politics, revenue, or other daily business in the Darbar, and every one present might put in his word.

For the despatch of business, the ministers in the different departments, or their deputies, attended daily at the palace at stated hours, unless when fasts or festivals intervened. In the smallest however, as in the greatest, affairs in every department, the Raja was referred to, nor did any inconvenience in the matter of delay to the public service arise from this system, for even when not actually sitting in Darbar, the Raja was always accessible to any person who had business to propound to him, and when in Darbar the greatest apparent festivity was no bar to more serious affairs where immediate attention was requisite on the part of the Raja. As the Raja and the Government are, therefore, synonymous terms, it may not be uninteresting to give an account of the way in which Janoji, to whose reign the best days of the country and people are referred, is stated to have passed his time.

When four *gharis* of the night remained, Janoji rose from his bed, performed his morning ablutions and athletic exercises, until day-break, when the officers of State and those of the household were admitted to pay their respects and to make their daily reports to him in his bathing room. Here also he heard the foreign *akhbars*, and the verbal reports of his intelligencers, and gave private audiences. From thence he proceeded to the family chapel, assisted at the morning service to the household gods, by throwing flowers and the *tulsi* before their images, listened to some of the sacred poems, and distributed alms to Brahmins. When four *gharis* of the day were spent, he dressed himself and came out to an open verandah look-

g in the street, where he held his morning Darbar, was visible to the people and accessible to their personal calls for justice and redress for injuries. He always sat on his masnad with his sword and shield before him, badges which his warlike successors disused. The whole of the ministers, military chiefs, and *muttsaddis*, with their *daftars*, attended, and carried on their daily business before him. The Darbar broke up about noon, at which time the Raja went to take his dinner with his family, and afterwards reposed himself.

At three o'clock in the afternoon he rose and inspected his arms, horses, elephants, &c., after which he again sat in Darbar for the despatch of business until after sunset. The ministers remained to a later hour.

It is observed that in this reign justice was well administered, crimes were few, and the punishments seldom capital. The revenues were flourishing, and the people in easy circumstances. The allowances of all officers, civil and military, and of the troops, were regularly paid, without deduction of any kind.

The etiquette and ceremonies of the court of Nagpur were never very burdensome. The Raja received almost every stranger, of any rank, nearly as his equal, rising to take his salute and to embrace him. In many cases he gave the *istikbal*, or public reception, personally, that is, he moved out with all the principal persons of his court to meet the new comer. On common occasions, in the Darbar, the Raja was not to be distinguished from any other individual, either by his dress or his seat. On greater occasions he wore jewels, and made use of a masnad, merely consisting of a few pillows, and, perhaps, an embroidered carpet of silk. At the Jasehra, however, the display of troops and elephants, and the splendour of the dresses and ornaments of the Raja and principal people, were imposing.

The salaries of the ministers and officers of the court were not nominally high. They were partly defrayed in cash, partly in villages granted rent-free, and partly in dues on appointments in their departments, and percentages on the revenues of the country. They were each permitted to keep up a certain number of horse at the fixed rates of pay, and one or more elephants were allotted to them, according to their situations. They had also the payment of their subordinates. Those who had anything to do with foreign officers held besides handsome jagirs and pensions from the other Indian Governments.

From the Raja downwards to the lowest *muttsaddi*, no means of making money by traffic was deemed disgraceful, and the revenues of Government, as well as the interests of the industrious classes of the population, were sacrificed to give them monopolies in the various articles which they chose to deal in. Whole bazars in the city were the property of the Raja himself, his ladies, and his ministers, with various privileges and remissions of duties, totally subversive of free trade. Raghoji made every advantage of the necessities of his troops and subjects, caused by his own measures. He withheld the pay of the former, and, in the meantime, through his various banking establishments, he lent them money for their immediate subsistence at enormous interest, and when he paid them in arrears, he gave a third in clothes, from his own *dukans*, at enhanced values. He exacted

advances of revenue from his collectors, and was frequently himself the lender of the money to the ryots, like other *sahukars*, at high rates of interest, and frequently forced the grain in his stores on the Bania of the city at his own prices. Grass and wood, for building and fuel, were publicly sold by him, and other sales frequently stopped, until his own stock was disposed of thus taking the bread from the poorest classes of people by competing with them in their traffic in these articles. In short, no source of gain, however trifling, escaped him or the members of his family and court.

From this spirit of meanness and rapacity, as well as from his unwarlike character, Raghoji was not unfrequently called, in derision, the great Bania; and it must be confessed that in public as well as private concerns, the love of money has, for the last twenty years, appeared to be the predominating passion in the court of Nagpur, to the exclusion of everything great, liberal, or even respectable.

SECTION VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE

The general heads under which the revenue was collected under the Mahratta Government were land revenue, *kalali*, *senai* and *pandhri*, *sair*, city customs, including mint, &c., and the ubari of zamindars. All these collections, with the exception of the city customs and Ubaris, were in the hands of the kamaishdars of parganas, who were at once officers of revenue, justice, and police. The land revenue first and chiefly demands attention, and as we have in no material degree deviated from the ancient system, but only have struck, without sparing, at those parts of the Mahratta administration which were manifest and tyrannical innovations and abuses, it will be proper to introduce in this place a brief delineation of that system and practices.

PART I.—Land Revenue.

Of the present dominions of the Raja of Nagpur west of the Lanji Hills System in Deogarh and some districts were acquired from the Muhammadans, and in them the Mogul mode of administration has long prevailed, nominally at least, and will be noticed hereafter. In the other parts of the country conquered from the Gonds, a different system is found, which, although not to be traced to a very remote period, is probably ancient. It was certainly that of the Gonds, and has been essentially preserved by their conquerors.

The whole of the country from an early period seems to have been divided into paraganas, each consisting of an indefinite number of villages, and varying greatly both in extent and value.

To each of them were attached, under the Gond Government, the common Zamindar establishment of Deshmukh and Deshpande, but the Mahrattas soon removed them, retaining only the general manager, whose denomination they changed from Hoodar to Kamaishdar, the keeper of the Government accounts, who was formerly called Muharrir, but now Farnavis, and the Wararpande, or recorder of the village accounts.

In each village there is, generally, a patel, having one or two assistants under him, called kotwars, pandia, or accountant, together with the usual establishment of Barra Buluti, or Aykari, found throughout most parts of the Deccan.

The patel exercises the usual functions of the office, that is, he is the agent of Government for apportioning and collecting the rent of his village, for which his responsibility is absolute. and he possesses a subordinate and rather undefined magisterial and judicial authority. The remuneration for agency and responsibility, which is paid either in money or in rent-free land, besides certain trifling dues and privileges, is commonly one-fourth of the Government share, subject to various deductions, being proportional parts of the many divisions under which the assessment was classed in the revenue papers,

and which reduce it to about one-sixth. The office is held at the pleasure of Government, being neither hereditary nor saleable, and on the ejection or resignation of the incumbent, no malikana is allowed. It is true that patels are frequently succeeded by their sons, or other members

of their families; not, however, by virtue of any hereditary right, but by sufferance, or a new appointment by Government, and whoever the incumbent may be, he is charged with the full exercise of all the duties, and entitled to all the privileges of the office, unencumbered with any interference or claims on the part of his predecessor or family.

The cultivators hold their lands on a yearly lease granted them by the patel. None of them are entitled to cultivate the same fields in perpetuity, nor is it the practice to grant leases to them for more than one year. No class has a right to hold their fields on more favourable terms than others; every field liable to assessment being subject to the payment of its full proportion of the whole jama, which, as well as the proportionate share of each separate field or parcel, is open to yearly variations.

The cultivated lands of each village are divided into fields, each distinguished by a name, under which it is recorded, in the village registrar's accounts, and it is upon those fields that the assessment is apportioned; but throughout this tract of country no traces of fixed assessments, or of assessment rates, either general or village, are to be found. The total jama of villages constantly fluctuates; and in regard to rates, the revenue papers make no reference to them; and the people have no understanding that a portion of land, of given extent and quality, is to pay a certain rent, or that a given portion of the produce is the Government share. Even the engagements for bringing waste lands into cultivation, where some remains of other principles, had such ever existed, were likely to be found, are not made with reference to rates or to a partition of crops, but are settled by *nazarandas*, or estimate, into which all the considerations affecting rent seem to enter. Neither in theory nor practice does Government admit the right of any class of cultivators to participate in the full amount of the rents of the lands; and the object of its revenue system appears to have been to realize from every portion of the lands under cultivation a proportionate share of the total village assessment. In what manner this was effected shall now be explained.

Here, as in most other parts of India, annual settlements are concluded at the commencement of the agricultural year, between the ryots on the one part, and the patel, acting as the Government agent, on the other; but here, at the time of concluding them, which is termed *Istimalat*, the total village assessment is unknown, and the amount of it is not regulated by the community; consequently it is not possible at this time to fix the rent to be paid by each portion of land.

In the village papers, all the lands are classed under the two denominations of Chal and Thok. The former term is applied to fields for which the patel can conclude engagements, by which

the renters bind themselves to pay a stated proportion of the whole village assessment, whatever it may be. The latter term refers to fields which the patel cannot rent under the other stipulation, and is consequently obliged to let out at a fixed rent not subject to any alterations whatever. It must be understood, however, that the lands which in any one year are respectively Chal and Thok do not always remain so, but pass from under the one denomination to the other, in conformity with the changes in the engagements between the ryots and patels.

The lands let under the Thok engagement bear but a small proportion to the others, and as the Chal fields pay the highest rent, lands in the progress of deterioration pass from the Chal to the Thok, and when advancing in improvement, from the Thok to the Chal. The relative proportions of Thok and Chal fields vary in every village, depending on the general rate of the village assessment, the existing demand for land, and various other circumstances.

It would appear, then, that the only lands of which the rent can be fixed at the annual settlement are those called Thok. In regard to the greatest and most valuable portion, all that can be done is to settle the proportional part of the whole assessment, which each contracting individual is ultimately to contribute; but, in order to effect this object, it is necessary to have the means of expressing and recording the proportional value of each field or portion of Chal land. The lands never having been measured, this is done by the use of nominal equivalents to specific portions of land. In some villages, these equivalents are rupees and annas; in others, *pands*,* divided into sixteen fractional parts, also called annas; the names of cowries and *suparis* are likewise employed for the same purpose. Every Chal field is rated in the village yearly accounts at so many rupees, or annas, or cowries, the amount of which is altered to express the changes that may arise in the proportional valuation of the fields.

This expression of the proportional value is called the *ain* of a field: if in one year the respective *ains* of two fields should be three and four annas, or cowries, these contribute in that ratio to the general assessment; and should it be necessary to alter the rates, it is effected by raising or lowering the *ain* of either of them. The man who has settled the *ain* of his fields at eight annas knows he will have to pay double of his neighbour's rent, whose fields are rated at four, and one-half of what another must contribute whose lands are valued at one rupee.

Amongst other papers, there is one prepared in each village, called the Village Lagwan, or rent Lagwan. It is the record in which are inserted the details of the engagements concluded at the commencement of each season between the patel and the ryots. It shows the name of each ryot, the name of each Chal field held by him, and the *ain* of those fields, as settled in the preceding year; also the same particulars for the current year, noting all changes, whether arising from the transfer of fields from one individual to another, or from a variation in the *ain* of any of the fields. A similar statement regarding the Thok fields is also given, every alteration on the rent of them being specified, as likewise all transfers of Thok to Chal, or of Chal fields to

* A measure of land.

Thok; and should any land be newly engaged for, or thrown out of, cultivation, the change is recorded; when, in fine, the amount of the Government demand is known, the rate of assessment on each unit of the *ain*, and which is denominated *dhara*, is also inserted.

In concluding the settlement for any given year, the Lagwan of the preceding one is usually adopted as the basis on which the new engagements are framed, as well as the standard, with reference to which all changes are noted and understood.

Did no circumstances connected with the state of the cultivation, or the means and inclinations of the cultivators, render changes necessary, the settlement would naturally be the same as that of the former year; any difference in the total village assessment having no direct influence on those previous engagements. In fact, however, it seldom or never happens that the settlements of two years are made in conformity with each other, and as so many contending interests are at stake, they are seldom concluded, without much discussion between the parties. In the end, however, every arrangement is, in general, amicably concluded, the details are entered into the Lagwan of the year, and the settlement considered complete. By a reference to the Lagwan so prepared the Government assessor can see at one view every change from the assessment of the former year that has taken place, and can, with facility, estimate what amount the several portions of land will have to contribute to any given assessment. When that is fixed, from the amount of it the total rent of the Thok fields is deducted, and the remainder, being divided by the number of units in the whole *ain*, the *dhara*, or rate of assessment, of the Chal fields is given.

It appears, then, that at the *istimalut*, the patel, with reference to the settlement of the previous year, makes agreements for the assessment of the current one; that those agreements stipulate for the payment of a fixed sum from a small portion of the lands, and settle the apportionment of the remainder of the assessment of the others. As the amount of the Government demand, and of defalcation that may subsequently occur, are unknown, more definite arrangements cannot be effected. The engagements concluded, the patel knows he has settled the mode in which the whole jama, whatever it may be, is to be collected, and the ryots are informed as to the proportion in which each is to contribute to it, and this is sufficient to induce them to commence their yearly labours.

In fact, the *istimalut* is a preparatory kulwar, or ryotwar settlement, in which a new apportionment of the assessment is made, in order to meet the changes that may have arisen in the state of the lands and their cultivators. The object in view is to apply the village assessment, so that the proportion of it assessed on each portion may be correctly adapted to the actual state of the lands and the ryots, and the attainment of it is left to the village community, in whose hands alone, perhaps, there is any chance of its being effected.

From what has been already said, it will appear that the amount of the village assessment is not regulated by any specific rules. The lands were first brought into cultivation under a lease, commonly paying a *rasad* jama, not settled with reference to any acknowledged standard, but merely as the parties could agree. On the expiration of this lease, the village becomes subject to its due proportion of the pargana assessment, and it is the object of the revenue

* See an illustration of this mode of assessment in the Appendix No. 2.

officers to assimilate the rate of it to that of the other villages of the district; the amount paid the last year probably being assumed as the assessment, with reference to which all subsequent changes are introduced.

Formerly, after the completion of the *istimatut*, the patels were assembled at the *kasba*, when the kamaishdar, with the assistance of the other revenue officers, settled the apportionment of the whole pargana assessment (which might be more or less than that of the former year, as the Government determined) upon the different villages composing it, generally in conformity with the *tufik*, or distribution of last year, as far as practicable, but introducing changes which might have become necessary from alterations in the relative capability of some of the villages. From an examination of the lagwans, and from enquiries often made by persons despatched for that specific purpose, he could ascertain the relative amount of land subject to the assessment, and if possessed of the knowledge he ought to have of his business, there is no doubt an experienced revenue officer may lay on the assessment with as correct an adaptation to the circumstances of the several villages as could probably be obtained by any other mode.

The annual demand of the Government on a village was founded on, but not regulated by, the previous year's assessment, and the whole system may be briefly stated thus:—Every portion of cultivated land, but no other, is liable to assessment. The Government demand is on the village lands in general, and not on the particular portions of it; consequently, the apportionment of the assessment falls where the responsibility does, namely, on the Patel and village community, and there are no fixed rates to prevent the apportionment going hand-in-hand with changes in the lands, or in the circumstances of the cultivators; and as the proportionate share of the whole assessment demandable from each village was not originally fixed, nor subsequently modified, according to any determinate rules, but merely to the relative capability of the village, as indicated by former experience, so the pargana assessment was, in like manner, grounded on previous settlements, but affected, no doubt, in a great degree by the character and circumstances of the existing Government.

The mode in which the assessment of a pargana was raised by the Gonds as well as by the Mahratta Government was by super-inducing patts, or *bargans*, which were extra percentages on a certain portion of the whole assessment, called the *ain jamabandi*. What this was originally cannot now be ascertained. Under the Gonds, it was probably the amount of the whole jama at the time of their putting on the first patti. The Mahrattas applied it to express the whole land revenue in their taking possession of the country; but we should now look to it in vain for the ascertainment of the revenue as it stood at that time, because all yearly deductions on account of lands thrown out of cultivation, as well as reductions in the rent of particular portions, were made partly from the *ain jamabandi*, which consequently has greatly diminished, whilst the whole jama, from the constant introduction of new patts has greatly increased; indeed, every additional patti changed the proportion of the *ain jamabandi* to the whole assessment. Many of these patts were imposed on the whole country generally; a few, on particular parganas only: occasionally they were put on for one

or two years, and then taken off, but most commonly they became part of the permanent assessment. Still the amount collected on each separate patti continued to be inserted in the revenue papers under a distinct head, which added not a little to their length and intricacy.

From what has been said respecting the mode of superinducing the patts will be understood that no accurate judgment of the actual increase of the jama can be formed from a knowledge of the different patts that have been imposed from time to time; they, however, may be here mentioned. Those of the first Raghoji, from 1743 to 1755, amounted to eighty per cent. on the *ain jamabandi*; those of Janoji, from 1755 to 1772, to ninety-six per cent; those of Sabaji, between 1772 and 1775, to thirty-two per cent; of Mudhoji, in thirteen years, to thirty-five per cent; and Raghoji the 2nd, outdoing all his predecessors, imposed, between 1792 and 1816, patts amounting to one hundred and thirty per cent.

The collections of the land revenue were divided into two portions, the first, of twelve annas in the rupee, called the *Phonkuri*, or *Sesanin-ka-Touzi*; of this, four annas were payable in September, four annas in October, and the remainder in November. The other called the *Char Pyse-ka-Touzi*, was payable in two instalments, in February and March.

It has been already stated that the Mahrattas abolished the situations of *deshmukh* and *deshpande* throughout this portion of their territories, resuming their *watandari* dues, preserving only the offices of the kamaishdar, farnavis and wararpande. The two last-named officers were appointed by, and subordinate to, their respective superiors at Nagpur, the saddar farnavis and saddar wararpande. To the *daftar* of the former, the different accounts of receipts and disbursements of each pargana were forwarded, and to that of the latter, the records regarding the state of the cultivation. The farnavis received from Government an allowance, from one hundred to two hundred and fifty rupees per annum, with a *dardehe* of one rupee from each village in their parganas, and one rupee on all orders and papers issued from their offices. The wararpandes received from Government from one hundred to one hundred and fifty rupees a year, and had two rupees on each village. The kamaishdars had from two hundred to five hundred rupees per annum; they also received nazzars and various other contributions from their parganas. In particular, the collection and disbursement of the *bargans* were a great source of profit to the kamaishdars.

