In the preceding chapters we have seen how the imposition of the settlements adversely affected the economic history of Bundelkhand. That, to this day the region remains backward. This constant bid to re-settle the district caused confusion and a feeling of insecurity amongst the people. The basic idea as mentioned earlier was to raise the revenue and the means to be whatever it may have been. So long as an increase of revenue was obtained it was received as an indication of prosperity and the limit to the power and possibility of paying appears never to have been contemplated. Many inequalities of assessment occurred but no attempt was made to rectify the errors. Reductions were nominal with a view to appease certain section of revenue payers who could be utilized for the benefit of the British cause in Bundelkhand. This indirectly gave birth to a new class of people - the money lenders - to whom land was mortgaged. Nothing substantial was done to improve the irrigation which was so necessary for the cultivators.

In the course of the settlements, Bundelkhand passed through severe famines. No concerted effort was made in this region to alleviate the suffering of the people. One tends to contemplate on the fact that was this deliberate deprivation as follow up of Bundelkhand's contribution to the 1857 events. Why was such a harsh treatment meted towards Bundelkhand? Under these circumstances the second regular settlements were
Jhansi: 2nd Regular Settlement by Impey and Meston 1884.

In October, 1887, the decision was taken to hold a cadastral survey and start a settlement of the district and consequently in October 1888, the district was declared to be under settlement. The period was for twenty years.

Jhansi district as it stood in 1886 (inclusive of Lalitpur) was 1,494 sq. miles in area. The condition of the district was not encouraging. The cultivation had declined in contrast to the situation, at the commencement of the last settlement. The cultivable land fell from 3,93,401 acres to 3,55,629. Except for some medieval tanks constructed by the Hindu Rajas, irrigation was not introduced to the benefit of the cultivators who still relied on natural rain or, used water from wells. Moreover, Kans problem was not tackled effectively, so as to completely bring about an extension in agriculture. Though the Betwa canal was constructed since the last settlement as a protective measure against drought it was scarcely used in Jhansi district.

Owing to the unculturable, as it was barren the sparse population, cultivation never reached its optimum level. In 1889-92, 42% of the total cultivable area was cultivated and in 1903, it was 33% only. This manifests itself in the neglect of agriculture and the governmental apathy towards it. Though the increase in population during the decade of 1881-89 was approximately 7.21% but this barely made up for the losses from
emigration and disease during the periods, of agricultural depression.(4)

Impey and Meston undertook the task of inspecting the areas under their jurisdiction. The settlement officer's inspections were undertaken to satisfy them that the verified rent rolls correctly represented the rental actually existed and to enable them to frame correct rentals.(5) As in previous settlements the officers ascertained and their credibility tested by analysis of field and field rents. For the purpose of assessment soils were classified. Villages were grouped into assessment circles, differential soil rates were declared in the manner prescribed by rules.(6) As in other parts of Bundelkhand, the soil classification was done according to natural distinction - viz. mar, kabar, parua and rakar. Villages were grouped together according to the soil, into assessment circles mainly with reference to their rental incidences. Consideration should have been given to facilities available but this was not so.(7) The Chief use of these assessment circles was to bring together groups of villages to which the same set of rates could be applied for the purposes of correcting the rent rolls. The idea was to give assessment circles a fairly homogenous character.

Lump rates were analysed with recorded rates and compared with actual rents. If the rates were supported by rentals they were accepted, but where it was not so, they were taken as indicating the comparative value of the different soils and this gave a scale from which rates could be deduced from the recorded
rent which were again analysed. (9) Mention should be made of the fact that there was a comparatively high incidence of the assumed rental especially in the case of the sir lands, cultivated by proprietors. (10) This was highly improper as to increase rental value of this class of land just on grounds of its superiority, and the output not being taken into consideration.

