Chapter 3

ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE PEOPLE BY 1901

It is not necessary for our purpose to go into the details of political history of Kathiawar but only the barest outline will suffice for our purpose. The Rajputs and the Kathis - after whom the province got its name - along with others entered Kathiawar after the 7th and the 8th century A.D. and established small principalities. During the days of Muhammedan ascendancy Kathiawar was subjugated by successive kings and it remained a Suba under the imperial governors till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The death of Aurangzeb gave a signal to the various adventurers in Hindustan and Kathiawar witnessed a period notoriously famous for its insecurity. The Marathas entered the scene by the middle of the 18th century. After the overthrow of the Peshwas early in the 19th century Col. Walker entered the peninsula along with the Gaikwad authorities and effected the famous Walker's Settlement.

Kathiawar was subjected to yearly raids of Mulukgiree armies of the Gaikwad and the Peshwas and the country was plundered for tributes.

The Gaikwad was to receive the payment of the tribute from Kathiawar rulers through the British Government. The chieftains were not to engage in mutual aggressions and acts of violence which kept the country in a state of perpetual
warfare and devastation. In return for these concessions, the British guaranteed peace to the country and relieved it from the injuries it sustained from the annual circuit of the mulkgiree army.

In all these engagements, solely drawn in the name of the Gaikwad, the rights of the Peshwa were overlooked but after the defeat of the latter in 1818 the supreme authority in Kathiwar became vested in the Company's Government alone.

The Government of India Act of 1858 took over the entire administrative machinery in India from the East India Company and all territories in possession of or under the Government of the East India Company passed under the suzerainty of the Crown by virtue of the Act of Parliament. Kathiwar chieftains came under the Paramountcy of the Crown from 1858. In 1866 Col. Keatinge, the then Political Agent in Kathiwar introduced many far-reaching reforms. The Princes in Kathiwar were arranged into seven classes with authority varying from power of life and death and unlimited civil jurisdiction to fifteen days' imprisonment and Rs.25/- fine with no civil powers. The chiefs were given classes in accordance with the possession of villages, their income and status. But there were many individuals whose sovereignty extended to a fractional portion of a village and to
whom it was difficult to assign any clas. These were placed under the direct administration of political officers. In course of time some of these individuals who proved to be utterly incompetent were deprived of the semblance of authority and their territories were incorporated into the agency areas. The responsibility for administration in the agency areas was with the Political Agent who was directly responsible to the Viceroy of India. Generally the powers of His Excellency the Viceroy were delegated to the Political Agent who, for practical purposes, was the most important authority guiding the destinies of the Princes and the people in Kathiawar. The bigger States— the Salute States were left free to administer their territories free from outside interference. Their right and treaties were respected and they were acknowledged to be the masters of their own territories subject to the supremacy of the Paramount Power and its inherent right to interfere in cases of utter incompetence or untenable irresponsibility. The Princes were allowed internal autonomy without "any right to govern wrongly" in the words of Lord Salisbury.

But the results of these autonomous powers of the Princes were disastrous from both political as well as economic points of view. The government of the State was a sort of irresponsible autocracy in which the powers of
the Princes were almost unlimited so far as the people were concerned, and the rights and privileges of the subjects depended upon the whims and caprices of a single individual who had the fortune of being accepted as a ruler by the British Government. He was neither responsible nor amenable to the wishes of the people whom he governed.

The British Government did not tolerate actual breach of peace in the States but the States were protected against popular and democratic movements by the Paramount Power and this made the Princes more irresponsible to their people. Political progress was extremely slow and political awakening was ruthlessly suppressed by the Rajas. The Bapus (Princes) almost began to regard their own people as their enemies and the British Government as their friend. The Princes rightly knew that they occupied the exalted position so long as the British Power protected them either against internal disorder or external aggression. The States naturally became strong reactionary forces and were fully used by the British Government for whatever they were worth.