The Patel and his functions have been already cursorily mentioned, and as his duties in no particular essentially differ from those of the same officers in other parts of the country, any further account of them is here unnecessary. His share was, in most districts, a fourth, in others a sixth, of the whole collections, but subject to deductions, by which it was considerably reduced; but as the deductions were percentages on particular portions of the revenue, which do not bear a uniform proportion to the whole village assessments, although the nominal shares were the

same, in many cases they were different in reality. In point of fact, however, the allowance to patels had not been admitted by the Government for many years previously to our assuming charge, and the profits of the patels arose from whatever they could collect surreptitiously from the ryots, over and above the Government demand, which they often contrived to do to a considerable amount in consequence of the system of *bargans*, and when possessed of capital, from the advance of money and grain they made to the poorer ryots.

The village officers are called *aykari*, and the establishment of them was found tolerably complete. It consists of ten persons besides the patel, *viz.*, the pandia, joshi, kotwar, bhumak, *garpagari*, *wadh*i or carpenter, *khali* or blacksmith, *chamar*, *mahli* or barber, and *warthi* or washerman. The first six persons are termed *Sirkar Samandi* or Sirkar servants, although they are chiefly paid by the *kirsans*. The other five are termed *Gaon Samandi*, as they are exclusively paid by the *kirsans*.

The pandia is the village accountant; he keeps the lagwans and all village accounts; his office is not hereditary; the appointment is generally made by the patel, and consequently he has much the character of a private servant. He has a money payment of from fifteen to ninety rupees per annum from the Government, and in a few cases a field rent-free.

The joshi is a sort of astrologer and priest, who points out the lucky and unlucky days for commencing ploughing and sowing, and on all occasions of importance connected with the agricultural labours of the community. He also officiates at births, deaths, and marriages, and at religious ceremonies of all kinds. He is always a Brahmin, and has a *pothi*, or almanac, the repository of all his knowledge. He usually has a small field of little value, in *inam*, one or two rupees from the *gaon-kharch* allowance, a kuru, or eight pails of grain from each *kirsan* annually, alms from the *kirsans* at festivals, &c.

The kotwar, or village watchman, is a person of considerable importance in the village community. He is always a Dher, and ought to be possessed of great quickness and intelligence. The kotwar knows the name and rent of each field in the village, with the name of its occupants for many years back. He is equally the servant of the patel and *kirsan*, though he is often discharged from his office, when guilty of any fault, by the sole authority of the former, by whom he is employed as a sort of messenger in summoning the ryots, dunning them for their rents, carrying *chitthis* and messages to the Thana, or small sums of money; and he is employed by the *kirsans*, in calling them to feasts, marriages, &c. It is also the duty of the kotwar to wait on travellers, to furnish them with *begaris*, firewood and supplies, and report all arrivals and departures. All extra requisitions by the Sirkar for forage, &c., are usually collected by the kotwar. He is also the village watchman, and it is expected that he or some of his family will be constantly on the alert at night, and moving about the village, to protect the inhabitants from thieves. When a theft or robbery has occurred, it is the business of the kotwars to endeavour to trace the thief from one village to another, in doing which they often display

great sagacity. The kotwar in large villages and towns has often an assistant, the *turrar*, who is also a Dher. The perquisites of the kotwar are a field of little value, in *inam*; *mer h kuro*, or a kuru of grain from each plough; *kharsut*, or the privilege of collecting the sweepings of the khallas, or threshing floors; *adhar*, the hides and carcasses of dead animals. In some districts he has petty dues of a few pice at marriages, festivals, &c., and the *chungi*, or the right of taking a handful of grain, &c., from each basket carried into the bazar. The *turrar* has a petty grain allowance from each *kirsan*.

The business of the bhumak, who is a Gond, is to perform the customary worship of the boundary deities, on the proper occasions; to attend on the servants of the Sirkar when they visit the village, bring them water, &c. He sometimes acts as a sort of a peon, and, armed with a sword and spear, accompanies marriage processions. He is also supposed to be a sort of magician, and to have the power of curing persons labouring under the influence of evil spirits, of charming tigers, &c. The perquisites of the bhumak are a rupee or two annually from the *gaon-kharch* allowance, and a few pice, and two or three pails of grain from each *kirsan*.

The *garpagari* is also a sort of magician, and his peculiar business is to avert hailstorms and calamities of all kinds from the village. His perquisites are eight annas or a rupee, annually, from the *gaon-kharch* allowance, and a couple of pails of grain from each *kirsan*.

The remaining five officers have no allowance of any kind from the Government, and are exclusively paid by the community. The carpenter is obliged to repair the agricultural implements of the *kirsans*, for which he has an allowance of four or five kuros annually from each plough. For new implements he is paid separately. The blacksmith is on the same footing. The *chamar*, who mends the leathern apparatus of wells, &c., has also a trifling grain allowance. The washerman and barber have likewise petty dues.

All these village officers collect their own dues, after the harvest is gathered. The carpenter, blacksmith, and kotwar receive their dues regularly. The others commonly receive only a portion of theirs, and in bad years very little. These dues are always paid in the cheapest grains, as *lac*, &c., and they are distributed after the heaps of grain are collected on the field and previous to its removal to the houses of the *kirsans*. The dues of the village officers vary in different districts: the exact quantity of grain they are entitled to receive depending on local usage.

In large villages there is generally an officer called the *havaladar*, who acts under the patel in matters of police, and has an allowance from the Government, and in *kasbas*, a *pandhri-pande* to keep the accounts of the *pandhri* and *kalali*.

It appears that the business of revenue was conducted in the office of the Gond Raja until about 1756, when Janoji transferred the *daftars* to his own palace, taking the head officer

of that department under the Gonds into his own service. For some time subsequently to this change, the custom of assembling the principal patels at Nagpur, twice a year, for the purpose of concluding their annual engagements and of settling their accounts, was kept up; but in the reign of Mudhoji, it gradually fell into disuse, and was entirely discontinued during that of his son, when the *kasba*, or chief town of each pargana, became the scene of all the direct operations of assessment.

The revenue year commenced in June, at which period the *istimalut* was made by the patels as usual. In August, an *ijmaili*, or estimate of the receipts and disbursements of each pargana, for the current year, was sent from Nagpur. This paper was formed on the last annual account which had been received, and was intended as a general guide to the kamaishdar in making his demands and appropriating his collections.

On the receipt of the *ijmaili* (the patels having been previously assembled at the *kasba*) it was compared with the actual amount realized from the villages in the preceding year. If the Government estimate had been formed on the accounts of the last year, no alterations were required to be made in the village assessments, excepting where the lands had fallen out of cultivation, which was called *pur*, or there existed a necessity for granting remissions on certain lands that were over-assessed, which was denominated *bad*. When the total amount of these deficiencies was ascertained, if there was no corresponding increase to be obtained, the *pur* was made good by a *bargan*, or extra impost on the whole pargana and the *bad* by one on the village in which the remission was granted. It was seldom, however, that these claims were at all attended to. If the estimates exhibited an increase, it was assessed proportionably on the *ain*.

The patels were now informed of the amount which each had to pay, and dismissed to their villages to re-collect the *phonkuri*, or twelve-anna payment, which was realized in three or four monthly instalments. In December, the patels were re-assembled, and informed of the periods at which the remaining four annas were to be collected; being generally, in three instalments. On this occasion, there was also an apportionment of the extra imposts, both patts and *bargans*, whether emanating from the Government or from the kamaishdar, to cover his miscellaneous expenses.

All these payments were made at the *kasba* by the patels, either in person or through confidential agents, sometimes in cash and sometimes in drafts on sahuks. If a patel of a good character happened to be distressed, the kamaishdar occasionally became security for him, and a sahuks paid the amount due, on the security; otherwise the patel made over the whole collections of his village or those of as many of his ryots as would cover the debt. If the village was large, the sahuks sent an agent to keep copies of the accounts; in most cases the sahuks were satisfied with the accounts of the *pande*, which were compared and investigated in presence of the ryots at the end of the year.

The patels were in the habit of collecting the twelve annas of the rent on the first demand from their ryots. Those who were able paid in cash, others borrowed from the patel, or gave bonds, on his security, to sahuks, who paid for them, the patel keeping the property of the borrowers on restraint, until they liquidated their debts. These transactions often ended in the ruin of the ryots, who, when once involved, could seldom extricate themselves again.

The following were the modes of borrowing and re-payment in general use. First, the *Laoni*, which consists in making over to the creditor the grain of the crop on the ground, at a rate considerably under the bazar price. Secondly, a simple loan, which the borrower agrees to repay when he has sold his produce, with two per cent. interest per month; the mode was common in transactions with sahuks only. When a patel advanced money or grain, he invariably received *sawai*, or twenty-five per cent. interest, for whatever period the loan might have to run, which was usually only to the reaping of a particular crop. When a ryot failed in his agreements, he was frequently obliged on obtaining another advance, to pledge his cattle and implements, of agriculture, as well as the produce of his fields. Should he still continue insolvent, the patel seized everything he had, and took a deed of sale from him, specifying the particulars of his property, and declaring that the transfer had been voluntary, and that he would never reclaim it.

The accounts of the ryots were generally settled before the first of Chait (in April), on which day the *istimalut* commenced. The patel was sometimes obliged to give *takavi* advances to those of his ryots who were in bad circumstances or who had been particularly unfortunate during the former year. The *takavi* consisted of cash for the purchase of cattle or agricultural implements, or these were furnished at a stated value, for which two per cent. per mensem was taken. *Bij* and *potga*, or seed-grain and grain for the subsistence of the *kirsans* and their families, required by the poorer classes, were also advanced by the patel or his banker, and 25 per cent. was charged, without reference to the time of repayment. Those ryots, whose accounts had been settled, and who had made arrangements for *takavi*, &c., generally entered into their annual engagements with the patel on the first day of the *istimalut*. The others frequently did not come to any settlement for six weeks, or two months. The *pan* or betel, which is considered as a pledge of mutual good faith, was generally first given by the patel to the ryots of most influence in the village, who after concluding their own leases, afforded their aid to induce the rest to do so also.

Of the districts mentioned as having been subject to Muhammadan rule, the greater number were ceded by the Nizam to Janoji about the year 1763; the others are the *Doamli* districts, the full share of which was obtained by the Nagpur Government on the conclusion of the last war.

The original revenue system was similar to that of *turul-mul*, the object of which appears to have been by measuring and classing the lands to fix permanently the assessment of each portion into which they might be divided. The last

measurement and classification of the lands in this part of the country were made by Murshid Kuli Khan, one of Shah Jahan's officers, about one hundred and seventy-three years ago.

The scheme totally failed here, as indeed it seems to have uniformly done elsewhere; but whether the failure arose from the measurement and classification being originally erroneous, from the oppression of Government rendering a departure from the original arrangements necessary, or from the system being in itself impracticable and inapplicable to the state of the agricultural population, cannot be ascertained; it is certain, however, that for many years past, the collections have not been made in conformity with the original settlements, for not only have *bargans* been imposed, occasioning the rates to vary, but the extent of the several portions of land, as given in the village papers, has been altered, so that there remains little or no similarity between the amount and distribution of either the pargana or village assessments as they now exist, and as they are exhibited in the old revenue papers. In fact, while some of the forms of the original system have been preserved, the principles of it, if indeed they were ever acted on for any length of time, have undergone a total change; instead of a fixed and invariable rent being taken from each field, it varies to an equal extent, and from the same causes as in those parts where no attempt to fix it has ever been made, and it is remarkable how the forms of the one system have been applied to the other. The statement of the measurement of each field, which is inserted in the village papers, and was no doubt originally intended to secure a uniformity in the assessment of one portion in relation to that of another, is now used to express the changes in their relative value, which it is found necessary to make at the *istimatul*, the proportionate value of a field being increased or diminished by augmenting or reducing the nominal extent of it; by this means, the effect of the classification of the lands, which remains unaltered, and which would otherwise be to fix their relative value, is altogether avoided, and the whole village lands are open to annual alterations in the apportionment of their assessment. The lands are rated agreeably to their classification, and pay proportionably to it, but the actual amount depends on the Government demand, which again rests on the experience of former years' assessments and the policy of the existing Government; but necessarily regulated, in a great measure, although not by defined rules, by the amount of land in cultivation, its condition, and that of the ryots.

As this state of things is found in the *Doamli* districts, which were immediately under the Nizam's officers, it does not appear to have been the consequence of the rule of the Mahrattas; they, however, have introduced certain changes in the form of the village papers in the districts that have been longer under their undivided control, doing away with the *dhars*, or rates on the different kinds of lands, and introducing an uniform yearly *dhara* on the whole; and as the statement of the measurement serves as the *ain*, the system is quite assimilated to the more general one already described.

The village establishments are on the same footing as those in other parts, as also the rights of the actual cultivators in relation to the soil; but the office of patel is hereditary and saleable: this right is highly prized, and unwillingly relinquished; the share of the patel is, besides many petty prerequisites, fifteen per cent. on the whole land revenue of

his village; that is, if he holds in land, of every one hundred and fifteen bighas, one hundred goes to the Government, and fifteen to the Patel; or if paid in money, of every rupees one hundred and fifteen, he receives rupees fifteen. This share is liable to reduction, or even to total resumption, to make up deficiencies, whenever the assessment falls short of the kamil-jama of Murshid Kuli Khan, and although it may be partitioned into very minute portions amongst numerous individuals in the course of descent, agreeably to the Hindu Law of Inheritance, still no part becomes exempt from the liability to make good any failure in the Government demand, to meet which the whole of the dues may be sold, even without the patel's consent, which is required whenever they may be disposed of for the liquidation of any other debt. When a patel, however, becomes so greatly reduced in his circumstances as to be unable to carry on the affairs of his village, the more usual course followed is to make it over to a *mustajir*, or renter, who receives the dues during the period he remains in charge, but is liable to be ousted by the hereditary patel, whenever he chooses and is in a condition to resume his charge. No length of time seems to destroy this right, which is considered imprescriptible. Formerly, when a patel had no heir, the Government either permitted him to adopt one, or sold the patelki on his death. The usual arrangement, in the latter case, was for the purchaser to give a sum equal to the whole village assessment, which is about five or six years' purchase; but the Mahratta Government has never sold patelkis. Whenever, from the failure of heirs, they had come into its hands common *izaradar* patels were appointed.

In these districts, there are also deshmukhs and deshpandes; their offices are hereditary, but not saleable. The dues of the former are fives and those of the latter two and a half per cent. on the kamil-jama of each village, besides a share of some of the siwai jama collections. These *rusum zamindari*, however, are not exactly seven and a half per cent. on the land revenue, for however much above the kamil the assessment of a village may be raised, the *rusum* are not proportionately increased, being limited to the percentage on the kamil, at the same time that they are diminished in all cases, where the assessment falls short of that standard, so that the full amount of them is never leviable, except when every village in the pargana is assessed to the full amount of the kamil; besides which, when the gross assessment falls short of the kamil, their dues are applicable to make up the deficiency.

The chief duty of these officers is to assist in the revenue settlements, and in particular, to make the *tafrik*, or apportionment of the pargana assessment on the several villages composing it; the deshpande prepares all the papers connected with the revenue of the pargana, the village pandes being subordinate to him.

In some of the districts, the Mahratta Government suspended the zamindars from the exercise of their functions, but continued to them their established dues; in others, they still discharge their peculiar duties, and consequently have considerable influence amongst the agricultural community; but it is doubtful how far they exercise it to promote either the interests of the Government or the good of the people.

From the first establishment of the Mahratta power until the year 1792 A. D., the country was prosperous, and the land revenue had then probably attained its just maximum, as far, at least, as related to the actual condition of the cultivated lands and the population; but from this period, the inhabitants begin to date the period of misrule and oppressive assessment, though it was not carried, at first, to the ruinous excess of exaction which mark the conduct of Raghoji after the Mahratta war of 1802. Increased assessment in the regular form was from that time but a small part of the evils to which the inhabitants were subjected. Raghoji was unwilling to reduce his military establishments in the degree required by his reduced means, and strove to raise the revenue of his remaining territory to make up, in some measure, for his losses in the war.

General effects of the Mahratta administration until 1792.
From 1792 to 1818.

It now became customary for the Government to take large *nazzars* and advances of the rents from the *kamaishdars*, which they received with interest by *bargans*, or extraordinary imposts on the patels, who levied, in their turns, as much as they could from the ryots. This was generally the course pursued in the districts nearest the capital. The more distant ones were given in jagir to the military chiefs, in augmented estimates of their revenue, for the payment of troops.

The nominal revenue of Raghoji's territories was increased by such means, in the interval mentioned from sixty-one lakhs to seventy-six, or in an excess of fifteen lakhs notwithstanding the decrease of assets in various quarters, but chiefly in Deogarh above the Ghâts, of nearly three lakhs of rupees, occasioned by the depredations of Pindharis and Gonds, and the consequences of over-assessments.

The short reign of Appa Sahib was only distinguished by a greater degree of oppression and plunder from the country.

In consequence of these great and irregular exactions, and the ruinous war, and subsequent convulsions excited by Appa Sahib, much land had fallen out of cultivation, and the patels and ryots were universally involved in debts and embarrassments, from which they have not yet recovered.

The first objects to which the attention of every Superintendent was called were to distribute the country, which had before been split into innumerable divisions into more convenient portions; to appoint the most respectable of the revenue officers of the old Government to the situation of kamaishdars; to pay them according to the size and revenue of their divisions; to put a stop to their former illicit gains; to oblige them to reside in their districts; to provide, as far as possible, for the restoration to their original purpose of the ancient officers of check and control, and to prevent that collusion between the holders of them and the kamaishdars which cheated both the people and the State; in short, in all the offices of revenue which were in the appointment of the Government, to introduce maxims of regularity, economy, and purity into the administration.

In the conduct of the assessments, the attention of all was specially directed to revert to the regular principles of the ancient system; to guarantee to the

patels the just and faithful observance, on the part of Government, of the engagements which might be concluded; to abolish the extra imposts, which were acknowledged to be both new and oppressive; to remit balances which appeared irrecoverable, whilst their continuance in the accounts would be a constant mill-stone round the necks of the patels and ryots; to make the assessments light and moderate; to fix the payment of the instalments of the revenue at periods advantageous to the ryots, and to provide for restoring waste lands, by *kauls* granted according to former practice, and for the resuscitation of capital in the hands of the agricultural class; to prolong the terms of leases to the extent that might appear convenient with relation to the state and circumstances of the districts and their inhabitants.

