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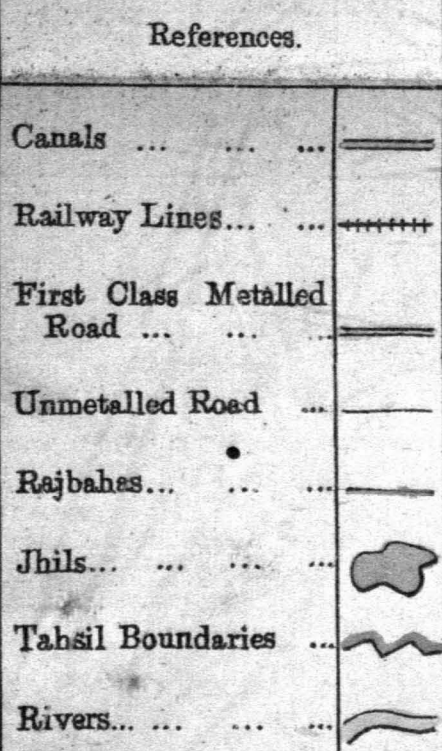
FINAL REPORT
ON THE
SEVENTH SETTLEMENT
OF THE
CAWNPORE DISTRICT
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES.
(1903—1906 A.D.)

BY
H. K. GRACEY, Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer.



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FROM

P. HARRISON, Esq., I.C.S.,

SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE,

UNITED PROVINCES,

TO

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

UNITED PROVINCES, REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Dated Naini Tal, the 8th October 1907.

SIR,

I AM directed to submit the final report of the Cawnpore settlement recently concluded. Mr. Gracey's treatment of

Present:
The Hon'ble MR. A. W. CRUICKSHANK, C.S.I

several subjects is rhetorical, and his sympathy with the tenants and distrust of

money-lending proprietors have led him to make far-reaching proposals which ought not to be founded on the experience of any one district, and do not appear to be justified even by the special circumstances of the district with which he has had to deal. The Board do not propose to criticise these suggestions, but it will be necessary to show that the descriptions of facts on which they are founded are to some extent one-sided and inaccurate.

2. The district lies in the lower *doab* at a point where the Ganges and Jumna are approaching each other, the distance between the rivers being 52 miles on the western border and 28 miles on the east. It is traversed by a number of streams, which flow south-east in the same general direction as the larger rivers, the principal being, towards the north, the Pandu and the Rind which run right through the district, gradually approaching the Ganges, and in the south the Sengur which falls into the Jumna about the middle of the south-west border. The fold or dip, which seems to be so general a feature of *doabs*, is marked by a line of *ghils* and clay which strikes obliquely through the centre of the district, and is the source on the Ganges-side, of the Rind and further on of a smaller stream the Nen, which finds its way into the Jumna. As clearly shown in the map at page 4 of Mr. Wright's final report of the last settlement, the great bulk of the district is a *dumat* plain of the ordinary *doab* type, with lines of lighter soils along the rivers, but the tract along the Jumna is distinguished by the presence of typical Bundelkhand soils. Generally speaking, there is a gradual deterioration in the soils from north to south, and from west to east. As Mr. Wright noted (Chapter IV, paragraph 61), both in point of soil and of other advantages the Ganges-Pandu *i.e.*, the most northern, *doab* is the richest part of the district. In the Pandu-Rind *doab* the *dumat* is lighter (paragraph 44): in the Sengur-Jumna *doab*, it was said to be very different from the *dumat* of the more northern *doabs* (Chapter I, paragraph 24) and to contain much more sand and lastly, going south there are the *kabar* and *parua* soils of Bundelkhand. From west to east, the deterioration is due no doubt to the gradual approach of the rivers—and may be exemplified by Mr. Wright's description of the Pandu-Rind *doab*, where the western pargana was treated as entirely *dumat*, the parganas in the middle as containing a central *dumat* tract, with edges of red soil along the rivers, and the eastern as entirely red soil with the exception of two or three villages.

Physical features.

3. The district is certainly one of good quality. The soil classification, which is based mainly on the distinctions between artificial soils, between the circle of high cultivation round the site and outlying lands of a village, makes it impossible, to frame any exact numerical statement, but the proportion of inferior soil must be small. The irrigation has now reached the very high figure of 61 per cent. of the cultivated area, and there are few precarious tracts. In its proprietary and cultivating

General conditions.

classes however the district is less fortunate. Thakurs, who were originally by much the most important of the proprietary castes, now hold 30·32 per cent. of the total area; brahmans, many of them money lenders, have now 33·20 per cent., baniyas and khatris 8·06 per cent. and kurmis 8·59 per cent. Among the tenants brahmans are the most important, holding a fourth or a fifth of the total area: thakurs and ahirs have each about a sixth. None of these castes have a good reputation as agriculturists, but the kurmis who hold a tenth, and are found chiefly in Bilhaur and Sheorajpur in the north corner of the district, and again in Bhognipur and Gbatampur, the Jumna parganas, are excellent cultivators, and the merits of the kachhis, who are most numerous in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, are well-known.

Early fiscal history.

4. In any review of the fiscal history of the Cawnpore District the facts that most prominently attract notice are the permanence of the evil effects of over-assessment, and its influence on rents. After a stormy period during which it had changed hands between the Mahrattas, the Afghan governors of Farrukhabad, and the Vazir of Oudh, the district was ceded to the British by Saadat Ali Khan in 1802. After cession its history was, as Government remarked in its review of Mr. Wright's report "a melancholy one of over-assessment, of maladministration and of chicanery on the part of subordinate officials." The revenue alleged by the Oudh authorities to be payable appears to have been overstated, their object being "to show as high returns as possible, that the British authorities might be amused with an exaggerated estimate of their acquisition." Yet this revenue was enhanced at the first settlement by two lakhs of rupees to Rs. 24,69,046. Further the demand, which under the Oudh Government had been levied with a certain amount of elasticity, was not only raised under the British rule but exacted with an unbending rigidity. At the same time the records were extremely defective: and there was an almost complete ignorance of the names and status of the persons who should have been looked to for payment of the revenue. This ignorance played into the hands of corrupt subordinates. Remissions were granted but never reached the zamindars: estates were put up to auction under unfamiliar names, and it is recorded that many persons were sold up who did not so much as know that they were in arrears. Valuable properties were purchased generally by the creatures of tahsildars and other officials for nominal sums. Within the first three years after cession 238 estates with a revenue of more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were in this way alienated. But it is unnecessary to examine the history of this period in detail. Some reduction was gradually effected in the revenue and in 1821 a commission sat to enquire into and, as far as possible, rectify the injustice that had been caused by sales for arrears of revenue. The fourth settlement in 1812 was for Rs. 23,20,548, and having worked well for five years was extended for thirty: but the revenue was collected with difficulty and there were large arrears. Towards the close of this settlement the district was visited by the terrible famine of 1837-8. The fifth settlement was conducted by Mr. Rose, who on a comparison with the revenue of other districts was struck by the severity of the demand in Cawnpore, and made reductions amounting to one and a half lakhs: about half a lakh was assessed however on revenue-free holdings, and the net reduction was little more than a lakh. Still the assessment continued to be too high: villages did not recover from the effects of the famine as rapidly as had been expected, and in a couple of years revision had again to be undertaken with the result that the demand was still further permanently reduced by Rs. 32,326.

The expiring settlement.

5. The last revision was carried out between 1868 and 1876 by Messrs. Buck, Wright and Evans, the final report being prepared by Mr. Wright. The result of their settlement was to raise the revenue from Rs. 21,30,248 to Rs. 21,62,700. There were no doubt reasons for an enhancement: cultivation had increased 9 per cent., irrigation had been largely extended, and there had been a great rise in prices. On the other hand the prescribed ratio of revenue to assets had fallen from 66 to 50 per cent. And it is impossible on a comparison of the conditions in 1842 and in 1872 to say whether an enhancement of the revenue was or was not justified.

The assets on which Mr. Rose based his revenues are not known; Government in its review of Mr. Wright's report suggested that possibly Mr. Rose's assessment was less than the 66 per cent. of the assets which it was supposed to represent, but the conclusion cannot be stated with any certainty. Again it has often been remarked that a rise in prices and a rise in rents, though connected, are by no means necessarily in proportion: no definite inference could therefore be based on the percentage of rise in prices, and regarding a rise in rents the information was very scanty. The statement given on page 61 of Mr. Wright's report shows a considerable rise, due to the extension of irrigation in one pargana, but little or no increase elsewhere. The statement on page 60 shows an increase in recorded rents of 9·7 per cent., which, allowing for an extension of 3·8 per cent. in cultivation, is equivalent to a rise in rates of 6 per cent., but the figures are for a period of fifteen years only (1264-1280 *faski*). Leaving however this matter of comparison between the revenues of the two settlements, it is more important to determine how the revenues fixed at the last revision stood in relation to the assets. Here it has to be remembered that under the system then followed revenues were fixed very little with reference to recorded assets, but almost entirely on the basis of valuations. The whole revision depended on the Settlement Officer's standard rates. And it was believed—the Board are here speaking not only of Cawnpore, but of other districts assessed about the same time—that there was a very considerable difference between the general run of the current rents and a fair valuation, that this difference was immediately available to the land-owners by means of enhancement, and that it should therefore be taken into account in the assessment. It will be found very generally that in the settlements of districts in the lower *doub* the rates selected, though they were rates actually paid, were somewhere above the average, and the assumed assets in consequence above the level of those recorded. To this general statement Cawnpore was no exception. The character of the standard rates is shown by what was said in the old report on Bilhaur (paragraph 32) "lower rates were discarded and those rates selected which are of the highest standard, paid with sufficient frequency to guarantee their not being too high to be payable." The very great divergence between occupancy and non-occupancy rates, which has forced itself on attention during recent settlements had not then shown itself; the rental in fact was treated as homogeneous, rates were not regarded as being drawn from one part of the rental rather than another, and it was unnecessary to show with what part they corresponded most closely. It is possible however to compare them roughly with occupancy and non-occupancy standards. The value of the land in occupancy and non-occupancy holdings at the present time is shown by the valuation to be Rs. 4·99 and Rs. 4·47 per acre respectively and of the total area in holdings Rs. 476. The incidences of the occupancy and non-occupancy rentals at last settlement were Rs. 4·34 and 4·27. On the assumption that the relative values were the same then as now, these incidences were equivalent to incidences of Rs. 4·12 and Rs. 4·58 on the total area, that is to say, a valuation of the total area at occupancy rates would have given an incidence of Rs. 4·12 by non-occupancy rates of Rs. 4·58. In the first place then it appears that non-occupancy rates were at that time higher than occupancy by 11 per cent. Secondly double the incidence of the revenue was Rs. 5·04: the revenue therefore was 22 per cent. above occupancy rates and 10 per cent. above the average even of competition rates. To put this matter in another way, what used to be called the corrected rental, that is the recorded cash rental plus a valuation at the cash incidence of the non-cash rented area was Rs. 37,77,088, the valuation was Rs. 42,69,450 and the revenue at 50·5 per cent. of the valuation was 57·2 per cent. of the corrected rental. The Board in paragraph 40 of their review referred to the enhancements in rents effected at settlement: on 113,943 acres rents were enhanced from Rs. 4,40,263 to Rs. 5,65,435, the enhanced rent being 5 per cent. less than the valuation by sanctioned rates: on an area of 100,578 acres enhancements were made by compromise from Rs. 4,23,030 to Rs. 4,82,129, about 1·5 per cent. less than the valuation and in suits relating to rents of

Rs. 2,03,530 on an area of 39,621, the claim for enhancement was disallowed. The Board referred to these statistics as a general justification of the Settlement Officer's revenues, but it is difficult to draw any certain conclusions till proceedings are complete, and it is seen to what extent the rental as a whole has been found capable of enhancement. Mr. Wright accordingly (page 105) did not lay great stress on the amount of the enhancements effected, and said the fairest test of his rates would be the rental of ten years after settlement. There can be no doubt that the assessment was high and that it anticipated the rise that was to take place in rents. The chief reason was the high pitch of the standard rates, but there were two subsidiary causes that should be mentioned. The first was the treatment of areas; cultivation appears to have reached an unusually high figure, yet the Settlement Officer assessed not only the whole of the cultivated area but also 20,000 acres of fallow. Secondly the old demand was frequently maintained even when it was considerably in excess of half assets. As Mr. Wright remarks (page 97) "a strong tendency prevailed to maintain existing revenues even though high, where there seemed no special call for relief." In a letter printed at pages 115—117 of Mr. Wright's report Mr. (now Sir Edward) Buck strongly urged that reductions in estates belonging to rich purchasers were an unnecessary sacrifice of revenue, and his convictions on this subject led to what were admitted to be severe assessments in Bilhaur and central Sheorajpur. The Board observed that the assumed rates in Cawnpore were shown by a comparison with the rates in Fatehpur, Etawah and Mainpuri to be moderate, but the comparison can scarcely now be accepted as a good test, since the re-settlement both of Fatehpur and Etawah has been postponed on the ground that no enhancement was possible, and the revision of Mainpuri has given but a small increase. It would appear that Government accepted the assessments chiefly in reliance on the care and judgment with which they had been framed but it evidently considered them full. The revenue incidence was Rs. 2.52 and higher than the incidence in any other temporarily settled district except Allahabad.

Improvement since
settlement.

6. The modifications in the revenue demand since settlement have been considerable, but can scarcely be described as extensive. Certain riverain tracts, it is said, were over-assessed, and in 1893-4, about the time when most of the districts in the lower *doab* suffered from flooding and supersaturation, reductions of over Rs. 8,000 were granted. In 1895—9 a more general revision was undertaken, and Mr. Trethewy reduced the revenue in 113 villages by Rs. 38,000. But apart from measures of revenue relief, several circumstances have combined in the last thirty years to ease the pressure of the revenue demand. It is true that there has been some decline in cultivated area. In 1310 *fasli* 846,000 acres were cultivated; the figure for last settlement shown in paragraph 26 is 873,799 acres, but the remarks in that paragraph are somewhat misleading. The matter is explained at page 50 of Mr. Wright's report, where it is said that the fallow of the past two years had been included in the cultivated area for purposes of assessment. 873,799 acres then was the area assessed, and the actual cultivated area (statement on page 49 of the old report) was 859,600: on this the present figure gives a decrease of about 3 per cent., and any reduction in the revenue on the ground of area must be sought rather in different methods of assessment than in actual falling off in cultivation. On the other hand there has been a striking improvement in irrigation. Here the order of precedence noted in paragraph 2 above in respect of the natural quality of the different tracts must be reversed; and the improvement has been greatest in the east and south. Conditions in the Sengur-Jumna *doab* have been transformed; in Bhognipur the irrigable area has increased from 13,545 to 85,890 acres and in Ghatampur it has risen 50 per cent. How much canal irrigation means in a dry year is shown in paragraph 7 of the Settlement Officer's report, and the fact that the irrigable area has risen from 40.6 to 61 per cent. of the cultivated area means a very substantial increase in the wealth of the district. The population of Cawnpore city has risen from 123,386 to 197,170, and the rural population from 1,006,930 to 1,055,664. The crop figures of the district as a whole do not show any great advance in the style of cultivation, but in some tahsils the Board

have observed a distinct improvement. There has at any rate been a great expansion in the double-cropped area, with the result that the area under crops is very much larger now than at settlement, and this may be taken to more than compensate the small decrease that has been noted in cultivation. The agricultural interest has been helped further by the rise in prices. This rise is questioned by the Settlement Officer, but it would be strange if the experience of Cawnpore were different from that of other districts recently settled, and the Board find nothing in the figures to justify the Settlement Officer's hesitation. If famine years, such as 1877-9, 1896-7 are excluded, the trend of prices seems most unmistakeably to have been to higher levels, and the stages in the progression are marked in fact with exceptional clearness. As the matter is one of some importance, I am to append a statement in which these stages are distinguished: Complete figures are available only from 1862. It will be seen that prices were very low in 1862-3, that from 1864 to 1876 they fluctuated considerably, occasionally falling, as in 1871 and 1876 to a very low level, but generally with a rising tendency: that in 1880-86 they were steadily low, but in 1886 a sharp and unmistakeable rise occurred, and since then prices have been steady at a much higher level. To state precisely the percentage of increase is no doubt impossible, but it can hardly be taken as less than the difference between the average of 1864-70, and of 1887-1904, which is from 20 to 35 per cent. Rents, as it happens, have risen in much the same proportion, occupancy rents by 15 per cent., and non-occupancy by 25 per cent. Finally the stability of proprietary and cultivating tenures should be noticed. At last settlement the occupancy area was 527,380 acres. It may be inferred from the figures given in appendix IX that the area retained is 368,000 acres. The loss on the old area is then 30 per cent., but this is no more than the average loss in other districts, where the Board have recently had occasion to investigate the rate of loss of occupancy rights. So far as this comparison is concerned, therefore there is nothing to show that occupancy tenants have had any unusual difficulty in paying their rents. Again the area in which occupancy rights have been acquired since settlement is very substantial, and the total occupancy area is practically as high as it was thirty years ago: the attack on tenants' rights therefore can scarcely have been so general as would appear from the remarks made by the Settlement Officer. With regard to proprietary rights, Mr. Gracey has laid great emphasis on the disappearance of the old proprietors, but he confuses periods which differ materially in their conditions and should have been kept apart. It is very remarkable that while the thakurs, who at cession held 50 per cent. of the whole district, had been reduced to 31.42 per cent. at the last revision; they are still in possession at the present time of 30.32 per cent. Doubtless small proprietors must have lost land, and this is indicated by the drop in proprietary cultivation from 17 to 12 per cent. of the holdings area, but the caste as a whole has held its own. Kurmis have rather more land than at settlement, and if the brahmans, khatris and banias have added somewhat to their possessions, it has been at the expense of kayasths and musalmans. On the whole, then, the results are distinctly encouraging.

7. The question whether a revision of the revenue was necessary was discussed in Board's letter No. 2893N/I—262A, dated 19th September 1900, and the decision of Government was communicated in G. O. No. 3543/I—893D, dated 25th October 1900. "It is clear" Government said, "from the statistics furnished by the Director and analysed by the Board that the result of re-settlement will be a substantial loss, which is estimated at from 1 to 1½ lakhs of rupees. On financial grounds therefore there is no reason for re-settlement; but the Board and the local officers are of opinion that a re-settlement is desirable on administrative grounds, the present settlement pressing unequally as well as heavily, and having in a considerable part of the district broken down. The Lieutenant Governor agrees that re-settlement is desirable for the reasons given, even though it may involve considerable financial loss to Government."

Procedure in the present revision.

The revision was to be carried out on the simplest and most economical lines possible. The records in Cawnpore are in very good order, and there was no necessity for revising them. As regards assessment, the old soil classification was generally to be followed: there was to be no general disturbance of occupancy rents the adequacy of which was to be tested by a simple method; the assumption area was generally to be valued at the incidence of the tenants' cash rental: and though the Settlement Officer was to inspect every village, it was necessary for him to make out complete statistics and go through the whole process of assessment only if a rough preliminary valuation gave reason to suppose that the revenue would be varied by more than 10 per cent.

The procedure adopted by the Settlement Officer in carrying out this system is detailed in paragraph 37 of his report. The soil demarcation of last settlement has rarely been disturbed, but the number of soil classes was very large and for the sake of simplicity minor variations have been disregarded. The circle classification stands very much as it did. Circle rates have been worked out by ordinary methods: in this settlement they are of comparatively small moment. Such deviations from the original rules as in practice were found desirable should be noticed. In Bilhaur it was observed that rules 4—5 were unworkable. The rents were so excessive that the assumption area could not with safety be valued by their incidence, nor could the adequacy of occupancy rentals be tested by the degree of their divergence from the rack rents paid by tenants-at-will. In Sheorajpur the Board instructed the Settlement Officer that when a village of several mahals was brought under revision, equality of assessment between the various mahals was essential, and the revenues of all the mahals should be adjusted without regard to the rule that assessments should not be varied by less than 10 per cent. Finally, in the Sengur-Jumna *doab*, and in pargana Ghatampur, in parts of which conditions are still precarious, the strict application of rule 7 was judged to be unsafe, and the Settlement Officer was directed to examine carefully all villages not secured by irrigation, even though according to the summary test prescribed they were not open to revision: in this tract all estates have been brought under revision in which the revenue judged not merely by the assets of the year of record but of previous years seemed to be at all severe.

The revenue of 905 mahals amounting to Rs. 9,15,960 has not come within the scope of the operations, but they will be relieved from the payment of owners' rates. The revenue of Rs. 11,72,859 paid on 1,137 mahals has been revised. It is only for these latter mahals that complete statistics have been compiled, and it should be understood that many of the figures given in subsequent paragraphs, such as the analysed rent roll, for example, relate only to the revised mahals, but these mahals are of all kinds, and inferences can safely be based on their figures for the district as a whole.

The cash rental.

8. The most important questions in this settlement are connected with cash rents: these are of the first importance in the assessment, and so much has been said on the subject that Government will no doubt desire to know precisely how matters stand with the tenants. Rents may still be high, as they have always been, but assertions of rack renting have been made in much too unqualified a way, and it will be well to examine the subject in some detail.