The methods and calculation by which the rental assets of the district were ascertained formed the basis of the assessment. (11) Settlement officer’s framed circles and chose rate after inspection. Final classification was effected after the inspection of the whole tahsil had been completed. (12) In Jhansi, tehsils were divided topographically and not into paraganas. (13) It thus appears that the classification was based on the consideration of rents. Great weight was given to this factor. It is not proper and correct to use or equate as a standard for determining assessment, rent rates of land. The British corresponded generally rents rates with its natural advantages and rental capacity. Further, they forced the rents on custom and not actual calculation and findings. The fixing of rentals depended entirely on the whims of the settlement officers. Further, in due course of time certain villages may have bettered its capacity to pay rent. Consequently a revision was necessary on the other hand some areas would require remission on account of inability to pay.

Classification was based on the state of the villages at the existing time or when settlements took place. This was a major flaw as due to several reasons the productivity of the soil
could diminish and the rates once imposed would be difficult to alter. Impey and Meston have agreed that the classification of the sub-division was advantageous in respect that an appropriate set of standard rates was established. But this was not so. If the rakar or parua tract had been left as one circle of similar soil to certain extent of similar advantages, it would have been extremely difficult to select, with such very different villages, single set of standard rates for the circle which would have been impossible to secure that the rates selected should correspond to any great extent with the rates actually paid the circle. Such rates were merely average if not inapplicable, when standard rentals were calculated.

In connection with the question of formation of circles and selection of standard rates it became necessary to determine the rent rates to be assumed on the basis of the actual rents — to be paid per acre for each class of soil at no rates were actually on record of having been paid. Further, the recorded the rates in the rent rolls or old wajib-ul-arzes were obviously not a correct and safe guide to rental affinity.

Once the standard rates were selected three kinds of rent rates were calculated. This gave rise to serious anomalies in the system. There were several lacunae. In case of villages half cultivated by tenants and half by proprietors, the rates were based on the actual rents which were calculated on the basis of natural advantages and rents. In the grain rented land, assessment on the grain produce was of no value. Hence, payments were made on cash rents between the time of survey and time of
inspection.

Under these circumstances, extension of cultivated land was never permanent and the rapid changes in the area together with the nature of fluctuating cultivation in the Jhansi area that made it impossible for a steady cultivation.

The settlement was not a productive one in that it gave rise to complications regarding the payment of revenue at the stipulated time. Cultivation fell by 9%. There was an increase of 18% in the settlement which was highly unjustifiable and grossly unjust. Famines which ravaged Bundelkhand at this time, further broke the rent paying capacity but the government did not allow respite and in the following chapter we shall see the revenue levied on the district.

Lalitpur    Hoare 1893

The decision to revise the former settlement of Lalitpur sub-division was decided in 1893. Accordingly it was cadastrally surveyed in 1895, 1896 and 1897. Though the operation was not profitable one but a revision was considered advisable on administrative grounds. Village maps had become obsolete, the question of the states of the land holders was an important question which had to be discussed and settled. Further serious irregularities in the existing assessments called for a redress.(17) "Owing to the precariousness of the nature of cultivation in Bundelkhand, revenue assessment presented greater difficulties than in any other part of the province." - J.O. Miller, who was chief secretary in a letter to the Government of
For revenue purposes Lalitpur was divided into two tahsils - Lalitpur and Mehroni. The total area under cadastral survey which preceded the settlement operations was 11,53,372 acres. Out of this 4,37,734 acres or rather about a third contained the black soil tract which monopolises the southern portion of the sub-division. (18) The actual area under cultivation was 2,76,864 acres which indicates a decline of 19,157 acres. (19) This was a result of the severity of settlement. Lalitpur was subjected to serious agricultural depression culminating in the famine of 1303 fasli and 1304 fasli, 1894-96.

Hoare commenced with his settlement. The soil was chiefly black where cultivated and rest of the area there was red soil. The differentiation of the sub-division into red and black soil tracts was the most important for revenue purposes. Hoare based his assessment on reliable recorded rental of the year in question. (20) This information was supplied by patwaris. But the important fact here is the reliability of the information as the patwaris did not keep up dated maps, calculation and the fluctuating cultivation. Consequently, Hoare could not base his calculation on actual circle rates. Instead the tenants cash rental of the year of record was generally accepted as a basis for assessment, except in cases of "Pahi" cultivation. (21) In areas of excessive fluctuating cultivation the average rental of the year of verification was taken as the basis of circle rates. (22) The real problem of settlement rose in the assessment of the
depreciated villages which formed the bulk of the black soil tracts. It was unfair on the part of the Government to assess for a long period on the depreciated assets of the year of record and consequently summary settlements became necessary.