The rights and privileges of all classes were to be ascertained and respected; and generally, in making even the changes required to restore the old system, indulgence was to be shown to those who had been the agents of misrule, and temper and moderation to be exercised, collaterally with a firm and resolute perseverance, in insuring a purity of conduct in the officers of revenue.

It was requisite to touch with a tender hand the relations between the patels and ryots; to avoid unnecessary interference, and discourage litigation; to redress well-founded complaints, but mainly to rely on the effects of moderate demands on the part of Government, and equitable conduct in its operations for realizing them; as well as on the consequent excitement of competition in the patels, for agricultural labour, to produce a gradual amelioration in the condition of the ryots.

The proceedings of the different Superintendents in endeavouring to attain these objects were naturally marked with some shades of distinction, both from differences of opinion and views in the individuals, and from varieties in local circumstances and institutions. The Resident deemed it wise, in the first instance, to place almost unlimited confidence in those officers, after giving them his general instructions. Relying generally upon their zeal and prudence, he confined his interference to a watchful superintendence of their conduct, as exhibited in their reports, and to answering points of reference, until that body of facts might be accumulated which was requisite to enable him to judge definitively on the general plans that might be best for the country and the Government, with reference to a future transference of the administration to the Raja. By degrees, he was enabled to prescribe a system of monthly and yearly accounts, which tended at once to convey to him the fullest information, and to afford the means of a more particular supervision and control over all the proceedings of the Superintendents.

On assuming charge, little or no change in the establishments of the *par-gana* revenue officers was introduced. Their duties and emoluments may be thus generally described.

The kamaishdar is the head authority in the district, in every department. In that of revenue, it is his business to make the collections agreeably to the instalments which he receives from the Superintendent's *katchery* relative to each village. He furnishes to the Superintendent detailed monthly accounts of his receipts and disbursements, and sends his surplus treasure either direct to the *Saddar* treasury, or to some

of the subordinate treasuries in the districts which have been established by the Superintendents to facilitate the transmission of the revenue from a distance. After the last instalment has been collected, the kamaishdar prepares his accounts, and submits the list of the sums which may be outstanding, with recommendations that they may be allowed to remain unsettled until his accounts are investigated, when orders are given to remit or realize them, according to circumstances. The kamaishdar has been ordered to pay particular attention to the *istimalut*, and to report all instances in which it does not proceed, with the causes of the delay. He ought to make himself acquainted with the circumstances of all the patels, and with the state of cultivation; to see that the accounts of the wararpandes are regular and correct, and that the *sadhnuks*, or general abstract of the lagwans of each village, which is to be submitted to the Superintendent, when required for the purpose of making assessments, is according to the actual collections of the patels. This he is to try to ascertain, by visiting all the villages personally and by communicating with the ryots.

The pay of the kamaishdar varies from eighty to one hundred rupees a month.

The duty of farnavis is not altered from what it has always been. His pay, and that of his deputy, is twenty-five rupees per month. He also receives one rupee on each village, and one rupee on all orders proceeding from his office.

As our assessments have been made with great reference to lagwans, the business of the wararpande has been much increased. It is his duty, as soon as practicable, after all the land has been sown, to go to each village and get the lagwans from the patels. He is then to assemble the ryots, and to enquire into the correctness of the lagwans. He is to use every endeavour, by communication with the ryots and village servants, to discover any false statements they may contain. After collecting all the lagwans of his district, he is to send copies of them to the Superintendent's *katchery*, and keep others for himself, from which he is to frame the *sadhnuks* above mentioned.

The peshkar is almost entirely employed for purposes of police. Should the farnavis be absent, he keeps his *daftar*. He has the population returns to prepare, also the *nirruks*, or price current, in the parganas, and it is his duty to report all extraordinary occurrences to the Superintendent.

The peshkar's was a new office, intended to form a check on the farnavis by keeping a double set of accounts. In Captain Wilkinson's district, the farnavis and peshkar still keep alternately the records of the revenue, and those of police and judicial proceedings.

The duty of the potdar is to examine all the money received into the Superintendent's treasury. He is bound to replace such rupees, bearing his mark, as prove bad, for which he receives one rupee annually from each village in the pargana.

The pandhri-pande keeps, as formerly, the pandhri and *kalali* accounts of the *kasba* to which he is attached.

On our taking charge of the country, all *bargans* and *pattis* not abolished were included in the amount of land revenue entered in the lagwans, and the kamaishdars and patels were forbidden to extort new *bargans* under any pretence. Those discovered in doing so were either removed from their situations, or severely fined.

Ryots were encouraged to complain when any unauthorized demands were made, and those who complied with such demands were told that they would be considered equally culpable with the receivers. In some instances, where such practices were discovered, the amount was taken from both parties, and added to the assessment of the land occupied by the *kirsans*.

Patels are strictly enjoined to adhere to the agreements they make with the *kirsans* at the commencement of the year. Any patel who is discovered in depriving the *kirsans* of fields, for which he has engaged, is punished, and the land restored to the *kirsans*.

Kirsans are also obliged to adhere scrupulously to their agreement with the patel, and if they have taken the *pan* they are made answerable for their portion of the land for the year, and must pay the assessment. The patel is entirely entrusted with the renting of the whole of his village, and he is at liberty to let the land in any way he may choose. There are frequent complaints from ryots against patels for depriving them of fields they have cultivated for many years, the patel wishing either to cultivate the land himself or to raise the rent. No interference is exercised on the part of the Superintendents unless any violation of positive agreement can be made out by the complainant.

Captain Cameron says he has always found the patels ready to do their ryots justice, and their proceedings are seldom vexatious, unless with the view of getting rid of a bad or intriguing character out of their village.

Patels to whom ryots are indebted are permitted to place the property of the defaulters under restraint, but not to sell it without authority from the Superintendent. If a ryot leaves a village in debt to his patel, he is obliged to return and settle all revenue demands, before he is allowed to become a cultivator elsewhere.

I shall now proceed to give a sketch of the proceedings of the different officers employed, enlarging principally on Deogarh below the Ghâts.

This district formed part of the more general charge which was given to Captain Gordon in June 1818. In all the parganas there are tracts of barren and unproductive soil, more or less extensive. Some portion of the surface of each consists of pasture lands, and considerable portions which are fit for nothing else are converted into grass preserves, or birs. Arable land predominates on the plains; the greater portion of it is tilled; many parganas are highly cultivated, and the general aspect of the country is that of a fruitful and well-cultivated tract.

It was originally distributed into no less than one hundred and thirty parganas and other denominations employing sixty mamlatdars, or kamaishdars,

and their agents. Captain Gordon reduced the number to twenty-three, of as nearly the same size as circumstances would admit, under an equal number of native managers. The average collections of each were, at first, about sixty-five thousand rupees, though owing to the progressive increase in the revenue it now amounts to nearly seventy-seven thousand.

The first duty which devolved on Captain Gordon was an arduous one namely, Settlements for 1228 the settlements of the general account of the collections, Fasli. disbursements, and balances for the year 1227, which being at last successfully performed, he proceeded with the settlements for 1228. To effect this object, Captain Gordon's attention was naturally directed to the ascertainment of the previous year's assessment, which indeed was the only ground on which that of the current one could be framed. From an examination of the accounts, it appeared that the jama of land revenue for 1227 had been fixed at rupees nineteen lakhs fifty-eight thousand one hundred and forty-two, but on investigating the particulars of which this sum was made up, it was found that part of it was a mere nominal revenue.

It appears that after the peace of Deogaon in 1803, a heavy additional assessment was imposed on the country, which was continued until 1808, when it was found that many of the districts had been so impoverished that they could no longer support such heavy demands. A selection was accordingly made from the districts on which the assessment pressed with the greatest weight, and they were all transferred to jagirdars at a reduced value, but with the same nominal assessment; whilst the remaining parts of the county, comprising the most flourishing districts, were retained in kamaisha or khalsa. The difference between the reduced value and the nominal assessment amounted to rupees one lakh ninety-six thousand three hundred and twenty-five, a sum which had not been levied on these districts for the last ten years, but which had, nevertheless, been continued in the accounts of the farqas as forming part of the regular assessment.

Deducting this sum from the jama of 1227, it is reduced to rupees seventeen lakhs sixty-one thousand eight hundred and seventeen; and as it was found that lands had been thrown out of cultivation during the year 1227, yielding a rent of rupees fifty-nine thousand one hundred and fifteen, a still further reduction became necessary, whereby the jama was diminished to rupees seventeen lakhs two thousand seven hundred and two, at which sum the assessment for 1228 was fixed.

The effects of the war and heavy rains, which nearly destroyed the kharif crops and produced a famine, rendered it impracticable to collect the whole of the assessment, of which only rupees fifteen lakhs ninety-seven thousand three hundred and thirty-two was realized, the balance, amounting to rupees one lakh five thousand three hundred and ninety being remitted.

The same adverse causes led to even worse results in 1229; for although the assessment was fixed as low as rupees fifteen lakhs fifteen thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven, it was found indispensable to grant remissions to the amount of rupees sixteen thousand nine hundred and eighty, reducing the actual collections of the year to rupees fourteen lakhs nineteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven.

The expediency of concluding the next settlement for a longer term than one year had been rendered obvious by the information acquired of the state of the different parganas; it was much desired by the patels, and seemed the best means of restoring the country from the effects of past mismanagement and misfortune, as well as of establishing confidence everywhere in the stability of the existing order of things. The Resident, accordingly, sanctioned the granting of leases for three years, including, in some cases, 1229, 1230 and 1231 Fasli, but generally 1230, 1231 and 1232.

To give a general idea of the capabilities of the country, preliminary enquiries were made in every pargana by Captain Gordon. The accounts of the assessments and collections were first examined. The *bargans* lately imposed were ascertained, and their effect on the cultivation of the district considered.

The accounts of 1228 were then investigated, and the balances remaining due, with the causes of them, were ascertained. The lagwans for 1229 were also examined, and as they were supposed to exhibit a tolerably accurate view of the state of the cultivation, and consequently of what the district, in its actual condition, could afford to pay, the assessment was regulated to a considerable extent with reference to the jama exhibited in these accounts.

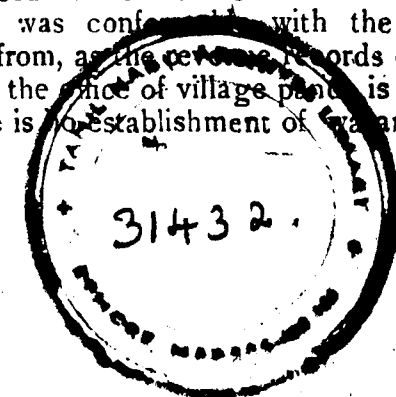
The settlement itself was conducted in two ways. According to one mode, the gross assessment of the whole pargana was settled with the patels, and the details adjusted afterwards. The other mode was to make the settlement with the patels individually, for each village, without previously fixing the pargana rate. Out of 23 parganas, 15 were settled according to the first, and eight according to the second process.

The first mode was much more expeditious than the second, and a threat of measurements and strict examination of the state of the lands generally produced an early assent on the part of the patels to the terms offered. After the pargana assessment had been agreed to by all the patels assembled together, the apportionment of it on the villager was adjusted in the presence of the Superintendent, by the revenue officers of the pargana, assisted by the principal patels, and under the superintendence of the *katchery* servants.

After the amount of the rent which each patel was to pay during the lease had been agreed on, he delivered to the Superintendent a *kabuliat*, in writing, as an acknowledgment of such consent, and in return received a *kaul-nama*, specifying the terms of the lease for each year and all further particulars. He also received a *waidabundar chitti*, signed by the Superintendent, specifying the amount of instalments for each month of the first year, and the periods of payment.

In the Berar parganas, which were *Donmli*, or jointly administered by the Nizam's and Bhonsla's officers, where there are zamindars, the settlement was made through them with the patels, in the manner described above, with this difference only, that the zamindars agreed for certain sums for the whole district, instead of the patels. This mode was conformable with the former practice, and could not have been deviated from, as the *petty* records of these parganas are in the hands of the zamindars, the *price* of village *petty* is usually held by them or their connections, and there is no establishment of *petty* or regular system of village accounts.

V 23128 1M
N215



In the other parganas, formerly subject to the Nizam, but which have been long held by the Mahrattas, in which there are also zamindars, the system of wararpandes and village accounts had been introduced, and the services of the zamindars were not so exclusively employed in the assessments as in the *Doamli* parganas. The details were, however, generally left to them when their services were found useful, but when they were accused by the patels of gross partiality, their influence was dispensed with altogether.

The second mode of separate settlements with each village was much more tedious than the other process, and Superintendent
Second mode could not get through more than 12 villages in the course of a day.

The accounts of each village were not only inspected for 1228 and 1229 but as far back as they could be traced, and the statements of the patels were compared with other sources of information when it could be had.

Before agreements were concluded, persons were frequently sent to look at the villages, to number the *pad*, or fallow fields, to compare the quantity of land in cultivation for both years, and to bring back written statements of the lagwans as given by the ryots themselves. Captain Gordon also visited many villages himself and tried to ascertain from the ryots what they had engaged to pay to the patels. In some cases, measurements were had recourse to when the lands were supposed to be much under-assessed; and as a last resource, when the patel would not consent to pay what was considered a just rate, the villages were either offered to others, or kept under *khas* management until a new patel could be found.

When everything was adjusted, *kaul-namas*, &c., were given to the patels, as specified in the first mode of adjustment, which concluded the business.

No limitations were placed on the patels with regard to the rates of assessment they were to demand from the ryots. They were recommended to be moderate in their demands, as the best mode of securing the cultivation of their lands.

In the settlements made with each patel were included the *autbandi*, or Settlement of Siwai, Jama, Kallali, Pandhri, &c. tax on ploughs, of four rupees each, the kotwali, pandri, zamindari, and all the other petty dues and cesses of their respective villages. The Government had no demands on the patels beyond what was specified in the *kaul-namas*.

The only items of extra revenue for which no specific engagements were concluded were the siwai, jama, and *kalali* of the *kasbas* and *palasuti** villages. The two branches have always been kept *khas*.

The *khasgi* villages were formerly under separate management, and supplied by the Raja with seed-grain, &c. In the end of 1228, *Khasgi mukasa, and palasuti villages,* they were incorporated with the parganas, and placed under the control of the kamaishdars, who were ordered to supply them with grain from the Government stores. In consequence of the failure of the crops, and the necessity of distributing some portion of the Government grain amongst

the other villages, many of the *khasgi* ones could not be supplied. Much land was, in consequence, left uncultivated, and the ryots quitted them and settled where there were patels.

The mukasa villages were held by military chiefs, ministers, &c. Many of the former fled after the war, plundering their villages when quitting the country; and as it was neither practicable to get new patels for them, nor to furnish the ryot with seed-grain, much land fell out of cultivation.

The *palasuti* villages had, in many cases, been without patel for years, having been thrown up at different times by the former occupiers, from the pressure of assessment and other causes.

The total number of all these villages was four hundred and nineteen. Patels were provided for three hundred and ten of them. The old patels were invariably preferred, when they were men of substance, but not otherwise as the state of the villages required that the patels should be able to assist the ryots. Most of the remainder have since been taken.

In some instances, where districts and villages were in a very bad state, the leases were extended to four years. Deserted villages were let for terms of five and six years.

The result of the different modes of assessment above described has been Comparative effect of the different modes of settlement. that the parganas settled by the Superintendent, without any communication with the chief patels or zamindars, invariably improved more than those in which they were allowed to interfere. All their influence had been exerted to reduce the assessment of their own villages and those of their friends, and to throw as much of the burden as possible on those with whom they were not connected. The consequence was, that from the unequal pressure of the assessment, and the fall in the price of grain which took place shortly after the conclusion of the leases, many of the *watandar* patels in the Berar parganas were obliged to give up their villages. As the zamindars were answerable for the settlements concluded in this way, the deficiency was made up as far as possible from their *rasum*; but before the expiration of the leases in 1232, many of them had suffered so much, that it became necessary to grant some remissions. This was not the consequence of general over-assessment, but of the endeavours of the zamindars to make up the sum required, and to hold their own lands at a reduced rate, which Captain Cameron, who acted for Captain Gordon at that time, asserts could have been effected, had the price of produce continued as high as at the time when the settlements were made.

The share of the patels was not then restored to them, to near the amount they claimed, for two reasons: first, because they had great opportunities to make money by bringing new lands into cultivation, on which they had nothing to pay for three years; secondly, because all their lagwans were, without doubt, in their favour; since that period, great attention has been paid to the lagwans, and the information given by the wararpandes is more to be depended on, although by no means deemed correct.

The settlements for 1233 and 1234 were annual in most cases, the continued fall in the prices of produce rendering it inexpedient to grant leases for longer periods. The term, however, was Settlements of 1233 and 1234.

* Palasuti are those villages which have no patels.

extended to three years in some particular instances. Leases for one and two years have since been sanctioned for those parganas (the greater number of the whole) the settlements of which expired at the end of 1234.

The village settlements have been made by Captain Cameron entirely on the lagwans, compared with the payments of former years; but the full amount of their *hak* or share, has not yet been granted to the patels. In all cases where the rents were raised, from twelve to eighteen per cent. was allowed to them; but, where diminution took place, the same indulgence was not given, as there were almost invariably lands which had fallen out of cultivation during the years of the preceding leases, which might again be brought to account. Where reductions have been made, the villages have been generally let to the patels, at a corresponding low rate for two, three, or four years, and all the land which they might bring into cultivation during that time is exempt from any demand by Government. The account of it is, however, annually inserted in the lagwans. The system of *istarah*, or annually increasing jama, appears to Captain Cameron, and I concur with him in the opinion, to check the industry of the patel. In villages which, on a renewal of lease, showed the same amount of lagwan as for the former year, the patels, if they were entirely cultivated, were allowed from twelve to fifteen per cent., but not so much when there remained any waste land which might be brought into cultivation.

Captain Cameron considers measurement and classification of the lands by the ryots of the village as the best means of ascertaining the value of lands. He has no doubt that an assessment formed on such ground would raise the revenue very much; but it would be unpopular. The enquiries which he has yet made could only extend to the actual receipts, the seed sown, the description of land, and the number of ploughs. But these points are difficult to be ascertained in a satisfactory manner; and even if ascertained, their results could not be relied on as the ground-work of assessments, though such data as are attainable may be useful in a general way. Low rents, he conceives, do more to advance the population and cultivation of an unsettled district than any other measure; but the low assessment must be secured to the ryots, and not given either to zamindars or patels.