9. Mr. Gracey's position is *first* that a high assessment has always been at work to force up rents to the utmost; *secondly* that the money-lending classes are hard landlords, even in the most favourable circumstances, and that under the spur of high assessments they have rack-rented their tenants: and *thirdly* that the bulk of the tenantry are not in fact protected, as they appear to be, by the large percentage of occupancy holdings from the exactions of proprietors. The first proposition may be freely admitted: so far as possible the landowner will relieve himself of the burden of a new assessment by passing on the enhancement to his tenants. But the rents of protected tenants are not generally disturbed to any serious extent during the term of a settlement; and rents originally severe may by virtue of a rise in prices

become moderate. The second proposition, if it suggests that the new proprietors are responsible, in any exclusive sense for the state of rents, is misleading. In Akbarpur the Assistant Settlement Officer reported that the increase in rents while due partly to the rapacity of money lenders was also in part the outcome of the necessities of large thakur and musalman communities who can find no way of meeting their increased cost of living other than raising the rents of their tenants, and with reference to a remark of the Settlement Officer that the new proprietors are as a class the harder task masters, the Board observed that their tenants did not appear to pay higher rents than the tenants in co-parcenary villages. It is a general conclusion, supported by the strongest evidence, that it is the small proprietor who exacts the highest rent, and in the absence of any statistical proof the Board are unable to say definitely that Cawnpore is an exception to the general rule. The third proposition is based on the view taken by the Settlement Officer of the occupancy and non-occupancy tenures. The non-occupancy land, he says, is, in the general case, land taken up by an occupancy tenant in addition to his occupancy holding : the occupancy and non-occupancy tenants in most estates are the same people. This is perfectly correct, but the inference that by taking up non-occupancy land the occupancy tenant lays himself open to the exactions of his landlord, is due to some confusion of thought. The landlord, it is said, screws out of the non-occupancy land what he cannot get from the occupancy ; so much as the occupancy rent is below a fair standard, by so much is the non-occupancy in excess : and it would almost seem that the tenant would be equally well off if he had no occupancy land at all. But the argument lands the Settlement Officer on this dilemma : that if the occupancy holding is insignificant, so that the tenant is in effect a non-occupancy tenant, he can pay no more than any tenant who depends entirely on his non-occupancy holding : the only case in which the Settlement officer's remarks have any relevance is that in which there is a substantial occupancy holding, and so far as that holding is sufficient for the tenant's subsistence, so far he is independent of his landlord, whether he take up additional land or not. The element of truth in the argument is that in the case last cited the tenant can afford to pay more for the additional land than he could pay if he depended on it for a livelihood : it is worth his while to take it up if he can make any profit out of it at all. And the conclusion is an important one, so far as regards assessment, namely that the recorded rents of non-occupancy tenants are above even competition rents, and must be excluded entirely from consideration in the valuation of general areas. But from the point of view of the tenants, the circumstance does not help the Settlement Officer : on the contrary, it shows that high non-occupancy rents are less a matter of serious concern—because they are not paid by a body of tenants depending entirely on the non-occupancy land for their subsistence.

10. But the question of excessive rents has to be considered in the light of actual experience. It is interesting to observe how this question was raised at last settlement. Coming fresh from the settlement of Farrukhabad, Mr. (now Sir Edward) Buck was surprised to find the rents so much higher in Cawnpore, and he asked (letter printed at pages 115—117 of the final report), that in order to equalise rents he might be allowed to go below the rates prevalent in his new district. But the tract with which he was dealing was Bilhaur, and this with Sheorajpur is a tract not only of fine natural quality but cultivated largely by kurmis, and the rent-rates that kurmis will pay in these circumstances are always high. Further, it was admitted that both rents and revenue in Bilhaur were excessive, but this is not said of any other pargana, and it is a fair inference that the severity of rents was most marked in Bilhaur. As Mr. Wright says the comparison of Bilhaur and Farrukhabad influenced prospectively Sir Edward Buck's views of the whole district, but it is plain that the comparison was too partial to support any general conclusion.

The general level of rents.

11. For the history of rents since settlement, reference should be made to appendix IX which gives certain details of the analysed rent-roll. The primary

Course of rates since settlement.

object of this statement is to show precisely the basis of the circle rates, but it gives information at the same time about the development of rents. It will be seen that the occupancy rental is heterogeneous. Of a total of Rs. 14,38,845, Rs. 4,05,144 are paid by tenants whose rents have remained unchanged since settlement, Rs. 4,87,862 by tenants who had occupancy rights at settlement and whose rents have been enhanced, and the remainder 38 per cent. of the whole, by tenants who have acquired rights since settlement. By reference to the common standard of circle rates it will be found that the rent paid by various classes are related as follows:—

Occupancy tenants' holding at settlement whose rents have not been enhanced ...	100
Ditto ditto enhanced ...	102
Tenants who have held for 20 years or more ...	112
Ditto 12 years ...	120
Total occupancy tenants ...	106
Non-occupancy tenants ...	127

It appears, therefore, that the enhancement of old occupancy rents has been nominal: and the increase in the occupancy incidence, which, as stated in paragraph 32, has been 15 per cent., is due merely to the acquisition of new occupancy rights. On the other hand the third, fourth and fifth entries above show how steadily the rents have risen, till competition rents are 27 per cent. higher (allowing for difference of value in the land held by different classes of tenants) than the old settlement rents, and non-occupancy rents are 17 per cent. above occupancy rents as a whole. It is this rise in the more recent rents that has to be considered. If it could be shown that the rise was less than that justified by improvements in agricultural conditions, such as the extension of irrigation, or by increased return to the cultivator by reason of higher prices, it would be established that the pressure of rents had been lessened. This of course is impossible. But it may be observed that a rise in the percentage of irrigation from 40 to 60, would justify an increase of at least 5 per cent., that the rise in prices has been well marked—and that the enhancement of competition rates has not been nearly so high as in most of the districts in which settlements have recently been concluded. It appears most probable therefore that rents on the whole are easier than they were, and it is at any rate plain that the Settlement Officer makes an unjustifiable assumption when he suggests in paragraph 32 that because tenants are paying more than at settlement, therefore their condition has changed for the worse. The danger of making unqualified assertions regarding rack-renting is further shown if the results are examined in detail by parganas. In Bilhaur and Sheorajpur, with very little improvement in conditions, competition rents have again been enhanced 40 per cent., and are undoubtedly excessive. But in Narwal the enhancement has been only 10 per cent., in Cawnpore tahsil 14 per cent. Collections may also be referred to as affording some indication of the pressure of rents, though unfortunately, as Mr. Moreland pointed out in his forecast, the record of collections is the least trustworthy part of the Cawnpore papers. In Sheorajpur, the recorded arrears, which it was observed were probably exaggerated, were 15 per cent. of the demand. But in Cawnpore during the years 1306—1310, which were taken as representative, arrears were only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.: in Derapur they were 6 per cent.: in Bhognipur, where the record was said to be not seriously incorrect, they were 12 per cent.: but in good villages they were fairly full, in precarious villages they were very short, and the short collections in this tahsil are therefore an indication, not of rack-renting but of precariousness: in Ghatampur, where arrears of 10 per cent. were recorded, the same remarks apply. Finally the deductions from the cash rental that have been found necessary on the ground of excess have been considerable only in Bilhaur and Sheorajpur, and the conclusion of the whole matter, to bring together the opinions expressed by the Board on the assessment report of each tahsil, is that it is only in these two tahsils that the rental can now be described as oppressive. This conclusion may be supported by a comparison. Meerut is an example of a first class district, superior to Cawnpore not only in general richness of cultivation, but, as matters stood thirty years ago, in the percentage of irrigation: yet the incidence of the old

revenue was, in Meerut, Rs. 2.09, in Cawnpore Rs. 2.52; of the occupancy and non-occupancy rentals at last settlement in Meerut Rs. 3.47 and 4.03, in Cawnpore Rs. 4.34 and 4.27. But according to the last annual return, the incidence of occupancy rents in Meerut has risen to Rs. 5.5, of the non-occupancy to no less than Rs. 9: while in Cawnpore the incidences remain no higher than Rs. 4.99 and 5.38. In most districts it has been found that occupancy rents, moderate to begin with, have remained almost stationary and are therefore inadequate under modern conditions; while competition rents, starting from about the same point as the occupancy, have developed with great rapidity, and left the occupancy rental far behind. In Cawnpore the rents, following the revenue, rose at an early stage to a very high figure, and the old rents which have come down to the present day, still show the results; competition rents have expanded less rapidly, and the difference between occupancy and non-occupancy rents is much less than usual. The rents in fact starting at different levels, have moved at different rates, and the differentiation in their movements has tended to remove inequalities.

12. The effect of these different rental conditions on the methods of assessment is plain. In the ordinary case, the Settlement Officer seeking a stable and adequate basis for his rates, finds it in the rents of tenants who have acquired occupancy rights since settlement; and a general enhancement takes place of the older rents. In Cawnpore the basis of assessment is thrown further back, and the Settlement Officer has taken his rates from an earlier period than usual: the standard rates in fact are only 5 per cent. above the rates paid by tenants whose rents have been unchanged since settlement, and they are 5 per cent. below the rates paid even by tenants who have held for more than twenty years. It follows that the occupancy rental as a whole has been accepted as adequate. The practical question in fact has been whether it should not be treated as excessive. The abatements however of the occupancy rental which the Settlement Officer found to be necessary have been no more than Rs. 7,359 in 114 mahals: there were at the same time a few enhancements, and the net reduction of the amount the tenants will have to pay is only Rs. 4,435. So far as the interests of the tenants are concerned this is the only action taken by the Settlement Officer, but they will be relieved from the owners' rate which in practice they have always had to pay. If it had been proved that existing rents were oppressive the conclusion could not have been avoided that so far as occupancy tenants are concerned, the Settlement Officer's action had been undesirably restricted while in respect of non-occupancy rents regret could only have been expressed that under the law he has no power of interference: but as matters stand, the result may be accepted without demur. For the purposes of assessment, on the other hand, the Settlement Officer has reduced occupancy rents by Rs. 35,908 and non-occupancy rents by Rs. 70,935. This may seem inconsistent with what has been said in the preceding paragraph, but the fact is that assets in the year, the records of which were the basis of the assessment, were much above the average, and large reductions were necessary to bring them down to the normal which alone can form a safe basis of assessment. It appears from paragraph 47 of the Settlement Officer's report that Rs. 50,803 were deducted on account of fallow included in holdings, groves, &c., so that the deduction on the ground of excessive rents was only Rs. 56,040; this is a moderate figure for the whole district, and as Rs. 34,252 are accounted for in Bilhaur and Sheorajpur, it will be seen that in other tahsils the rentals treated as excessive were of very small amounts. In addition to the amounts deducted direct from the rentals, a sum of Rs. 40,324 was subtracted from the general assets on account of the instability of the present holdings area or the precariousness of general or special crops. These general deductions were made most freely in Bilhaur and Sheorajpur, the tahsils first assessed, where they amounted to Rs. 27,990. The Board thought them unnecessary in many cases, and raised the

Assessment.

NOTE.—Paragraph 47 of the report is wrong in saying that the total deduction from the "cash rental is Rs. 91,127, as this does not include deductions for high rents. The total is Rs. 1,06,843 (paragraph 44) plus Rs. 40,324 (paragraph 47) or Rs. 1,47,167.

revenues proposed by the Settlement Officer, and in other tahsils they amounted to Rs. 12,334 only. In the assumption area, fallow was generally left out of account, and only the cultivated area assessed. Thus while the total holdings area was 503,831 acres, the area assessed was 480,235 acres, compared with a cultivated area in the revision year of 479,592 acres and an average cultivation of 443,665 acres. The accepted assets of this area are Rs. 23,83,949, to which must be added Rs. 6,311 for *sayar* and land out of cultivation and deducted Rs. 10,906 for improvements. The strictly assessable assets were thus Rs. 23,79,354 on which the revenue at 50 per cent. would have been Rs. 11,89,677. The revenue actually assessed was Rs. 10,83,234 and the zamindars have therefore as a matter of grace been allowed the difference of Rs. 1,06,443, which is 9 per cent. of the maximum revenue possible. This difference is accounted for, partly by an allowance of Rs. 28,808 on proprietary cultivation but chiefly by an assessment at 46.89 per cent. A low percentage has not been taken unless where the enhancement was large, where the mahal belonged to a numerous body of small proprietors, or hereditary landowners crippled by severe revenues in the past, or where the estate was specially precarious, and the Board do not consider that the allowance made on these grounds is in any way excessive. The total revenue now sanctioned both for revised and unrevised estates, is Rs. 20,16,174, which, as Mr. Gracey remarks, is the lowest on record and 4½ lakhs below the revenue imposed a century ago. The amount of reduction varies greatly in different tahsils. In the Sengur-Jumna tract it amounts to Rs. 94,787, in Narwal to Rs. 18,912, while in other tahsils, it varies from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 12,000. These results prove the correctness of the grounds on which a revision was undertaken, that the old revenue was not only on the whole too high, but that it was unequal. It can be shown further that within each tahsil the results have been to reduce inequalities in demand.

The Board have tabulated the results stated in the tahsil reports, distinguishing superior and inferior circles, and they find that in the superior circles the revenue at last settlement was Rs. 10,10,000, the revenue now fixed is Rs. 10,00,000, and the reduction is only 1 per cent. : in the inferior circles on the other hand the revenue of last settlement has been reduced from Rs. 11,45,000 to Rs. 9,93,000 or by 13 per cent. The incidence of the new assessment is Rs. 2.26 per acre of cultivation. This is a good deal higher than the incidence of the adjoining district of Farrukhabad, which is Rs. 2.12, but Farrukhabad has a large area of uncertain *khadir* land across the Ganges, and is no doubt on the whole inferior. The revenue incidence of the settlement recently concluded in Mainpuri is Rs. 2.30. And to go back to the district which was chosen to illustrate the severity of the old rents and revenues in Cawnpore, the incidence of the revenue in Meerut is now Rs. 2.85. I am to recommend that the settlement, which the Board have no hesitation in saying will be of material benefit to the district, may be confirmed for thirty years.

13. The task of criticising the assessment of each individual mahal was carried out by the late Mr. Hooper with his accustomed thoroughness, and his ripe experience detected the weak points in cases where mahals had been assessed with undue leniency.

The delay in the submission of the report has been due to the difficulty experienced in many cases of reconciling apparently conflicting figures. Mr. Gracey's report, as it stands, is hardly a fully complete exposition of the facts and figures in the ascertainment and compilation of which his industry was praiseworthy.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

P. HARRISON,

Secretary.

Statement of prices.

	1862-63.	1864-70.	1871.	1872-75.	1876.	1880-86.	1887-95.	1898-1904.
Wheat...	33.06	23.18	28.72	20.37	24.0	20.05	15.93	15.25
Barley ...	39.77	26.89	31.20	24.83	...	29.16	21.35	22.01
Gram ...	31.87	24.77	...	23.82	34.81	28.02	21.61	19.96
Bejhra...	43.81	29.88	40.87	30.16	39.0	27.0	21.43	21.86
Juar.....	1863 { 50.0	1868-70 { 31.38	37.0	1872-74 { 27.82	1875 { ...	29.06	21.07	23.94
Bajra ...	{ 62.5	{ 30.34	35.0	{ 23.48	{ 39.0	27.25	20.67	22.22

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FINAL SETTLEMENT REPORT OF THE CAWNPORE DISTRICT.

CHAPTER I.—DESCRIPTIVE.

1. The district of Cawnpore, an irregular quadrilateral with three sides between fifty and sixty, and the fourth about thirty, miles long, is situated in the lower section of the Ganges-Jumna *doab* between 25°56' and 26°57' north latitude and 79°34' and 80°38' east longitude. Its short side, the south-eastern, is formed by the Fatehpur district, and its three long sides, the north-eastern by the Ganges, beyond which lie the Hardoi and Unao districts of Oudh, the north-western by the Fatehgarh and Etawah districts of Agra, and the south-western by the Jumna which separates it from the Jalaun and Hamirpur districts and Baoni State of Bundelkhand. The total area of the district is 1,494,027 acres or 2,335 square miles.

General description.

2. Four rivers enter the district across its north-western border—the Esan, the Pandu, the Rind or Arind and the Sengur. The most northerly of them, the Esan, has a short zig-zag course of 12 to 13 miles in length before falling into the Ganges, the wedge-shaped *doab* it cuts off being barely four miles wide at its point of greatest breadth. The most southerly, the Sengur, joins the Jumna near the middle of the district's south-western side, thus enclosing between itself and that river a very extensive tract covering 412 square miles and comprising the bulk of Bhognipur and 99 estates of the Derapur tahsils. The balance of the district, more or less a narrow parallelogram in shape, is divided into three long strips by the other two rivers, which traverse its entire length, the Rind taking a very meandering course approximately down the centre, and the Pandu entering the district some 14 miles and leaving it some 5½ miles from the Ganges, towards which after a short excursion into Fatehpur territory it immediately doubles back, forming the inter-district boundary for the last three miles of its course. A minor stream, entitled the Non, rises in the Harnu swamps near Bilhaur's eastern border and draining the northern section of Sheorajpur tahsil discharges into the Ganges below Bithur; and in the south of the district another minor stream bearing the same name rises in Akbarpur tahsil and passes through Ghatampur tahsil into the Fatehpur district. Still smaller water-courses, mere brooks that dry up early in the cold weather but have been thought of sufficient importance to be given names, are the Chhoiya, Chhaariya and Sujari in south Bilhaur, the Laukhia in Sheorajpur, the Paghaiya in Narwal, and the Dharia, Ratwaha and Liljhi in Derapur.

Rivers

3. Along the district's south-western edge are to be found some of the peculiar Bundelkhand soils, *parwa*, *ránkar*, *bhurwa*, and *kábar*, no doubt created by the detritus of the Vindhyan hills and their igneous rocks before the Jumna had worn itself its present channel; but elsewhere the soil lies within the Himalayan sphere of influence and is that of the average *doab* district, that is to say, an ordinary grey, pinky, or yellow loam in which the proportions of clay and sand vary according to the drainage influences to which it is subjected; in the neighbourhood of rivers sand predominates, whereas in depressions or tracts liable to waterlogging clay gains the upper hand, the diminution of sand being recognizable even from a distance by the bushes of coarse grass that immediately take possession of the field boundaries. The grey loam is mostly chequered by *usar* that, particularly between the Pandu and the Rind in the Bilhaur and Cawnpore tahsils, expands in places into broad plains, though in sandy estates it is rare and in the Sengur-Jumna *doab* practically unknown. Swamps, if not quite so common as *usar*, are frequent adjuncts of grey loam; they are usually scattered and disconnected, but just above the Pandu in Bilhaur and in the west section of Sheorajpur are sufficiently connected

Soils.

to constitute a separate fen tract with a very clayey soil. The chief lakes of the district, none very extensive, lie at Jahangirabad (tahsil Ghatampur), Itāīī (Bilhaur), Macharia (Cawnpore), Rahnas (Narwal) and Paman (Akbarpur). Between the high bank and the present channel of the Ganges there stretches in the north of the Cawnpore tahsil what is evidently the old river bed now silted up, a large tract of stable alluvial soil known as kachhar, still considerably lower than the uplands yet high enough in places to possess groves and permanent sites and throughout to escape inundation except in unusually severe floods. Elsewhere the river either flows directly under the cliff or is fringed by ordinary *katri* liable to yearly alluvion or diluvion. Minor tracts of similar kachhar land are found along the Jumna and the last few miles of the Sengur. All the rivers, except the Pandu in its earlier reaches, and towards the end of their courses even minor streams like the Ratwaha and Liljhi cut up the country in their neighbourhoods into undulations or the network of steep, partly jungle-covered, ravines known locally as *behar*, the Jumna's fringe attaining sometimes to a width of four miles.

Speaking generally it may be said that, omitting undulating or raviny tracts, fertility varies directly with the distance from the Jumna and inversely with the distance from the Ganges.

Climate and rainfall.

4. The various seasons are clearly marked. In the cold weather which lasts from November to February frosts are common, particularly along the riverain tracts; in the summer the heat is intense, but on the whole of a dry nature; the rainfall is ordinarily a moderate one, the average for the last 30 years being 32·51 inches with a maximum of 59·2 in 1894-95 and a minimum of 12·0 in 1880-81.

Towns and important villages.

5. Apart from Cawnpore itself, the district is essentially of a rural character. Numerous large villages with weekly or bi-weekly *bazars* attached exist, but in the bulk of them the commercial is entirely subordinate to the agricultural element. Only four boast populations of over 4,000 souls, and of these Kashipur, 4,426, is purely agricultural, while Bilhaur, 5,143, and Akbarpur, 4,734, though headquarters of tahsils and the latter of a munsifi also, hardly deserve to be called towns, a designation, however, that might be bestowed on Bithur (7,168), a favourite seat before cession of Ilmas Ali Khan, and after cession the home of the deported Mahratta Peshwas; though its erstwhile glories are now sadly dimmed, it is still of some importance as a sacred bathing place and, despite its principal buildings having been destroyed in the mutiny, has enough left—some in moderate preservation, some in ruins—to give an impression of decayed grandeur. Makanpur, a medium-sized village on the Esan, is for a few weeks towards the end of the cold weather galvanised into a scene of great activity by the annual fair which, though it has its religious side—pilgrimage to the shrine of the saint Syed Badruddin Shah Madar—is mainly attended for the more secular object of buying or selling horses, buffaloes, bullocks, kine, or camels which are brought there literally in thousands. Other mofussil markets of importance are Musanagar-cum-Ghausganj, Pokhrayan and Baraegarhu, the latter a *pān* mart of more than local reputation. Undoubtedly, however, the tendency is for all buying and selling in bulk to gravitate towards Cawnpore, leaving to local *bazars* merely retail trade in the necessities and luxuries of the peasantry.

Communications.
(a) Metalled roads.

6. The district is particularly well off in the matter of communications. The grand trunk road traverses its entire length running parallel to the Ganges at a few miles distance; two other semi-trunk roads, metalled throughout and bridged across all rivers, connect Cawnpore with Kalpi and Hamirpur respectively, the former having a pontoon and the latter a boat bridge over the Jumna; other minor metalled roads branch from the grand trunk to Bithur, Makanpur, Narwal and Najafgarh (no longer kept in repair); the Kalpi road sends off feeders to Akbarpur from Bara and Matin near the Lalpur railway station. From Akbarpur eight miles of metalled road run to Rura on the East Indian Railway whence a further 9½ miles carry on to Derapur. The three trunk roads and the Najafgarh

branch were metalled at last settlement, the rest have been metalled since. The total length of metalled roads under Provincial or District Board control is 205 miles.

A full network of unmetalled roads links up all the more important villages; most are little better than village tracks, but the Maharajpur-Sarh road in Narwal tahsil is an honourable exception. In the south-west of the district there still exists the old imperial road driven in a fairly straight line by Akbar's lieutenants from border to border at much the same distance from the Jumna that the grand trunk now runs from the Ganges. Unfortunately it traverses soils that either deteriorate into deep ruts or pulverize into fine dust under the pressure of heavy traffic; and, though it may be a useful, it can never be a comfortable highway until metalled. Several *kos minars* are to be found along it, but the chief monuments the Mogul engineers have left are the bridge of five pointed arches by which the road is carried across the Sengur near Musanagar and the brick fort commanding it, that despite being partly in ruins still stands forth as a massive and imposing structure. The walls of another large fort, built mostly of stone slabs, encircle the village of Khwajaphul near the Etawah border, and the outlines of fortified *serais* are traceable at Zainpur in Bhognipur tahsil and at Benda, Ghatampur, Paras and Nauranga in Ghatampur. Altogether there are about 800 miles of unmetalled roads of which only 35 miles are fully and 162 miles partly bridged and drained. Nominally 250 miles are claimed as new roads since last settlement, but the bulk of such new roads are merely old country lanes brought on the District Board's list for the first time.