The people in Saurashtra had to live under worn out despoticism without any rights till practically the dawn of freedom in India. The welfare of the people was completely at the mercy of the Princes. The life in an Indian State was extremely insecure from many points of view as the word of
the Raja was the law of the land. The insecurity was inversely proportional to the size and importance of the State. The smaller the State the worse was the autocracy and as many States in Kathiawar were very small life in these States was most unenviable.

The results of the existence of small and irresponsible autonomous autocracies in the economic field where even worse. Table No. 4 adapted from the figures given by Mr. Trivedi shows how the states spent huge sums for themselves and their families, neglected the nation-building departments like education and guarded the details of expenditure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total Revenue</th>
<th>Palace</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Kutumb</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>Bhavanagar</td>
<td>456824</td>
<td>568292</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>Wadhwan</td>
<td>120344</td>
<td>39999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>Junagadh</td>
<td>8313795</td>
<td>816608</td>
<td>342896</td>
<td>1035049</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>Porbandar</td>
<td>5729671</td>
<td>491437</td>
<td>137088</td>
<td>2645684</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be easily seen how the expenditure on the family of the Raja is given importance and how the nation building activities like education were neglected. The

1. A.B. Trivedi, Kathiawar Economics, PP.229-230
miscellaneous expenditure shows the extent to which details of public expenditure were kept secret. It is not necessary to add that when the whole budget was framed and controlled by the Prince in his own interest, the interests of the people were neglected. The economic interests of the people were constantly disregarded and as the British had recognized the autonomous position of the States the Rajas went on increasing their extravagant expenditure and finding some new sources to satisfy it.

The States in Kathiawar had the right of internal taxation and their autonomy was recognized by the Imperial Government. From time to time the right to levey duties on goods passing through and from the territories was exercised by the Princes in Kathiawar. This right was neither interfered with by the Mughals nor the Mahrathas, the latter being mainly interested in exacting tribute from these Princes. The Walker Settlement secured to the Princes free internal management of their territories subject only to the regular payment of tributes and the abstention from depredations and raids into the adjoining territories. The right of levying tariffs was also not interfered with by the the British Government. The most regrettable result of this situation was the erection of the higher tariff walls within the province which acted as a great obstacle to the free flow of goods within Kathiawar.
Obviously the economic life of the people in Kathiawar was profoundly affected by the existence of small principalities. Its transport system was not properly developed. The total length of railways in Kathiawar was only 577.09 miles in 1904. Progress in road making was also very slow. By 1904, the total road mileage was 600, for the most part bridged and metalled. The expensive projects of port developments could not be undertaken by the maritime states for want of funds. The Viramgam-Dhandhuka land customs cordon also adversely affected the industrial development of Kathiawar. The general economic and tariff policy of the Government of India also exposed the industries in Kathiawar to the severe competition of western manufactured goods. Thanks to the existence of many native courts (Darbars) the decay of industries in Kathiawar was slower compared with the fate of industries in other parts of India. The inter-state tariffs also worked in the same direction. Hence the optimum utilization of the economic resources of the province was impossible under these circumstances. The adaptability of the population to changing conditions and their aptitude for industries is well illustrated by the fact that industry and trade are always relatively more important in Saurashtra than agriculture. According to the Western India States Agency Report for 1931

2. Census of India, 1931, Western India States Agency Report page 78.
23 % of the population in Saurashtra was employed in industry, trade and transport. The percentage of population employed in industrial and commercial pursuits was 18.