Statements of the general results of the present administration in Deogarh.

The following statements may prove interesting, and, in some measure, show the effect of our administration on this district:—

The number of towns and villages inhabited and deserted were:—

In 1229, Towns inhabited	...	64
Villages do.	...	1,826
Do. <i>rith</i>	...	1,791
Do. deserted	...	322
Total	...	4,003

In 1235, there were	Towns inhabited...	64
	Villages do. ...	2,011
	Do. <i>rith</i> ...	1,690
	Do. deserted	236
	Total	4,001*

The *rith* villages are those which have been formerly inhabited, though now deserted; but as their lands are cultivated by *paikar kirsans*, a distinction is made in the records between them and the *wirani* villages. They are generally found in the best parts of the country, and have been abandoned from various causes.

The *wirani* villages are almost all situated in the jungles. From the wararpanle's annual accounts, it appears that the number of fields in cultivation were in—

1222	...	86,927
1230	...	92,684
1231	...	99,276
1232	...	101,329
1233	...	102,981
1234	...	109,588

None of the parganas were so well cultivated when we took charge of the country, as they had been some years before. The records of all the parganas show that the lands of many villages which were waste, or nearly so, in 1229, were formerly tilled, and the causes of their decay can always be traced. On the other hand, cultivation has been since rapidly spreading in every quarter. Captains Gordon and Cameron assert this from personal knowledge. This fact is also clearly shown in the village accounts; and my own observations in the frequent tours I have made through the country satisfy me that it is the case. In order to compare the amount of land revenue which has been drawn from this district during the time it has been under our management with what was realized for the ten previous years by the Mahrattas, the average of collections during the latter period has been taken, and it amounts, after making a deduction on account of the over-valued Jagirs, to sixteen lakhs nine thousand and fifty-four rupees.

We collected:—

	Rs.
†In 1228	14,96,134
1229	13,99,788
1230	14,94,372
1231	15,74,501
1232	16,29,534
1233	16,22,066
1234	16,24,418
1235	16,45,607

* Four villages were transferred in 1823 to the Wainganga District, and two received from it.
† Several taluks belonging to Deogarh, as well as the *Doamli* districts, obtained from the Nizam's Government, are not included in this statement; they being also omitted in the amount of the average collection for ten previous years.

In the following table is exhibited in one view the number of fields in cultivation, the amount of revenue realized, and the average prices of the two principal articles of produce for the last six years :—

Year.	Number of fields in cultivation.	Revenue realized	PRICE OF GRAIN PER KHANDI.		REMARKS.
			Wheat.	Juar.	
		Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
1229	86,927	13,69,788	20 3 4	10 1 4	
1230	92,684	14,94,372	11 0 0	10 0 0	
1231	99,276	15,74,501	9 11 9	6 13 0	
1232	101,329	16,20,534	7 11 10	6 0 0	
1233	102,981	16,22,066	7 14 0	7 7 11	
1234	109,588	16,24,418	7 3 9	4 1 6	
1235	...	16,46,607	3 14 6	2 9 0	Somewhat too low.

The area of this district cannot be correctly estimated, as it has not yet been surveyed. A large portion of it, particularly near the hills, is occupied by petty Zamindars. In the khalsa part, the plain country to the east of the Wainganga is, throughout, cultivated, with the exception of such portions of land as it is necessary to keep as pasturage. In some of the parganas to the west, there are extensive plains waste, from the oppressions and exactions in the latter part of Raghoji's reign.

The country is now sub-divided into thirteen parganas, with the same establishment as in Deogarh.

It would appear from ancient records and traces of old towns, forts, villages, and tanks to be met with in the jungles, that the country was formerly much more populous than at the present day. At what period and from what causes it fell into the impoverished state in which it was found by the Mahrattas, is unknown; but in the circumstance of its being parcelled out at that time amongst a number of petty Gond Zamindars, of wild and irregular habits, and constantly engaged in hostilities with each other, or in rebellion against their nominal chiefs whether of Mandla, Deogarh, or Chanda, we perceive an effectual obstacle to all improvement, and a sufficient cause for the existence and continuance of anarchy and confusion.

Under the sway of the Bhonslas, the country is said much to have improved, and to have received a great increase of population. The Gond Zamindars were generally expelled from the plains, to make way for more industrious inhabitants and a more settled administration. Raghoji Kerandia, who was one of the most successful of the military leaders in the early days of the Bhonsla Government, became equally celebrated as a revenue manager in those districts, where he is still remembered as the father of the people entrusted to his care. In Janoji's

and Mudhoji's reign, there are no complaints of oppression; but the latter days of the history of this part of the country were not more exempt than those of other quarters from the rapacity of Raghoji and his successor.

In the system of general revenue management and village assessment under the Mahrattas, the Wainganga Districts offer no points of difference from what has been above described; and the proceedings of Captain Wilkinson, who obtained charge of them in 1229, were exactly similar to those of Captain Gordon. He concluded a triennial village settlement for the years 1230, 1231, and 1232. The amount in each case being regulated by the former assessments, together with whatever information could be drawn from other available sources.

During the continuance of these leases, Captain Wilkinson exerted himself to ascertain the total amount of revenue in each village that had been paid by the ryots to the patels, and the value of lands held by the latter, whether as *amut*, or land in the hands of the patel as a cultivator, and subject to its full share of assessment, or as *chakbundi*, which implies rent-free land, in lieu of the money share; and upon the information then obtained, he re-settled all the parganas for one, two, or three years previously to the expiration of the triennial settlement.

By the terms of these settlements the profits arising from bringing waste land into cultivation went to the patels; whilst, on the other hand, the losses accruing from fields remaining unoccupied were to be made good by him; he was prohibited from making any demands over and above the amount at which each field was rated in the lagwan, without obtaining the sanction of the pargana authorities, and all the ryots were informed of the orders issued on this point. The allowance granted to the patels was thirteen per cent. on the collections of every village yielding rupees eight hundred and upwards, and fifteen per cent. on those whose assessment fell short of that sum, together with an allowance, varying from fifteen to twenty-five rupees, for village expenses. Where the patel's share was in land, the quantity was estimated by the quantity of seed required to sow it. The number of villages respectively—*rith*, *wirani*, and inhabited—were :—

	Rith.	Wirani.	Inhabited.
In 1229	334	485	2,076
1235	315	471	2,111*

*Two additional villages received from Chanda.

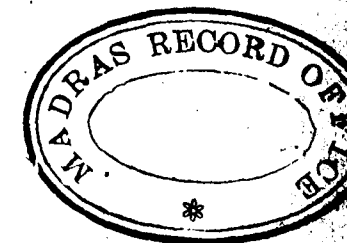
The average amount of land revenue collected for ten years previous to our assuming charge may be stated at eight lakhs twenty-six thousand and sixty rupees.

Our collections have been :—

	Rs.
In 1228	7,10,435
1229	7,26,905
1230	7,48,592
1231	7,60,121
1232	7,72,907
1233	7,85,343
1234	7,56,333

Chanda, like the Wainganga District, may be ranged into two divisions—first, Chanda Proper, including only the khalsa portion; and, secondly, the Zamindaris. The first division alone

will be considered here.



The extreme length of Chanda Proper is estimated by Captain Crawford, on what he considers good data, to be eighty geographical miles from north to south and sixty-five from east to west, and the district to contain three thousand three hundred and eighty geographical square miles and it is now divided into ten parganas.

Before the Mahratta war of 1803, the country was in a flourishing state. The trade with the coast was a considerable source of revenue. Great quantities of salt and cocoanuts were imported, and cotton exported. Coarse cloths, called khadi, were sent in great quantities to Berar, and found their way even to Bombay and Arabia. In 1212, or 1802-3, Captain Crawford believes the population of the district to have been double what it now is, and as for its trade, it is stated to be very low at present. In 1213, the town of Chanda had five thousand houses; in 1218, four thousand two hundred; and in 1232, only two thousand eight hundred.

Since 1226, the following events have occurred. In 1227, the town of Chanda and its peths, or suburbs, were sacked, and the whole of the cattle of the circumjacent villages were swept away. This was followed by the rebellion of the Gond Zamindars, in putting down which Captain Crawford's exertions were particularly active and successful; but in the meantime, the country suffered much from their depredations. Famine and cholera raged one year, and in 1232 and 1233, immense numbers of the cattle were carried off by disease.

The revenue system of Chanda has already been described as that of Deogarh; and Captain Crawford made the settlements for the years 1228 and 1229 in the same manner and on the same grounds as the Superintendent of Deogarh, as well as the triennial settlements for 1230, 1231 and 1232. Up to this period, the collections had been on the advance; but on the expiration of the three years' leases, acting on a misconception of the authority vested in him, and conceiving that, from enquiries instituted regarding the productive powers of the lands, he had procured data sufficient to enable him to conclude an assessment on grounds somewhat different from, and preferable to, those hitherto adopted, Captain Crawford proceeded to make settlements for five years in the different parganas of his division, the result of which was a considerable decrease in the amount of the land revenue. On receiving a detail of the measures adopted, and an explanation of the views and principles by which the Superintendent was guided, the Resident could not give his unqualified approbation to the proceeding. Much of the information pointed out as necessary by Captain Crawford was, no doubt, of essential assistance to him in concluding the settlements, but probably not sufficient to form the basis of new ones. It was, besides, most difficult to obtain satisfactory proof of the correctness of the details upon which the changes were grounded, and it required much time to apply them with care to every village of the district. The Resident was prevented, however, from revising the settlements, in consequence of the faith of Government having been pledged to their observance.

The allowance granted to the patels by Captain Crawford was fifteen per cent. on all villages yielding above seven hundred rupees, and thirteen per cent. on those paying a smaller sum. An allowance enjoyed by the village pandies was done away with as unnecessary, but it will, probably, be again restored to them.

The average of collections from this district for ten years previous to our assuming charge was nearly three lakhs ninety-one thousand one hundred and four rupees.

We collected :—

	Rs.
In 1228	2,33,037
1229	2,96,943
1230	3,69,574
1231	3,97,776
1232	4,06,139
1233	3,63,898
1234	3,67,391

The number of villages respectively—*rith*, *wirani* and inhabited—was :—

	<i>Wirani</i> .	<i>Rith</i> .	Inhabited.
In 1229	285	356	1,213
1235	275	356	1,223

These districts, when they came under our charge, had suffered equally with the rest of the Raja's territories, from the ruinous system of the last Raghoji, as well as more severely than the others from the ravages of the Gonds, particularly during Appa Sahib's residence amongst them.

The effects of the recent low prices of produce, too, have been even more felt in this division than elsewhere, owing to the general poverty of the patels, and the revenue management is much influenced by that adopted in the Company's acquired districts, which embrace it on three sides. Still it may be said that everything has been done that was practicable to improve the revenue; and the foundation, at least, has been securely laid for future increase.

The revenue system of this part of the country is exactly the same as in Deogarh below the Ghâts; and no innovations have been introduced. Yearly settlements were made in the years 1228 and 1229, and triennial leases granted for 1230, 1231 and 1232, since the expiration of which the settlements have been made for one or two years.

The average collection of the ten years previous to our taking charge may be stated at three hundred and fifty-nine thousand six hundred and two rupees.

Our collections have been :—

	Rs.
In 1228	1,51,276
1229	1,63,569
1230	1,86,688
1231	2,20,089
1232	2,41,073
1233	2,52,172
1234	2,58,221

There were villages :—

	<i>Wirani</i> .	<i>Rith</i> .	Inhabited.
In 1229	1,339	235	600
1235	626	307	1,241

The revenue of Chhattisgarh was long under distinct management, as the appanage, successively, of Bimbaji, Mudhoji, Venkoji and Appa Sahib. Its extent may be computed, exclusive of the distant dependencies of Bastar and Karonde, at two hundred and sixty miles in length and one hundred and sixty in breadth. The khalsa lands are situated in the centre, and on every side are surrounded by tributary zamindaris. The proportion of the khalsa to the zamindari lands is not known; the former, however, besides being the most open, are also the best cultivated, it being supposed that of the khalsa plains, nearly one-half, whilst in the zamindaris, with the exception of Kawardha and Pandaria, not more than one-fourth is under tillage.

The khalsa lands, which were distributed formerly into twenty-seven divisions, were formed into nine parganas by Colonel Agnew.

Of the ancient history and condition of Chhattisgarh little is known. It is probable, however, that it once was in a more flourishing state than it has been, for many years past. From an old *Deshnāma*, or list of villages, found at Ratanpur, it appears that the number of villages was much greater formerly than it now is, and the ruins of Sirpur, on the right bank of the Mahanaddi, twenty miles north of Asing, said to have been the capital of a very ancient Hindu dynasty of Byram Deo in Kawardha, and of numerous temples and buildings scattered generally over the country, indicate an amount of population and a degree of prosperity which have long ceased to exist.

The province was for ages under the sway of a family of Ashwapatti, or Hai Hai Bansi Princes; and although one of them, called Kallian Singh, is said to have been seized and carried off to Delhi by the imperial army which entered the country in pursuit of Durga Wati, the Rani of Garha* Katangi, and was obliged to become tributary to the Emperor, still, until finally conquered by the Mahrattas, the country seems to have been long exempt from foreign control, and its original institutions to have remained unchanged and untouched by the hands of strangers. From every information it has been practicable to obtain, it appears however, that under this dynasty, the feudal principles of its rule precluded a regular system of revenue, the greater part of the Government lands having been apportioned amongst the different members of the reigning family and the officers, civil and military, of the State, who again partitioned them amongst their immediate dependants. In such a state of things any uniform plan could not well exist, and it was not until the Mahrattas had established their authority that the introduction of any thing like a general system took place. But this was not accomplished on their first settlement in the country; for although attempts to introduce order were first made as early as the arrival of Bimbaji in 1758, it was not until 1790 that Vittal Deokari, then subhedar of the province, succeeded in reducing affairs into a state of uniformity and regularity; and even the changes effected by him did not extend farther than establishing a more regular mode of keeping the revenue accounts of the parganas; no alteration having taken place in the manner of assessing the lands, nor any measures being devised to regulate and record the agreements made between the patels and cultivators.

*Near Jubbulpore.

Throughout this province there are no watandars, either ryots or patels, and the inhabitants seem to be less attached to the soil, and more migratory than is commonly the case in most other parts of India.

The village establishments are somewhat less complete than in the other parts of the country: there are but few village accountants or carpenters; and parohits, or religious Brahmins, together with a set of Mahratta Brahmin astrologers, brought into the country by Bimbaji, supply the place of the *jishis* and *garpagaris*.

The village officers universally established are the gaontia or head man, two *tehlus*, the *nai* or barber, the *gahira* or cowherd, the *dhobi*, the *lohar*, and the *chamar*.

The duties of the gaontia exactly correspond with those of the patel in other parts. His emoluments are one plough of land, rent-free, out of every eight paying revenue to Government, with an allowance for village expenses of one in every sixteen, which is sown with his own seed, but tilled by the ryots generally. He has, besides, some trifling dues on the sale of the produce of his village.

Of the *tehlus*, one is of the Ganda, the other of the Chowan caste. Their joint duties are to go the errands of the gaontia; to report offences, and the arrivals and departures of travellers; to dun the ryots for their rents, and to keep prisoners in custody. To supply the wants of travellers is the more immediate business of the Ganda, whilst the guarding of the village is that of the Chowan. Their remuneration in amount, as well as in the mode of making it, varies greatly, almost every village having its peculiar customs.

The *nai*, or barber, owes professional services to all the village community, but is chiefly employed by the gaontia, from whom he usually receives a greater annual allowance of grain than from the other ryots.

The cowherd is, in a great measure, the servant of the gaontia; whenever he moves, he accompanies him, carries his baggage, cleans his brass vessels, and brings him water. The *dhobi*, besides washing clothes, cuts and brings firewood. The *lohar* makes and repairs the iron parts of the implements of husbandry, and the *chamar* furnishes thongs for the ploughs, and mends the bags used in raising water. They all are paid in grain or money, agreeably to the village usage.

Besides these, the Mahrattas introduced a set of middle-men, denominated patels, generally needy Mahratta Brahmins, who were superiors of small taluks and gaontias of the villages where they resided. They were allowed six and a half per cent. on their payments to the Government.

From the death of Bimbaji Bhonsla, 1787, Chhattisgarh was governed by subhedars, deputed by the prince holding the appanage. The revenue servants were, in the province, the subhedar, the farnavis, and sometimes an under farnavis, called patti; and in the parganas, a kamaishdar and farnavis, with an establishment of subordinate officers denominated *bulkars*, whose duty was to convey to the kamaishdars information respecting the extent of land in cultivation, the state of the crops, and on all matters connected with the revenue, which they also collected under instructions from the kamaishdar.

The lands have never been measured, and the assessment is on the plough, the rates being from four to seventeen and a half rupees, agreeably to the

quantity and quality of the land, but not according to any determinate rules, nor were the rates permanently the same, but varying as the village assessment. The apportionment of the assessment was altogether left to gaontias and ryots, of whose engagements no records could be kept from the want of village registers. The pargana assessment was apportioned on the different villages composing it by the kamaishdar, guided by former practice and the information he could obtain respecting the actual state of the villages. The whole demand on the province was made in conformity with instructions from Nagpur, and the apportionment of it regulated by former years' collections.

The following account of the mode of proceeding in the collection of the revenue, followed by the Mahratta officers, is from Colonel Agnew's report:—

"If the ryots of each village, as they usually did, complained to the patel or gaontia that the existing distribution of lands was unfair, he assembled them, and a new division, which satisfied all parties, took place. If, also, any stated that they required aid in money, seed, or cattle, the patel or gaontia, aided them if he had the means, or if he had not, became their security with some sahukars; but for these purposes, there was no particular day, nor were the ryots collected at all, unless on their own application.

"After the seed was sown (in the end of July, or beginning of August) kamaishdars recommenced their *takaza* for any balances on account of the preceding year remaining due to the Government.

"In the end of August, the subhedar of the district despatched takids to kamaishdars of parganas, directing them to collect one-third of the annual revenue according to the assessment of the last year, and to remit the amount to the public treasury before the 5th Aswin (October). On receipt of these orders, the kamaishdars immediately despatched *chitthis* to each patel or gaontia directing them to repair to the *kasba*, for the purpose of settling the *sal* or annual assessment, and to bring with them the instalment then due.