(b) Unmetalled roads.

At last settlement the only railways in the district were the East Indian which traverses the Narwal, Cawnpore, Akbarpur and Derapur, besides cutting a corner of the Sheorajpur, tahsils, and the Oudh and Rohilkhand which, after crossing the Ganges by a bridge that had then only recently been opened, arrives at its terminus a few furlongs off within the limits of Cawnpore cantonment. Three more railways have since been added, (i) the Great Indian Peninsula (formerly Indian Midland) which starts from Cawnpore and runs south-west to Jhansi more or less in the neighbourhood of the Kalpi road, (ii) the Bombay-Baroda and Central India (Cawnpore and Achnera branch) which has its terminus on the outskirts of the city and runs north-west to Fatehgarh following the line of the grand trunk road in close contiguity, being in most places merely separated from it by a wire fence, and (iii) the Bengal and North-Western, which like the Oudh and Rohilkhand crosses from Oudh by the bridge over the Ganges and terminates in Cawnpore itself, not penetrating further into the district.

(c) Railways.

Roads and railways are to a certain extent supplemented by boat traffic on the Lower Ganges Canal, which, linked as it is with the systems of the upper *doab*, forms a through waterway from Roorkee to Cawnpore. An elaborate series of locks at one time rendered it possible to take a boat from the canal to the Ganges and *vice versa*; but they fell into disuse and are now closed, the reason probably being that the tow-barges in vogue on the canal are not suitable craft for river voyaging. The terminus is now in the neighbourhood of the Hamirpur road where a small lagoon serves as a harbour.

(d) Canals.

One section of communications, the cart lanes connecting villages or parts of large estates with each other, calls for a brief notice. There is a tendency in the more closely cultivated tracts to gradually encroach upon such lanes and finally obliterate them altogether, particularly in estates owned by absentee landlords or split into numerous mahals. In the latter it is customary at the time of partition for the lanes to be nominally divided into sections which are allotted to the various mahals. Some one of the more enterprising of the co-sharers ploughs up his section and the whole lane is stopped. I have several times come across relics of lanes that have been treated in this way, short lengths leading from nowhere to nowhere, both beginning and end having been absorbed into fields. Such an encroachment, despite the fact that the lane occupies what is recorded in the papers as private property, clearly infringes a right of way the maintenance of which is necessary

(e) Village lanes.

in the interests of the neighbourhood. If a clause were entered in the settlement agreement requiring zamindars to keep open all lanes noted in the settlement map or other records, it would remind them of their duties and probably accomplish what is required without necessitating any inquisitorial official investigations, though it should be incumbent on the kanungos to see that any infringement of the condition is promptly brought to notice. A question akin to the above is the need for numerous bridges over all canal distributaries. When a new distributary is built it should be remembered that it forms an obstacle to communication not merely between different villages, but between different fields of the same holding that were formerly easily accessible to each other. The custom appears to be to build cart bridges only where the rajbaha crosses recognized lanes; and notice is not taken of the fact that cultivators, when preparing their fields or at harvest time, have been accustomed to drive their carts laden with manure or produce across bits of waste, fallow fields, or other open ground and not necessarily to follow any beaten track. If in order to get to any field by cart the tenant has to take a wide detour *via* some distant bridge, the probability is that he will cease to manure that field altogether and the standard of cultivation deteriorates. It may not be possible on large works to have bridges very close together because of the expense, but on the smaller distributaries and minors, which are just as effective in stopping the passage of wheeled traffic as the main Ganges Canal itself, the cost of bridges is small and the maximum distance between them ought not to exceed a couple of furlongs in continuously cultivated tracts or half a mile where cultivation is broken by usar or waste. How far the actual facts fall short of such a standard is well illustrated by the figures of the Cawnpore division of the Lower Ganges Canal—that is to say, so much of it as lies within this district, which, although the oldest of the canal systems, has only 248 cart bridges on 311 miles of distributaries and minors (excluding the main canal), giving an average interval between each of approximately a mile and a quarter.

Irrigation.
(a) Canal.

7. At last settlement the Pandu-Ganges *doab* (omitting the corner cut off by the river Esan) received as far as Cawnpore a full supply of water from the main branch of the Lower Ganges Canal; beyond Cawnpore a large distributary, the Halua-Kanda, gave a moderate supply mostly to the tract below the East Indian Railway. Considerable re-alignments of the old rajbahas have since been effected, resulting in improved distribution particularly in the area commanded by the main canal; but on the whole no radical change has taken place in the scheme of irrigation in this *doab*. Between the Pandu and the Rind the Kansua rajbaha, which crosses the Pandu by an aqueduct before entering the district gave, with the assistance of three branches, fair irrigation in the Bilhaur, Sheorajpur and the western section of the Cawnpore tahsils; the supply was improved by remodelling in 1890, but again no radical change has been made. The sections of the Pandu-Rind *doab* in the Narwal and the middle and east of the Cawnpore tahsils were dependent on wells, but have in recent years had canal water given them from the new Fatehpur Branch which, like the Kansua rajbaha, crosses the Pandu by an aqueduct. Below the Rind the portion of the Derapur tahsil north of the Sengur, and the Akbarpur, and the Ghatampur tahsils, are fed by the Etawah Branch which existed at last settlement, but has had its system of supply entirely remodelled and numerous fresh distributaries built, the chief and most efficient of which is that known as the Ghatampur. In the Sengur-Jumna *doab* there was practically no irrigation at last settlement except from precarious tanks and a few wells in favoured spots; the Bhognipur Branch and its distributaries have now carried water into all its best sections, entirely transforming the face of the country.

The district still calls for canal irrigation in the portions of the Ganges-Pandn *doab* south of Cawnpore not yet reached by the Halua-Kanda rajbaha, and in considerable blocks in Bhognipur and Ghatampur. The first of these sections, the Ganges-Pandn *doab*, has room for a rajbaha of the size of the Halua-Kanda running more or less along the line of the grand trunk road between Ganges and

the East Indian Railway. Much of the water that now runs to waste at Cawnpore could thus be utilized to the advantage of a long line of estates that are dependent on scant and precarious irrigation from a few wells.

If the British Government had felt inclined to defend either its policy in digging canals or its reputation against those who charge it with being the author of famines, it could not have accomplished both these objects more easily or more emphatically than by sending its critics on a short tour through the Sengur-Jumna doab during last cold weather. This tract of country was more or less divided up into strips, one set consisting of dry estates unchanged from time immemorial and the other of estates provided with canal irrigation for the first time within the last two decades. In both classes the rainfall had failed utterly, with the result that, in the former, mile after mile of good arable land lay bare of any vestige of a crop, even the trees having been stripped of their leaves to furnish fodder for the starving cattle, whereas in the latter an exuberant harvest met the eye in every direction; yet twenty years ago under such a failure of the monsoon it too would have remained a desert. The two pictures were so different—so close, often only a few minutes ride apart, and yet in such striking contrast—that the sudden changes from famine to abundance, and again from abundance to famine, afforded an object-lesson not easily forgotten.

The water-level of the district varies through a wide range. Towards the Jumna the depth is 60 to 80 feet or even more, rendering irrigation from wells practically impossible and the drawing of water even for domestic services a matter of considerable labour. In Amrodha for example the residents subscribe to maintain small pairs of bullocks or buffaloes at some of the chief wells merely to supply water for household use. Away from the Jumna the depth is generally from 40 to 20 feet. Earthen wells, though still common either with or without a twig lining, are less so than formerly owing to the effect of canal percolation on their stability. The favourite well of the district is now one of narrow calibre lined with a facing of bricks, sometimes set in mortar sometimes merely fitted together. Occasionally such wells are regularly sunk, but usually a hole is dug and lined as it deepens. They are comparatively cheap, costing from one to four hundred rupees, and are on the whole practically as efficient as an expensive masonry well costing three or four times as much would be. Indeed masonry wells may be looked upon as something in the nature of an unnecessary extravagance. The total number of wells masonry or brick, now at work in the district is 10,433, of which 6,042 have been constructed during the expiring settlement. The cost of the new wells may be put at between 12 and 15 lakhs of rupees, all of them, with the exception of a few constructed by the late Rai Indar Narain, Subordinate Judge, and by the Court of Wards when managing various properties—about a score in all—being the work of either tenants, or peasant proprietors cultivating their own lands. *To the great body of middlemen-zamindars cultivation owes nothing.* The figures for new brick or masonry wells must be accepted with some reservation as not necessarily indicating entirely fresh sources of irrigation. Many of the so-called new wells are really pre-existent earthen wells the stability of which has been affected by the influence of canal percolation on the sub-soil. It has been a case of either preserving the well by a brick lining or losing it altogether. Probably in its renovated form the well is more efficient and commands a larger area than before, but it is not entirely new. Apart from wells, one or two small dams and drains and some levelling operations undertaken by a lessee near Cawnpore are the only "improvements" the district can point to.

8. The population of the district shows a gradual rise from 11,30,316 at last settlement to 12,58,868 at the census of 1901. Cawnpore city began with a population of 1,23,386 and advanced to 1,51,444 in 1881, 1,88,712 in 1891, and then comparatively slowly to 1,97,170 in 1901. The rural population though it rose from 10,06,930 to 10,29,952 in 1881 dropped by 9,000 to 10,20,983 in 1891, but rose again to 10,55,664 during the next decade. Excluding Cawnpore city, the

(6) Wells.

Population.

density per square mile is greatest in Cawnpore and Sheorajpur tahsile, the figures being 581 and 560 respectively. The density of rural population per square mile for the whole district is 459, a rise of 12 since last settlement. The true density of population is, however, better tested by a reference to cultivated area. Taking the statistics given in the Provincial census report, Cawnpore supports 131 mouths per 100 acres of cultivation, a figure exceeded by four out of the five districts of the Benares division, by the whole Gorakhpur division, by three districts of the Agra division, and by seven districts of Oudh, 17 districts in all, and exceeding that of the remaining 26 plains districts, including the whole of the Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions. The Musalman element is comparatively small, amounting to 1,12,139 souls. Hindus number 11,40,628, the chief castes being brahmans 1,71,000; chamars 1,53,000; ahirs 1,20,000; thakurs 94,000; kurmis 54,000; koris 51,000; gadarias 47,000; lodhs 45,000 and banias 38,000. Turning to occupations, 7,80,000 are directly dependent on agriculture, 38,000 as zamindars, 6,10,000 as tenants, 7,400 in connection with cattle, and the rest as labourers. Personal services support 98,000 mouths, the supply of food and drink 66,000, the supply of material substances 1,88,000, the chief items being textile fabrics 51,000, metals 21,000, and leather 13,000. Commerce, transport and storage take up 24,000, Government 18,000, professions 17,000, and unskilled labour, not connected with agriculture, 1,07,000.

Cawnpore city.

9. The growth of Cawnpore city as a manufacturing centre during the last generation is, from an industrial point of view, the great feature not merely of local, but of provincial, history. Its hereditary occupation, if a city of such recent growth, can be said to have one, was leather, but early in the last century cotton factories were opened by the East India Company. These, coupled with the indigo industry, the presence of a large garrison, facilities for river transport, extensive road communication with surrounding districts, and lastly its position in relation to Lucknow, thus early raised it to commercial importance. The failure of the indigo firms and the closing of the company's cotton factories in the thirties gave a temporary set back. But after the mutiny, when roads were metalled and improved and railways began to be added, Cawnpore's focal position became assured. Government made the first big industrial step in 1863 by starting the State Harness and Saddlery Factory which at present furnishes employment to some 2,000 hands. The Elgin Mills followed a year later as a pioneer in re-opening the cotton industry. During last settlement the Muir Mills were just being founded, and since then no less than 25 factories and mills of sorts, some large, some small, have been started. Eleven of the factories are owned by limited liability companies, with a registered capital of 127½ lakhs of rupees. The total average of hands employed daily is about 17,000. Cotton (chiefly the manufacture of yarns) and leather are still the premier industries, but the Cawnpore Woollen Mills Company runs them a good third. Sugar, flour, engineering, oil and brushes have each one or more factories devoted to them.

Need for new building sites.

10. The density of the city per square mile had reached in 1901 no less than 37,538, which, although the highest by *over ten thousand* of any city in these provinces, by no means clearly indicates the terrible over-crowding that really occurs, as a very large section of the area on which the density has been calculated is taken up by bungalows and their surrounding gardens, factories, brick-kilns, railways and a very considerable stretch of cultivated land. It is not hard to see why Cawnpore, instead of expanding as she should, has to content herself with packing her increments of population tighter and tighter into the same space. To the east she is blocked by the civil station, to the south by Cantonments, to the west to some extent by the various railway systems; her legitimate line of expansion lies to the north in the intra-municipal lands of Gusremao, Sisamao, Juhi khurd, Gotaiha and Cawnpore Kohna. Unfortunately, instead of being reserved for building purposes, the bulk of the land towards the city side has been let for brick-kilns and converted into unsightly excavations and pits that it would take a capitalist to re-level. In addition

the ownership of most of the land is vested in so many different proprietors (mauzas being split into mahals, mahals into pattis, and pattis again into individual shares) that to acquire the proprietary rights in even a small plot entails an amount of enquiry and negotiation that must discourage any but the most pertinacious purchaser. Mills that have required large areas have had to gain them through the municipality under cover of the Land Acquisition Act, but such a method is not open to the private individual. Despite the excellent examples set by the Woollen Mills and Messrs. Cooper Allen in erecting model quarters for their hands, a city handicapped as Cawnpore is at present cannot be expected to grow satisfactorily either from the point of view of sanitation or symmetry. I remember in England watching the cutting up of several estates under the pressure of an expanding city. The process was always the same. The owner first drew up a regular plan—sites were set apart and roads and drains constructed; and when these were finished, last of all came the builder and his houses. If Cawnpore is to grow healthily, it must be on similar lines; what the private owner does in England, either the State or the municipality must step in to do in Cawnpore, that is to say, acquire the lands along which the city is to expand, mark them off into sites, construct roads, in fact, prepare beforehand the whole outline, leaving private enterprise to fill in the shading. The architect and surveyor must precede the builder, not follow him at an interval of a decade or so trying at enormous expense to correct his mistakes.

11. No statistics exist to shew exactly how many of the residents of the city are town-born, but it was ascertained at last census that the birth places of at least 66,000 lay outside the limits of the Cawnpore district. I endeavoured to obtain a return of villagers that had immigrated during the last generation to Cawnpore, but it shows only about 6,000 souls and is undoubtedly unreliable. On the whole, however, the district presents no marked signs of any strong drain on it to recruit or plenish the city population; agriculture has, indeed, not been directly affected by Cawnpore's commerce and industries, except where villages are near enough to the city for their inhabitants to walk to and fro during the same day. From these a stream of peasants issues every morning carrying milk, straw, sticks, basket-loads of cowdung and similar minor products that ordinarily find no special market. This unusual income from bye-products considerably supplements the rent-paying capacity of such villages; on the other hand, their landlords are to some extent restrained from pushing up rents by the knowledge that the tenants can at any time desert agriculture for some more lucrative employment in the city without putting themselves out of easy reach of their home and friends.

Influence of the city
on the agricul-
tural classes.

It is, I think, a matter for congratulation to find that agriculture can still hold its own. In spite of the benefits that the establishment of factories may confer on the country at large, not the least of which is the fostering influence of a plentiful supply of cheap yarn on the hand-loom industry, it is impossible to watch the factory hand and the peasant side by side, without feeling that the townsman, though his wits may in a superficial way be the sharper, is both morally and physically a less valuable economic asset than the villager.

CHAPTER II—HISTORICAL ; WITH COMPARISON OF PRESENT AND PAST CONDITIONS OF THE DISTRICT.

12. Cawnpore formed part of the territory ceded by Saadat Ali Khan, Nawab Vazir of Oudh, to the British in 1802. During the previous half century it had fallen under several masters, from 1145 to 1160 *fasli* it belonged to the jagir of the Afghan Governors of Farrukhabad, who were then ousted for seven years by the Mahrattas but regained the district in 1169 and held it till 1178 when once more ejected by the Mahrattas. Three years later Shuja-ud-daula finally expelled the Peshwa's lieutenants and thence onward till cession the district remained incorporated in Oudh.

Fiscal history prior
to cession.

Mr. Welland, the first British revenue officer appointed to the district, described it as "a desolate waste in which tyranny and oppression had hitherto prevailed." It was hardly to be expected that after the vicissitudes through which it had passed the country would be particularly prosperous; but for many years before it was ceded Cawnpore had been under the management of the well-known eunuch Nazim Ilmas Ali Khan, who was probably the ablest officer that ever served the Oudh Government. In General Sleeman's time tradition still dwelt on the prosperity of the tracts the Nazim had administered; indeed, that he did not belong to the class of despoilers that later harried the remainder of Oudh, is shown by the fact that when he died, beyond money out on loan the bonds for which he destroyed when he felt his end approaching, he left no property worth mentioning, despite having enjoyed all his possessions, as well as his monarch's confidence, up to the hour of his death; half a century later possibly, in view of subsequent spoliation, tradition may have looked at the past through rose-tinted glasses; but, even allowing some discount on this account, it is probable that Mr. Welland's picture was overdrawn and that, as the times went, the district was in fair condition.

The four earlier settlements.

13. The two first settlements were made for three years each, the next for four years, and the fourth lasted from 1812 to 1842. The nominal principle underlying the first settlement was that the gross assets should be taken as revenue, less 10 per cent. for the profits of the engaging zamindar and 5 per cent. for village expense including the patwari cess. But it appears that for some reason or other the deductions for profits and expenses were not made, or only in part, while in many estates the revenue actually exceeded the gross assets recorded in the village papers; on the district as a whole, for all that he considered it a desolate waste, Mr. Welland imposed a revenue of Rs. 24,69,046 or two lakhs of rupees more than the Oudh Government had exacted, even on paper. The next settlement reduced the revenue to Rs. 23,86,090, and the third to Rs. 23,16,301; the pargana of Sikandra had, however, in the meantime been granted as a jagir to Raja Narendragir and he had raised his demand by some sixteen thousand rupees, so that there had in the remainder of the district been a reduction of some Rs. 86,000; at the fourth settlement the revenue for the district shows a rise to Rs. 23,20,548, but again the Raja is responsible, having pushed up his demand by some six thousand rupees; when the transfer of certain villages to other districts and the resumption of the Najafgarh muafi are taken into account there was a real reduction in revenue of nearly nine thousand rupees.

None of these settlements, except perhaps the fourth, can be said to have worked otherwise than disastrously. There was no correct record of rights, estates were often called by names that their cultivators did not recognize, the wrong malguzars were engaged with, the status of the real zamindar was in places concealed under the title of mukaddum and proprietary rights conferred on a farmer or mere over-lord; finally the demand was not only excessive, but, worse still, wrongly adjusted to a hopeless extent. The exorbitant revenue of the first year was, thanks to an exceptionally good season, paid somehow or other; but in 1211 *fasli*, the following year, both autumn and spring crops failed almost totally; remissions and suspensions amounting to about five lakhs of rupees were recommended, but the relief afforded, besides being inadequate, failed to reach the zamindars for whom it was intended; the Collector, who appears to have been entirely in the hands of certain native subordinates, recommended extensive sales, a measure the Board at first opposed and then agreed to. This was what the subordinates had been scheming for, and within a year 238 estates paying Rs. 3,64,386 as revenue were sold, mostly to officials or their relations, often for the most petty sums, and at times, as it was afterwards proved, without the former proprietor being even aware that his estate was to be sold or that he was in arrears. Seventy more estates were sold during the second settlement, and by the time the third settlement came to be made the zamindari body as a whole had grown so disheartened and disorganized that the

proprietors of estates paying two and a half lakhs refused to engage and were replaced by farmers, again mostly the tools of native officials. During the four years that this settlement lasted 49 more estates were brought to sale.

The fourth settlement, conducted by Mr. Newnham, whose first step was to clear out the gang of corrupt subordinates, showed in every respect a marked improvement on its predecessors, Mr. Newnham, supplementing by careful local investigation the information furnished by the records of the other settlements. The net reduction in revenue was small, but the distribution was more justly made, and the settlement having been found at first to work well, was extended from five to thirty years. Unfortunately later the finances of the district were disorganized by the simultaneous failure of the indigo industry and the closure of the company's cotton factories, two events that seriously crippled the agricultural community's resources; and during the remainder of the currency of the settlement the revenue was collected with difficulty and often with large arrears. In the meantime, however, mainly owing to the exertions of Mr. Robertson, the Judge, the irregular and corrupt nature of the numerous sales during the first ten years of our rule had been brought to light, and in 1821 a special commission appointed to investigate and, where necessary, over-ride them. Eventually 185 out of 405 sales by auction were set aside, in addition to 9 private sales and two mortgages; though it must be noted that in several cases the costs of proceedings were so heavy that the chief gainer was not the old zamindar but the money-lender that had financed him. The bad odour into which sales for arrears of revenue had fallen owing to the revelations made before the commission was so great that this process sank into disuse for many years, but eventually, because of the contumacy of certain zamindars, had to be revived towards the end of the thirties. The closing years of the settlement were darkened by an appalling calamity, the famine of 1837 and 1838 which necessitated the remission of over 17 lakhs of rupees and was still largely influencing the district when in the following year regular survey proceedings were started as preliminaries to the next revision of settlement.