It has already been noted that the princes being autocratic and autonomous they spent enormously on their own luxuries and fancies without caring for the needs of the common man. But even in this the village people were more unfortunate for whatever was spent, the major portion was spent on towns where the Rajas lived. They tried to give roads, schools, hospitals and other amenities to the towns neglecting the villages. In Kathiawar every village belonged to one or more proprietors. It was either under a state or assigned to a relation of the Chief, or one of his wives or given in charity or on service tenure. But irrespective of the rights of proprietorship its constitution remained unchanged and practically remains unchanged even to this day. Each village had its patel or headman, its havaldar or constable and its pagi or tracker. These functionaries functioned as the executive machinery and were paid by the State or the inhabitants. The patel was the most important member of the village - as he is today also - his office was hereditary and was confined to the most important section of the community. The patel generally held his land rent-free or on payment of a small quit-rent. His
duties consisted in taking part in all religious ceremonies, in raising subscriptions for general purposes—such as sinking a well or repairing the village wall— and protecting the village boundaries. He was to protect the interests of the State as also the Community. He had to see that crops were carried to the village threshing floor and were properly heaped there until the State had taken its share, that the cultivators did not encroach upon each others lands and that criminals were not harboured. On his temper and judgment depended the general well-being of the community to a great extent. By the end of the 19th Century a police patil was added to the list of village officials. The office could be held, and in several instances was held, by the hereditary revenue patel. His duties were to report all crimes to the nearest police authority and to aid the police in discovering offenders and bringing them to justice. The havaldar was the patel's assistant. He kept watch on crops and saw to it that they were not carried off. He was responsible for seeing that the claims of the chief were duly respected. He was to see that the stray animals were pounded, that the streets were kept clean, that the gates were shut at nightfall, that the improper characters did not find shelter in the village and that the municipal rules were not broken. In some villages he received a fixed salary and when his duties were enlarged as in the case of a large populous
village or town he became a Kotwal or superintendent of the city police. The Pasaitas were the village guards and police— as they still are. They were under the general control and superintendence of the constable and headman and were generally Rajputs, Muhammedans, Kolis, Ahirs and Mors in those parts of the province where these tribes were most numerous. They were appointed by the Chief and held lands on service tenure. Their office was generally hereditary but they could be removed at the Chief's pleasure. They worked also as village messengers and carried communications between the Chief and the head of the village. The Vasis—carpenters, barbers and tailors— were paid by the rest of community for ordinary works in kind and only for special work in cash. Dheds did all the ordinary scavenging of each village under the direction of the headman and in addition to the holding of rent-free lands, were entitled to the skins of animals that died within the village limits. Another religious Hindu officer was the Vyas, who read extracts from Hindu mythology. The Mulla performed these duties for the Muhammedans. They were paid in food, money or clothes according to the people's means.

The most important inhabitants of Kathiawar were the Rajputs, Kathis, the Brahmins, the Rabaries and the Bharvads, the Kumbis, the Kolis, the Varnias, Lohanas and Bhatias.
There were many clans of the Rajputs such as the Chavadas, the Solankis, the Gohils, the Parmars and the Jhalas. Next in importance to the Bapu or the Raja who belonged generally to one or other clan of the Rajputs were the Giriasias. In the life of Kathiawar the Rajputs have played an important part and the Bhayad or the brotherhood and the Bapu were for all practical purposes masters of the people whose lives they controlled and affected both economically and politically. Whether the people would be economically happy or otherwise depended to a considerable extent on the character and the disposition of the Bapur (The word is used for the Chief or the King in Kathiawar). "The quality of the Government even in the larger States, which adopt modern administrative machinery, depends almost entirely on the personality of the ruler. Where he takes a close interest in what is going on, knows how to select his men and keeps in close touch with his people, the system is more satisfactory than the impersonal system which exists in so many parts of British India."

The Princes always tried to stand well with Delhi due to the implications of Paramountcy. But the temptations of virtual irresponsibility and unhealthy environment made the native Princes most incompetent to rule and by Destiny they were empowered to rule.

But a man of even greater importance in the whole life of the people in Kathiawar was the Political Agent or the Resident who was an officer of the Government of India and was responsible only to His Excellency the Viceroy who was the head of the Political Department of the Government of India. The duties of Residents varied with the nature of engagements between the British Government and Indian States. They were the organs of communication between the Government of India and the Rulers of native States. They conducted negotiations, reported all important occurrences at the native courts and kept the supreme government informed of the resources, character and administration of the Princes to whom they were accredited. They offered advice and sometimes help to the Princes in matters both of internal and external concern. They even arbitrated between them and their subjects and neighbours. The Political Agent enjoyed ex-territoriality, freedom from customs and special personal honours. He represented the Government of India in an executive capacity. In Kathiawar the territories of many Chiefs were under the direct administration of the Political Agent for Kathiawar States - The Western India States Agency— and even in the bigger States where the Rulers were allowed internal autonomy their administration in the last resort was under the orders of the Political Agent. The right of the Crown to assert its authority for
the correction of gross injustice or flagrant misrule was to be exercised by the Resident for and on behalf of the Viceroy. The position of the Political Agent is very well summarized by the Marquis of Hastings in the following words - "In our Treaties with them (the Princes of India) we recognize them as independent sovereigns. Then we send a Resident to their courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassador, he assumes the functions of a dictator; interferes in all their private concerns, countenances refractory subjects against them and makes the most ostentatious exhibitions of his exercise of authority."