"The patels and gaontias, complying with these directions, assembled at the *kasba*. If the kamaishdar thought a village could pay more than it had done the preceding year, he demanded about double the increase he expected, and after a good deal of discussion, concluded an agreement with the gaontia or patel for the current year, taking from the latter what was called a *waidapurja*, or bond, in which the amount of assessment agreed upon was particularized and an engagement entered into for its payment before the expiration of the year, in certain *kists*, or instalments. It also contained an agreement to pay such a further sum as the subhedar or the Sircar might impose on the country generally. Ten or 12 days were then demanded, and allowed for collecting and paying the kist already due, after which the patels and gaontias returned to their villages. On these occasions, and whilst discussing the amount of assessment, they made various representations, such as that their lands had fallen out of cultivation from epidemics amongst the ryots or their cattle; that the season had been bad; that disturbances had prevented the labors of the field, etc. Of these, the kamaishdars who were most attentive to their duty took notes, which, in some cases, they made the gaontias sign.

"Thus one-third of the revenue, corresponding generally, in the total amount from each pargana, but not in the assessment on each village, with the last year, was collected and paid into the treasury before the Dasehra (September or

October). If any remained due by the pargana at that festival, the subhedar wrote letters urging its immediate payment, and if they were not attended to, he gave a *berrat*, or order, on the kamaishdar, to some troops or others who exacted payment.

"The second instalment, also of one-third, was collected by precisely a similar process, except that kamaishdars sent the revenue peons under their authority who are in most parts of this province called *budkars*, sometimes with *chits* sometimes without, to receive the amount from each patel or gaontia, and did not summon them to the *kasba*; the 5th of Pus (January) being the date within which it was to be paid into the treasury.

"Between the collection of these two kists, the most active and zealous of the kamaishdars made a tour of their parganas in order that they might be prepared on the coming of the subhedar to give him the fullest information, particularly as to the truth or otherwise of the various representations made to them by patels and gaontias, of which in settling the *sal* they had taken notes and had allowed to influence them in reducing or increasing that, so as to fall short of or exceed the assessment of the past year.

"At the sowing of the rabi crops in October and November, as at the kharif the patel or gaontia of each village aided his ryot with seed and advances of money; but no new distribution of the lands took place.

"The third instalment, or the remaining third, was payable on the 5th of Chait (or April), and was collected in the same manner as the second.

"The subhedar, having received the second instalment of the revenue, commenced his tour generally about the end of January. He previously apprised the kamaishdars of his approach, and directed them to assemble all the patels and gaontias. He visited each *kasba*, where he remained about three or four days, seldom making any tour of the pargana. On arriving, he called upon the kamaishdars and farnavises for the *kutcha* accounts of the collections made in the last year, and having received them, he heard, in public *katchery*, all that the patels, gaontias, or ryots might wish to state. From their representations, from the report of the kamaishdar, from his own public and secret enquiries, and adverting to the orders he had received from Nagpur, he determined whether to confirm or to alter (which he was understood to have the power of doing) the *sal* settled by the kamaishdar. When an increase was thought necessary, as was generally the case, that was enforced more by the weight of the subhedar than by any compulsory measures, and was seldom carried into effect without the consent, although perhaps yielded reluctantly, of the patels and gaontias. If any particular gaontia, however, would not come into the general arrangement, and complained of the sum at which his village was assessed, the subhedar instituted an enquiry, which enabled him to compare the payments it had made in the past year with those made by the neighbouring villages; he then ascertained their relative states, and decided upon the representation by the result. If that was not satisfactory to the complainant, the village was offered to another, and where a candidate stood forward, which was generally pre-arranged underhand, the objection was either withdrawn, as was commonly the case, or the gaontia was changed.

"The accounts of the pandhri, or tax upon those classes who are not cultivators, and of the *kut* or *tul* collected on cattle loaded with grain or merchan-

dise, were examined in a general way, and the receipts on account of siwa (fine, &c., &c.) were particularly enquired into, from the date of the subhedar's last tour. This latter being a branch of revenue in which impositions were frequent, persons were encouraged, by agents of the subhedar, to come forward and state the payments they had made, that it might appear whether the whole amount, deducting certain allowed fees to the revenue servants, had been credited to the public. Finally, the *baki* account, or arrears of former years, was examined. The kamaishdar's expenditure was also looked into, and cautions given him, but its final settlement was deferred to the end of the year.

"Thus the *baki* account and whole assessment of the current year was finally fixed, and a copy of the *tharao* or settlement, entered on the *daftars*, was taken by the farnavis of the pargana. In it was stated the *baki* from the last year, the total revenue for the current year, the instalments in which it was to be paid, the expenses allowed for the *nalmizkur*, the deduction for mukassa villages, *dhamaduo*, *devastan*, and *naimuks*, the amount which had already been paid to the Sirkar and the balance that would remain due. For this latter sum, the kamaishdar's receipt, payable within a limited time, was taken.

"The complaints of the ryots against patels and gaontias were also attended to by the subhedar; but what the latter might have improperly collected, was appropriated by the Government, and was not returned to the aggrieved parties. Complaints of oppression and on all other points were likewise heard, investigated, and redressed, to the extent which accorded with the views and habits of the subhedar.

"All these matters having been gone through, the subhedar addressed the cultivators and others assembled in the *katchery* in terms of encouragement, telling the former the amount at which the whole pargana had been assessed, for it does not appear to have ever been the practice to inform each Patel, or gaontia, of the exact sum his village was to pay, although he might, by attending the *katchery*, pick up that information. He then dismissed them, sometimes giving them all *pan*; at others, that form was omitted; but to the head patels and gaontias, he always gave cloths, informing the rest that a remission of one and seven-eighths per cent. on the *ain ank* (about two-fifths of the whole revenue) would be granted them in lieu of *sirpaos*, as this annual present of cloths is here termed.

"Thus the subhedar completed his tour in eight or ten weeks, when he commenced to close the annual accounts, and to prepare those to be sent to Nagpur. He also took similar measures to those before described for realizing the last kist.

"On the expiration of the Fasli year, in June, he sent off takids to call the farnavises of parganas, with the accounts of the year. On their arrival they were compared with the accounts of the Subah Markur, differences explained and reconciled, the expenditure of kamaishdars finally examined, and their receipts required, payable in a certain time, or an order given upon them for all sums not admitted, as well as for any balance of revenue remaining due, unless they had applied for an extension of time in favor of certain individuals, whom particular circumstances prevented from immediately liquidating the demands against them, and could state that they were in possession of their receipts for the amount; in which cases, from one to three months was granted for the recovery of such sums."

The revenue of the province seems to have been on the increase from the time it first came into the hands of the Mahrattas, but during the latter years of the life of Venkoji Bhonsla, and the time of Appa Sahib, who succeeded to the appanage on the death of his father in 1222 Fasli, exaction was carried to a most unprincipled and ruinous extent. In the course of eighteen years, from 1209 to 1227 Fasli, the assessment was raised from one lakh and twenty-six thousand to three lakhs and eighty-three thousand rupees. The system of imposing pattis was carried to the utmost limit, and Colonel Agnew describes the subah, in 1819, as presenting "one uniform scene of plunder and oppression, uninfluenced by any consideration but that of collecting, by whatever means, the largest amount possible."

On assuming charge, Colonel Agnew's attention was easily directed to introducing order and regularity into the system we found established, or rather to re-organizing it. With this view, the following general measures were adopted by him.

The pattis of latest introduction, which could be considered as forming no part of the regular assessment, were abolished. The payments of the kists were fixed at periods favourable to the interests of the ryots, and receipts were directed to be given to the gaontias on each payment.

The *chitthis* of the revenue servants were defined by proclamation: all unauthorised perquisites were abolished and their salaries fixed—that of the kamaishdar at one and a half per cent. on the gross collections, the *sayer* not included; farnavis and assistants, at one per cent.; the expenses of the *katchery*, &c., called *kharch*, *mashahra*, at half per cent.; and the *sirpao*, or annual presents to patels, at half per cent. on the land revenue only. For the purpose of gaining information respecting the state of the cultivation, checking the accounts of the farnavis, and supplying the want of village writers, amins were appointed to each pargana, on an allowance of one per cent. of its revenues, and pandias to every twenty or thirty villages. The *budkars* were allowed a monthly pay of two and a half rupees.

The duties of the patels and gaontias were also laid down, and their emoluments settled: those of the former at one anna on each rupee of land revenue; of the latter, agreeably to former custom, a plough rent-free in every eight of his village, and one in every sixteen, to be sown by the gaontia's seed and dressed by the whole ryots in common.

The terms of the *kauls* on which waste land was to be reclaimed were also laid down, and forms established for recording the details of the agreements entered into between the gaontias and ryots.

Colonel Agnew experienced great difficulty in settling the balances due on our taking charge and fixing the assessment of the year 1228 Fasli.

The total amount of the arrears of the khalsa lands borne on the accounts was one lakh seventy-seven thousand six hundred and eight rupees; but on investigation it was found that the greater portion of this sum was the accumulation, in the Mahratta accounts, of bad debts and unrealized revenue, to enforce the payment of which would have been impracticable; and to attempt it unjust; accordingly one lakh thirty-four thousand five hundred and ninety-nine rupees was, at once, remitted, thirty-six thousand five hundred rupees ordered to be collected, and the remainder retained as a doubtful balance.

For the purpose of fixing the assessment for the year 1228, an attempt was made to ascertain correctly the amount actually realized during the ten previous years; but from the imperfect state of the records, no satisfactory information could be obtained, and as there was no time to gain the minute knowledge necessary to make a village settlement, in fixing the revenue for that year, Colonel Agnew was obliged to allow his decision to be guided by circumstances of a general nature. Combining whatever information he was able to collect relative to the collections of former years with the existing circumstances, calculated to occasion an increase or diminution of the revenue, he fixed the amount of the pargana assessment, and having assembled the patels and gaontias, in almost every case obtained their acquiescence to the demand, the apportionment of which on the several villages was left to the kamaishdar, who generally settled it without opposition. In the case, however, of any of the gaontias refusing to agree to the proposed arrangement, the matter was referred to the Superintendent, who made such changes in the distribution as appeared to be called for; and upon the settlement being finally concluded, he issued proclamations specifying the amount to be paid by each village, the principal object of which measure was to guard against undue exactions, and for a similar end, the arrangement regarding the arrears was made public in the same manner.

The migrating habits of the people, and the general poverty of the gaontias, has hitherto prevented the settlements in this district from being concluded for more than one year.

No very satisfactory account of the land revenue of former years can be given; but from the best sources, the average collections for the ten years previous to 1228 may be stated at three lakhs sixty thousand five hundred and ninety-eight rupees.

Our collections have been—

	RS.
In 1228	3,31,470
1229	3,47,590
1230	3,80,826
1231	4,04,797
1232	4,18,007
1233	4,03,424
1234	3,85,840

From the foregoing explanations it will be understood that the only thing in the shape of innovation that has been introduced into the revenue system we found established in the country is the restriction to which the patels in the Wainganga and Chanda Districts have been subjected, to collect the assessment of their villages in conformity with an apportionment of it laid down by the Superintendent.

The Resident was induced to sanction this measure, on the representation of the Superintendents, rather from an apprehension of the possibility of its being necessary than from a conviction of its actually being so, he not being, at that time, in possession of sufficient experience to decide with confidence on the question. Being now, however, of opinion that the precaution is unnecessary,

whilst its adoption as a general and permanent arrangement would probably be attended with embarrassing consequences, he has determined that, on the occasion of making new settlements, the restriction shall be removed in the districts where it is now in force.

The reasons which have led to this determination are, that it is doubtful whether, in fact, there is any evil to remedy, and supposing that an evil exists, whether the remedy proposed is calculated to remove it.

The evil is stated to be injustice committed by the patels towards the ryots in consequence of the former not being bound down by the Government to adhere to prescribed terms in letting out the village lands; but as there are no fixed rates nor hereditary tenures, injustice can here only mean an undue apportionment of the assessment, with relation to the circumstances that usually regulate and affect it. But from the fullest investigation and consideration of the subject, it appears probable that the evil is more imaginary than real. It cannot be discovered that any mischievous effects arose from the exercise of the power by the patels under the Mahratta administration, nor that they are at present felt in those districts in which matters have been allowed to remain, all along, on their original footing. It is, indeed, not very easy to imagine how justice of the nature alluded to is to be committed; there are no rights to be infringed, nor hereditary tenures, for the preservation of which any class might agree to terms disadvantageous in themselves.

But admitting that an evil of this description does exist, is it likely to be removed by the proposed remedy? It must be borne in mind that the thing to be accomplished is a due apportionment of the assessment. No one acquainted with the multifarious considerations which affect these arrangements can doubt that the ability of the patel and village community to effect them is much greater than that of any other persons. They have an experience, for the absence of which nothing can compensate, and they alone are in possession of that minute information respecting the productive powers and actual state of the lands, and the circumstances of each individual cultivator, which is necessary to regulate those annual changes in the distribution of the assessment, which must be admitted if the village is to pay to Government a sum equal, or nearly so, to the real rent of its lands.

If we take this duty out of the hands in which it is now generally invested, and place it in those of the revenue servants of the Government, we may be assured that whatever may be their integrity and zeal, they have not the same means of performing it, and the question resolves itself into this. Shall the duty be left to those who can perform it well, and who have performed it for generations, but who may, possibly, abuse their power; or shall it be confided to others, who would not abuse the power, but who have not the ability of performing the duty equally well? As the degree to which the power has been, or may be, abused by the one party cannot be ascertained any more than the degree to which mistakes would be made by the other, there is no way of solving the doubt satisfactorily, which alone is a sufficient reason for avoiding the innovation; for unless the advantage of a change which so essentially affects the principle of the existing system can be clearly shown, it ought not to be permitted.

It may further be remarked that the Superintendent or kamaishdar, at the same time that he has less knowledge to enable him to make a good settlement,

has greater power and influence to enable him to conclude a bad one. A patel attempting to introduce a bad apportionment would be more strenuously and obstinately opposed, and more likely to yield, not only on that account, but from a conviction of his being in the wrong, than the other, who would adhere to his own arrangement with all the pertinacity arising from a conviction of a purity of design. Looking also to the extent of the labour and intricacy of apportioning assessments in the first instance, and regulating their annual changes subsequently, it may at once be pronounced that, even if it were possible to perform the duty equally well by other agents than those now employed, we have not those agents at command; and, consequently, the attempt would be unwise and but little justified by the Zeal that prompted it.

PART II.—*Sayer, Kalali, Siwai, and Pandhri.*

It is not easy to give a clear and concise account of the numerous imposts included under the above general heads. Their classification is arbitrary apparently and made without any reference to the nature of the tax or the mode of its collection. In the Appendix No. 3, an enumeration of them is given, in which they have been differently arranged. In this place it may suffice to mention that the *sayer* embraces, besides a duty on home produce passing from one part of the country to another, or beyond the frontier, and on foreign productions in transit, numerous other taxes of a miscellaneous description, on sales, stamping cloths, and on several petty monopolies.

The *kalali*, or abkari, is the tax on contracts or licenses for the vending of spirituous liquors.

The *siwai* is composed of numerous petty taxes of different kinds, and the *pandhri* is a cess on houses, and intended to fall particularly on that part of the population not engaged in agriculture, and not paying any part of the land revenue.

As a whole, this system of taxation is complicated and bad; almost all of the taxes are, in principle, highly objectionable; the mode of collection is, in many cases, expensive and vexatious, and the effects, in respect to numbers of them, are to impede production and the circulation of commodities. The sacrifice of doing away with the whole of the *siwai* collections would have been trifling in comparison with the relief afforded from their abolition; a general reformation of the *sayer* on the principles recently established in the Company's acquired districts, was greatly desirable, as also a revision of the *kalali*, with the view of increasing to the people the difficulty of indulging in habits of drunkenness, to which certain classes of them are unfortunately but too prone; still, however, the consideration that the British administration was only temporary prevented the introduction of a radical change in a system intrinsically faulty, but to which, from long habit, the people seem to be well reconciled, the collections being made everywhere without dispute or complaint. Our views were, accordingly, confined to ameliorating the order of things we found established, for which end the duties on grain and other produce of the lands, in garden stuff, grass, firewood, &c., which pressed with peculiar weight on the lower orders, and the judicial taxes as a source of revenue, were all abolished.

From the remissions, great benefit has been derived by all classes. The immediate sacrifice of revenue was no doubt great, amounting to nearly a lakh

and a half of rupees; but the effects of the measure on agriculture and manufactures have probably gone far to repay it.

Another surrender of revenue, but to a small amount, has been made lately in the abolition of all interior duties on cotton, the object of which was to prevent, as much as possible, the amount of land produce being limited to what may be required for home consumption, by encouraging the raising of a commodity likely to find its way to foreign markets, either in a raw or manufactured state; but which grain is never likely to do from this country, surrounded by tracts possessing a similar soil and climate, and equally favourable to the culture of all kinds of corn.

Under the Mahratta management, the *sayer* was invariably farmed out, as well as some of the taxes included in the *siwai*: on our assuming charge, the same practice was continued for some time in all the districts, but with the exception of Chhattisgarh, where no change has ever taken place, it has, at different times, been held in *amani* in all the other districts, and is so now in the Wainganga, Chanda, and Deogarh-Balaghat Divisions; but in Deogarh below the Ghâts, it is at present held in contract. In all cases every precaution has been taken to protect the people against unauthorized exaction, by giving publicity to the established demands. As these demands vary in almost every *pergana*, no general detail of them could be furnished without entering into much lengthened and uninteresting detail.

During the Fasli years 1232 and 1233 the *sayer* was *khalsa* in four divisions of Deogarh, Wainganga, Chanda, and Deogarh above the Ghâts; and with a view to show the chief articles on which it was collected, the following statement is given:—

No. I.