14. The fifth settlement was entrusted to Mr. Rose, one of the most experienced officers of his time. He still further readjusted inequalities and, being convinced that the district bore a relatively heavier burden than others of the same capacity, made a gross reduction of Rs. 1,57,859 in the old demand, or, allowing for Rs. 49,467 assessed on resumed mufis, a net deduction of Rs. 1,08,392. None the less two years' further experience showed that he had overestimated the recuperative power of the district after the late famine, and that additional leniency was called for. Mr. Allen, who was placed in charge of the duty of revision, made permanent reductions amounting to Rs. 32,326 besides temporary relief of Rs. 57,437. At this settlement, after lengthy enquiry and correspondence, the position of the mukaddums of Sheorajpur in relation to that Raja of that place was finally determined, they, in all except his personal estate of nine villages, being confirmed as proprietors and the Raja receiving a malikana allowance. Even this vague over-lordship disappeared after the Raja's rebellion in the mutiny. At the other end of the district somewhat similar action was taken in regard to the Sikandra jagir, Raja Narendragir having died in 1840 so heavily involved and having at the same time so harassed his tenantry, that it was decided to resume the jagir, substituting a pecuniary payment to the Raja's heirs after providing for the liquidation of his debts. A zamindari settlement was accordingly made, the Settlement Officer being Sir William Muir.

The fifth settlement.

During the thirty years that Mr. Rose's settlement was in force 19 estates were sold for arrears of revenue and 23 temporarily transferred in farm. But Mr. Rose himself noted that often what are genuine sales for arrears of revenue are disguised as ordinary private or civil court sales owing to zamindars having taken loans from the local banker in order to meet the Government demand. Altogether approximately 540,000 cultivated acres paying a revenue of over

13 lakhs of rupees were permanently transferred during the 30 years that his settlement lasted. Even granting that the same property changed hands more than once, at least half the landholders of the district lost their rights within a single generation. At the beginning of the settlement hereditary proprietors still held 60 per cent. of the cultivated area; at the end of the settlement they retained only 37½ per cent.

The sixth settlement.

15. Last settlement, which was initiated by Sir Edward Buck and completed by Messrs. Evans and F.N. Wright, enjoyed the advantage of an up-to-date system of records and new and excellent maps prepared at a fresh survey. Soil classification was carried out with very minute detail by the Settlement Officers personally on the spot, its chief feature being the extraordinary number of classes adopted. Equally elaborate were the circle rates based thereon which the Board, although it finally sanctioned them, was by no means inclined to accept without hesitation. They were indeed unwarrantably severe and gave a valuation of Rs. 42,69,450 against a corrected rental (including assumption area) of only Rs. 37,77,986. Such severity, under a system where the Settlement Officer was inclined to regard actual rents as less reliable guides than his own appraisal or estimate of what they should be, re-acted very strongly on the assessments themselves—assets were estimated at Rs. 42,91,148 on which the revenue imposed, Rs. 21,59,365 worked out at 50·3 per cent. giving an increase of about Rs. 30,000 on the expiring demand. The percentage on the corrected rental was 57·2. It is singularly unfortunate that, where circle rates were accorded so much weight, the classification of soils given in the settlement khasras should differ considerably from the classification shown on the map; the latter was the correct classification as I have verified in numerous instances on the spot, whereas the former, the incorrectness of which was due either to carelessness or something worse on the part of the clerical staff, became the basis of the valuation and therefore of the final assessment.

Subsequent revisions.

16. Estates along the Eian, Ganges, Jumna, in fact the riverain tracts generally, were markedly over-valued. Happily, however, omitting 1288 *fusli*, the settlement was followed by a decade of good seasons, but eventually in 1892-93 and 1893-94 Mr. Bird drew attention to its breakdown in various localities, and obtained reductions for six years of revenues totalling some Rs. 8,000 spread over 14 villages in Ghatampur, 2 in Narwal, 4 in Derapur and 1 in Akbarpur. The most liberal abatement was in the estate of Nagapur, tahsil Narwal, the revenue of which was first reduced from Rs. 1,300 to Rs. 500 and then again to Rs. 300. Mr. Bird was followed in the charge of the district by Mr. Macpherson in whose time no proposals actually matured. To the efforts from 1895 to 1898 of his successor, Mr. Trethewy, are due reductions, mostly for five years, exceeding Rs. 38,000 and spread over no less than 113 estates*. On the expiry of the 5-yearly settlements Mr. L. C. Porter's revisions resulted in an increase of Rs. 1,930. The net decrease finally due to revision amounted to Rs. 44,975. During the 30 years that the settlement was current land paying Rs. 12,050 revenue was acquired by Government, land-paying Rs. 878 restored to zamindars, and muafis valued at Rs. 5,240 resumed or assessed to revenue.

Coercive processes.

17. I find considerable discrepancies between the figures supplied by the tahsildars and those abstracted from the annual reports; but accepting the latter, the numbers of severer processes resorted to are, attachment of immoveable property 280, farms 6, annulment of settlement 7, transfers 10, sales of mahals 9. The first three heads have been somewhat mixed up, but mostly represent some form of direct management, generally for short periods, a year or less, a class of process that appears to have been in considerable favour from 1888 to 1899, particularly in the Jumna tahsils. The transfers and sales of mahals also all belong to the same tract, but they were nearly all made while Mr. Trethewy was Collector, a guarantee that default was due to recalcitrance on the part of the landlords and not to abnormal severity in the revenue. Of the mahals sold six

* Bilhaur 15, Sheopur 3, Cawnpore 14, Narwal 3, Derapur 1, Akbarpur 15, Ghatampur 33, Bhognipur 29.

were bought in by Government. Government has already directed that the settlement of one of these shall be made with the descendants of the former zamindars and I have submitted similar proposals in regard to one more. Of the remainder the zamindars were new-comers who had ruined the mahals by their harshness to the tenantry, and it would be a serious wrong to the latter to again place them in such zamindars' power.

18. The average demand for owner's rates during the last three years amounted to Rs. 62,569. The theory of owner's rate is, of course, that the State is collecting as land revenue its fair share of the increase in rents that has resulted from the introduction of canal irrigation. In practice, however, a fresh jamabandi is prepared each season field by field for the area irrigated in that season and is made over to the lambardar in the same way as the jamabandi for occupiers' rate. The lambardar naturally does not pay the demand out of his increased rent collections, but realizes it from the tenants whose names are shown in the jamabandi. This method of collection has therefore two grave disadvantages, firstly, in the case of estates in which the landlords have succeeded in pushing up rents it imposes on tenants an extra burden that should properly fall on the landlords' shoulders, and, secondly, in estates more leniently rented it tends to obscure what the real rental is, since, although not appearing in the patwari's papers, the owner's rate has really become part of the rent. If it is thought necessary to continue the levy of the rate at all, it would be more satisfactory to watch an estate for, say five years, from the date of the introduction of canal water and then, having regard to any increase in rental that may be attributable to the canal, impose on the landlords a lump charge that, though still called owner's rate, would in reality be an addition to the annual revenue. But I would strongly recommend that the rate be discontinued altogether. It would indeed not appear to be regarded with favour by Government; none is levied on the newest of the canal systems, the Fatehpur Branch, and on the others with the revision of settlement it will cease to be levied in any estate that has hitherto received canal water even in a single field. The balance of the district consists mainly of estates either already enjoying good irrigation from wells, or through inferiority of soil or situation ranking below the average; in the former the canal, though useful in dry years, would in an ordinary season bring no very marked advantage, while in the latter the charges for occupiers' rate are probably as much as the tenants could afford to pay.

19. The earlier history of the proprietary body is recorded in the rent-rate and final reports of last settlement with so much detail that it would be superfluous repetition for me to do more than give its general outline. Of the Arakhs, or reputed aboriginal inhabitants of the district, the numbers remaining are small some 2,500 odd, mostly found in the eastern parganas. They were overwhelmed, probably undergoing absorption into the lower Sudra castes rather than actual extermination, by successive waves of Rajput invaders, the two chief, which consisted of Chandels and Gaurs, coming from the direction of Kanauj, and a third, of Gautams from Argal in Fatehpur. The invaders' principal opponents, mainly in the south-west of the district, were the Meos, a curious tribe who also call themselves Rajputs, but are not admitted as such by the other clans of that caste. Their earlier history is unknown, but they appear to be Bundelas. By nature lawless freebooters, they show a strong disinclination for serious work, but plenty of energy and courage when a robbery or fight is on the tapis; though attacked in succession by Gaur, Bais, and Chauhan Rajputs and the Moguls, they were never entirely conquered and still retain possession of a few estates along the Junna.

Of the genuine Rajputs, the Chandels eventually occupied the bulk of the area now comprised in the Sheorajpur and Cawnpore tahsils, the Gaurs taking the old Dera-Mangalpur pargana, the west of Akbarpur, and the south-east of Rasūlabad. In Bilhaur there were small settlements of Sombansis to the west, of Ujjenas above the Esan, and of Garhwars to the east. Gahlots settled south of the Sombansis

along the west border of Rasulabad. In the east the bulk of the Narwal tahsil was occupied by members of the Bais and Gautam clans. Chauhans, Dikhite, and Pawars held the east of the Bhognipur and Akbarpur tahsils and the west of Ghatampur. A few Sissodias secured estates along the loop of the Jumna west of its confluence with the Sengur.

Of other castes the most important were the kurmis who are said to have originally entered the district attached to the commissariat of the Rajput armies; their main settlements were along the Esan in Bilhaur, in the south-east corner of the Ghatampur tahsil, and in Bhognipur tahsil. In the south of Narwal and north-east of Ghatampur a large tract came into possession of Jaganbansi brahmans from Gautams in Akbar's time, one Jagan Parshad Avasthi acquiring it from his profits as commissariat agent to the Emperor's army. Other brahmans of importance were the Dubes of Bithur and the Tewaris of Tirwa, both families bearing the title of Chaudhri. In Bhognipur considerable estates were held from time to time by some very old established kayasth families who had filled the office of kanungo under various administrations from that of the Meos downwards and who rose to great power under Ilmas Ali Khan. Ahirs held a few poor villages, mainly in the Sengur ravines. Of Muhammadans there are few settlements, the chief being at Bara in Akbarpur, at Mawar in Bhognipur and at Derapur where Akbar established one of his officers, a Pathan, as Chaudhri with a jagir of 84 villages. Nan-Muslims—converted Chauhans, Chandels and Dikhits—are found in a few villages in Akbarpur and Ghatampur, their religious and social rites and customs being a curious compound of their old and new religions.

Leading families.

20. Of the Chandels the chief was the Raja of Sheorajpur who joined the rebels in the mutiny and had his estates confiscated. He died in abject poverty a few years later, leaving no descendants. Another branch of the family whose leader was the Rana of Sakhrer lost all its property very early in our rule and is now represented by a poor old gentleman who, though accorded the courtesy title of Rana by the neighbourhood, is in such straitened circumstances that only the charity of caste-fellows saves him from actual destitution. Three other cadet houses, the Rawats of Rawatpur and Onha and the Rao of Sapahi, still kept their heads above water at last settlement, the first of the three owning an excellent estate of twenty-three villages more or less in a ring fence to the north-west of Cawnpore, the second six villages in Sheorajpur and the third a still smaller property near the Rind in Cawnpore. Little change has since taken place in the circumstances of either Onha or Sapahi, but the whole of the Rawatpur property, except a small section allotted by compromise to a distant connection who claimed as adopted son, has passed into the hands of the priest of the late Rawatain, as a religious trust. The chief of the Gaur, the Raja of Nar, rebelled and was hung in the mutiny. But the Gaur families that have their headquarters at Makrandpur Kainjri in Bilhaur and at Khanpur in Derapur tahsils are still of importance, the latter family, though it has somewhat dimmed its social prestige by its sharp business-like habits, having acquired the ownership of a very large property. The Garhwars in Bilhaur are headed by Thakur Takhat Singh of Seng who owns a small inferior estate mostly among the Ganges ravines and also bears the local courtesy title of Raja. The other thakur clans cannot be said to be represented by any definite head, though in the Narwal pargana the principal Gautam family is descended from one Khagole Singh, a servant and agent of the European indigo firms that had their headquarters at Najafgarh till their failure in 1830. He seems to have been a better financier than his masters and issued from the cataclysm a wealthy man.

The present position of the various castes.

21. Mr. Wright's calculations of the rights held by the various castes were made in annas. Mahals are now so numerous and of such diverse sizes, that such a method of calculation would be of little value. I have therefore worked out existing rights according to the percentage of revenue paid. At cession thakurs held almost exactly half the district; thirty years ago their share had fallen to 31·42 per cent.;

the further fall has not been great, only a little over one per cent. to 30.32 per cent., unless the Rawatpur trust be considered as having passed from thakurs to brahmans. The minor clans have been the chief losers, Chandels also continuing to descend a little. Gaurs and Bais have, on the other hand, improved their position from 8.83 to 9.70 and 4.05 to 4.37 per cent. respectively. Brahmans, including Jaganbansis, held 14.24 per cent. of the district at cession. At last settlement they had just overtopped Thakurs with 31.53 per cent. They have now progressed to 33.20 per cent. which would be further raised if the Rawatpur property which is practically under Brahman control were added. Brahmans occupy in Cawnpore the position filled in many districts by banias and owe their rise to successful money-lending. The Shukuls and Misrs of the Bilhaur tahsil, the Dubes of Sheorajpur, and the Tewaris of old Cawnpore are their most important representatives. Musalmans who at cession held 12.65, nearly as much as brahmans, were large gainers by the dishonesty of the subordinate staff under the earlier settlements. At last settlement they still held 12.43 per cent. of the district, but have not done well since, their rights having shrunk to 6.82 per cent. Kayasths who were close up to Muhammadans at cession with 10.84 per cent. lost considerably owing to the proceedings of the special commission and again at the mutiny, besides suffering from their own improvidence. By last settlement their rights had sunk to 6.84 per cent. and have now still further fallen to 4.54 per cent. Kurmis are represented by a number of strong families and communities who have made money both by indigo speculation and usury. At cession they held 7.22 per cent. which had risen to 7.48 per cent. at last settlement, continuing to advance till it has now reached 8.59 per cent. The small zamindari communities of ahirs have rather more than held their own, possessing 1.75 per cent. at cession, and 1.90 at last settlement and now. Banias, Bakkals and Khattris owned 1.46 per cent. at cession, had reached 6.34 at last settlement, and have now attained 8.06. Thus there has not occurred since last settlement any very great change in the balance of power as held by the principal castes, though the prosperity of Kayasths and Muhammadans is on the wane. But, reviewing events from cession downwards to the present day, the salient feature in the situation is the progress and success of the banker, the speculator, and the commercial man, irrespective of caste, and the downfall of the orthodox zamindar who has not supplemented his income by extraneous means. The district is now one of essentially small or medium-sized properties. Out of 5,717 mahals, 1,715 are held on single zamindari, 2,986 on joint zamindari, 620 on perfect and 372 on imperfect pattidari, the balance 24 being owned bhaiyachara.

22. I give in appendix I a statement showing the transfers of proprietary rights during each decade of the expiring settlement. The figures of Mr. Rose's settlement are not approached; none the less it is impossible to deny that landed property changed hands with a frequency that must have been very unsettling for the tenantry and shows signs of increasing rather than diminishing. In the first decade estates paying about Rs. 1,86,000 revenue were sold, a figure that rose to Rs. 2,45,000 in the next and again to Rs. 2,88,000 in the third decade. In fact, if sales increase at this pace, the rate of transfer during Mr. Rose's settlement will soon be surpassed. At last settlement 347 whole estates and 721 estates in part were still held by hereditary proprietors; the figures now are 157 and 865 respectively, 46 estates having entirely passed to strangers.

Transfers.

23. Although there can be no doubt that the earlier settlements directly caused a large number of transfers and ruined many of the old proprietary families, the pitch of the land revenue has been so much reduced since, and the margin of profit left to the zamindars is now so large, that it is no longer possible to attribute the frequency of sales to the severity of the Government demand. The real reason is the zamindari system itself, coupled with the improvidence of the land-holders who live up to their incomes in good seasons and leave no margin to fall back upon, should crops fail. No doubt, when bad seasons come, the existence of a fixed Government demand that must be met helps in their undoing, for, rather than cut down their

The causes of transfers.

ordinary expenses, they borrow money out of which to pay the land revenue; but this does not necessarily imply that the land revenue is at all oppressive. Probably if the revenue were only assessed at 20 per cent., the landholder would still run into debt to pay it; or, indeed, if there were no land revenue at all, many landholders would still find their income too small to meet their expenses except in the best of seasons, and would supplement it by borrowing. The fact is that the only zamindar for whom the Indian economy has a proper place is either the big taluqdar governed by the law of primogeniture and owning so large an estate that he can afford to be generous, or the peasant proprietor cultivating his own land. For the small middleman who tries to live on his rents and whose property is being constantly split into smaller and smaller shares under the ordinary rules of Hindu or Muhammadan heirship there is no niche. Indeed, he is rapidly becoming the curse of the country, absorbing as he does without any permanent benefit to himself or any one else a large share of the profits of agriculture, and by his attitude towards the tenantry preventing their acquisition of the stability of tenure that alone can help them to real prosperity or tend towards genuine improvement in cultivation.

Religious trusts.

24. Akin to the question of transfers is another that is growing in importance and must at some time or other come to the front. I refer to the dedication of estates to religious or charitable trusts. The revenue paid by such trusts in the Cawnpore district alone now amounts to no less a sum than three-quarters of a lakh annually. Though no doubt the dedicator, generally some very old man or widow much under the influence of the family priest, makes his dedication in good faith, the good faith, after the dedicator is dead, of the trustees in whom the property is vested is more often than not openly questioned. The opinion of the more respectable members of the native community appears to me to set very strongly in favour of the establishment of a Board on the lines of the English charity and ecclesiastical commissioners which will exercise some general supervision over the behaviour of trustees.

Prices.

25. In appendix II is given a table of prices. In dealing with the prices prevailing at this and at last settlement, I wrote in the Bilhaur report, dated September 1904:—"That on the whole, amidst a confusion of wide fluctuations, a rise has taken place is not open to dispute. On the other hand, its exact extent is hardly ascertainable. For example, in 1879 wheat sold at 14.17, and in 1870 at 15.5 seers per rupee, dearer rates than those now prevailing; and bajra touched as low as 14.25 in 1869, and 21.72 in 1874, against its latest price, 27 seers per rupee. Moreover, the all-round fall that commenced with the return of good season may not yet have stopped. Again it must be noted that the extraordinary rates of the famine years, partly though they owed their existence to deficient stock, were not altogether regulated by the legitimate influences of supply and demand; wild and extravagant speculation, pure and simple stock-exchange gambling in which the same bags of grain, without ever being shifted, were bought and sold a dozen times in a week, superinduced an undue inflation. Finally, the fact that the rupee is now stable and exercises a salutary steadying influence on exportation, instead of being a spasmodic pendulum subject to unexpected and vicious vagaries, is not to be lost sight of. Altogether, looking at the prices that prevailed in the decade before last settlement and those that seem likely to prevail in the next few years, unless the seasons are abnormal, I would set the real rise, in so far as it touches the prices the cultivator gets for his product, at much less than any striking of averages would seem to indicate." Since then the almost unparalleled frosts of the spring of 1905 and the drought of 1905-1906 have again tended to bring about abnormal fluctuations and to exacerbate the difficulty of drawing any exact deductions. The earlier prices also are merely for harvest time, whereas the later prices are the average of the whole year. For one staple at least, cotton, there would appear to have certainly been no appreciable rise within the last forty years, while during the same period the prices of jwar and bajra were, in the former case, in 25 years, and in the latter in 28 years, above the prices for 1904, 26.26 and 26.17 seers per rupee respectively. Barley has the

same record as bajra. Wheat alone of the main staples had been oftener below than above its price of 1904. On the whole, I am not sure whether I ought not to retract my first opinion and deny any permanent or appreciable rise since the early sixties.

26. The following remarks are based on a study of the annual crop and area returns throughout the currency of the expiring settlement, and not merely on the figures of the two settlement years. Even before cession all the good lands of the district may be said to have come under the plough, neither culturable jungle nor waste of reasonable quality remaining to be taken up. Mr. Wright recorded 873,799 acres under cultivation or, with the addition of 44,315 acres *dofasli*, 918,114 acres actually under crops. The latter area was nothing exceptional, but his double-cropped area was so extraordinarily low, and his total cultivated area on the other hand so unusually high, that I am inclined to doubt whether his returns would not have been more accurate if they had given the cultivated area lower and the *dofasli* area higher. Omitting therefore the settlement year, the district's cropped and cultivated areas, with one serious relapse in 1288, both rose irregularly, the former from 899,000 acres in 1284 to 968,000 in 1292 and the latter from 845,000 acres to 862,000 having in the interval touched 879,000, the highest on record; concurrently the double-cropped area had risen from 54,000 to 104,000. The cropped area then gradually fell back again to 899,000 which it reached in the year 1300 *fasli*, but in the meantime inferior or deteriorated lands had been even more rapidly abandoned, the better lands being put to greater stress by double-cropping them more extensively, so that in 1298 *fasli* the cultivated area had actually sunk to 782,000 rising again to 787,000 in 1300 *fasli*, but being still 58,000 below the figure for 1284 *fasli* and yet having to bear the same area of crops. In 1303 *fasli* the cropped area touched 868,000 but in the interval had risen to 950,000; in the following years it fluctuated somewhat but eventually in 1310 *fasli* attained 982,000, the highest on record. Again the cropped area had been saved at the expense of an extra strain to the good lands, for from 1293 to 1307 *fasli* the cultivated area was only twice above 800,000 (and then only very slightly) while in 1304 it fell to 737,218 the lowest in the present generation; yet, thanks to 179,000 acres of *dofasli*, the total area of crops borne in that year was 916,000 acres or 17,000 above what 108,000 more acres of land carried in 1284. In 1305 the *dofasli* area reached 182,000 acres, the highest yet attained. In 1310 *fasli* the cultivated area was 846,000, practically what it was in 1284, though carrying 83,000 acres more crops. The general tendency is to tax the good lands to the utmost—particularly if irrigated—leaving the lowest class of soils untouched except in a most favourable season.

27. The method of classifying land as wet or dry is described in paragraph 36. At last settlement out of 864,457 acres of cultivation, about 40.6 per cent. (or roughly 2-5ths) were wet and the balance dry. Slightly over half of the wet area, or 178,722 acres, received its irrigation from wells, 3ths, or 131,454, from canals and 1th or 41,351 from tanks and rivers. At the present settlement the relative positions of dry and wet areas are more than reversed. Out of 833,630 acres of cultivation, 516,209, or over 61.5 per cent. are wet and less than 39 per cent. dry. The increase in wet falls entirely under the head canals which irrigate 317,950 or roughly 2½ times as large an area as at last settlement. Wells show a slight drop from 178,722 to 162,555, and tanks and rivers decline from 41,351 to 35,724.