Hoare further faced difficulty in that five out of seven paraganas showed the effects of calamities such as weather vagaries. In the remaining two paragans in the year of verification, that it 1302 fasli, the result of the famine were visible. There was a decline in the cultivated acreage, and the valuable rabi crop. Under the circumstances it was advisable to either postpone or order a new survey. (23)

Those villages in which assets of 1303 fasli were fairly equal to or greater than the normal assets, such villages were assessed once for the usual time. Secondly, those villages in which the assets of 1303 fasli were fairly equal to normal assets, but which suffered temporarily, such villages were to be assessed at a reduced jama for three years founded on the estimated assets of 1305 fasli. The full jama was payable after three years and ran till the end of the period of settlement. (24) Hoare decided to fix a normal jama and periodically inspection and revision of assessment would be made till the normal demand was reached. But these valuations were not foolproof. Consideration of ability to payment was not even a major factor in extracting revenue from the impoverished peasants and cultivators. There is hardly any mention of the measures taken by the government to induce agricultural prosperity to enable the revenue payers to be able to meet the demands. Reduction on the
jamas did not make any difference as the amount payable was always and unreasonable one.

In the remaining paraganas, villages which had not suffered from severe deterioration, such villages were assessed on the figure of record. Those which had suffered from quasi permanent deterioration, they were settled for five years in the estimated assets of 1305 fasli. (25) For these village a normal demand was fixed and a revised demand was realised from 1311 fasli, on calculations based on the figures of 1310 fasli. (26) Though revision of settlement took place at regular intervals till the areas were in a capacity to pay the normal demand, it was not possible to achieve this except under duress.

It is evident as figures prove that the settlements were unequal and not uniform in their incidence and many cases of over assessment occurred. In villages where indication of slight development were sighted, higher revenue was extracted from them.

Villages were grouped into circles as far as possible on topographical divisions. But circles were unduly multiplied and villages grouped more in accordance with their size and importance than the rates realized in them. Previous methods of that settlement were an assessment on assets which were a compromise between valuation at circle rates and actual recorded assets. (27)

Reductions were insignificant. Hoare initiated a decrease of Rs. 9,134-1-7 or 6.06% in real revenue. This demand of 1306 fasli increased after a course of progressive demands and an
increase of 8.16% in real revenue on the expiring demand. The period for which the demand was proposed was thirty years.(28)

During Hoare's tenure the condition of the sub-division had deteriorated. Since the last settlement the spring crop had reduced by 50%.(29) There was a depreciation in black soil and mixed soil tracts. The red soil tracts had made steady progress in all paraganas. As the red soil villages paid revenue steadily, they were made to bear the brunt of immediate enhancement in revenue falls. Though the incidence of normal revenue on cultivated area had increased from .63% to .70% but its incidents on culturable area had decreased from .20% to .18% owing to an increase in culturable area due to more correct soil classification.(30)

Though Lalitpur came on the Railway map the improvement was negligible and it continued to remain in much the same state as earlier. There was no change in the character of proprietary rights nor was there any change in the general agricultural scene as to justify of warrant any great changes in revenue. It continued to be in a apathetic condition till it was absorbed in the Jhansi constituency.

Hamirpur Neale 1880

Hamirpur had not revived in any way since the last settlement and remained backward. This resulted in the continuous low payments of revenue which was natural.