	DEOGARH.		WAINGANGA.		CHANDA.	
	1232.	1233.	1232.	1233.	1232.	1233.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Grain	36,934 3 11	8,270 0 0	72,518 1 0	...	9,630 7 0	...
Sugar	3,299 2 6	5,234 5 0	...	...	...	...
Salt	10,344 0 6	12,726 14 6	16,114 14 3	57,924 4 4½	11,062 1 3	2,553 1 3
Cotton	10,404 8 3	8,408 0 0	...	...	...	...
Cloth	4,201 0 0	12,860 0 0	...	...	...	...
Kirana	4,164 5 6	5,798 10 3	...	...	...	...
Ghee	...	124 0 0	...	...	...	...
Tobacco	...	374 0 0	...	...	...	...
Wood	3,034 0 0	2,724 0 0	3,221 15 4	3,194 5 3	4,186 9 3	4,554 6 9
Gur	1,091 12 3	1,007 0 6	...	...	...	...
Thurmeric	218 0 0	...	...	...	...	...
Oil	156 0 0	...	...	...	...	...
Silk	307 0 0	...	...	5,379 5 6	1,483 7 3	2,285 12 6
Mahua	...	1,153 0 0	26,012 8 3	25,041 5 0	6,979 10 6	1,371 10 6
Stamping cloth.	6,408 0 0	...	...	...	...	...
Fundries	46,818 4 1	40,214 9 9	59,568 1 0	42,239 11 7½	11,557 4 9	12,917 10 9
Total	1,27,493 4 6	98,894 8 0	1,77,435 7 0	1,33,778 15 9	44,899 8 0	23,782 9 9

No. 1.

	DEOGARH-BALASORE		TOTAL	
	1232.	1233.	1232.	1233.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Grain	4,887 14 2	...	1,23,070 10 1	8,270 0 0
Sugar	12,668 0 0	21,674 0 0	15,967 11 6	26,908 14 0
Salt	3,404 6 6	3,085 2 6	...	...
Cotton	17,720 0 1½	20,846 0 9	60,148 14 4½	1,14,843 7 4½
Cloth	3,727 2 8½	3,600 15 0	7,021 2 8½	16,469 15 0
Kirana	7,142 7 6½	7,664 4 4	11,306 13 6½	13,492 14 7
Ghee	1,492 4 7	1,418 6 0	1,492 4 7	1,582 6 9
Tobacco	129 13 9	153 8 9	129 13 0	627 8 9
Wood	302 5 6	320 1 9	3,336 5 6	3,044 1 9
Gur	1,647 4 5	1,375 1 0	10,147 9 3	10,430 13 6
Turmeric	123 0 0	202 15 9	341 0 0	202 15 9
Oil	385 14 0	131 11 3	541 14 0	131 11 3
Silk	207 0 9	278 7 3	514 0 0	278 7 3
Mahua	557 6 0	189 15 2	2,050 13 6	7,855 1 2
Stamping cloths	1,391 6 7½	1,024 14 4½	40,791 9 4½	29,490 13 10½
Sundries	6,719 0 1½	9,121 4 2½	1,24,675 9 11½	1,04,493 4 4
Total	61,608 0 0½	81,666 5 10½	4,11,436 4 4½	3,38,132 7 4½

On the above it may be remarked that almost the whole of the cotton, sugar, and *kirana* paying duty in Deogarh above the Ghâts, & also a portion of that contributing to the collections of Deogarh below the Ghâts, was in transit between Mirzapur and Amraoti,* whilst the duties on cotton and salt in the other districts, together with those collected on other articles, generally may be said to fall on the internal traffic of the country, with the exception of part of the duty in cloth. The sundries are collections made in the account of taxes of various kinds included in the *sayer*.

* This trade is on the increase: the number of bullock-loads of cotton which paid duty in 1231 was thirteen thousand, whilst in 1235 it was thirty-six thousand, nearly.

The following statement shows the amount collected under each general head during the years of our management:—

No. 2.

Fasli year.	Sayer.	Kalali.	Siwai and Pandhri.	Total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1228	4,45,181 8 10	41,232 1 9	1,48,091 7 6	63,455 2 1
1229	4,41,599 2 10	34,761 7 6	86,880 10 0½	5,63,241 4 4½
1230	4,88,693 13 10	53,527 12 6	1,59,204 4 3	6,49,425 14 7
1231	5,34,560 1 1	54,069 14 6	1,03,651 12 7½	6,83,271 12 2½
1232	4,94,803 4 9½	55,597 11 9	1,09,514 1 9	6,59,915 2 3½
1233	4,20,614 15 8½	68,205 15 0	96,775 9 8½	5,85,596 8 5½
1234	4,69,962 8 10	70,912 11 1	98,871 1 8½	6,39,746 5 7½

As this statement shows the gross amount of collections on account of *sayer* including arrears subsequently collected, it does not correspond with general accounts, which do not comprise the arrears, nor, except for the two last years, the expenses of collections. The duty on grain was abolished about the middle of 1232.

PART III.—City Customs.*

The duties levied in the city under the general term of *sayer* are numerous, and the mode of collecting the revenue arising therefrom was, during the first five years of our management, the same as that in force under the former Government. It was rather complicated, but not so much so as a first inspection would lead one to infer. It was well adapted to prevent contraband practices, or any evasion of duties by the trader; and its great fault was the want of a sufficient check to prevent fraud and speculation on the part of the native servants employed at the different *chaukies*. The number of these also, with the establishments attached, were in excess; but many changes and great improvements have been made in this point since the commencement of the Fasli year 1233. The following is a brief and succinct statement of the amount realized in each year by Government from this branch of its revenue, with a specification of such articles from whence the greatest amount of duties are obtained.

It may be requisite first to specify the various terms under which the customs and taxes of the city were and are levied, and give a brief explanation of the nature of each.

* This account of the City Customs was drawn up with considerable labour from the public records by Captain Isaacs, one of the Resident's Assistants.

All merchandise, from the earliest times, paid import, export, and transit duties under this denomination, and all taxes imposed on the inhabitants of the city are termed generally *hukum hasil* dues.

This was in former times, a duty levied in kind on imported grain alone, and the amount was three pails out of every cart-load; but the late Raja Raghoji, after his losses in the war of 1803, abolished the tax in kind, and ordered a rupee per cart-load to be taken in lieu, and gradually, under this denomination, increased the duties on nearly all the articles that pay *hukum hasil* dues.

This is exclusively an import duty, and was in former days, levied in kind on all articles subject to its operation. It was changed into a money payment by the late Raghoji after the war of 1803.

At the commencement of the Fasli year 1233, the system was revised, the terms *hukum hasil*, *zamindari*, and *gur kirana* were discontinued; and in lieu of the former practice of levying import and export duties on one article, under two or three different designations, and at two or three *chaukis*, the dues on each account were consolidated, and only one payment levied, which was termed "import" or "export" duty, as the case might be.

Are terms synonymous with imports and exports, and *oba marg*, *rahil mal* and *urr-rasta*, are all, strictly speaking, transit duties.

The following is a list of the terms under which the taxes of the city are collected:—

Nukass. A tax on the sale of cattle, variable according to the value and kind of animals sold.

A tax paid for permission to beat tom-toms at marriage festivals; the amount of this tax is also variable, being from one and a half anna, to one rupee three and a quarter annas, according to the division of the City in which the ceremony takes place.

A duty levied on the sale of houses and slaves; generally a fourth the amount, as the term implies, but in some divisions something more than a fourth.

Pakdam. A tax levied on marriages of widows, amount varying according to the caste of the woman and the division where she may reside.

Chapa. Tax on the stamping of cloths manufactured in Nagpur and the adjacent villages; about half an anna per piece.

Dongah. Tax levied on boats plying at the ghats on the Kanhan River, near Nagpur.

Kalla warpatli.

Tax on shroffs who lend out money at an usurious rate, and levied in proportion to the extent of the usurious dealings.

Mabar dallali.

Tax on brokers of the Dher caste, in proportion to the business transacted by the individual.

Dallal Koshti.

Tax on brokers of the weavers' caste, in proportion as above.

This can scarcely

Tambakhu kothi.

be deemed a tax, the amount appearing under this head in the city customs being, in reality, the net profit arising from the sale of tobacco, ganja, opium, &c., exclusively nopolized by the Government.

Nas kothi.

This was a duty levied formerly on the sale of snuff, but in 1233 it was added to the tumbakhu kothi.

Dukan bhara.

Nanoti Phuri.

Rent of dukans the property of Government.

Duty levied from the small money changers, on market days, in each division.

Tax on butchers,

Dhor kassai.

who kill buffaloes. There are only two in Nagpur, who formerly used to feed the Raja's tigers and *cheetas*; but in lieu of this, now pay this tax to Government.

Chuna bhatti.

Duty on lime-kilns, in proportion to their extent.

Gulal haadi.

Tax on the red powder used at the Holi festival.

Machhi talao.

Tax levied from Dhimars in the City for the liberty of fishing in three small tanks.

Byluck kassai.

A tax on the shops of the mutton butchers, in proportion to their dimensions.

Begad Kothi.

A tax on the ornaments attached to the horns of cattle, during the Pola festival.

Phuri Lackad Gunj.

Tax on retail wood shops in that *Gunj*.

Burgujhar.

Tax on the fields near the city, where pan is cultivated.

Pandhri.

A tax on houses.

Mandwa thal.

A tax on temporary buildings for marriage ceremonies: more is paid on the occasion of a boy's marriage than on that of a girl.

Ghar koshti.

Tax on weavers' houses who do not pay pandhri.

Bythack dukan.

A tax on small temporary shops, on which duties are not levied under the term pandhri.

Tubu Bazari.

A tax on the small shops erected during the market days in each division of the city.

Kalali. Under this head all duties on the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors are collected.

This is a tax generally farmed out to individuals of the Dher caste, who pay a certain sum to Government for permission to levy a tax, in kind, on all shops opened on market days in certain divisions of the city: they also remove all carcases of animals dying in their divisions, and profit by the hides.

Khets. The rent of certain fields belonging to Government in the vicinity of the city.

Taksal. Duty on the coinage of silver into rupees.

Pice mint. Duty on the coinage of copper into pice.

Kasturi dalali. Duty on the sale of musk.

Tel dani. Duty on oil mills.

Tel phurri. Tax on retail oil shops.

Tambakhu phurri. Tax on retail tobacco shops.

Sut chapa. Duty paid on stamping cotton thread.

Resham dandi. Tax on the retail of silk.

Kasar. Profit arising from sale of pice belonging to Government.

A trifling duty levied from all kinds of chapmen, who resort to the spot where the machine is erected for the purposes of *char-rack puja*.

Fines levied on the servants of the establishment, when detected in fraud, speculation, or other misdemeanors.

Jurmana. A few other taxes of a trifling nature were formerly in force, but have been lately abolished as yielding little profit, and being vexatious to the inhabitants; and a few more might be abrogated on the same principles. It should be explained that in the *sayer* account of the city is included the amount realized from the *sayer* of the villages situated in the Nagpur pargana, amounting in number to about three hundred and sixty.

It was customary in the times of the late Raghoji, and of the ex-Raja Appa Sahib, to give certain duties of the *sayer* in *ijara*, and keep the remainder in *amani*. The *samindari*, *kalali*, *gur kirana*, and the duties on wood and other minor articles were generally farmed out to the highest bidders; the *hukum hasil* and stamp duties, and the taxes on houses and shops, were always in *amani*, and the collection of the revenue arising therefrom entrusted to one of the Raja's chief favourites. In those days, the mint was not included under the head of *sayer*, but was attached to the *sillekhana*.

On our assuming charge of the country, in the beginning of 1228, we followed the same system, and the *samindari*, *kalali*, *gur kirana*, and other duties, of minor importance were given in *ijara* and the *hukum hasil* and other duties,

with the addition of the mint, held on *amani*. The following year a trial was made of farming the whole *sayer* without reserve. It was rented for a sum considerably more than that realized during the preceding year, but the result was unfavourable, as some nefarious transactions in adulterating the specie coined at the mint were discovered, and, in consequence, the contract was resumed about the eighth month of 1229. Since that period, the *sayer* has generally been held in *amani*, though certain duties, such as the *kalali*, *gur kirana*, &c., were occasionally given in *ijara*, when proposals were made by individuals of respectability, who could give undeniable security for the fulfilment of their contracts.

The following tables have been compiled for the first two years from the *daftars* and accounts obtained from the *karkuns* and *muttsaddis* employed under the principal contractors, and are as correct as patient investigation and strict scrutiny of each article can make them. The statements for 1230 to 1234 were extracted from the accounts and reports periodically sent in by the collector of city customs.

- No. 1.—Exhibits the amount of import duties for the seven years and specifies the particular sum received on each article of any consideration.
- No. 2.—Exhibits, in a similar manner, the amounts of export duties.
- No. 3.—Is, in the like manner, a statement of the transit duties received.
- No. 4.—Exhibits the amount of city duties, or taxes, during that period.
- No. 5.—Is a statement exhibiting the total amount of *sayer* for each year.
- No. 6.—Is a statement of expenses of collections in each year.

No. 1.—Statement of Import Duties received during the years 1228 to 1234 inclusive.

	1228.	1229.	1230.	1231.	1232.	1233.	1234.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Grain	60,106 13 6	52,924 8 3	64,755 8 9	51,481 13 31	60,116 5 3	64,481 11 3	53,041 13 1
" Kirana, or spices of all kinds	12,110 3 0	17,340 2 6	11,844 9 0	3,353 1 0	2,314 14 9	4,934 3 11	3,214 3 21
Sugar, sweetmeats, gur, &c.	10,024 14 6	13,124 14 6	7,880 1 6	4,048 10 6	4,900 12 9	5,059 13 5	3,012 13 61
Wood of all kinds	8,214 13 9	12,540 3 0	5,021 13 6	12,705 3 91	15,405 1 9	15,502 4 41	24,335 0 61
Oil, ghi, &c.	5,708 9 6	6,040 5 3	1,749 3 0	3,200 7 9	3,217 5 0	3,916 1 0	4,533 5 6
Tobacco, ganja, opium, &c.	2,577 8 0	3,090 6 6	4,293 7 6	2,175 3 3	1,663 8 3	...	5 13 0
Pan supari	4,507 4 9	4,800 0 0	4,657 4 0	3,750 15 6	3,575 0 0	1,074 3 3	3,003 10 0
Silks, shawls, piece-goods, chintz, shahans, &c., of foreign manufacture.	3,671 13 0	4,074 15 0	3,897 3 0	3,008 2 0	1,447 3 6	3,014 12 61	3,074 0 21
Cloths manufactured in the Nagpur territories.	3,047 13 0	3,171 13 0	4,463 12 0	4,463 2 9	4,015 14 0	5,421 11 9	7,151 5 01
Cotton	743 0 0	7-3 0 0	780 5 0	1,089 0 0	520 3 9	2,270 2 81	3,297 7 81
Mahua	1,553 6 0	1,674 14 0	1,453 2 3	5,374 9 6	3,601 3 0	9,553 12 0	10,000 0 0
Salt and saltpetre	461 8 0	715 6 0	1,430 9 0	3,804 8 0	2,541 3 0	1,088 13 6	3,310 3 0
Indigo	388 2 0	450 12 0	671 14 0	218 3 6	370 2 0	500 0 0	1,148 5 71
Metals and wool	70 0 0	230 10 0	229 6 6	191 5 3	403 6 3	744 9 6	820 15 101
Sundries	...	...	...	597 7 0	1,750 3 3	1,703 11 10	12,201 5 21
TOTAL	113,216 5 0	123,011 14 0	113,734 10 0	100,090 14 0	112,672 5 6	122,005 5 3	1,23,753 1 61

Rates of Import Duties.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
On grain	1 4 0 per cart-load.	1 0 0 per bullock-load.	5 0 0 per bullock-load.
" Kirana	15 4 0 " do. on the more valuable kind of spices.	0 12 0 " do.	0 9 0 " do.
and 1 2 0 " do. on those of minor value.	pan supari	do.	do.
" sugar	3 9 0 " do.	10 8 0 " do.	...
" sweetmeats	2 10 0 " do.	cloths of this country	5 2 0 " do.
" gur	1 11 0 " do.	cotton	0 15 6 " do.

No. 2.—Statement of Export Duties received during the years 1228 to 1234 inclusive.

	1228.	1229.	1230.	1231.	1232.	1233.	1234.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Grain	228 12 0	743 3 6	280 6 0	155 1 6	376 15 6	...	...
Silks, shawls, and cloths in general, not manufactured in the Nagpur territories.	2,105 12 6	4,314 7 0	4,023 2 6	4,022 14 6	1,410 2 3	3,747 6 3	1,889 15 11
Cloths manufactured in the Nagpur territories	2,210 6 9	2,919 10 9	2,616 10 9	2,878 7 9	2,932 2 6	3,890 0 3	3,775 1 0
Kirana or spices of all kinds	585 14 0	999 10 9	758 14 0	1,096 5 3	606 1 0	1,203 12 6	1,021 0 9
Cotton	421 6 0	635 14 0	501 2 0	122 12 9	291 6 3	608 9 6	462 0 3
Tobacco, &c.	225 3 0	429 5 6	284 0 0	50 12 9	14 14 3	...	...
Cocoanuts	...	60 13 0	69 1 0	235 7 3	100 9 0	243 8 0	165 7 0
Wool and metals	...	...	...	39 9 9	279 15 6	221 4 3	180 0 0
Sugar	...	...	...	262 7 0	52 14 6	15 5 0	6 6 0
Indigo	...	...	...	169 11 3	414 1 6	587 5 9	652 11 0
Mahua	...	...	...	107 15 3	...	117 6 0	71 5 3
Salt	...	...	...	42 14 6	75 3 0	42 13 6	29 9 9
Sundries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	5,775 6 3	10,103 2 6	8,503 4 3	7,784 8 6	6,692 1 3	10,677 7 0	9,853 8 11

Rates of Export Duties.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
On silks and shawls	10 8 0 per bullock-load.	0 4 0 per bullock-load.
" cloths of the country	5 2 0 " do.	3 6 0 " do.
" Kirana	5 4 0 " do.	0 4 0 " do.
and 0 11 0 " do. on all others.	do.	0 9 6 " do.
" cotton	0 10 0 " do.	...

No. 3.—Statement of Transit Duties collected during the years 1228 to 1234 inclusive.

	1228.	1229.	1230.	1231.	1232.	1234.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Grain	20,350 10 9	20,712 5 0	17,563 4 0	3,134 11 0	2,685 15 6	2,776 13 0
Cloth manufactured in the Nagpur territories	1,581 2 9	49,11 15 0	4,097 4 0	3,140 15 3	3,108 15 6	2,767 1 14
Kirana	2,235 7 0	2,975 8 0	2,609 11 0	410 15 3	236 9 3	453 11 6
Silks, shawls, and piece-goods not the manufacture of the Nagpur territories.	660 10 0	1,406 0 0	947 7 0	414 12 3	153 7 0	10 1 0
Cotton	774 0 0	2,220 13 0	1,208 4 9	274 7 0	311 15 9	130 2 4
Salt	887 8 0	1,940 8 0	976 0 0	278 1 0	360 5 6	441 1 43
Wood	...	170 1 0	210 4 0	525 8 0	721 9 3	340 0 0
Sugar, &c.	...	2,421 2 0	573 7 0	70 2 3	20 10 0	2 13 0
Tobacco, ganja, &c.	...	...	...	139 1 6	40 0 0	3 7 4
Garu	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mahua	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pan superi	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sundries	...	455 12 0	210 0 0	66 2 6	10 15 3	48 10 114
TOTAL	26,489 6 6	37,214 0 0	28,395 9 9	8,720 13 3	7,650 0 3	6,608 14 14
						6,560 15 6

Rates of duties levied on Transit.