The increase under the head canals must not, however, be estimated as net gain. During the last generation the number of new wells constructed amounts to no less than 6,042. Owing to the fact, already alluded to in paragraph 7, that many of these only represent pre-existing earthen wells rendered stable by the addition of a masonry or brick lining it is difficult to base any very certain estimate on their mere number, but I think it would not be unfair to say that, if wells had not been to some extent supplanted as well as supplemented by the canal, the well-irrigated area instead of falling to 162,535 would have risen to 200,000 and the canal area not reached more than 290,000.

Crops.

28. The area under rabi, although it has jumped about in exceptional years, has on the whole been fairly constant at from 460,000 to 470,000 acres ; and it is in kharif that the chief fluctuations must be sought. Wheat sown alone forms about an eighth of the spring crops and shows no signs of extending, the figures for 1284 and 1285 *fasli* being more than 15 per cent. above the highest since attained. I am, however, doubtful of the accuracy of the returns for wheat sown alone as distinguished from wheat sown with gram or barley ; taking the three classes together, the area covered ordinarily amounts to about a third of the spring crops ; there has been a slight rise in the last three years, but I doubt its permanency. Bejhar (barley and gram) that formerly averaged some 250,000 acres and at times rose to as much as 300,000 acres is shown by the returns as having dropped some 50,000 to 60,000 acres within the last decade, its constituents sown alone and mixed wheat being its supplanters ; but again I feel doubtful as to how far the difference is not due to variable reporting and whether any permanent change has taken place ; in any case it may be said that ordinarily over 95 per cent. of the rabi area is occupied, one-third by wheat alone or mixed, and the remaining two-thirds by gram and barley separately or in combination ; of the remaining 15,000 to 20,000 acres, peas which have trebled their area take from 5,000 to 7,000 acres, and poppy from 6,000 to 10,000 ; potatoes have about doubled in favour and occupy a thousand to 1,200 acres, while turnips and miscellaneous vegetables cover some 2,000 to 3,000 acres. Tobacco is unfortunately less largely sown, its decline from about a thousand to six hundred acres being attributable to the canals which, as they raise the water level, gradually destroy the saline nature of the water in the erstwhile brackish wells from which the tobacco lands were irrigated.

The autumn harvest contrasts strongly with the spring in that it includes ordinarily from 25 to 35 per cent. of non-food crops as against the one or two per cent. found in the rabi, though the value of the sarson and lahi sown with the spring cereals must not be overlooked. Of the food-crops which cover from 300,000 to 360,000 acres, juar, mostly sown with arhar, occupies the pride of place with an area varying from 180,000 to 210,000 acres. Bajra also sown with arhar used to come next with some 30,000 to 40,000 acres ; without declining much it has nevertheless been latterly passed by both rice and maize which now take from 40,000 to 600,000 acres compared to 20,000 to 35,000 formerly. No other food-crops cover more than a few hundred acres apiece, though sweet potatoes, chiefly in the Narwal tahsil, have rapidly come into favour during the last few years. Non-food crops attained their greatest expansion during the years 1289—1295 *fasli* when they covered from 164,000 to 191,000 acres, the actual maximum being 191,279. There are generally three or four thousand acres under hemp ; sugarcane, which in the districts of the upper doab is so extensively sown, covered about 16,000 acres in 1284, but by 1287 had dropped below 10,000 and has only five times since risen into five figures ; it now averages some 8,000 or 9,000 acres, but has been as low as 5,400. Hemp and sugarcane apart, the non-food kharif may be said to consist entirely of cotton and indigo. The former, mostly sown with arhar, started with an area of 94,000 acres in 1284, kept somewhat lower for four years and then rose irregularly, reaching 121,000 acres in 1289 and approximately 130,000 in 1294 ; a decline followed and in 1307 it had sunk as low as 67,000 acres. A sharp recovery to 112,000 in 1310 *fasli* has since occurred ; but, taken as a whole, the history of this staple is retrograde rather than progressive.

Indigo.

29. Indigo has passed through many vicissitudes. For some time after cession it was a crop of great importance, being fostered by several European firms, mostly having their headquarters at Najafgarh, under whose encouragement large numbers of factories were constructed. But after a couple of decades sound business principles succumbed to a spirit of reckless speculation and in 1830 the crash came, the European agents becoming bankrupt and the cultivator and manufacturer finding their market gone. Najafgarh, which had at one time seemed to have a chance of rivalling Cawnpore as a commercial centre, standing as it does on the Ganges

some 20 miles lower down, never recovered from the blow it received, and has gradually degenerated till it is now little more than an ordinary agricultural village, of such minor consequence that it has not been thought justifiable in recent years to incur the expense of repairing the metalled branch linking it with the grand trunk road. Indigo itself throughout the district underwent an eclipse and for several decades, where grown at all, was principally for purposes of seed. In 1837 the area covered was some 14,500 acres. By last settlement the manufacture of dye was beginning to regain popularity and the area had risen to about 24,000 acres. Shortly afterwards something of a boom set in, the area reaching 60,000 acres in 1292, old factories being reopened and many new ones constructed, the latter principally in the Sheorajpur tahsil where even tenants spent money in building pairs of miniature vats on the borders of their fields. The agriculturist of tahsil Narwal, for whom apparently the lapse of more than a generation had not erased the memory of the Najafgarh débâcle, kept more or less aloof from this fresh boom, which lasted till the introduction of synthetic indigo was followed by the present rot in prices. The area has now dropped to 9,788 acres, and for the time being at least the indigo industry is dead.

As an officer that has spent a considerable part of his service in districts in which indigo has at one time or another been extensively grown, I cannot view its disappearance from the list of crops without feelings of dismay, involving as it does in distress or ruin, not merely the capitalists that have sunk large sums in buildings and machinery, but also the thousands and tens of thousands of labourers and peasants that for generations have been benefited by and even owed their very means of subsistence to the money the planters and manufacturers have lavishly distributed among them as wages or the price of produce. Even the loss of indigo as a valuable rotation crop is from a mere scientific standpoint a disaster. Indeed, the interests involved are so vast as to make it incumbent on the State not to let the industry perish without making a very strong effort to save it. The present seems to be a particularly opportune moment for a helping hand to be put forward, as I understand that the experiments made by some of the Behar planters with the Java and Natal species of plant have shown great promise of both improving colour and cheapening production. Some possible lines on which, apart from experiments for the improvement of methods of agriculture and manufacture, help might be given are :—(i), by the introduction of a system of 'standardization.' The manager of one of the largest cotton mills in Cawnpore mentioned to me that he had ascertained from dyers in England and Scotland that one of the great points in favour of the use of synthetic instead of natural dyes is the fact that synthetic dyes can be procured containing a fixed percentage of colour essence, 75, 80, 90 per cent., whatever may be asked for, so that the dyer knows exactly what he is getting and the amount to put in his vats—whereas with vegetable dyes no such certainty exists, he has to take his chance at the time of purchase and to go in for elaborate analysis before utilization. If vegetable dyes could be standardized, so that the percentage of colouring matter contained in each chest or cake could be authoritatively stamped on it, an important step towards their rehabilitation would have been made. It does not, however, seem likely that, even if some very simple method of effecting it were devised, private manufacturers could be trusted to carry out the process; a large central State factory would probably have to be established to which all indigo intended for export would have to be sent; but in any case, whether done privately or otherwise, standardization should be compulsory; (ii), the Boards of Trade of Great Britain and of other countries should be moved to issue a regulation that all coloured textile materials shall be clearly stamped with a declaration whether dyed with a vegetable dye or not; and (iii), an indigo or vegetable dye cess, similar to the voluntary tea cess, should be imposed and its proceeds (supplemented by a liberal addition from State revenues until the industry has recovered) be devoted to extensive advertisement of the merits of vegetable as compared to synthetic dyes. In advertisement, I am convinced, lies the ultimate

salvation of indigo ; the two preceding suggestions will help, but the poster on the walls, the placard by the railway line, the full page picture in magazine or periodical, proclaiming to potential purchasers at every turn that, if they want a blue serge that will not turn white or a black coat that will not turn green, their clothes must be vegetable dyed ; if they want a carpet to keep its colour, it must be vegetable dyed ; if they want a curtain or table cloth that will stand sunlight, it must be vegetable dyed ; in fact, vegetable dyes and the world's need of them must stare the world in the face morning, noon and night, and the world will begin to realize its need, in the same way that it does for certain soaps, and will see that the need is satisfied.

Improvements in
methods of agri-
culture.

30. Mr. Wright at last settlement found no change in methods of agriculture since cession ; though he noted that probably less manure was used, as the introduction of canal irrigation in place of wells to some extent reduced the number of bullocks a cultivator had to keep. Thirty years later I must repeat Mr. Wright's verdict, except that, in common with the rest of the province, Cawnpore has adopted iron roller mills in place of sugar-mills of the old type and buys a small amount of selected seed-grain from the Agricultural Department depôts. The readiness with which iron sugar-mills were everywhere welcomed shews that the Indian cultivator is willing enough to accept any improvement the advantages of which are undoubted, the *return* immediate, and the expense reasonable ; the converse to which fact naturally is the conclusion that, because no other improvement has been adopted, therefore no other moderately priced obviously advantageous improvement bringing in quick returns on its outlay has been brought to the cultivator's notice. It is true that at the various agricultural exhibitions held annually or at longer intervals in certain districts a considerable number of improvements—pumps, ploughs and other implements and machines—are shown by the Agricultural Department ; but a mistake appears to have been made in including among them anything except thoroughly tested plainly efficient improvements ; and also in not keeping an eye on an "improvement," even after it has been sold ; there might be one or more mechanics attached to the Agricultural Department, thoroughly conversant with the working of all machines sold, whose duty it should be to travel and examine periodically free of charge all improvements and their working. For example, some years ago a leading landholder of the Muzaffarnagar district bought for six or seven hundred rupees a centrifugal sugar refiner exhibited by the Agricultural Department at the annual show ; he failed to get any good work out of it and his money became a dead loss to him ; years later the Agricultural Department was still exhibiting the same class of refiner ; now either the refiner was inefficient and therefore unworthy of exhibition or the purchaser had not grasped its working ; whichever was the case, the machine's failure was well-known throughout the district and exerted a strong retarding influence on purchases of, or experiments with, improvements. Similarly in this district at the end of last touring season I came across a pump that a zamindar had rigged up to raise water from the river Non, but without success. The pump's breakdown was probably due to the absence of some small leather plug or washer that could have been replaced in a few minutes at a nominal expense ; and, if there had been a travelling mechanic to watch over the pump's fortunes, I have no doubt that its performances would have been satisfactory. As it is, pumps have been stigmatized throughout the country-side as useless and unworthy of patronage.

An old Jat zamindar who cultivated his own lands once asked me about the use of wind-mills for irrigation purposes, and from what he said I gather that, if an efficient wind-mill could be put upon the market, it might be received with favour. I am aware that experiments have shown that during the cold weather there is ordinarily not sufficient wind to work a mill strong enough to raise water from a well, but, particularly in the upper *doab*, a great deal of sugarcane irrigation is done during the hot weather when the wind is strong ; even if a mill that would raise water from a well could not be devised, there is certainly an opening for a

small power mill to raise canal water three or four feet where irrigation is by lift. Another improvement that might at least be tested in this country is the 'hail-cannon' that has in recent years been used by the vine-growers of Italy and Austria to dispel hailstorms. The invention, which is simply a small vertical mortar fitted with a mouthpiece like an enormous megaphone, takes advantage of the known physical fact that hail cannot be formed in a disturbed atmosphere. Loaded with a small charge of powder it is pointed towards the sky and fired whenever hail threatens. Its efficacy in the vineyard country has been incontestably established; whether it would be equally efficient in the open plains of India can only be ascertained by experiment, but, considering the enormous damage periodically done by hail to our spring crops, the experiment is at least worth the trying.

But that, although for a hundred years no marked improvement in agricultural methods has taken place, room for improvement exists is shown at once by a comparison between the outturns per acre in India and European countries. To take wheat for which statistics are probably most reliable, the test made in these provinces during the five years 1898-02 give the average produce per acre, including irrigated and unirrigated lands, at 1,050 lbs.; in the four preceding years, 1894-97, the figure was considerably lower, 890 lbs. per acre. Taking the two periods together an average of 1,000 lbs. will not be too low an estimate. In England for the eight years ending in 1901 the average production was calculated at 1,860 lbs. per acre; for Belgium where the proportion of culturable land under wheat was much higher the average was 1,740 lbs.; in the north of France the average was 1,950 lbs., while in Hesse an average crop falling short of 2,250 lbs. is considered unsatisfactory. As a record of progress, Denmark which in the course of 25 years has raised its average production from 1,830 to 2,380 lbs. may be quoted. Many individual farms in France average regularly from 3,500 to 4,100 lbs. per acre.

If the estimates given by Mr. Montgomery in his statistical account of Cawnpore written in 1848, and by General Sleeman in his journey through the kingdom of Oudh a year later are trustworthy, the popular belief that produce is falling off instead of improving has some small foundation in fact, for Mr. Montgomery estimates average wheat production at 16 maunds and General Sleeman in Oudh at 18 maunds per acre. It is probable that both estimates refer to irrigated lands only, for which we may put current production at rather less than 15 maunds per acre; still leaving a small gap between the present and the past. General Sleeman himself in a comparison between the lands of the ceded districts and of Oudh stated that produce in the former was diminishing owing to continuous cropping; whereas in Oudh repeated fallows saved the land from exhaustion; and very likely he had gauged the situation accurately; I remember sixteen years ago frequently hearing Oudh cultivators complaining that their fields did not do so well as before cession. In paragraph 26 I have already in dealing with the cultivated area shown how the tendency is to put a steadily increasing strain on the land. It would appear from what Mr. Montgomery and General Sleeman wrote that in the middle of last century it was the fashion to talk of "8 and 10 maund bigha" lands in Cawnpore and "10 and 12 maund bigha" lands in Oudh. Now-a-days the Cawnpore tenant only talks of "6 and 8 maund" fields. At the same time, although individual fields may not ordinarily give so high a return per crop as they once did, they yield crops oftener, not merely because they are sown oftener, but because there is more irrigation to safeguard them against drought; I have no doubt therefore that, even if Mr. Montgomery's and General Sleeman's figures be accepted, the total produce of the district has more than been maintained.

However, the fact remains that produce is lower than it might be. If it is to be increased, resort must be had to artificial manures and more effective implements, which in their turn will require more powerful cattle to work them. To some extent the smallness of cultivators' holdings may be advanced as a bar to either of

these changes, but one real and potent obstacle is the instability of tenure on which cultivators hold their lands. Even the occupancy tenant's position is precarious, and I consider it is hopeless for us to expect that cultivators will seriously spend money on permanently improving the fertility of lands from which they are aware that their landlord is constantly on the watch to oust them. Denmark which, in spite of an inhospitable climate and no special fertility of soil, has pushed its way within the last century to the forefront of European agricultural countries, owes its rise in position entirely to land-law reforms which have transformed her villagers from serfs to peasant proprietors. It is not possible now to transform all our cultivators into proprietors, but at least it is possible for legislation to give them such stability in their holdings that they will feel assured that they themselves will reap the benefits of their own labours. Until this is done, agricultural methods will remain of the cheap hand-to-mouth type.

I ought not to quit the subject of agriculture without mentioning that Messrs. Allen & Co. are making a new departure in the district by establishing an aloe farm at Najafgarh which estate they have recently purchased.

Tenantry.
(a) Their castes.

31. The castes of the tenantry correspond fairly closely to the castes of the proprietary body. Brahmans head the list, holding between a quarter and a fifth of the total tenants' area, followed closely by Thakurs holding about a sixth. Abirs who are much more important as tenants than as proprietors are a close third, occupying between a sixth and a seventh. Kurmis are fourth with a tenth. Chamars and Gadarias hold rather less than a twentieth. Kachhis have about a twenty-fifth. Next come Lodhs, Muhammadans, Kayasths and Baniyas. No other caste cultivates more than one per cent. As agriculturists, Kurmis, Kachhis, Lodhs, and, near Cawnpore, a few Kunjaras, take the highest rank. In the Bilhaur and Sheorajpur tahsils Kurmis, besides the excellence of their general cultivation, have all the market gardening in their hands; elsewhere in the district they confine themselves mostly to sugarcane and general crops, leaving tobacco and vegetables to Kachhis and Kunjaras.

(b) Their standard of comfort.

The fiscal and legal position of the tenantry leaves very much to be desired, and naturally re-acts adversely on their standard of comfort. Not only does need for amelioration exist, but, unless effective check is placed upon the steadily growing exactions of the landlords, the trend of events is towards a reduction of the tenantry to serfdom. However, such a desperate state of affairs is still only in embryo and open to prevention. Looking to things as they now are there is certainly a bright, as well as a dark, side of the picture. In a good season, despite rents and landlords, the tenantry and their dependents lead a life that compares more than favourably with that of the corresponding classes of many countries. They may reside in mud houses, possess no furniture beyond a few string cots and cooking utensils, dress in the airiest of garbs, and eat only the simplest food. Yet these things suffice for their wants; they are as comfortable in their *dhoti* and *kurta* as an English peasant is in his corduroys; their mud walls and roofs are more suitable to the climate than many a more expensive building would be; and their food, if plain, is often, though not always, sufficient. Moreover, despite what misinformed enthusiasts may say to the contrary, there is no institution in India corresponding to the European tavern in which the labourer can waste the earnings that should go to support his household. The social system of the country arranges automatically for the support of all the members of a family and for the weak and infirm members of the community who have no relations to depend upon; the life lived, though the homestead's surroundings are defective from a sanitary point of view, is not an unhealthy one, spent in the open country under an uncontaminated heaven, at work that is mostly neither very exacting nor strenuous—lastly, when times of stress come, the State steps in with a vast system of relief organized on a scale unprecedented in the records of history

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and free from the stigma of pauperization*. Compare this existence with the lot of the corresponding classes in a land of cities like England. The investigations of Mr. Booth have shown that in London a third of the total population never from year's end to year's end receive the full nutriment necessary for the healthy maintenance of life, this third including not merely "the submerged tenth", as it is called, and "the sweaters" of some of the foreign settlements, but also a considerable proportion of more or less skilled mechanics. Their hours of work are long and inexorable, passed generally under the most unhealthy and often unnatural conditions, and, when labour is finished, they have probably only a single room to return to in some overcrowded tenement. Fogs and smoke are their idea of sky, the reek of overpopulation their substitute for fresh air, and brick walls their only landscape. For their old age, if they ever attain it, they can look forward to nothing but the workhouse. Nor is such a state of things peculiar to London; independent investigations have shown that in all England's large cities the same proportion of the population, a third, exists under similar conditions. From the materialist point of view I feel no hesitation in saying that, though poverty undoubtedly exists, sometimes in an acute form, the life of the Indian peasant is attended by fewer drawbacks and more advantages than the life of his town-enclosed counterpart in England.

The other side of the picture is that, where the present land system has been allowed free play and there has been no strong counteracting influence at work, such as a large extension of irrigation greatly increasing productivity, the standard of comfort has undoubtedly, in my opinion, fallen, and will continue to fall with increasing rapidity until the tenant is given proper stability in his holding and full protection against the rapacity of landlords.

32. Of the total holdings area, 872,849 acres in all, the proportion held on occupancy tenure is somewhat less than at last settlement, 59 as against 61 per cent. Proprietary cultivation has dropped by 41,000 acres from 148,225 acres or 17 per cent. to 107,668 acres or a little over 12 per cent. and of this $\frac{2}{3}$ ths is sublet. The area held at-will has risen from 147,165 or 17 per cent. to 218,666, or approximately 25 per cent. The average rent paid by occupancy tenants has advanced from Rs. 4.34 to Rs. 4.99 per acre, an increase of 15 per cent., while tenants-at-will now pay Rs. 5.38 per acre instead of Rs. 4.27, a rise of over 25 per cent.

The tenure on which land is cultivated.

These figures all indicate a change for the worse in the situation of the cultivating classes. It is true that the occupancy area has not largely decreased, but it has unfortunately been kept at its present level by accretions from proprietary cultivation, sir land having been converted into ex-proprietary, while the area held at will has steadily grown and is continuing to grow at a regularly accelerating pace. It cannot be repeated too often that occupancy and non-occupancy tenants are in most estates the same people, and that the vulnerability of the non-occupancy section of their holding goes far to nullify the protection the occupancy right is supposed to afford.

33. The district has always had the reputation of being over-rented, particularly in the northern parganas, where it was the fashion, even before cession, to extort from the industrious Kurmi tenantry rates that tenants of less diligent castes could not possibly have paid. Exact figures are not available, but it is probable that the full rent recorded at cession against the district, including proprietary cultivation, was something between 24 and 25 lakhs of rupees. But I think it is a very open question whether it was ever intended to collect the whole sum in any one year. General Sleeman maintained that, owing to the possibility of leaving land fallow, tenants in Oudh in 1849 were willing to pay higher rents than for similar lands in the adjacent ceded districts; such a state of things could not be possible unless rents were only collected for land actually under cultivation. The Oudh authorities are accused of having 'amused' the company officials by furnishing them with an exaggerated

Variations in rents.

* I would not claim that Government relief does much more than prevent starvation; famine, with whatever vigilance and vigour combated, cannot fail to be attended by great distress and suffering. For example in the Ghatampur and Bhognipur tahsils of this district during the past season famine relief operations and remissions of rent and revenue could not have been arranged in a more thorough fashion, yet when the zamindars and tenants came up at the beginning of October to hear the new revenue and the results of enhancement cases declared I was painfully impressed by the poor, almost emaciated, appearance of a large number of them.

statement of the outturn of the ceded districts; it is much more likely that, though the rents recorded were genuine enough, their payment was contingent on crops being actually sown, and that it was only when we stereotyped them as payable regularly year by year that they became oppressive. Indeed, up to the present day we have in some of the precarious estates along the Jumna illustrations of the old Oudh methods still at work, it being the custom of the landlords to record in the papers rents so high that they never expect to realize them in full except in the most favourable seasons. In any case, whether the cause was the intrinsic severity of the rents themselves or only our principles of collection, the district undoubtedly began with an unduly heavy burden of rent. The trouble the landlords had in meeting their own liabilities under the earlier settlements did not encourage them to treat their tenants with leniency; the temptation, indeed, has been all the other way and they have laboured with no small success to shift their own burdens on to their tenants' shoulders. When Mr. Wright came to make his settlement seventy years after cession the corrected demand had risen to 38 lakhs; during the last thirty years it has advanced to over 44½.