When Neale was appointed the settlement officer the
administration was in a chaotic state. He reviewed the earlier settlements and pointed out that the preceding officers did not have exclusive experience and hence the improprieties in the revenue system. He attempted to rectify and accurately measure and get maps by professional survey officers. The famines of the preceding years, the depopulation and distress of the country, the following off in the cultivation, the great fall in the value of land, the large number of village under the management of government officers owing to the balances of revenue, contributed to the stupendous task, Neale had to face. The previous settlement amounted to Rs. 10,84,395 and this increase was chiefly due to the resumption of revenue free lands and assessment of alluvial and pasture lands. (31)

Neale incorporated Mr. Smith’s method who had settled Hamirpur and Sumerpur paragans. In the Hamirpur district, there was an unusually large proportion of land recorded as paying known rents, or in lump sum for each field, in fact nearly half the cultivated area paid in such a manner. Rest of the land paid lump rents in an aggregate holding which comprised of many different soils. (32) But this system was inadequate and useless for the investigating officer’s purpose. (33) Neale stuck the system of rates or of lump sums for each field. But it is to be noted that there was one flaw that all the rates for the same soil were not uniform consequently the inclusion of very low rates reduced the average of the whole and if they were not included they converted the process of collecting average rates into a process of selecting suitable rates which was a totally
Another way of erasing the anomalies of the inequalities was to select standard villages (or model villages) which paid a fair rent for the soils they comprised, thereby raising the rates of other villages. In order to meet the disadvantages of relying heavily on average rates collected indiscriminately, Neale recitified the rates in the standard or model villages. Further, the rates were made flexible depending on the soil and customs of the paraganas. In paragana Hamirpur an average of Rs. 4-12-2 per acre, while in Mahoba on the same soil, Rs. 3-4-3 per acre was taken. The difference was 3% - 5%. This is to prove the wide disparity and any attempt which was made to bring about an average, resulted in violent reactions. Some paraganas like Rath, northern Mahoba were assessed by Smith while Hamirpur, Sumerpur and Jalalpur by Neale.

One has to admit that the task faced by Neale was stupendous as to synthesize the different prevailing rates and devise a uniformity to enforce on the whole district. Neale proposed seventeen different rates for each of the seven paraganas. To confront such a complex situation was a problem for Neale who resorted not to make any radical changes in the prevailing system. The number of classes accorded to the soil in most of the paraganas was four. Then taking class 1 into consideration he deduced Rs. 5-5-6 to Rs. 4-1-10. The average rate worked out was Rs. 4-12-8. This was the average rate for mar. Parua soil was fixed at Rs. 4-5-6 to Rs 2-3-0. The total cultivated area for the whole district was 7,35,758 acres of
which 49% paid an average rate of Rs. 2.9-9 per acre. (41) This way all the soils were classified and the rates fixed. But the returns proved conclusively that the settlement statistics was good deal below the average. Consequently, the question was decide in the area of cultivation which was eventually put down as 37,762 acres. (42)

In 1877 and 1878, two seasons of almost unprecedented drought ensued. Consequently, in many villages reductions were resolved upon. Assumptions had been made regarding the extension of cultivation. These assumptions were largely modified with reference to the system of average standard of cultivation adopted in the assessment of the Banda district. (43)

Neale was in no way a partisan of showing the woes of the cultivators, instead in addition to the jama delcareed on the cultivated and cultivable area, on the usual principles of assessment, a special conditional jama was fixed in a certain part of the forest area, with the object of inducing the zamindars preserve country and hills. He calculated the average rate on actual assessing which worked out to Rs. 2.14-2. (44) Inspite of the repercussions of famine which ravaged the district, Rs. 9450 more was collected in 1289 fasli, Rs. 2580 in 1293 fasli, Rs. 840 in 1295 fasli and the remaining balance of Rs. 460 in 1297 fasli.

Following the settlement and in the years ensuing land was partitioned and mortgages took place. It is shocking to note Neale's statement in which he says "Warring's persistent over
assessment was indeed fortunate event in the history of the district, because it warranted reduction in the long run. The high assessment could not be put in execution. (45)

This negative approach towards Bundelkhand to restrict the growth of the area into prosperous region as Bengal, was highly condemnable. It has been repeatedly pointed out that Bundelkand was an area where speculative fixation of land revenue was not suitable. Yet the settlement officer paid little heed to the prevailing conditions with the result that instead of progression, the district steadily slipped back into deterioration. Economic depredation of the cultivator class led to outbursts of mass migration, fall in cultivation and resorts to dacoity in the area. Further, there was a tendency of growth of the money lending class - the advent of the "Marwari".