	Rs. a. p.
On grain	1 4 0 per cart-load
" kirana	0 8 0 "
" silks, shawls, &c.	12 0 0 "
" cloths of this country	5 14 0 "
" cotton	0 4 0 "
" salt	0 12 0 "
" cart-load.	

No. 4.—Statement of Amount collected on City Taxes from 1228 to 1234 inclusive.

	1228.	1229.	1230.	1231.	1232.	1233.	1234.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
On cattle sold	3,921 6 6	5,590 12 0	5,398 0 6	4,830 8 0	4,072 7 0	5,026 1 0	5,023 11 3
" stamps	1,583 5 6	5,590 2 0	4,557 3 3	4,768 4 0	5,305 6 5	5,831 2 6	5,880 4 0
" sale of spirituous liquors	61,000 0 0	52,550 0 0	39,000 0 0	36,676 14 3	36,709 15 9	30,911 13 9	31,911 12 0
" the silver coinage of the mint.	35,000 0 0	50,000 0 0	23,381 13 0	4,976 4 9	2,395 10 6	7,283 9 0	6,614 10 0
" the copper coinage of the mint.	7,831 5 0	9,000 0 0	2,250 0 0	6,701 15 6	3,039 11 6	...	423 0 0
" houses, shops, stalls, &c.	17,717 8 0	18,590 12 0	16,731 7 9	17,927 2 3	17,415 0 0	16,176 0 6	17,145 9 9
" the weighing and measuring of goods imported and sold in the City.	7,666 11 0	8,293 13 0	7,708 1 0	8,656 7 0	9,858 11 6	7,513 3 9	8,233 13 6
" the sale of snuff	4,500 0 0	3,000 0 0	3,003 6 3	3,070 7 3	2,453 7 0	...	...
" marriage ceremonies	2,796 14 0	1,655 13 0	1,494 3 6	2,272 4 3	1,635 0 6	1,625 9 6	2,063 10 0
" fruit and vegetables	4,490 6 0	4,550 0 0	5,000 0 0	3,923 2 0	4,302 3 0	4,003 3 3	4,201 0 0
Taxes levied in the 360 villages of pargana Nagpur.	2,555 8 0	2,350 0 0	1,519 10 0	...	1,200 0 0	1,103 5 3	1,200 0 0
On butchers' meat	1,844 1 3	2,300 0 0	1,900 0 0	2,032 10 3	2,015 7 0	2,133 3 0	2,040 1 9
Profits arising from the monopoly of tobacco, ganja, opium, naspudi.	...	...	...	...	13,143 11 6	15,480 10 9	16,610 6 3
On certain fields and gardens near the City.	1,754 14 0	1,881 12 0	1,494 11 6	2,738 3 3	3,030 10 0	3,029 15 0	3,087 15 9
" sundry trifling articles	2,223 0 0	3,573 10 0	2,261 11 6	2,962 3 9	3,454 6 6	3,554 2 9	5,091 5 6
TOTAL	154,884 15 3	168,929 10 0	115,700 4 3	101,539 6 6	110,951 12 2	103,764 0 0	109,527 3 9

No. 5.—Statement exhibiting the total Amount of the Sayer of the City of Nagpur during the years 1228 to 1234 inclusive.

	1228.	1229.	1230.	1231.	1232.	1233.	1234.
Amount of import duties	Rs. a. p. 113,216 5 0	Rs. a. p. 123,011 14 0	Rs. a. p. 113,734 10 0	Rs. a. p. 100,090 14 0	Rs. a. p. 112,692 8 6	Rs. a. p. 128,065 3 3	Rs. a. p. 123,763 1 64
Do. of export do.	5,775 6 3	10,102 2 9	8,903 4 3	7,784 8 6	6,692 1 3	10,677 7 0	9,453 8 14
Do. of transit do.	26,289 6 6	37,214 6 0	28,905 9 9	8,720 13 3	7,649 9 3	6,608 14 14	6,569 15 6
Do. of city taxes	148,885 13 3	168,929 10 0	115,771 4 6	101,539 6 6	112,051 12 0	103,764 0 0	1,09,527 3 9
TOTAL	2,94,166 15 0	3,39,258 0 9	2,66,404 12 6	2,18,135 10 3	2,39,085 12 0	2,49,115 8 44	2,24,913 12 114

No. 6.—Statement of Expenses of Management during the years 1228 to 1234 inclusive.

	1228.	1229.	1230.	1231.	1232.	1233.	1234.
Swasthanik, or amount paid to Gond Rajn.	Rs. a. p. 6,497 0 0	Rs. a. p. 6,497 0 0	Rs. a. p. 6,497 0 0	Rs. a. p. 6,497 0 0	Rs. a. p. 6,497 0 0	Rs. a. p. 6,497 0 0	Rs. a. p. 6,497 0 0
Dharmadars, or sums paid in charity.	2,022 6 3	2,326 0 0	1,881 1 0	1,941 2 6	1,784 14 0	1,671 0 0	1,000 2 0
Indams, or grant of lands	1,304 14 6	1,304 14 6	1,304 14 6	1,304 14 6	1,304 14 6	1,304 14 6	1,304 14 6
Ka'ali Nazari to Baka Bai	1,000 0 0	..	2,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0
Expenses of collection	20,068 14 6	11,658 8 6	20,683 15 0	21,617 10 9	19,889 4 0	19,889 4 0	17,659 3 9
TOTAL	30,893 3 3	21,766 7 0	32,366 15 3	32,366 11 9	30,476 1 3	30,652 2 6	28,370 4 3

* The whole year of 1229 was farmed out during eight months, hence the small amount incurred by Government for expenses of management.

It appears from the statements that the duties on imports and the taxes levied in the city form nearly the whole amount of the *sayer*; the receipts on account of transit and export duties being, comparatively, inconsiderable. Of imports, grain is the principal article; the revenue derived from it being equal to the aggregate of the amount of all other import duties. Wood, cloths, and spices are the next in value. The duties on wood have increased considerably since 1231 Fasli; but this has not arisen so much from the larger quantity of the article brought for sale, as from discontinuing the practice of allowing all the people, of consequence in the city, and all the petty *muttsaddis* and retainers of the Court, to purchase and bring in the wood for their own use free of duty. The great increase in the amount of import duties paid on the article mahua, since 1231 Fasli, is merely a transfer from the *kalali* of a sum which is, and was, strictly a duty paid for the importation of the flower from which the spirituous liquor is extracted, but which it had been customary to include in the amount paid by the *kalali* contractor.

The other items in the statement of imports require no observations.

In Statement No. 4 the amount put down as duties paid at the mint is not correct, inasmuch as it exhibits only the net profits, the expenses of the mint being struck out of both sides of *sayer* account. These expenses averaged from fifty to sixty per cent. annually during the last three or four years.

The decrease in the receipts from the mint of late years has been occasioned by the reduction of nearly one-half in the charges for coining. The seignorage was formerly two and a half per cent, but in 1233 was fixed at one and a half per cent. The revenue from this source is likewise much affected by the rates of exchange between Nagpur and Poona and Hyderabad.

No observations are required regarding the other taxes in the city. They have, in general, become more productive than in former years.

PART IV.—Ubari or Tribute and Account of the Zamindars.

There are, properly speaking, no Zamindars in this quarter. The total amount of the ubari was only two thousand three hundred and eighty-one rupees three annas and three pies in Deogarh below the Ghats. In 1228 and 1229 the amount of ubari mentioned in the general statement of revenue above given included the Zamindars since transferred to the authority of the Superintendents of the Wainganga and Chhattisgarh Districts.

The Zamindars of this district are those in Lanji, Sahangarhi, and Partabgarh, respectively, between the Wainganga and the Lanji range of hills. Wainganga District.

Those of Lanji are thirteen in number.

The Zamindar of Kampta and Tirora, Nerbad Patel, is the chief of these and he pays between seventy and eighty thousand rupees for the former, and twenty-five thousand for the latter, to the Government.

The taluk of Kampta was originally given by the first Raghoji to Ram Patel, who agreed to bring it into cultivation, at the trifling rent of sixty rupees; afterwards Hatta and other small taluks were added to it. Ram Patel was succeeded by his brother Gondu Patel, and the latter by his son Chimna Patel.

In consequence of his rebellion in 1818, it was transferred to Nerbad Patel, who had adhered to the new Government under most trying circumstances. The rent of the Zamindari had, in the interval, been gradually raised to its present amount. Nerbad is a mere cultivator, very rich, and obedient in every way to the Government.

Dunsiwah is the next in value, paying an ubari of between seven and eight thousand rupees. It originally belonged to Hatta, and thirty years ago was given to Villayat Khan Pathan, for a fixed rent of six hundred rupees, by Gondu Patel, of Kampta, who was himself unable to induce people to inhabit it, owing to the constant incursions of the Gonds. Villayat Khan succeeded in bringing it into excellent order. Chimna Patel having endeavoured to interfere, a quarrel ensued, and the matter was referred to the Government, by whom Dunsiwah was conferred by *patta* on Villayat Khan. Since his death, his widow has held the Zamindari; but in consequence of debts and other embarrassments, it was requisite to interfere in the management of it for some time. The debts, have been cleared off, and the Zamindari restored at an increased rent.

Bhanara was originally in Kampta, but was given about twenty-five years ago, in Zamindari, by the subhedar of Lanji, to Zainuddin Khan Pathan. It is now held by his nephew Mukim Khan, and pays about four thousand rupees.

Dhargaon is another Zamindari of about the same value, held by Rudra Patel, to whose ancestor it was given by Raghu Karandia, when perfectly deserted.

The rest of the Lanji Zamindars are but of small importance, and pay from seven hundred to sixteen rupees per annum.

There are twelve zamindars in Pahangarhi and six in Partabgarh. The highest payment in the former is about nine hundred rupees, and in the latter about two thousand.

The lands of all the Zamindars, with the exception of Nerbad Patel, are either in the hills or immediately under them. They seem to have been granted, or confirmed, to the ancestors of their present possessors, chiefly Gonds and Rajputs, by the Mahrattas, as rewards for services, or to ensure their assistance in maintaining tranquillity in a country at that time very unsettled and affording great facilities for resisting authority. The tenure, as appears by some old *sanads*, obliged the Zamindaris, besides paying a fixed rent, to furnish a certain number of armed followers to assist the Government officers in police matters. They were left by sufferance entire masters of their own lands and people, as long as they paid the rent demanded by the Government, which appears to have been regulated by no fixed rules, and increased as opportunity offered. They were constantly fighting with each other: most of them joined Chimna Patel in 1818; but on the fall of Kampta they all submitted, and have since been quiet themselves, and some of them even zealous in the apprehension of thieves and robbers. They are averse to industry, poor and oppressive managers. They have submitted, with a good grace, to the curtailment of their power of inflicting punishments amongst their own people, and of settling disputes with their neighbours by recourse to arms, which had been usual, but which it was necessary to put a stop to, and with it, to the occasion it gave for the maintenance of bodies

of armed men who devoured their revenue, and plundered both friends and foes. Constant vigilance is, however, necessary to keep them to their duty, but seeing that they cannot avoid detection, if they commit the slightest irregularity, they have become reconciled to the strictness of our control, by finding that their rents are not increased arbitrarily, as under the Mahrattas, and that the necessity having ceased for maintaining large retinues the produce of their lands goes much further than formerly to enable them to live in comfort and plenty.

The Zamindars of Chhattisgarh are, first, those of the western quarter, or the Khaloti, as it is called, who were formerly subject to the Lanji District, but their position being such as to render them more within the reach of the authority of Colonel Agnew than that of Captain Wilkinson, it was thought advisable to transfer them to the superintendence of the former officer.

The principal of these Zamindars are the chiefs of Khairagarh and Nandgaon, whose situation enables them to command the two principal passes into Chhattisgarh, on the side of Nagpur. Their services during the rebellion in Lanji and in Chhattisgarh induced the Government to partition between them the territory of the Zamindar of Dongargarh, who adopted an opposite line of conduct, and after being expelled from his Zamindari, was killed in an affair with a British detachment in attempting to join Appa Sahib at Pachmarhi.

The subsequent behaviour of these two Zamindars has not been at variance with their former good conduct. They have, on all occasions, shown a prompt obedience to orders, have dropped the prosecution of a family feud long subsisting between them, have maintained the security of the roads running through their districts, and the former, at least, has applied himself to improve the resources of his Zamindari.

The Zamindars of Khairagarh and Nandgaon are more civilized than their neighbours of the same class. The former prides himself on being a descendent of the old Hindu dynasty of Mandla. The latter is a Bairagi, a caste of devotees who, not unfrequently, blend the character of merchant with their sacred one.

The Zamindar of Kondka, though a Gond, is also of a superior class in point of appearance and manners, as well as in the extent and value of his country, being situated partly in the plain.

The rest of this class, *viz.*, the Zamindars of Gondai, Sahaspur Lohara and Takurtola, are Gonds. Having lands principally in the hills, they are poor, rude in their manners, and shabby in their appearance.

The Zamindars of Khairagarh and Nandgaon pay each about thirty thousand rupees; of Kondka, ten thousand; the others, from two thousand to three hundred and fifty rupees.

The next class are the Zamindars of Kawardha and Pandaria, who are Gonds of a high family. The lands occupied by these Zamindars, on the plain near the north-west corner of Chhattisgarh, are of a superior description, and the high road from Chhattisgarh to Mandla and Jubbulpore runs through them. The disturbances in Chhattisgarh in 1818-19 received some countenance, though not openly, from these people. They have since shown a better disposition, and

pay a general, though not always a prompt, obedience to orders. The Zamindar of Kawardha is apt to be oppressive, both towards the people residing within his Zamindari and to traders passing through it, and he is inclined to be contumacious. The amount of their payments is eight thousand six hundred and thirty-five rupees for Kawardha, and seven hundred and twenty-seven for Pandaria. They hold their heads high, and have much more state about them than any of the others.

The Zamindars of Pendra, Matin, Uprora, and Kenda, inhabit the hills to the north and east of Ratanpur. Their payments are from two thousand and seventy to three hundred rupees per annum. With the exception of the valley of Pendra, which is open and partially cultivated, on the road to Amarkantak and Rewa, the rest of these lands are very mountainous, but the Zamindars are all quite and obedient, and extremely ignorant, with the exception of the Zamindar of Kenda. The latter has always behaved very well and owes to us the restitution of his zamindari, from which he had been expelled, without any apparent good cause, about nineteen years before we took charge of the country. His restoration was a measure of policy, both as a reward for his services to the State during the disturbances and to conciliate the Zamindars in general, who had been set against us by Appa Sahib's agents, as well as to counteract the influence of a person named Dhan Singh, who had obtained charge of the Zamindari, and who was Appa Sahib's principal incendiary. Colonel Agnew thinks the measure has had the best effect in its general impression; and Adjit Singh, the Zamindar in question, has not proved himself unworthy of our favour.

The Zamindars of Chhuri, Korba, and Chappa, on the eastern frontier are of the same tribe as those last named, or Kowars, who trace their origin from the Doab of the Jumna and Ganges. They pay to the Government, the two former one thousand five hundred rupees each and the latter eight hundred. The lands of the two former are partly mountainous and partly on the plain, and are only partially cultivated. Those of the latter are entirely on the plain, and pretty well cultivated. The Zamindar of Chhuri is particularly obedient and well disposed. The Korba Zamindar has also behaved well, though his father gave great trouble to the Mahrattas. The Zamindar of Chappa is an intelligent young man, and apparently well disposed. His grand-uncle is his Diwan, and has great influence amongst the Zamindars of that quarter.

South of these and of the Mahanaddi, adjoining the Sambalpur District and its dependencies, are the petty Zamindaris of Kondwan, *viz.*, Sonakan, Bhatgaon, Bilaigarh, Katangi, Kauria, Birkoni, Suarmar, and Narra. Of these, Ram Rai, of Sonakan, is the only one who requires separate mention.

The father of Ram Rai, and the latter himself, though possessing but a small and a poor Zamindari, had long been the terror of Chhattisgarh, from the Khalsa lands of which they had dismembered above three hundred villages, besides many others from the neighbouring Zamindars; and at one time had established such an influence from the dread of their incursions, that an order from them was obeyed with more alacrity than one from the subedar. The country of Sonakan had become a secure asylum for all fugitives from Chhattisgarh and a safe deposit for all stolen property. Ram Rai, since we took charge of the country, had continued his usurpations and depredations, and would come to no terms, so that it became necessary to attack him in 1819. He was beaten out of his very

strong fastnesses, and brought in by Captain Moxon, and restored to his Zamindari on condition of giving up the lands which he had usurped and abstaining from future violence. Ram Rai faithfully executed the conditions imposed upon him, and, in consequence of the candour and confidence in us shown by him, immediately after his submission, some of the Khalsa taluks were placed under him as a matter of special favour, to enable him to provide for his immediate relations; and himself, with a party of his people, taken into the service, to assist in maintaining the peace of the country of which he had formerly been the chief disturber.

The tenure by which the Zamindar has always held his lands was that of military service, exempt from any money payment. He is of an ancient family, but his Zamindari, which is both mountainous and woody, does not consist of more than twelve villages. The payments of the others are from nine hundred and sixty to one hundred and seventy-five rupees per annum, each. They are all exceedingly poor and ignorant, and their lands generally much covered with jungle, but they are well disposed and give no trouble.

These Zamindaris, before the Mahratta conquest, seem to have been held of the ancient Chhattisgarh Rajas, on the tenure of military service, which the Mahrattas changed to a tribute. The tribute, however, has fluctuated according to the strength or weakness of the Government.

The Resident has seen all the Zamindars more than once, and it is pleasing to remark that, shy as their habits have been with regard to their Mahratta rulers, they have never shown any want of confidence in Europeans.