Causes for the rise
in rents.

34. Broadly speaking the tendency is for rents to be more and more governed by the laws of supply and demand. Subject to this general principle, the rent that a landlord may ask is modified by the personal element—his relations with his tenants—by the stringency of his revenue, the rent his neighbours exact for similar land, and sometimes, as in this district, by the severe standard rates laid down at settlement. The rent that a tenant is willing to pay depends on the urgency of his need for land, the land's productivity, the stability of its means of irrigation, the prices he is likely to get for produce, and lastly the tenant's personal tie to the land itself or the village in which it is situated. On the whole, the dominating feature in the situation is now the growing urgency of the tenant's need for land. The supply is not equal to the demand. He must have land or sink to the level of the labourer or perhaps have to desert altogether the village in which he and his ancestors have resided for unnumbered generations. He therefore agrees to a rent perhaps not only in excess of what he thinks the land is worth, but even more than he will have any chance of paying except in the best of seasons—and it is here that the influence of prices is felt. A rise in prices due to scarcity at once drives up the profits realized from irrigated lands and enhances the letting value of such as fall vacant during the period of high prices. Having once gone up, the chance of rents coming down again, even when the upward influence has ceased to exist and normal prices have returned, is small; instead, the high rent remains on as an exemplar in framing future rents. Indeed, experience in the Narwal tahsil and Jumna tracts shows that landlords are so averse to lowering rates that they allow inferior lands to go out of cultivation altogether rather than let them at nominal rents; and it may be taken as an axiom that, unless some stupendous calamity intervenes, such as the devastation of a village by cholera or plague, or the serious deterioration of its lands through flood, drought, or the invasion of *kāns*, landlords will never spontaneously lower rent-rates, however stiff they may be. Moreover the history of local tenancy litigation furnishes proof that in recent years landlords are becoming more and more persistent in exercising what they call their rights, a persistency that must result in a steady acceleration of the rate at which rents increase. Of course, apart from prices, the extension of means of irrigation may have actually improved productivity and therefore have justified a rise in rents; but it must not be forgotten that irrigation charges have to be met out of the increased outturn and that there occur a fair number of seasons in which the rainfall is sufficiently favourable to render irrigation unnecessary; the enhancement of rent that tenants are willing to pay for the stability canal irrigation affords is probably, after allowing for irrigation charges, out of proportion to the average increased outturn; they prefer in fact a certain half loaf every year to two loaves one year and no loaf at all the next. In this perhaps they are wise, but it does not make the rents they pay any the fairer.

35. It is difficult in the Cawnpore district to take a bright view of the relations between landlords and tenants, the most vital of all agricultural questions. The landlords (other than cultivating peasant proprietors) represent less a genuine landed interest than the holders of a monopoly in land, a monopoly from which, partly through inclination and partly under the pressure of circumstances, they desire to extract the last possible rupee of profit. The newer commercial men who have bought land know practically nothing of their tenantry and have no dealings with them except through agents; their land merely stands to them as a business asset from which they expect a full outturn on their outlay, regardless of what its realization may mean to the tenantry. The older families, multiplying in numbers and households from generation to generation, fail to recognize that the same estate cannot possibly support a dozen or score of separate households in the same style and luxury in which it formerly supported the single ancestral household; and they refuse to lower their standard of living so long as they see any chance of retaining it at their tenants' expense. The tenants therefore on the one hand want land and the landlords on the other hand must have more and more money. The essence of the tenancy law, as it now stands, is the existence of higher and lower grades of tenure, which has resulted, and always must result, in a constant struggle on the part of the money-needing landlords to depose their tenants into that grade where they are most open to exactions and on the part of the tenants to save themselves from such degradation. One of the most important factors in this struggle and yet one that the legislature has taken no cognizance of is the duality of the ordinary cultivator's position: he holds part of his land on the higher and part on the lower tenure; if only the landlord can get a cultivator—and he generally can—to agree to such an exorbitant rent for the lands he holds at will as to render the total rent of the tenant's entire holding—occupancy and non-occupancy—difficult of payment except in favourable seasons, he will sooner or later succeed in having that tenant in arrears and be able to destroy his occupancy rights, the tenant thenceforward lying at his mercy to be rack-rented to the last limit. The trend of events is too strong for the landlords: so long as they see a chance of increasing their rents they will endeavour to do so, and the struggle between them and the tenantry must continue until the legislature steps in with a fiat fixing fair field rents and securing the actual cultivator in possession of his fields without distinction of tenure, so long as he pays those rents.

The relations between landlords and tenants.

CHAPTER III.—THE PRESENT SETTLEMENT.

36. The present settlement has been undertaken solely to correct the over-assessment and uneven distribution of revenue from which the district, in spite of Messrs. Bird and Trethewy's efforts, still suffered, the anticipated reduction of revenue and owner's rate amounting to no less than 1½ lakhs of rupees. Naturally, therefore, it was decided to conduct operations on the simplest and cheapest lines consistent with efficiency. Special rules* were framed embodying briefly three principles: firstly, that existing maps, records and soil classification should be utilized; secondly, that occupancy rents should be accepted as adequate if they are not more than 12½ per cent. lower than the rents of tenants-at-will; and thirdly, that, except when local inspection showed such a method of assessment to be radically unsuited to the circumstances of any mahal, the old revenue should be left undisturbed without further enquiry wherever it fell between 45 and 55 per cent. of the assets, either gross or net, the assumption area being valued at the all-round cash incidence of the mahal. Circle rates, though to be framed, were intended to occupy only a subordinate position in the scheme of settlement.

Object of settlement and the rule under which it has been conducted.

37. All necessary details as to the system of work and methods of applying the rules were settled by the Hon'ble Mr. J. Hooper during an extensive tour undertaken in the Bilhaur tahsil in November 1903, immediately after the district had

Methods of work.

* Copy of rules given in appendix III.

been declared under settlement. In outline, the course of operations drawn up then and subsequently adhered to with little variation, was as follows: Assessment statements and tracings of the old settlement maps with the old soil classification marked on them having been prepared, the Settlement Officer* or Assistant Settlement Officer visited each estate. If after inspection it appeared that the revenue should be retained under the 45-55 per cent. rule, no further action was necessary. If on the other hand the revenue called for revision, the inspecting officer classified the estate's soils on the map. His classification as far as possible followed that of last settlement, but the classes then drawn up were so numerous and unnecessarily minute, particularly in the northern tahsils, that simplification was introduced by amalgamating similar chaks. After soil classification, *darbandis* were prepared showing the amount of each kind of soil held by five grades of tenants, (i), tenants that have held unchanged since settlement; (ii), tenants that have held since settlement but whose rents have been altered; (iii), other tenants of 20 years' standing or over; (iv), tenants of 12 to 20 years' standing; (v), tenants-at-will. When the inspection of a whole tahsil had been finished, its component estates were grouped according to topographical features into circles, generally much the same as those adopted at last settlement, the larger circles being sub-divided into 1st and 2nd class estates. In Bhognipur and Ghatampur, where irrigation is not fully developed, the two chief circles were sub-divided into 3 sections, dry and 1st and 2nd class wet. Fields were considered 'wet,' if they had been actually irrigated in the year of record or in any of the three preceding years, the latter period being reduced to two years for Bhognipur and Ghatampur. Circle rates were then drawn up. I have described the method of selection at length in the Bilhaur report. In brief, it consisted in tabulating the rates of the fairest-rented class of tenants on each estate and from these picking out the rates that appeared most frequently or on which most rates seemed to converge. In order to tabulate rates it was necessary to distribute lump rents over the various classes of soil covered thereby, a difficulty negotiated by deducing from field-rents and the rents of homogeneous holdings a ratio of soil values for each estate. The circle rates, although the Board was kept fully informed as to what was being done in regard to them, were not definitely reported for sanction till the assessments were complete, when a combined rent-rate and assessment report was submitted.

The classes of soil.

38. Despite numerous ramifications the main principle underlying the soil classification at last settlement throughout the district was to select circles according to the broad distinctions of natural soils and within the circle to classify fields according to their artificial advantages, those nearest the homestead being named *gauhan*, those that did not adjoin the village, but were ordinarily manured, *manjha*, and the rest, *barhet*. Swampy land where it existed in any appreciable area fell under a further head, *tarai* or rice; and the alluvial lands of the Ganges and Jumna retained their distinctive title as *kachhar*. Along the Ganges cliff sloping and broken fields were separated as ravine lands. The above principles the Assistant Settlement Officer and myself have applied uniformly throughout the eight tahsils. The general classes mentioned, coupled with divisions into circles and 1st and 2nd grade estates, gave in practice a scale of rates sufficient for all settlement purposes; and the numerous minor variations into which the Settlement Officer diverged at last settlement, though interesting, were eschewed as unnecessary.

Standard rent-rates.

39. In selecting standard rates the severity of existing rents which, even though paid by occupancy tenants, were in some estates the severest rack, was accorded due weight. The rates work out at approximately those paid by occupancy tenants as a body, and are lower by 17 per cent. than those paid by tenants-at-will, and by 6 per cent. than those paid by the tenantry as a whole. They range from Rs. 33-9-0 per acre for the market gardens near Cawnpore to Rs. 1-4-0

* The inspection and settlement of Akbarpur, Ghatampur, the bulk of Derapur, and a portion of old Sikandra was done by the Assistant Settlement Officer, Maulvi Fasih-ud-din Ahmad, under my close supervision; the rest of the district I did personally.

per acre for ravine land along the Jumna, and give an all-round valuation at Rs. 4.73 per acre (revised estates) compared to Rs. 4.70 at last settlement. Considering therefore the large increase in the wet area, they are not only comparatively, but actually, lower than the rates framed thirty years ago. None the less, they are by no means lenient and need to be applied with discretion, though, actuals having to be dealt with, it was not possible to pitch them lower.

40. The 45-55 per cent. rule was found applicable in 905 estates and their existing revenue amounting to Rs. 9,15,960 was maintained. They were, however, relieved of the payment of owner's rate. The following paragraphs refer more especially to the remaining 1,137 estates of which the expiring revenue amounted to Rs. 11,72,859.

Assessment.

41. The rental system throughout the district is one of simple cash rents, the grain-rented area being trivial. Except for some, but not all, *pán* vineries and the tobacco lands of Damanpur in Narwal, there are no crop-rents. Castes enjoy no special concessions. Lump rents are numerous, but there is also a fair proportion of rents adjusted field by field.

Rental system.

42. It was surmised in the original forecast of the settlement that rent-rolls might be accepted as fairly correct and that no general enhancement of rents would be desirable. Results have confirmed the accuracy of this forecast. The rejections of occupancy rent-rolls on the ground of concealment or fraud have been nominal, in 16 mahals only, while enhancements have been entirely the outcome of private applications. On the other hand in 114 mahals the rents paid by occupancy tenants were found to be so severe as to leave no reasonable hope of their being paid with regularity. In order, therefore, to save the occupancy right from extinction, proceedings for the abatement of the more extravagant rents were instituted, reducing them by Rs. 7,359. The net result of enhancement and abatement cases has been a reduction of Rs. 4,435* in a total recorded occupancy rent-roll of Rs. 13,99,085. It is as well to place on record that abatement has only been resorted to in an estate after the most careful scrutiny of the soil classification and standard valuation and a full consideration of the estate's recent economic history, having regard more particularly to the relations existing between landlord and tenant and the proneness of the former to eject the latter at the first available opportunity. In five estates excessive rents, some of recent introduction, that had proved difficult of collection were abated by arrangement with the landlords, the tenants, where they did not enjoy a right of occupancy, receiving 7-year registered leases. Fraudulent rent-rolls have been more common in Cawnpore than other tahsils, fictitious pattas in the names of relatives being several times detected. Altogether in 3,107 mahals the recorded occupancy rental has been accepted as the basis of assessment, in 446 rejected as too high and in 109 as too low; in 95 mahals there were no occupancy tenants. In reference to the mahals in which the rental was rejected as low a word is perhaps necessary to explain why enhancement proceedings were not instituted. In these mahals any lowness of the occupancy rental was more than counterbalanced by the excessive rentals paid by the same tenants for their lands held at will, rates which they would not and could not have agreed to pay, had there been a heavier impost on their occupancy holdings. The consolidated agreement between landlord and tenant, covering both classes of holdings, gave in these mahals not merely a fair all-round rent-roll, but one so excessive that it could not be realized with regularity. The occupancy rental was therefore really rejected, despite its intrinsic lowness, because it was not low enough to drag down the all-round rate of the mahal to a fair figure, and the rent-roll *en bloc* had to be discarded in favour of some other form of valuation. The occupancy rent finally accepted for assessment purposes amounted to Rs. 13,63,177 against a recorded rental of Rs. 13,99,085.

Occupancy rentals.

43. The non-occupancy rentals were rejected in 1,024 mahals out of 3,757 as too high for regular realization; in 28 mahals they were rejected as fraudulently low,

Non-occupancy rentals.

* This total coincides with the estimate, though there are some minor differences in the component details.

and in 211 mahals there were no non-occupancy tenants. In lieu of the rejected rentals there has been substituted a valuation either at circle rates, or at some percentage above or below, or, where the recorded rents were very much in excess of circle rates, at what seemed a just mean between the two. Owing to the extraordinary differences existing in some estates between occupancy and non-occupancy rates due to the landlord's use of the latter to level up their all-round rate, it was not possible to adopt any uniform principle in valuation; each mahal had to be treated on its merits. In very precarious estates, the average rent calculated on a series of years, or the rent of some representative year has been taken. As in the case of occupancy rentals the main point borne in mind in making valuations has been that in most estates the occupancy and non-occupancy tenants are one and the same persons, and therefore in judging the severity or otherwise of the rental, its incidence has been considered on the body of tenantry as a whole rather than on any one of the separate sections into which it can be divided by an arbitrary distinction of tenures. The accepted non-occupancy rental amounted to Rs. 6,60,103 against recorded figures of Rs. 7,31,038.

Accepted valuation
of tenants' hold-
ings.

Assumption area.

44. The total accepted rental amounts to Rs. 20,23,280 against a recorded rent of Rs. 21,30,123.

45. The assumption area comprises 49,855 acres *str*, 15,221 acres *khudkasht*, 31 acres grain-rented and 14,073 acres rent-free, in all 79,180 acres. In 2,545 mahals the valuation has been by standard rates and in the remaining 830 mahals at the all-round cash incidence of the estate. Where there exists an appreciable amount of self-cultivated *str*, an allowance of 25 per cent. has been made under the sanction accorded in Government Order No. 3890/I--893D, dated 16th December 1903. Fallow has, as a general rule, been excluded from valuation. The fallow fields shown as part of the assumption area are generally bits of waste land co-sharers have got recorded in their *str* to prevent other co-sharers securing them or of pieces of soil bestowed rent-free because they were hardly worth paying rent for. The gross valuation works out at Rs. 3,60,640 and the net valuation at Rs. 3,31,832.

Improvements.

46. The deductions for improvements have been as follows :—

					Rs.
(a) Wells	...	...	...	...	10,684
(b) Others	...	...	...	...	222
					<hr/>
			Total	...	10,906
					<hr/>

The deduction has ordinarily taken the form of 10 per cent. of the cost of the improvement; though on a number of wells, the exact cost of which it was difficult to ascertain, allowance was made at Rs. 10 per bucket. As an illustration of the contention I have made elsewhere that stability of tenure is an incentive towards improvement in agriculture it may be noted that peasant-proprietors, although in revised villages they only cultivate 8 per cent. of the holdings' area, have constructed 18 per cent. of the wells, or proportionately nearly three times as many as the tenants have sunk.

Deductions for other
reasons.

47. The not inconsiderable sum of Rs. 40,324 has been deducted on account of the instability of the present holdings area or the precariousness of general or special crops. The calculation of the amount of deduction has generally been based upon the value and extent of the unstable or precarious area; though in a few instances, where such method did not appear satisfactory, an all-round abatement computed according to past average assets has been made. Further sums of Rs. 47,522 for fallow in holdings, Rs. 2,947 for groves, and Rs. 334 for land taken up for a rifle range, bring the total deductions from the cash-rental to Rs. 91,127. In the Bhognipur and Ghatampur tahsils and the sub-Sengur section of the Derapur tahsil the deductions are large, but the inflated figures for demand and cultivation during the year of revision have given an altogether erroneous picture of the ordinary capabilities of estates in the precarious riverain and dry areas. Very extensive reductions have constantly been necessary before the figures can be accepted as

representing the normal capabilities of an estate. The deductions have been made in most cases with a view to reducing the assessed area to what, taking the statistics of a number of years, appears to be a fair normal.

48. The actual assessed area amounts to 480,235 acres as against the year of revision's holdings area of 503,831 acres and cultivated area of 479,592 acres. The assessed area.

49. The additions for *siwai* amount to Rs. 6,141. In Sheorajpur tahsil, Rs. 170 have been added for culturable waste in two estates, in one of which the cultivated area of the year of revision was so abnormally low as to give grounds for suspecting fraud, while in the other good land remained uncultivated because of supine mismanagement. Siwai.

50. The share of the assets taken as revenue has in ordinary estates been 50 per cent. The only instances where this percentage has been exceeded are mahals in which a slightly higher demand equalizes their revenue with that of other mahals in the same estate of equal size and approximately equal advantages. A lower percentage has been taken— The percentage of assets taken as revenue.

- (i) when a full 50 per cent. would involve an exceptionally large increase in an already severe revenue and impose, or add to, a severe incidence;
- (ii) when the proprietors are numerous or a community of peasant cultivators;
- (iii) when the landholders are hereditary proprietors who have been crippled by severe revenues in the past;
- (iv) when the estate is particularly precarious; or
- (v) when the revenue of a mahal, though not of the whole estate, can be retained under the 45-55 per cent. rules.

In the peculiarly precarious tracts along the Jumna and in the dry areas of Ghatampur and Bhognipur tahsils percentages between 40 and 45 per cent. were taken for some estates after consultation with the Board of Revenue. The net percentage for the whole district works out at 46.89.

51. The net assets for revised estates amounted to Rs. 23,10,222, and the revenue assessed to Rs. 10,83,234. The net reduction of revenue is Rs. 89,625, to which must be added Rs. 62,569 owner's rate in revised and unrevised estates, giving a total reduction of Rs. 1,52,194. A statement shewing the revenues assessed at previous settlements is given in appendix V, from which it will be seen that the revenue now imposed is not only the lowest on record, but is actually over 4½ lakhs less than the figure of the first settlement made a century ago. The net assets and revenue imposed.

52. According to calculations detailed in the various tahsil assessment reports I estimate that, but for canal extensions, the revenue would have been pitched approximately Rs. 57,000 lower. Revenue assignable to canal extensions.

53. The incidences per acre of cultivated and revenue-paying area stand at 2.26 and 1.70 respectively compared to 2.51 and 1.84 at last settlement. Revenue incidence.

54. Progressive revenues have only been imposed in 16 mahals, of which 12 lie within the limits of Cawnpore municipality. Progressive revenues.

55. All the alluvial mahals are either on the Ganges or the Jumna. The alluvial mahals proper are not of very much importance, but the semi-alluvial kachhar tracts on both rivers—particularly that on the Ganges between Cawnpore and Bithur—contain stretches of land of considerable value. On the Ganges, Domanpur Katri, Paigupur kachhar and Hingupur kachhar, and, on the Jumna, Nagwan kachhar have been transferred from the 30-year to the quinquennial list, and, on the Jumna, Jaisalpur kachhar and Bahmai Prag Dutt have been transferred from the quinquennial to the 30-year list. Seven mahals have been given conditional long term settlements. Altogether there are 125 quinquennially settled mahals the revenue imposed on which amounts to Rs. 17,530. Alluvial mahals.