Jalaun White 1889

The last settlement of this area was sanctioned for twenty years from July 1st 1883 to 30th January 1883, but continued to the in force in the case of two paragans (Orai and Jalaun) till 20th June 1886 and in the case of the remaining three paragans till 30th June 1887.

There was a large increase in the uncultivated but culturable land partly due to land having been thrown out of cultivation in anticipation of resettlement and partly because of some land having been transferred from 'barren' to 'cultivable as land from the former category was changed to culturable. (46) The British Government took this as wilful abandonment of cultivation.
on the part of the cultivators to avoid increase of revenue at the existing settlement. (47) They were of the opinion that at the last settlements, that is at the time of Ternan, land which had been classified as barren was in fact really culturable. Ternan had based his settlement on 4,32,199 acres of cultivation. On this calculation there was an increase of about 9.1% in cultivation since the last settlement. (48) This proves that the cultivators were not wilfully avoiding the cultivation of land as has been presented by the British Government.

Mr. White who was appointed settlement officer advocated a revision of revenue as there was a substantial return in the shape of increased returns of revenue. The assessment of the new revenue was to be based as far as possible on the average actual recorded rental. Rent rolls were to be corrected. To serve their own interest, leniency was shown towards Bhaichara brotherhood and other communities of cultivating land holders. (49)

The total area to be settled was 9,90,662 acres comprising of five paraganas of Orai, Jalaun, Madhogarh, Koonch and Kapli. Right at the onset, Mr. White raised the jama and revised the kistbandis for the collection of revenue. He raised the jama on revenue free tenures also from Rs. 6,28,474 to Rs. 7,40,338. The increase in the revenue from both sources, i.e. Khalsa and resumed muafis was Rs. 7,54,229. (50)

White personally inspected every village before assessment, going over its lands, noting the quality of its soils and of standing crops and need enquiries into the prevailing

115
rent rates, general condition of the proprietary and the tenantry and all factors which had a bearing on the revenue to be fixed. After examining the village rent rolls and collecting them with his inspection statements he classified the villages i.e. formed standard circles of assessment. (51) In the paraganas of Koonch of Jalaun and Madhogarah he formed four classes or circles of assessment and in the paraganas of Orai, Kalpi five each. Next he deduced standard rates and standard rent rolls. Standard rates were drawn by classifying the soils from the cultivating holdings, wherein of tenants " paying cash rents according to the attested rent rolls, modified in some instances to meet the particular circumstances of the class. (52) The great basis of the revision was the village rent roll. These measures were aimed at minimising fraud, but there was not much success. The settlement was imposed with much rigour although some efforts were made to bring unclaimed waste land under cultivation, it was unsuccessful. The Government was particular that 'sir' land was not be treated with leniency. A total of 8,947 acres was added to 'sir' lands making it a total of 94,071 acre, which was a 21.6% increase at a rate of Rs. 4-0-8 per acre rental 16,242 acres and all the rest for Rs. 2-12-0 per acre. (53) This was most unfair and harsh as in the distribution of the village jama after the revenue engagement, the individual 'sir' holding had to be followed in the 'pattis' too. (54) In the Mahals the old revenue had been enhanced too. Regarding the revenue the tract in the Jalaun area, a 12% cess had been imposed on all liable revenue free lands.

Below are the comparative figures for the revenue
Real Revenue of last settlement | Rs. 6,19,979
Real Revenue of last year of settlement | Rs. 6,28,474
Real improve in course of settlement | Rs. 8,494

New Khalsa Revenue of present Settlement
Total new Revenue (Real) | Rs. 7,40,338
Total Real Revenue | Rs. 7,54,229

Further, barring the rabi and kharif productions of each village for the past six years, he percentaged them, struck the average for each harvest. These revised kistbandis were sanctioned by the Board of Revenue and put into execution with the new assessment.

As in the case of other districts, settlement were instituted with the optimum extraction in view. There was considerable difficulty in realizing the government demand and that in certain villages the cultivated area progressively shrank from year to year. No genuine effort was made to enquire as to why the settlements broke down. No consideration was paid to the vagaries of weather and the quality of land.