The family of the Rajas of Kanker, which place lies about forty miles south from Raipur and is mentioned as Konkair in Captain Blunt's route, is very ancient, and was once possessed of considerable power. The Zamindari was held of the Mahrattas on the single condition of furnishing, when called upon, five hundred men for the service of the Government free of expense. About the year 1809, the present Raja was dispossessed of Kanker, as he had formerly been of the district of Dhamtari, now included in the Khalsa lands of the province. In the troubles which arose on the escape of Appa Sahib, he joined the rebels, and re-took Kanker and Dhamtari and other districts. He was expelled from the latter, but confirmed in his ancient seat, under the Resident's authority, on engaging to pay five hundred rupees annually. He has continued grateful and well disposed.

The Zamindari of Karonde, lies detached not less than one hundred miles from the south-east frontier of Chhattisgarh, and may be ninety miles in length from north to south, and sixty-six miles in breadth from east to west. It is bounded to the north by Kharir and Bindra-Nawagarh; to the east by Patna, Sonpur, Godapur, Vizamkotta, and Singhpur; to the south by the Zamindari of Jaipur, in the Northern Circars; and to the west by Bastar. It is the Kalahandi of the maps. Very little has been ascertained respecting this country. It is, however, known to be very mountainous and woody, divided into eighteen *garhs*, or petty Zamindaris, inhabited by Koands, who are very wild, and pay nothing but on compulsion. There are great dissensions between the Zamindar, or Raja as he is termed, and the other

branches of his family. He is connected with the Khurda Raja and the Raja of Kanker. As a dependent of the Government, he has always been quiet and well disposed.

The Raja is more civilized in manners and appearance than most of the other Zamindars of Chhattisgarh. He has visited Jagannath, as well as Benares and Allahabad. He speaks Hindustani not amiss, but his native dialect, and that of the people about him, is the Uriya, or language of Orissa. He has received some villages, in *inam*, from the Government, which he was anxious to have, and which were granted as a testimony of our approbation of his good behaviour.

Bastar appears, by Arrowsmith's map, to be rather more than two hundred miles in length, from north to south, and somewhat less in its greatest breadth, from east to west; but every account which has been received by Colonel Agnew from the natives makes the length considerably greater. Little is known of the country but that it is both a woody and hilly tract, the valleys of which alone are cultivated and partially cleared of jungle.

The Raja of Bastar showed a favourable disposition towards the new order of things from the commencement. He had sent *wakils* to the Superintendent in December 1818, to make professions of his obedience and good will, and had received every encouragement. It was not, however, until the month of March 1819, that specific engagements were concluded with his *wakils* by Colonel Agnew. In the meantime, the Raja had shown the sincerity of his professions by seizing and delivering up Gamut Bharti, one of the principal rebels in Chhattisgarh, who had sought refuge in the lands of a refractory dependant of the Bastar Raja, from whom the Raja was obliged to take him by force.

The engagements which were concluded with the whole of the Zamindars by Colonel Agnew, under directions from the Resident, were framed on the general principle that whilst no unnecessary sacrifice of the revenue or rights of the Government should be made, a liberal system should be pursued towards them, it being considered of much more consequence, in the actual state of the country, to reconcile and attach these tributaries to the new order of things, than by endeavouring to gain an inconsiderable financial benefit, or by stretching a doubtful prerogative, incur the risk of exciting discontent amongst them, or rendering it necessary to coerce them, in parts of the country unfavourable to the prosecution of military operations.

In Bastar, no attempt was made to put new restrictions on the Raja, in regard to the exercise of unlimited power in judicial matters, or in the *sayer* collections. But the other Zamindars came under engagements, by which they were bound to abstain from capital punishments, to submit to the awards of the Superintendent in cases of appeal from their own decisions, to make good all losses sustained by travellers in passing through their Zamindaris, or to deliver up the thieves. They also formally renounced a right, which several of them had usurped, of making *sayer* collections, which it was found necessary to take into our own hands, in order that the interests of commerce might not suffer from the irregular and exorbitant demands to which goods were subjected in passing through the Zamindaris. On this account, however, they received a remission, by way of compensation, to which, indeed, they were not strictly entitled.

It having been found that most of the Zamindars owed large balances, arising either from accumulation of the fixed tribute or from extra demands of the Government, which they had been unable to meet, a strict investigation was instituted with regard to the origin of these arrears and the means of payment possessed by the Zamindars. The result was the remission of nearly the whole amount, principally on account of the utter inability of the Zamindars to liquidate them.

In Bastar, the arrears (the amount of which was never ascertained correctly) were altogether remitted.

The Zamindars of Chhattisgarh Proper and Gondwana owed forty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-three rupees, of which twenty-seven thousand three hundred and six rupees was remitted—ten thousand two hundred and three rupees to the Raja of Karonde alone. The arrears of the Khaloti Zamindars, of which those of Khairagarh and Nandgaon owed five-sixths, amounted to three lakhs thirty thousand seven hundred and thirteen rupees, of which three lakhs twenty-one thousand, six hundred and ninety-six was remitted, besides two thousand three hundred and sixty-two to the Zamindars of Kawardha and Pandaria, making the total remissions three lakhs fifty-seven thousand three hundred and sixty-five rupees.

The tribute of Bastar was nominally ten thousand rupees, but as it was payable in *cowries*, the value of which was subject to constant variation, it was considered desirable to commute it to a payment in silver, and five thousand rupees being considered a fair equivalent, it was fixed at that amount, and a remission of one-fifth allowed, whilst Kotepal and its dependancies are separated from Bastar, a stipulation which is explained in the Resident's letter to the Marquis of Hastings, No. 41, of the 15th June 1821.

The tribute of the Zamindars of Chhattisgarh and Gondwana were reduced from seventeen thousand one hundred and thirty-three to thirteen thousand four hundred and thirty-two rupees, and those of Khaloti from one hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and eight-five to ninety-one thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine rupees.

Copies of the engagement concluded with the Raja of Bastar and of the general one entered into with the other Zamindars are already before Government; and a satisfactory proof of the wisdom of the measures pursued towards them will probably be recognized in the state of constant and undisturbed tranquillity in which the whole of that part of the country has now so long remained.

The country in the hands of the Zamindars, under the district of Chanda, lies to the east of the Wainganga, and stretches along its eastern bank after its junction with the river Wardha, at *Seoni Sangam*, in a southerly direction, towards the confluence of the united rivers with the Godaveri at Kalmeshwar, about seventy miles below the former point. The lands of these Zamindars do not, however, quite reach the Godaveri, a narrow strip of country, on both banks of the latter, being under the Government of Hyderabad. The Yulmis, who inhabit this part, have often proved turbulent and troublesome neighbours, although lately they have been pretty quiet. Their

• Enclosures Nos. 1 and 2 in the Resident's despatch No. 41, to the Marquis of Hastings.

in roads in former times did great mischief on the west bank of the Wainganga, about Ghatkul and Dhaba, from which the country is now recovering. The Zamindari of Bastar reaches to the north bank of the Godaveri, east of this tract.

From the southern extremity of the Zamindari lands at Kalmeshwar they stretch to the eastward and northward, until they join the Bastar country, the Zamindaris subject to Chhattisgarh, and the parganas of Garchiroli, Wairagarh and Amgaon, belonging to Chanda.

The following are the names of the Zamindars and the takoli, or tribute formerly and that now paid :—

Names of zamindars.	Taluka.	Former Takoli or Tribute.	Present Takoli or Tribute.	
			Rs.	a. p.
Bujan Rao	Ahiri Sujagarh	.....	.....	.....
	Bamragarh Vineswar	.....	.....	.....
	Koperati	.....	.....	.....
Venkat Rao	Chumproba	.....	.....	.....
	Mulchora	500 0 0	25 0 0	10 0 0
	Ghoti	40 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
Rajashwar Rao	Powi	72 9 0	.....	.....
Veru Shah	Gilgaon	.....	.....	.....
Wagru Shah	Sotegaon	.....	.....	.....
Mahuru Patel	Pitala	.....	.....	.....
Venkat Rao	Chandala	577 12 6	30 0 0	12 0 0
Inder Shah	Gewardha	238 0 0	.....	.....
Sonder Khan	Rangi	.....	.....	.....
Yeshwant Rao	Pulebarsu	533 4 3	25 0 0	.....
Nizam Shah	Muramgaon	.....	.....	.....
	Ambagarh	512 9 0	25 0 0	5 0 0
Nilkant Shah	Chauki	50 0 0	10 0 0	30 0 0
	Danora	125 0 0	10 0 0	3 0 0
Budra Takur	Koracha	600 0 0	30 0 0	3 0 0
Suba Deo	Putusgur	.....	.....	.....
Govind Shah	Malewara	.....	.....	.....
Marsu Thakur	Jurapapra	15 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0
Ganesh Rai	Korgul	60 0 0	6 0 0	.....
Nirun Shah	Kutgaon	.....	.....	.....
Wagri Shah	Bakrunde	100 0 0	215 4 0	.....
Mir Bux Ali	Sinsirri	.....	.....	.....
Chandu Shah	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Total	3,424 1 9	412 4 0	3 0 0
Kullu	Leku	.....	3,008-13-9	.....
Difference	.....	.....	.....	.....

The tribute due by these Zamindars was scarcely an object to the Government, whilst it bore hard upon their slender means and irregular habits. It was accordingly, deemed better to reduce it in some cases, and in others to remit it altogether. Like the people of the same class in other parts of the country, they were very troublesome at first, but the activity of our detachments, and the vigilance with which their attacks were directed by Captain Crawford, never allowed them a moment's respite whilst they continued in arms, and when they submitted, they were treated with every kind of indulgence, which, indeed, has not been thrown away, as they have, since 1819, been quiet and orderly.

They all gave written agreements on their submission to the following effect, viz:—They agree not to protect thieves; to make good to travellers any loss they may sustain from robberies in their Zamindaris, and to furnish from three to twenty men, according to the several agreements of each, when called on by the Sircar.

Very little is ascertained respecting the tract occupied by these Zamindars.

It is, however, generally described as a wild, mountainous country, mostly covered with jungle, and there appears to be no great hope of being able to form through it an easy communication with the coast. In consequence of the heavy and vexatious duties levied in the Nizam's country on the south bank of the Godaveri, Banjaris, &c., sometimes take the northern route to the coast; but they state the road to be so difficult, from the constant beds of mountain-torrents, and steep and narrow passages, as to render what they save in duties, nearly lost by the additional time and labour, though the duties are not above a third of what they pay, by Paluncha, on the south bank. The distance from Chanda to Rajamahendry, by the north bank, is about three hundred and twenty miles.

The Gond Zamindars, or Thakurs, of this district are Jeshwant Shah, of Deogarh above the Ghats. Harrai; Kesho Rao, of Batkagarh; Rajaji, of Rairhera; Mohan Singh, of Pachmari; Partab Singh, of Pagara; Rajba, of Almod; and Turwur Shah, of Bhardagarh; besides two petty Thakurs of Bandhi Mothur and Gorakghat, and Sone Shah, the son of Chain Shah, the former usurper of Harrai, to whom Sonpur has been assigned.

Those Thakurs occupy all the most mountainous portion of Deogarh, and have been always in a kind of feudal subjection, first to the Gond Rajas, and since to the Mahrattas. The unproductiveness of the hills and forests, and the natural strength of the country, preserved these chiefs from entire subjection to the Mahrattas, who however, possessed themselves of the most accessible parts, and whose policy it generally was to support one of the most powerful of them, to keep the rest in check, and to be responsible for the depredations they were always in the habit of committing on the neighbouring plains. Chain Shah, of Harrai, who, from his superiority of talents and energy, had been able to usurp the authority of his nephew Jeshwant Shah, was the usual instrument employed; but although this system, if regularly followed up, might have answered the end in view to a certain extent, yet the continued deviations from it, on every momentary prospect of gratifying the rapacious spirit of the Government and its agents, sometimes the collusion of the principal civil and military authorities, with the other Gond chiefs, and sometimes their contumacy, when either pressed beyond their forbearance, or led to take advantage of momentary circumstances favourable to resistance, perpetuated the disorders, which nothing but skilful and steady management could have eradicated.

Amongst these chiefs Appa Sahib took refuge on his escape from the escort which was conveying him to Allahabad. The situation chosen for his retreat, whether from its accidental vicinity to the point from which he effected his escape, or from a previous understanding with the Gond chiefs, was well calculated, from its inaccessible nature, for the immediate purpose of security from pursuit, and not less advantageous as a central position for disturbing the

new Government, communicating with foreign powers, and forming a rallying point for military adventurers from all quarters. The table-land of Pachmarhi, the place of his residence for several months, is situated in the midst of a cluster of mountains, celebrated for the temple, or rather cave, of Mahadeo, which is on one of the highest of seven peaks, and looking down on the fertile valley of the Nerbudda, and on that of Betul and Multai, the recent cessions to the British Government, and on the reserved territory of the Raja of Nagpur above, the ghâts. Until Appa Sahib's flight from this place of refuge, the Gond chiefs maintained an unbroken union amongst themselves in his defence, notwithstanding the advantageous offers that were made to induce them to abandon him. This conduct, so contrary to what might have been expected from their perpetual state of hostility with the Mahrattas, proceeded partly from a rude sense of generous hospitality, not uncommon in wild tribes, and partly from the love of plunder, and the ignorance of our real character, distorted by the misrepresentations of our enemies.

The complete success of our military operations in the hills, when the season admitted of the troops entering them, soon put every one of the Gond chiefs in our power; most of them voluntarily surrendered themselves; but the capture of Chain Shah, by Major O'Brien, who pursued him into the depths of a tremendous chasm, may be said to have finished the campaign.

In deliberating on the different courses of policy that might be pursued towards the mountaineers, it appeared that the attempt to govern them through the agency of one chief had never succeeded, and had rather tended to throw to great a degree of power into hands which had abused it, than to secure an influence to be exerted for the general tranquillity. There were, in fact, several considerable families amongst them, each wishing to be considered the head of the whole. All had resisted, with more or less success, the establishment of one authority; and the Mahrattas had been frequently compelled to act directly, not only against the other refractory chiefs, but against the chiefs of their own elevation. It seemed therefore to be a preferable system to attach those amongst them who were of any consequence by direct ties to the paramount state, and to strengthen their natural influence over their immediate relations and dependants, by giving them authority to restrain them, and making them responsible for their conduct.

On this principle, the lands and rights of each of the Thakurs were confirmed to them by sanad, with some exceptions, of which the necessity has been formerly explained.*

All these Zamindars were miserably poor, and under the bad management of the Mahratta, they had lived almost entirely upon plunder, neglecting the cultivation of their own lands, and maintaining bodies of armed men, foreigners as well as Gonds, which nothing but plunder could enable them to support. To wean them from these habits, by leading them to look to honest means for their subsistence, it was first necessary to show them that they could no longer prey upon their neighbours with impunity, and this impression was fully made by the result of our operations in the hills. They required funds for their immediate support, as well as to form the ground-work of the agricultural labors: but these

it was requisite to furnish with a sparing hand, for fear of inducing too great a reliance on sources of supply foreign to their own exertions. Yet it was just and prudent to relieve them from embarrassments, which could not but be discouraging to them at the outset, and which had their origin in previous circumstances, though aggravated considerably by physical evils beyond our or their control.

The Harrai family had formerly been in a state of considerable affluence, and, consequently, in principles of policy, required a more liberal allowance than the others. The *Sayer* revenue, which had been their chief emolument, having been resumed by Government, presented a just source of provision for their wants without burdening the Government with an extraneous payment.

The pargana of Partabgarh was given to the son of Rajba Shah, who had held it under Chain Shah, and the management of it left to the Harrai family. From the weakness of Jeshwant Shah, the head of it, affairs of this family have not been well conducted; and though we have had no reason to complain of their general conduct, they have got involved in debt, and still lean too much upon us for pecuniary support.

Sone Shah, the son of Chain Shah, who died of cholera at Chanda shortly after his capture, was also provided for separately, by restoring to him the district of Sonpur, which he had formerly held from his father. This young man has behaved uncommonly well; he has done much to restore cultivation in his lands, and he has been an active assistant in the police.

Kesho Rao, of Batkagarh, from his relationship to the Gond Raja, was always in attendance on the Mahratta *Sabhedars* of the province. His duties were continued; and it was requisite, besides confirming his lands to him, to provide some additional allowances for him. He, at first, distinguished himself with Sone Shah, in suppressing the free-booters, who continued for a time to molest both the reserved and ceded territories; but he has shown several times a spirit of violence and disobedience of orders, which have brought him into temporary disgrace.

The Zamindars of the Mahadeo Hills, who were the *Bhoftas*, or hereditary heads of the temple, are Mohan Singh, Rajaji, and Partab Singh. The pilgrim tax having been resumed by the Government, it was found necessary to grant them some fixed allowances out of it. Certain claims also of the Thakurs of Bhardagarh and Almode, on pilgrims passing through their lands in progress to the temple, were also allowed.

Translations of the written agreements concluded with these tributaries were forwarded to Government* shortly after the settlements were all effected by Captain Montgomerie. By the general terms of them, the Thakurs are bound to attend the chief local authority, when required, with a specified number of followers; they are held responsible for the tranquility and good management of their estates, and rendered amenable for all criminal acts committed within their lands, being obliged to give up the culprit, or trace his exit from their lands, or otherwise be personally answerable.

* See the Resident's despatches No. 35, dated 3rd September 1819.

* See the Resident's despatches, Nos. 38, 39 and 40, to the Marquis of Hastings.

The following summary of the result of his management of the hill Thakurs is given by Captain Montgomery, and it is very satisfactory —

In conclusion, I have only to add that those hilly and mountainous tracts held by the Gond tribes, where murder and thefts were neither accounted criminal nor sinful, through which, before our management, no individual of respectability could pass in safety, if at all, from which hordes of banditti used to be poured down on the fertile valleys of the Nerbudda, of Betul, the *haveli* lands and of Seoni, to plunder and distress its more peaceful inhabitants, to drive their herds, to sack and burn their villages, are now the abode of comparative contentment and industry; there, indeed, may truth, confidence, and satisfaction assure you that a great change has been effected. Population has been partially restored, and is gradually increasing; no stranger or traveller has fallen a victim for six years to the cupidity of the lawless free-booters; no complaint has been made against the inhabitants by my neighbours of the Honourable Company's territory who are on three sides of me; cultivation, is improving, comfort is evident among them, and they profess openly their preference of the life they now lead, to that from which I had little hope of ever winning them."

V 23128 1M

N 215