56. In many settlements enhancement cases are decided by Deputy Collectors that have had no hand in either the selection of circle rates or in the framing of assessments; indeed, they have at times been working at enhancement cases long Enhancements and abatements.

after the Settlement Officer himself has left the district. In Cawnpore the absence of case work connected with the revision of records has enabled all enhancements (and abatements) to be dealt with by either the Settlement Officer or his assistant concurrently with their assessments—an arrangement possessing many advantages. Under the former system the enhancements, except that their *estimated* result is included in assessments, hardly belong to settlement at all; and it would make very little difference to the Deputy Collector's decisions if he were attached to district instead of the settlement office. On the other hand, where the assessing officer himself disposes of enhancements, he has firstly at his back the intimate local knowledge that his minute inspections have put him in possession of, so that he can decide at once on the relative position any estate occupies in its circle compared to its fellows and in regard to standard rates; and secondly, he is able to treat his enhancements as an integral part of his assessments and refuse them or grant them according to the adequacy or inadequacy of the rental as a basis of assessment. Thus, take the not uncommon case of an estate in which the occupancy rental is somewhat below, but the non-occupancy rental considerably above, standard rates; say for example that the occupancy rental is Rs. 900 and the non-occupancy Rs. 1,600, and that the standard valuation of each is Rs. 1,000. The assessing officer decides that he cannot accept higher assets than a valuation of the occupancy at standard and the non-occupancy at 25 per cent. over standard, in all Rs. 2,250 as against a recorded rental of Rs. 2,500. The landlord applies for enhancement of the occupancy rental because it is below standard rates. A Settlement Officer would reject such an application on the ground that the total rental is already, for settlement purposes, excessive. The Deputy Collector on the other hand would probably raise the occupancy rents from Rs. 900 to Rs. 1,000. In recent settlements it has been recognized as a vital principle of assessment that the State shall not, by basing its assessments on rack-rents, become an accomplice in such rack-renting. If, however, a rental rejected as excessive is still further enhanced, the above leniency in assessment stultifies itself; a stultification that is brought out very clearly, if the avowed reason for enhancement is subjected to a close scrutiny. Were the occupancy tenants a totally separate body paying inadequate rents, an adjustment of the burden between them and the over-rented non-occupancy tenants, instead of an increase in the already crushing burden borne by the whole community, would appear to be the proper course, though the law unfortunately does not permit of this; but where the occupancy and non-occupancy tenant, as in most estates in this district, is one and the same person, it may, and often does, perpetrate a gross injustice to deal separately with the two sections, occupancy and non-occupancy, into which what is a really a single holding has been arbitrarily divided by law. On paper the distribution of rent between the two is generally unequal, the older fields paying less, and the newer more, rent; whereas the facts are that the tenant, in coming to an agreement with the landlord for the later fields, has been influenced by the lightness or otherwise of the rents he already pays for his older fields,—in other words, he takes into account the circumstances, not merely of the new fields, but of the entire holding before consenting to a fresh rent. In his mind, and this is the spirit of his new agreement, he adjusts his new liabilities over all his fields and does not simply assign the additional rent to the additional fields. On the other hand, in the patwari's records no adjustment of rent takes place; a new lump rent may be substituted for an old lump rent, but the probability is that the old rents, whether field or lump, will be left alone and the new rent be merely entered as the liability for the new fields, a clear misrepresentation of facts. The only economically sound principle on which to judge of the adequacy of a tenant's rental is to consider it as a whole; and, if on his entire tenement he pays a fair rent, there should be no enhancement. Unfortunately, under the present law, a settlement court is the only court that can take this commonsense view of the situation; other courts, in dealing with applications for enhancement, must regard an occupancy holding as an

altogether separate entity. In the light of a not inconsiderable experience both as Collector and Settlement Officer, I cannot indeed avoid the conclusion that the present law of enhancements is radically unsound, firstly because it is based on the false assumption that the occupancy and non-occupancy tenants are different persons, and secondly, because it requires of the ordinary revenue court, the determination of "the prevailing rate paid by occupancy tenants for land of similar quality and with similar advantages," a task beyond the court's power. It is true that elaborate rules, the exact compliance with which involves an altogether inordinate expenditure of time, have been laid down for the court's guidance; but, any Settlement Officer will bear me out in this, they are of little value, for the simple reason that they try to find a short cut to standard rates, in other words, to do in a day what a Settlement Officer can only achieve after weeks of inspection and analysis of statistics. If enhancement cases have on the whole not been unjustly decided, the merit lies, not with the law or rules, but with the good sense of the presiding officers who have constantly insisted on parties effecting a compromise; they have in fact done justice, in spite of, not because of the law. On the other hand, where no compromise has been brought about, every revenue court has experience of the dreary monotony with which a case may oscillate backwards and forwards to and from the appellate court for further report or enquiry, till years elapse before a final decision is arrived at and the enhanced rent, perhaps the total rent, for a decade or more is swallowed up in costs.

57. At last settlement the rental of the district after adding enhancements was Rs. 34,69,289 or, corrected for assumption area, Rs. 37,77,988. The revenue imposed was Rs. 21,59,365; so that in the gross the charge on the cultivators was 37½ lakhs, out of which the State received 21½ lakhs and zamindars a little over 16 lakhs. At the present settlement the difference between the corrected rental and the revenue is roughly 24½ lakhs—so that the zamindari body as a whole now start their new term under circumstances better by 50 per cent. than a generation ago, not counting the recent reductions in cesses. Unfortunately the zamindars only number 38,000 or barely 5 per cent. of the total agricultural community. The remaining 95 per cent. which consist of cultivators and their dependents have to bear a rent-roll that has increased by 6½ lakhs, even after allowing for the few thousand rupees just abated and the Rs. 62,000 that, though classed as owner's rate, was in reality a direct charge on the cultivator. Moreover these figures do not entirely represent the depreciation in the cultivator's position, for the fall of proprietary cultivation from 148,225 to 107,665 acres means, exclusive of the large area sublet, that the cultivating community now pays rent for 40,000 odd acres for which it formerly paid only revenue; the difference between the rent and revenue of this area thirty years ago went into the pockets of the peasant proprietors who cultivated it; it now goes into the pockets of the middlemen zamindars. This settlement therefore cannot claim to have more than touched the fringe of the district's real agricultural difficulties. The bettering of the condition of the zamindars is but an insignificant achievement that can have no real effect on the prosperity of the district as a whole. In 1898 Mr. Tretbewy, to whose intimate knowledge of the Cawnpore district is added an exceptionally wide experience in the settlement of deteriorated tracts, summed up the situation by saying that it is "more important to maintain a strong body of occupancy tenants than to prevent one purchaser being sold up to make way for another." The time, indeed, seems to have gone by, when in a district of middlemen zamindars it is sufficient for the Settlement Officer to adjust the revenue to rents; and a stage has been reached when his settlement must be incomplete and unsatisfactory unless the legislature gives him a mandate to invert the former procedure and adjust rents to what he adjudges to be a fair revenue. The cultivator, be he proprietor, tenant, or sub-tenant, is the real, though silent, landed interest of such a district and on his strength and financial stability the whole scheme of village life, with its concomitant institutions, agricultural banks, headmen, panchayats, assistance in repressing crime and what not, depends for vitality.

Probable influence
of the present
settlement on
the district's
prosperity.

Cost of operations.

58. The cost of operations, which include revision of patwaris' circles, and the preparation of pargana books, pargana hand-books, and mauza registers, is estimated to amount to Rs. 1,62,065, working out at 69.44 per square mile. This falls considerably below the original estimate of two lakhs, and would have been even less, had it not been necessary to pay a heavy rent for the office building, and also spend an exceptional item of Rs. 2,811 on erecting quarters for the staff during the plague.

PILIBHIT :
20th January 1907. }

H. K. GRACEY, C. S.,
Settlement Officer.

APPENDICES.

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APPENDIX I.

Statement showing transfers of proprietary right since last settlement for the Cawnpore district.

Particulars.	1st decennial period.		2nd decennial period.		3rd decennial period.		Total.	
	Private sale.	Public sale.	Private sale.	Public sale.	Private sale.	Public sale.	Private sale.	Public sale.
Area in acres ...	...	...	114,864	29,990	137,360	42,865	252,224	72,855
Revenue ...	1,52,486	33,573	1,96,561	49,296	2,14,474	74,091	5,63,521	1,56,960
Price ...	16,60,103	1,48,364	27,69,893	5,65,400	30,73,864	6,48,444	75,03,900	13,62,208
Price per acre ...	...	...	24.11	18.85	22.38	15.13	29.75	18.70
Years purchase of revenue ...	10.89	4.42	14.09	11.47	14.33	8.75	13.32	8.68

APPENDIX II.

Statement showing the average prices of grains from 1861 A. D. to 1905 A. D. in the Cawnpore district.

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Wheat ...	20.75	32.06	34.06	24.75	22.44	17.81	20.37	24.50	16.53	23.87	25.72	21.06	18.06	15.50	22.00	24.00	18.50	13.80	14.17	18.34	20.47	18.68	18.73	22.02	22.49
Barley ...	22.50	37.50	42.05	28.39	23.04	20.63	28.06	30.27	15.54	24.11	31.20	24.77	21.81	21.09	30.75	40.02	24.27	18.78	21.08	27.00	28.82	27.98	28.23	30.73	31.92
Gram ...	20.09	29.46	34.29	23.57	19.82	17.95	26.25	29.46	14.20	17.41	...	24.09	21.59	21.05	28.56	34.81	22.71	13.47	14.39	21.19	23.69	26.59	28.92	28.09	28.10
Bijhra ...	37.44	41.50	46.12	32.81	30.69	25.19	27.06	58.31	22.31	25.25	40.87	31.81	27.56	22.00	31.12	39.00	32.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Juar ...	35.75	50.00	33.44	24.44	29.31	31.25	32.75	30.00	23.37	31.25	37.00	29.25	26.37	23.25	42.25	34.00	21.94	14.69	20.62	28.55	28.31	28.27	29.37	29.54	30.31
Bajra ...	31.12	62.50	35.00	24.37	25.31	28.12	37.50	29.22	22.81	26.87	35.00	26.06	23.87	20.50	39.00	30.75	19.67	13.08	17.68	26.53	26.42	26.81	25.94	29.19	28.62
Maize ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arhar ...	27.86	27.32	38.30	25.45	18.75	13.66	22.25	28.93	12.86	17.95	...	...	18.05	14.29	20.91	28.87	18.74	9.33	11.79	18.78	21.12	22.40	24.69	22.41	22.50
Rice ...	12.25	14.50	21.00	15.25	11.05	12.00	13.00	16.25	11.50	14.00	17.07	16.05	14.29	13.74	16.60	13.92	12.76	8.80	11.54	14.70	15.68	15.98	14.42	12.81	14.62
Kakun ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cotton ...	3.80	3.90	1.52	2.17	2.34	2.93	2.16	2.29	1.99	2.46	2.99	1.03	2.78	2.62	2.62	2.62	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

APPENDIX II.

Statement showing the average prices of grains from 1861 A. D. to 1905 A. D. in the Cawnpore district—(concluded).

	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Wheat ...	19.65	16.42	16.19	16.68	15.46	14.59	14.23	15.62	17.90	16.32	11.57	9.25	15.07	14.80	11.60	12.27	14.44	15.45	16.47	12.44
Barley ...	29.48	22.05	20.77	22.40	19.79	18.45	20.71	22.77	24.33	20.31	14.02	12.91	23.85	20.80	15.28	19.32	20.72	21.89	25.47	18.50
Gram ...	28.42	24.43	20.42	23.18	20.60	17.57	21.27	23.12	23.57	20.34	14.48	9.57	19.37	19.45	13.12	17.61	20.75	20.64	21.92	17.31
Bijhra ...	27.00	20.75	21.12	22.50	18.69	22.56	22.81	21.56	15.94	11.62	22.06	23.00	15.37	19.56	21.44	23.31	24.62	22.12	20.12	15.31
Juar ...	23.22	21.17	18.07	23.34	19.61	18.86	22.56	22.54	23.91	19.59	13.72	13.60	23.73	21.92	16.32	23.85	22.83	24.35	26.96	20.12
Bajra ...	22.42	21.79	16.14	21.18	20.05	17.00	20.18	20.69	21.77	19.06	12.52	12.41	22.40	19.69	14.30	20.32	21.25	23.51	26.17	18.06
Maize ...	27.92	28.12	22.11	27.17	22.02	20.46	23.37	24.19	24.25	21.61	16.78	13.74	28.32	22.58	19.05	24.83	24.43	27.50	26.94	20.00
Arhar ...	27.48	25.90	23.28	23.85	22.64	18.81	21.25	23.00	24.19	21.19	16.80	10.62	19.03	16.58	11.72	12.67	14.92	12.66	15.41	16.00
Rice ...	14.75	14.34	13.21	12.25	12.83	12.29	11.75	12.40	12.79	12.67	10.90	8.73	11.08	12.10	10.07	10.65	11.05	11.56	12.24	11.75
Kakun ...	25.38	24.71	18.53	23.46	23.87	12.31	15.19	19.71	19.56	17.73	15.48	14.20	22.30	19.98	16.10	23.08	22.33	21.94	19.06	18.18
Cotton ...	3.38	3.00	2.50	2.94	2.88	2.94	2.44	2.94	3.13	2.81	3.06	3.50	3.63	2.44	2.81	2.58	2.51	2.06	2.31	2.37

APPENDIX III.

SPECIAL RULES REGARDING THE CAWNPORE SETTLEMENT.

1. In the revision of the settlement of the Cawnpore district the rules contained in Board's Extant Circular 15—I will be observed, subject to the following modifications :—

2. There will be no revision of maps or attestation of records.

3. The soil classification of last settlement will be accepted, except where for special reasons, the Settlement Officer, on inspection, finds a new classification to be indispensable.

4. The recorded rents of occupancy tenants will be accepted as adequate, wherever the incidence per acre of the occupancy rental is not more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below the incidence per acre of the non-occupancy rental.

Explanation.—It is not intended by this rule that occupancy rents should be enhanced where the difference in excess of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is found on investigation to be due to inferiority of soils.

5. The valuation of assumption areas shall be generally made at the incidence of the tenants' cash rental as laid down in clause 2 of rule 36 of Circular No. 15: unless for special reasons the Settlement Officer is of opinion that this course is not practicable.

6. Whenever 50 per cent. of the accepted assets would give an assessment approximately the same as the current demand, i.e., not varying in either direction by more than 10 per cent. from the present demand exclusive of the demand (if any) on account of owners' rate, the present revenue will not be changed, unless by reason of the number of the co-sharers being very large the Settlement Officer considers that a reduction of the revenue is imperative.

7. If the assets of a mahal as obtained by the application of valuation of the assumption area on the incidence of the tenant's cash rental, and the deduction of such amounts (if any) as may be necessary, yield at 50 per cent. a revenue such as is referred to in the preceding rule, no further valuation will be necessary, unless the Settlement Officer upon inspection finds the valuation so obtained to be radically unsuitable to the conditions of the mahal.

8. Generally the assessment notes should consist mainly of a comparison of the present condition of the mahal with its condition at the last revision of settlement, and if the revenue has been reduced during the term of last settlement, the condition of the mahal when such reduction took place was imposed, and where no change in the assessment is necessary, it will not be requisite to do more than note that the condition of the mahal is not such as to warrant any change in the revenue.

9. The Settlement Officer will work out his assessments as far as possible at the time of inspection, and will report his proposed assessments at the same time that he reports his rent-rates for sanction.

10. In submitting his report with the mahalwar assessment statements (which will be in the prescribed form) the Settlement Officer will give a detailed analysis of the revision in the case of all mahals in which the assessments have been varied. For the mahals in which no change has been made a brief statement of the number of mahals and of the total of the revenues maintained will suffice.

APPENDIX IV.

Accepted and rejected rentals in revised estates.

		Number of mahals in which rentals accepted.	Rent.	Number of mahals in which rentals is rejected as high.	Rejected rental.	Accepted rental.	Number of mahals in which rental is rejected as low.	Rejected rental.	Accepted rental.	Number of mahals with no rents.	Total number of mahals.	Total recorded rent	Total accepted rent
			Rs.		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.			Rs.	Rs.
Occupancy	...	3,107	11,64,761	446	1,86,449	1,65,585	109	35,806	38,870	95	3,757	13,98,843	13,62,978
Non-occupancy	...	2,483	3,89,246	1,024	3,28,947	2,59,483	39	9,677	12,753	21	3,757	7,30,129	6,59,239
Total	...	...	15,54,007	...	5,15,396	4,25,068	...	45,483	51,623	...	...	21,28,972	20,22,217

Note in Board's Office.—The total reductions shown in this appendix are 1,06,755 or Rs. 88 less than in Appendix VIII. The difference appears to be due to the non-inclusion in this appendix of the five villages referred to in the footnote to appendix VIII.

APPENDIX V.

Statement showing the revenues of past settlements and new revenues sanctioned at this settlement for both non-alluvial and alluvial tracts (Cawnpore district).

Number of settlement.	Bilhaur.	Rasula- bad.	Sheoraj- pur.	Narwal.	Cawnpore.	Akbar- pur.	Derapur.	Sikan- dra.	Bhogni- pur.	Ghatam- pur.	Total for the district.
	Rs. a.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1st settlement	2,21,341	2,22,023	3,31,452	2,79,828	3,24,023	2,29,286	1,43,435	1,53,387	2,10,816	3,53,455	24,69,046
2nd do.	2,16,243	2,18,170	3,07,225	2,65,945	3,08,037	2,24,512	1,39,633	1,50,846	2,08,347	3,47,132	23,86,090
3rd do.	2,15,081	2,21,354	3,01,731	2,36,045	2,90,496	2,20,471	1,31,443	1,66,912	2,06,901	3,22,867	23,16,301
4th do.	2,13,411	2,16,931	2,91,539	2,52,136	2,96,814	2,20,665	1,31,874	1,72,958	2,16,059	3,08,161	23,20,548
5th do.	1,98,460	1,98,442	2,73,705	2,37,773	3,02,123	2,14,668	1,27,426	1,33,575	1,93,346	3,02,258	21,81,776
6th do.	1,94,410	1,95,750	2,74,170	2,28,915	2,61,880	2,22,675	1,39,350	1,38,835	2,11,330	2,92,050	21,59,965
This 7th do.	2,94,752-8	...	2,73,412	2,00,964	2,50,966-8	2,06,514	2,88,984	...	2,53,744	2,46,837	20,16,174

APPENDIX VI (1).

Comparative area statement for the Cawnpore district.

Period.	Number of vil- lages.	Number of ma- hals.	Total area.	Revenue free.	Culturable.		Cultivated.					
					Waste.	New fallow.	Irrigable.				Dry.	Total.
							Canals.	Wells.	Other sources.	Total.		
			Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Last settlement ...	*2,058	2,650	1,483,292	67	188,712	26,437	131,454	178,722	41,351	351,527	512,930	864,457
Present settlement	2,044	5,592	1,482,363	887	31,234	21,662	317,950	162,535	35,724	516,209	317,421	833,630

* Includes alluvial villages.

APPENDIX VI (2) (a).

Population table.

Period.	Cawnpore (Urban).	Cawnpore (Rural).	Total.
1872	1,23,386	10,06,930	11,30,316
1881	1,51,444	10,29,952	11,81,396
1891	1,88,712	10,20,983	12,09,695
1901	1,97,170	10,61,698	12,58,868

APPENDIX VI (2) (b).

Masonry wells.

Old.	New.	Total.
4,470	6,042	10,512

APPENDIX VI (3).

Rent-rolls and collections, Cawnpore district.

Period.	Holdings' area.				Total cultivated.	Rental demand of columns 2 and 3.	Siwai.	Total.	Collections including arrears.
	Cash.	Grain	Assump- tion.	Total.					
Last settlement ...	674,545	42	193,165	867,752	864,457	Rs. 29,17,183	Rs. 969	Rs. 29,18,152	...
	1,368		1802	3,170					
Seventh year after set- tlement.	730,675	...	150,091	880,766	847,559	33,59,369	38,058	33,97,427	31,85,871
	21			21					
Average of eight years ...	712,433	14	131,946	844,393	778,758	36,10,805	60,766	36,71,571	31,91,482
Year of revision ...	740,724	47	132,078	872,849	*833,624	†37,80,598	62,414	38,43,012	33,54,343
	30,193	2	9030	30,225					

* Excludes 6 acres Government property.

† Includes Rs. 171 rent of grain-rented area.

APPENDIX VI (4).

Proprietors.

District.	Tenure.					Number.	Principal castes.
	Single zamin- dari.	Joint zamin- dari.	Perfect patti- dari.	Imper- fect patti- dari.	Bhaiya- chara.		
Cawnpore ...	1,687	2,921	604	360	20	36,572	Thakur and Brahman.

APPENDIX VI (5).

Cultivating tenures and incidences, Cawnpore district.

	Last settlement.			Present settlement.		
	Area.	Rent.	Incidence.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence.
	Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.	
Proprietary cultivation	148,225	...	...	107,668	...	...
	18			5,679		
Area and rent of cash- rented occupancy.	527,380	22,88,783	4-34	522,059	23,04,569	4-39
	1,076			21,265		
Area and rent of cash- rented non-occupancy.	147,165	6,28,400	4-27	218,666	11,75,858	5-38
	292			8,928		
Total cash-rented ...	674,545	29,17,183	4-32	740,724	37,80,427	5-10
	1,368			30,193		

APPENDIX VII.

Crop statement for the district of Cawnpore.

Fasli year.	Rabi.												Kharif.			
	Food crops.							Non-food crops.					Food crops.			
	Wheat.	Wheat mixed.	Barley alone or mixed.	Gram.	Potatoes.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	Opium.	Tobacco.	Miscellaneous non-food crops.	Total.	Total rabi.	Juar alone or with arhar.	Bajra alone or with arhar.	Rice.	Maize.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
1284	77,835	83,342	252,509	32,468	543	5,603	452,300	6,762	1,211	1,248	9,221	461,521	175,156	49,777	25,153	25,853
1285	75,501	120,515	296,568	33,160	413	8,395	534,552	6,127	722	3,781	10,630	545,182	104,851	51,168	5,047	0,927
1286	45,682	66,070	265,309	24,004	459	3,755	405,279	8,107	766	747	9,620	414,899	233,187	59,212	18,670	22,889
1287	54,004	79,494	325,035	15,040	648	3,837	478,658	8,866	1,045	810	10,721	489,379	103,885	50,555	36,614	36,885
1288	58,001	41,599	245,450	11,110	586	4,188	360,934	8,715	672	586	9,973	370,907	200,694	43,506	18,289	28,233
1289	58,850	54,953	274,967	51,327	665	3,510	444,272	8,064	1,194	325	9,583	453,855	191,987	36,494	26,275	37,837
1290	62,350	87,724	242,502	33,732	806	3,196	430,310	7,540	1,050	469	9,059	439,369	196,666	56,775	30,782	44,061
1291	66,233	92,540	248,666	27,265	707	3,885	439,296	6,665	621	518	7,804	447,100	181,360	60,705	28,117	44,263
1292	65,999	114,455	262,611	10,499	660	2,589	455,913	6,676	856	1,069	8,601	464,514	190,428	48,130	19,046	35,196
1293	54,882	105,111	269,717	32,360	811	4,290	467,171	7,542	1,021	1,124	9,687	476,858	168,345	34,257	33,550	42,744
1294	57,776	133,924	249,775	14,473	724	2,865	459,537	5,785	1,006	1,336	8,077	467,614	171,233	45,873	33,615	40,445
1295	53,510	122,718	273,158	24,785	997	4,780	479,948	5,376	822	1,020	7,220	487,168	169,829	21,691	37,216	48,547
1296	50,949	128,528	307,025	56,588	922	9,402	553,504	2,196	618	782	3,596	557,100	101,936	41,410	41,246	27,195
1297	41,827	103,859	227,962	48,834	993	6,341	429,816	2,655	552	498	3,705	433,521	195,419	34,772	47,648	37,650
1298	62,739	118,938	248,497	31,612	959	7,341	470,086	898	779	568	2,265	472,351	134,121	50,185	54,887	40,731
1299	60,567	126,675	241,788	22,623	910	8,999	461,553	1,070	645	1,245	2,960	464,513	134,193	29,936	51,717	36,991
1300	49,646	132,770	209,796	53,039	1,200	9,590	456,041	1,214	601	716	2,531	458,572	187,380	28,925	62,554	27,948
1301	55,523	158,098	216,565	27,381	856	9,202	467,625	1,327	1,138	1,352	3,817	471,442	184,422	35,284	64,874	28,259
1302	42,663	139,348	283,175	9,503	862	5,693	481,244	5,125	1,040	1,506	7,671	488,915	182,250	23,496	61,331	32,260
1303	32,391	100,017	206,868	70,480	1,008	6,731	417,495	8,506	403	619	9,528	427,023	169,287	29,010	56,056	40,603
1304	39,461	90,474	210,462	43,153	931	8,296	392,777	10,561	395	2,028	12,984	405,761	184,989	24,487	44,648	57,952
1305	54,067	110,055	221,252	43,192	1,140	8,073	438,079	7,925	598	636	9,159	447,238	182,452	29,291	46,585	71,702
1306	59,455	123,697	210,195	56,065	1,170	7,133	457,715	8,630	593	806	10,029	467,744	193,389	25,673	51,634	61,828
1307	58,657	144,604	195,845	57,607	1,045	7,366	465,124	8,644	463	709	9,816	474,940	154,636	66,867	56,537	36,848
1308	62,198	154,206	183,411	35,804	1,164	6,353	442,136	6,423	592	974	7,989	450,125	211,952	41,365	47,384	49,665
1309	52,242	152,998	203,574	48,239	1,327	7,962	466,232	5,656	715	891	7,262	473,544	199,479	36,931	51,610	60,415
1310	66,507	141,876	203,038	89,496	1,494	9,233	461,644	5,765	605	944	7,341	468,958	22,771	31,367	44,077	64,105

APPENDIX VII.