In the land holdings, two equal shareholders found themselves laddled with different quotas of the jama and the party whose quota was larger was excused in case he was not able to pay up. It was also possible in the course of the settlement, the shareholders on the lighter quota were 'bought' by the village 'banker' when all the efforts of the government was wasted on trying to recover the dues. The heart burning of the other co-sharers, more heavily saddled, was greatly intensified. The 'banker' assumed 'pseudo-ownership' and enjoyed the fruits of the
assessment. This paved the way for the money lending class to gain a foothold and exploit the situation to their advantage. In the sale of mortgage deeds he expressly abandoned his share and admitted his inability to full rent. It is therefore undesirable that this new feature in the distribution of revenue throughout co-parenity tenures. Thus making it positive that in the succeeding settlements the sub-tenant would definitely cease to exist, which is exactly what happened. It was only later when the government realised that there was no decline in population (1881-1891) 5.2% (58) that they contemplated it was not advisable to impose the settlement with vigour.

To add to this, the district had suffered three bad harvests and in 1890, there was much difference in the collection. It was brought to the notice that though there had been no sales for arrears, no less than 15% of the area had changed hands by private alienation during the twenty years of the old settlement. White had increased the revenue by 20%. The figures for white were Rs. 7,54,229 and that of the expiring settlement was Rs. 6,28,474; A difference of Rs. 1,25,755 which constituted the increase.(59)

Considering the volatile situation in the district, a relief was ordered in 1892 when a small reduction was made and again in 1894 a further reduction.(60) The pressure of land revenue was attributed to both the heavy assessments and due to the unfavourable seasons which produced agricultural depressions. There were no resources on reserve to back the cultivators. This resulted in revenue accumulation of arrears.
It is a sore fact that White's settlement pressed very heavily on the district and although the rent rates on which the assessments were fixed were fair enough in themselves with regard to the quality of the soil, they were higher than had hitherto been paid.

The earlier settlements were essentially brief and summary and were carried out by political officers in charge of the districts, who had scanty knowledge of revenue affairs. Had there been fixed assessments, cultivation would have rapidly increased and revenue would have simultaneously enhanced but to the contrary, the assessment pressed heavily in some quarters and summary reductions were made.

The long term deterioration of the province had set in. The successive enhancements were unevenly distributed. It fell with great severity on paraganas where had been raised by 28.20%. Within these paraganas the burden fell mainly on a particular class of villages namely those with good mar soil. In the two years following 1890, there were good harvests, but arrears continued to accumulate. Eventually the district was reported to be in "a condition of progressive decay". This culminated in the famine of 1896-97 when the whole settlement broke down and a revision was ordered in 1903.

In conclusion one may say that in view of the temporary revenue settlements, which were subject to revision, after a period of twenty to thirty years the government reserved the right to participate in the increase of rents arising from any
expansion or improvement in the productivity of land. Thereby depriving the real cultivator of any scope of betterment and at the same time exploiting his labour for the benefit of the government.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. G.O. No. 3148 A.

4. Ibid.


6. Ibid.

7. Ibid. note G.O. No. 2487 dated 7th October, 1899. L-77 A

8. Ibid. p. 18.


10. Ibid. p. 120.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid. p. 130.


15. Ibid. p. 171.


18. Ibid. p. 10.

19. Ibid. Letter from F.W. Brownrigg, Sect. to Board of Revenue, N.W.P. and Oudh, To the C.S. to Govt. NWP and Oudh Revenue Department. Dated 30th April, 1899.

20. Ibid. p. 16.

21. Ibid.
22. Ibid. p. 31.
23. Ibid. p. 33
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid. p. 50.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid. p. 87.
30. Ibid. p. 68.
32. Ibid. p. 81.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid. p. 89.
36. Ibid. p. 93.
37. Ibid. p. 94.
38. Ibid. p. 96.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid. p. 101.
42. Ibid. p. 103.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid. p. 104.
45. Ibid.
47. Ibid.

122
58. Ibid. p. 91.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid. p. 93.


52. Ibid.
53. Ibid. p. 70.
54. Ibid. p. 73.
55. Ibid. p. 75.
56. Ibid.


1-61