The Bhayads and Pulgirasis and Girasics also had a great influence on the economic life of the people in Saurashtra. The male members of the family of a reigning Chief were called the Bhayads or brotherhood and the property to which they succeeded was called Giras or Share. Among the Rajputs each son received a certain portion of land as his patrimony, the share varying from a district to a village. Though the sub-division of estates was very minute it would have been still more minute, but this was prevented chiefly because the law of inheritance was not strictly followed in the troubled 18th century.

As the Rajputs invaded the peninsula, the Chiefs bestowed on their relations portions of the land they had

won. This was the Kapal giras and passed to the original grantees. The more enterprising girasias continued to acquire fresh lands from their neighbours until they found themselves sufficiently strong to set up as independent rulers. Others who were weak or timid either lost their lands or assigned most of them to some powerful neighbour, keeping enough for subsistence and putting themselves under the protection of the Chief to whom they had assigned their lands. These became the Mulgirasias in contradistinction to the Girasias who still kept their lands and the jurisdiction over them. When a Girasia succeeded in gaining his independence he became a Talukdar and assumed the title of Thakur, Raival, Rana or Raja. As he rose in the social scale, the landed proprietor became anxious to leave his possessions intact to his eldest son; at the same time the custom of the country compelled him to set aside a portion of his estates for each of his younger sons, and these in turn became Girasias owing submission to the head of the family, but otherwise independent.

The Talukdars had absolute power over their property in their private land. They exacted various other services in addition to rent. The Bhayads affected the economic life of the people considerably.

Mediaevalism prevailed in Kathiawar and that mixture of mediaevalism and modernism found in British India was
was for the most part absent. The better class of villages contained the house of the proprietor. This was generally at the centre and towered above them to the height of three or even more storeys. Clustering round the proprietor's mansion were the houses belonging to the proprietor's relations and radiating from them to the gates of the town were the important streets. In one of these was the market, inhabited on either side by tradesmen and artisans. Close to the gates and often outside them, lived the depressed classes, the shepherds and others and near their huts were the monumental stones or palias an image of Hanuman or a small Devi and the village grain-yard or the Khalawad. The walls of the larger villages were generally of stones, with gates which were carefully closed at night-fall. Some were surrounded with mud walls, with swing gate of thorns, and even the smallest had a good quick-set of thorn hedge round them and the entrances closed at night with brambles.

The average percentage of the classes who made up a village community were, two families of carpenters, two of blacksmiths, two of tailors, two of potters, one or two of shoemakers, two of barbers, four of shepherds, eight or ten of Dheds, three or four of Vania and eight or ten of watchmen. These classes had to settle the terms of their residence with the Chief or the proprietor and had to pay certain taxes according to the nature of their
calling, one of the most striking was unpaid service or Veth. Veth meant unpaid labour for the recovery of a superior's dues. It was a common practice in Kathiawar. The word is derived from Vahitru, that is unprofitable labour. It was applied to the services to which the landlord had a claim in consideration of a certain yearly supply of grain. The persons who received this grain and performed the labour were termed Vasvayas, that is those classes whose presence was necessary in populating a village. These classes were generally the following. The Kumbars, or potters, the Valands or barbers, the Sutars or carpenters, the Lohars or blacksmiths, the Darjis or tailors the Dheds or sweepers and the Bhangis or scavengers.