Crop statement for the district of Cawnpore—(concluded).

Fiscal year.	Kharif.								Total kharif.	Zaid.	Total of crops i.e., rabi, kharif and zaid.	Dofaili.	Cultivated area.
	Food crops.				Non-food crops.								
	Garden crops.	Miscel- laneous food crops.	Total.	Cotton alone or with arhar.	Indigo.	Sugarcane.	Miscellaneous food crops.	Total.					
1284	1,221	12,332	289,492	95,095	33,361	15,922	3,559	147,937	437,429	898,950	53,885	845,065	
1285	3,946	5,614	181,653	53,403	46,214	14,837	7,117	121,571	303,124	848,306	19,176	829,130	
1286	1,358	8,908	344,224	90,247	47,647	13,552	4,662	156,108	500,332	915,231	59,431	855,800	
1287	790	12,035	340,764	83,982	28,256	9,965	4,033	126,236	467,000	957,514	78,544	878,970	
1288	2,257	5,473	293,452	90,864	32,999	6,425	4,090	134,378	427,830	800,012	58,978	741,084	
1289	1,496	12,340	306,429	104,575	59,100	6,233	4,871	174,779	481,208	936,302	95,385	840,917	
1290	1,636	11,363	341,283	121,450	43,730	8,276	4,517	177,373	518,556	959,641	97,341	862,300	
1291	5,556	15,304	335,265	117,876	41,869	7,809	6,704	174,258	509,523	958,909	103,691	855,218	
1292	6,911	11,146	303,859	117,795	60,442	5,452	7,590	191,279	501,138	968,446	104,083	864,363	
1293	6,034	11,555	296,485	118,081	54,818	6,711	8,724	188,334	484,819	964,957	123,559	841,398	
1294	5,472	10,378	307,016	129,796	24,667	8,245	7,753	170,461	477,477	948,283	105,498	842,785	
1295	1,283	17,717	296,283	109,903	38,013	9,610	7,049	164,575	460,858	952,743	125,259	827,484	
1296	5,659	8,114	225,580	64,719	44,831	9,922	5,775	125,247	350,807	912,571	127,253	785,318	
1297	1,075	16,900	333,454	105,906	25,319	8,015	6,037	145,277	478,731	916,524	108,842	807,682	
1298	1,108	15,682	296,714	96,125	21,583	8,957	7,460	134,125	430,839	908,258	126,108	782,150	
1299	1,345	14,215	318,397	90,590	21,825	12,309	7,852	132,576	450,973	919,986	133,604	786,382	
1300	7,894	9,202	323,903	75,552	16,173	13,717	7,096	112,538	436,441	899,119	111,768	787,351	
1301	1,197	12,378	325,414	77,952	37,264	7,765	7,584	130,555	455,969	930,890	129,462	801,428	
1302	1,395	11,606	319,338	83,982	37,607	8,379	7,577	137,445	456,783	950,437	161,192	789,245	
1303	1,926	14,840	311,731	85,269	21,068	14,055	5,262	125,654	437,385	868,936	111,880	757,056	
1304	2,200	21,552	335,838	110,408	39,471	9,343	9,147	167,489	503,317	916,025	178,807	737,218	
1305	2,454	33,712	366,596	93,190	38,826	8,915	8,981	147,912	516,598	968,266	182,014	786,252	
1306	2,301	24,053	358,578	93,158	14,751	8,421	12,286	128,616	487,394	959,155	157,786	801,369	
1307	3,152	12,064	330,104	66,935	20,253	8,197	8,390	103,776	433,880	914,008	120,804	793,204	
1308	3,356	16,440	370,162	78,749	21,127	8,752	10,418	119,046	480,208	943,982	126,988	816,997	
1309	7,053	14,094	369,572	99,535	10,210	12,606	11,324	133,772	503,346	981,108	140,456	840,652	
1310	6,543	13,995	363,074	112,601	9,430	10,508	13,764	146,303	569,377	982,759	136,618	846,141	

APPENDIX VIII.—ASSETS AND REVENUE.

			Cash-rented.		Sir.	Khudkasht.	Grain-rented.	Rent-free, &c.	Total.
			Non-occupancy.	Occupancy and ex-proprietary.					
1. Holdings area	...	Acres.	137729 5608	285051 12184	50305 3263	15300 676	31 2	14512 2102	503831 24036
2. Recorded rent	...	Rs.	7,31,038	13,99,085	...	...	...	...	...
3. Incidence	...	...	531	489	...	...	...	...	...
4. Assets corrected by incidence of cash rents	...	Rs.	7,31,038	13,99,085	...	...	...	...	...
Area under singhara or groves, pan, etc., not included in soil classification	...	...	1731 148	2010 1325	450 395	79 40	...	436 294	4739 2202
5. Soil with circle rates—									
Gauhan	...	Wet	59	178 5	94	14	...	8	353 8
	...	Dry	135	460 3	271 5	35 2	...	31	932 11
Gauhan I	...	Wet	2530 25	7384 75	2125 44	439 7	2	287 21	12767 172
	...	Dry	388 22	845 51	213 18	82 9	...	89 30	1647 133
Gauhan II	...	Wet	2654 13	7886 62	2254 27	453 4	...	275 17	13522 123
	...	Dry	914 50	2443 121	622 30	167 3	...	159 28	4305 232
Gauhan III	...	Wet	9	9	1	2	...	7 1	28 1
	...	Dry	1	2 1	2	1	...	6 1	12 2
Purwa Gauhan	...	Wet	1219 10	4105 40	647 10	163 3	...	85 9	6219 72
	...	Dry	390 0	942 56	144 4	32 1	...	41 7	1549 77
Manjha I	...	Wet	9511 72	26147 100	5856 62	1274 15	1	765 18	43554 386
	...	Dry	3606 112	9123 320	2128 100	430 25	...	487 78	15774 605
Manjha II	...	Wet	15460 159	47191 377	8962 94	2062 28	1	1322 37	74038 695
	...	Dry	8832 333	18035 828	3645 168	1005 43	3	1092 185	33512 1656
Barhet I	...	Wet	20843 267	48392 454	6705 50	1895 32	...	1727 64	79562 907
	...	Dry	21094 1040	34066 1019	5391 407	2106 87	9 2	2087 340	64833 3795
Barhet II	...	Wet	10596 104	23448 461	2896 52	1059 23	...	1186 50	38685 789
	...	Dry	27740 2312	34313 4508	5878 1308	2938 190	15	3004 686	73888 6173
Tarai I	...	Wet	958 43	1757 90	197 17	39 4	...	85 10	3036 173
	...	Dry	509 90	535 92	119 25	51 5	...	48 8	1262 220
Tarai II	...	Wet	1998 187	3401 325	294 38	151 14	...	246 37	6090 601
	...	Dry	680 148	759 177	68 27	33 3	...	46 14	1566 389
Ravine I	...	Wet	44 2	145 6	12 2	6 2	...	7	214 12
	...	Dry	236 17	610 48	32 9	7	...	33 10	918 84
Ravine II	...	Wet	53 2	212 6	21	3	...	9	298 8
	...	Dry	601 78	1386 108	40 19	16 5	...	78 22	2121 322
Tarai Bhur	...	Wet	332 5	613 18	286 4	6	...	31 1	1268 28
	...	Dry	496 51	496 55	200 43	5	...	45 7	1242 168
Gauhan Bhur	...	Wet	27	68	41	8	...	4	143
	...	Dry	101 3	173 7	44 1	2	...	10 5	830 18
Manjha Bhur	...	Wet	39 1	250 8	124	14 1	...	5 3	432 8
	...	Dry	195 10	510 15	178 26	19 2	...	24 6	926 58
Barhet Bhur.	...	Wet	105 2	215 6	87 1	2 1	...	5	364 10
	...	Dry	756 62	1254 171	309 71	18 3	...	104 38	2441 343

APPENDIX VIII—ASSETS AND REVENUE—(concluded).

				Cash-rented.		Sir.	Khandkasht.	Grain-rented.	Rent-free, &c.	Total.
				Non-occupancy.	Occupancy and ex-proprietary.					
Pan ...	Wet ...	...	...	8	38	1	...	...	1	48
Rice I ...	...	...	...	52	188	41	1	...	16	248
Rice II ...	...	...	...	703	1901	301	67	...	434	3406
Kachhar I ...	...	...	...	40	205	46	1	...	61	373
Kachhar II ...	...	...	...	802	778	206	105	...	26	1917
Jamna Tarai ...	...	...	...	20	16	...	1	...	...	37
				1533	1785	306	307	...	78	4009
				70	63	27	10	...	1	171
				157	124	22	115	...	...	440
				5	5	2	3	...	22	15
Total				185998	283944	49855	15221	31	14,073	499122
				5460	11159	2868	536	2	1808	21633
6. Excluded fallow and grove	...	...	...	13,550			5,337			18,887
7. Assessed area	...	...	...	406,892			73,843			480,235
8. Valuation	...	...	...	601,718	13,84,488	2,59,016	69,732	113	61,965	23,77,027
9. Incidence on total area in line (5)	...	...	...	4.42	4.88	5.20	4.58	3.65	4.40	4.76
8. Accepted rent or valuation	...	...	...	660,103	1,363,177	239,770	64,770	106	56,023	23,83,949
9. Incidence on area assessed	...	...	...	4.98			4.88			4.96
Add for—				Rs.	Deduct for—				Rs.	
1. Sayar	...	...	...	6,141	1. Proprietary cultivation	...	...	...	28,808	
2. Land out of cultivation, &c.	...	...	...	170	2. Improvements	...	...	...	10,906	
Total	...	...	...	6,311	3. Other reasons	...	...	...	40,324	
					Total				80,038	
					Total minus				73,727	
					Net assets				23,10,222	
					New revenue at 46.89 per cent.				10,83,234	
Incidence per acre of cultivation				2.26	Old revenue				11,72,859.2	
Incidence per acre of cultivation				2.51	Owner's rate				32,477	
					Percentage of variation				-10.13	

Note.—1. Denominators represent fallow areas included in numerators.

2. Details of area excluded are not available by tenures.

3. This appendix includes the figures of the five villages in parganas Berapur and Akbarpur which were subsequently revised under G. O. No. ³³⁴⁷ I—893D, dated the 30th November 1905.

APPENDIX IX.

Statement comparing the actual rents paid by each class of tenants with valuation of their holdings.

Tenure.		Total district. ¹
		Rs.
Occupancy tenants whose rents have remained unchanged since last settlement.	Recorded rent ...	4,05,144
	Valuation ...	4,29,306
	Percentage of difference.	5.96
Occupancy tenants whose rents have been changed since last settlement.	Recorded rent ...	4,87,869
	Valuation ...	5,06,128
	Percentage of difference.	3.74
Tenants of 20 years and over.	Recorded rent ...	2,87,665
	Valuation ...	2,71,783
	Percentage of difference.	5.52
Tenants of 12 years and over.	Recorded rent ...	2,58,167
	Valuation ...	2,26,863
	Percentage of difference.	12.13
Total occupancy tenants	Recorded rent ...	14,38,845
	Valuation ...	14,34,080
	Percentage of difference.	.33
Tenants-at-will	Recorded rent ...	7,54,155
	Valuation ...	6,25,010
	Percentage of difference.	17.12
Total tenants in chief	Recorded rent ...	21,93,000
	Valuation ...	20,59,090
	Percentage of difference.	6.11

APPENDIX X.

Statement showing the percentages of proprietary rights held by each caste.

Particulars.	Thakur.	Brahman.	Kayasth.	Kurmi.	Ahir.	Money-lending classes.	Miscellaneous.	Musalman including naif muslim.	Meo.	Total.
At cession ...	49.97	14.24	10.84	7.22	1.75	1.46	.97	12.65	.70	100.00
At last settlement ...	31.42	31.53	6.84	7.48	1.91	6.34	.93	12.43	1.12	100.00
At this settlement ...	30.32	33.20	4.54	8.59	1.90	5.19	9.44	6.82	...	100.00

APPENDIX XI.

Statement showing the principal cultivating castes with areas held and rents paid by each.

Serial number.	Caste.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence.	Serial number according to incidence.
			Rs.		
1	Brahman...	169,122	8,20,427	4.85	9
2	Thakur ...	123,321	5,99,841	4.86	8
3	Ahir ...	115,531	5,45,820	4.72	11
4	Kurmi ...	73,542	3,28,645	4.47	14
5	Chamar ...	32,297	1,58,414	6.90	1
6	Gadaria ...	30,326	1,38,080	4.55	13
7	Kachhi ...	26,414	1,73,632	6.57	2
8	Lodh ...	17,746	90,373	5.09	5
9	Musalman ...	16,403	74,967	4.57	12
10	Kayasth ...	10,338	42,993	4.16	16
11	Bania ...	8,619	41,461	4.81	10
12	Others ...	117,110	7,65,945	6.54	3
	Total	740,769	37,80,508	5.10	...

APPENDIX XII.

Statement showing cost of settlement per square mile.

District.	Salary of Settlement Officer.	Salary of Assistant Settlement Officer.	Salary of fixed establishment.	Salary of temporary establishment.	Salary of extra tour establishment.	Travelling allowance of gazetted officers.	Travelling allowance of establishment.	Supplies and services.	Job work.	Contingencies.	Total expenditure.	Cost per square mile.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.
Cawnpore	71 033 12 8	18,956 0 2	20,136 12 6	25,053 5 2	601 15 2	3,599 2 0	801 5 9	55 15 1	8,023 6 11	13,782 11 0	*1,62,043 6 5	69.43

* Actuals up to September 1906 and estimates for October 1906.

APPENDIX XIII.

Statement showing the number of cases and appeals instituted and disposed of during the currency of the settlement.

(11A)

Name of Officer.	Class of application or case.	Total number of cases instituted.	On their merits.		Disposed of—								Appeals to Settlement Officers from their subordinates.				Remarks.		
			For plain-tiff.	For defen-dant.	Total on merits.		Otherwise than on their merits.						Total decided other-wise than on merits.	Decided.					
					By con-fession, com-promise or consent.	By de-fault of plaintiff.	By peti-tional service of summons.	By sub-stituted service of summons.	Total ex parte.	With-drawn.	From any other cause.	Total number of appeals instituted.		Con-firmed.	Re-mand-ed.	Total.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
1. H. R. Gracey, Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer. 2. Maulvi Muhammad Faiz-ud-din Ahmad, Assistant Settlement Officer.	I—Cases connected with patwaris, section 23 <i>et seq.</i>	3,988	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,988	3,988	...	...	...	...	...	...
	II—Boundary dispute, sections 40, 140, 141	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	III—Cases coming under sections 43, 44, 48, 49 or 50, admission to or exclusion from settlement.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	IV—Distribution of assessment or redistribution of land and revenue under sections 46 and 47.	5,450	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,448	5,448	...	...	...	...	...	...
	V—Sub-settlements under sections 53, 54, 55 and 56.	188	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	188	188	...	...	...	...	...	...
	VI—Settlement of waste lands under sections 57, 58 and 60.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	VII—Cases arising out of the preparation of record of rights.	44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44	44	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(a) Proprietary rights	118	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	118	118	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(b) Cultivating rights	470	270	44	314	54	48	26	16	42	10	2	156	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(c) Rent free tenure	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(d) Revenue-free tenure	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(e) Ceases, section 66	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(f) Any other matter under section 65.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
VIII—Rent cases ...	(a) Determination of rent on dispute.	508	198	148	346	4	16	...	...	...	4	135	162	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(b) Determination of rent of excluded proprietors.	70	24	8	32	4	10	...	...	...	...	24	38	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(c) Enhancement of rent.	1,412	236	136	372	2	46	...	...	...	62	930	1,040	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(d) Abatement of rent	816	108	124	232	...	28	...	...	...	...	556	584	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(e) Commutation of rent	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
IX—Partition of mahals.	(a) Imperfect	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(b) Perfect	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
X—Union of mahals	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
XI—Miscellaneous ...	...	3,054	50	...	50	...	8	...	...	...	2	2,994	3,004	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	16,136	888	460	1,348	64	166	26	16	42	78	14,448	14,788	...	...	...	...	...	...

1. H. R. Cracey, Esq., J.C.S., Settlement Officer.
2. Maulvi Muhammad Faiz-ud-din Ahmad, Assistant Settlement Officer.

ORDERS OF GOVERNMENT.

No. $\frac{297}{1-893D}$ OF 1908.

RESOLUTION.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Dated Allahabad, the 27th January 1908.

READ—

Letter from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, United Provinces, no. $\frac{264}{1-292B}$ dated the 8th October 1907, submitting the final settlement report of the Cawnpore district by Mr. H. K. Gracey, I.C.S., with a review thereof by the Board of Revenue.

OBSERVATIONS.—Since the last settlement the main feature of importance in the district has been the rapid growth of the head quarters town as a manufacturing city. The prosperity of the city has not been altogether reflected in the agricultural conditions of the district.

But there are, all the same, substantial signs of improvement. There is now a larger and better distributed supply of water from the canals than there was then, and wells of a permanent character are more numerous, with the result that the percentage of the total area irrigated has risen from 40·6 to 61 per cent. Railway communications, too, have developed and the population shows a very considerable rise. The increase in the double-cropped area has been large, and more than compensates for the small defect in the actual area cultivated.

2. The more rapid development of the district has, the Lieutenant Governor has no doubt, been retarded by the severe assessments of the past. The records of most of the previous settlements present a melancholy history of over-assessment, and at times of fraud on the part of the subordinate officials of Government. The settlement to which this report relates is the seventh since the cession in 1802. The first settlement was excessively severe, and, though in each subsequent settlement save one the revenue has been reduced, these reductions have not been so large as they should have been. The assessment at the sixth settlement was admittedly a full one, and experience has proved that it too was excessive. In spite of the large increase in the irrigated area the cultivation has declined during its currency by 3 per cent. Nor do crop figures show improvement in the style of cultivation as might have been expected, considering that the activity of the city should be reflected in the rural areas and that the head quarters of the operations of the Director of Agriculture are at Cawnpore itself.

3. Revision of settlement was decided to be necessary, not for financial reasons, for a considerable loss in revenue was anticipated, but to correct the undoubted inequalities of the former assessment. A simplified procedure was prescribed, and it was laid down that re-assessment was only to be carried out when there was good reason to believe that the existing revenue would be varied by more than 10 per cent. In practice it was found advisable to relax this restriction in a few special cases, and as a result considerably more than half the mahals of the district came under the scope of the revision.

4. Practically all the district is cash-rented, and the rents paid both by occupancy and non-occupancy tenants are high. Rent-rolls on the whole were found, as had been anticipated, to be accurate. That the revision was needed, if only on account of the unequal incidence of the expiring revenues, is clear from the facts, ascertained by the Board's analysis, that the reduction in the better circles amounted only to 1 per cent., while in the inferior circles it amounted to as much as 13 per cent. It was equally needed because the assessment was in many mahals too severe. The net result of the settlement operations has been to reduce the assessment by Rs. 1,43,000 (6·6 per cent.), and the decline from the first settlement is 4½ lakhs (18·3 per cent.). The total revenue assessed amounts only to 46·89 per cent. of the corrected assets; in view of the fact that a large proportion of the land is held by small proprietors the Lieutenant Governor agrees that the percentage taken is not unduly low. His Honour trusts that the redistribution and reduction now effected will afford substantial relief to the landholders, and that they and the cultivating classes, now that the land revenue has been reduced to what appears to him to be a reasonable figure, will rapidly advance in material prosperity. The settlement is confirmed for a period of thirty years.

5. In the last thirty years the transfers of properties have been of very large proportions, the land affected paying land-revenue of over 7 lakhs or about one-third of the revised demand. It is not clear, however, to what extent these represent the transfers from agriculturists to non-agriculturists and the Board should arrange to have a special enquiry made as to this point. It is probable also that, to ascertain the real effect of the recorded figures, deductions should be made for land transferred more than once.

6. The remarks made by the Settlement Officer as to the need for extension of canal irrigation to certain tracts and for more canal bridges will be brought to the notice of the Irrigation department of the Government, and the remarks in paragraph 30 of his report will be communicated to the Director of Agriculture.

7. The Lieutenant Governor, while he acknowledges the industry with which Mr. Gracey has conducted the settlement, regrets that he has committed himself to some very exaggerated statements and has enunciated conclusions on certain important economic questions which are not founded on fact. The fact of a rise in prices of late years seems incontestable, and the Lieutenant Governor is convinced from his own experience that, while in the towns the standard of comfort has largely improved, there has been a smaller but an appreciable rise in the standard obtaining in the rural tracts. Nor are Mr. Gracey's remarks regarding rack-renting convincing. The Lieutenant Governor concurs generally in the criticism of them by the Board, though he is constrained to say that, in his judgement, rents are high. Mr. Gracey has separately brought to notice the good work done by his Assistant Settlement Officer, Maulvi Muhammad Fasih-ud-din. This officer has recently been rewarded for his good work by the grant of the title of Khan Bahadur.