The grain which was divided among these people was taken from a heap called mendhara, which was roughly calculated as sufficient to satisfy the demands of the Vasvayas and also to defray the State Kharajat. Where a landlord was entitled to a fourth share of the crop, according to the custom in each village, the grain was divided into five equal shares, one of which was divided among the Vasvayas or settlers.

The above Vasvayas were to give certain services in return for the grain received by them. Thus the potter supplied the revenue and police officials with earthen pots and provided village guests (such as Bhats) with the
necessary vessels. He fetched water and made bread for those to whom he was bound to supply vessels and clean their dishes. The barber made the beds in the Chief's house, lighted the lamps and shampooed the legs of the members of the landlord's family. He fetched supplies from the grocers and at night acted as a torch-bearer. Dheds fetched fuel and fodder for the landlords and his officials and carried letters. Bhangis acted as guides, slept in the grain-yard during harvest time and published orders in the village by beat of drums. Shepherds or the Rabaris and Bharwads provided milk for the landlord and his guests.

These customary services and Veth bring out the mediaeval character of society hence custom (and not competition) was the rule in the economic life of the people. The wages earned by field labourers depended upon the time of the year and the character of the labour. Field labour was usually paid in kind. Labourers employed in harvesting were paid at the rate of 1/20th to 1/16th of the amount collected. In addition to this one midday meal was also provided by the employer. The cotton picker received one-sixteenth to one-twentieth of the first picking, 1/12 of the second gathering and 1/5th to 1/6th of the third and last picking. In sugarcane and other irrigated fields the workmen were paid in cash from Rs. 36
to 48 a year and food and clothing in addition. If they were engaged for shorter term they were paid Rs. 4/- per month besides food but without clothing. The working hours were from six in the morning to six at night with an interval from 12 to 2 for food and rest. The masons usually came from Kanbis, Rajputs, Rabaris, Khavas and Muhammadons. Their wages varied according to their skill; the most skilful earned Rs. 16/- while the least skilful earned Rs. 7/- per month. An average carpenter earned as much as Rs. 7.1/2 to 12.1/2 but a skilful worker could get as much as Rs. 15/- p.m. Blacksmiths were paid at the rate of Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- per month. These different classes of skilled labourers were mostly Hindus. The working time usually was from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. with an interval for dinner from 12 to 2. These wages which to-day appear to us as ludicrously low were much higher than those prevailing in 1860.

The mere statement of wages of different classes will not give us an idea of the economic prosperity or otherwise, unless they are correlated to prices. The money wages were obviously low—even ridiculously low— from our stand point but the real wages were not at all so low. Prices were equally low and so money could purchase various commodities many times more than what it is able to purchase now. In fact though the name Rupee has remained constant, the present rupee may be about two annas worth in terms of
the 1900 rupee in India. Moreover the village economy was only gradually changing from the customary economy, in which many things were procured without the aid of money, to money economy.

The following Table - Table No. 5 - adapted from the Bombay Gazetteer gives the prices of wheat, millet and Indian millet between 1863 and 1882.

TABLE NO. 5
Prices of wheat, millet and Indian millet from 1863 to 1882.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Millet</th>
<th>Indian millet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the last two decades of the 19th century prices were much higher than at the beginning of the century. The rise in prices was accompanied by a proportionate rise in wages. But low wages did not affect the labourers adversely as they were paid mostly in kind.
Moreover the needs of the labourers were also few and so whatever cash they got must have been sufficient to meet their needs.

Mr. Goardhandas Mehta also points out in his Saurashtra Itihas Darshan published in 1937 that the prices of commodities were very low at the beginning of the present century. Table No. 6 shows the prices of different commodities in Saurashtra from 1900 to 1934. (Table on next page.)

The Table has been constructed from old records and tells us the rates of commodities in the Bhavanagar State—a big State in Kathiawar and fairly representative of the conditions prevailing elsewhere in Saurashtra—from 1900 to 1934.

There is no doubt about the fact that the purchasing power of the rupee was very great at the beginning of this century. Even during the First World War and in the post war period prices generally rose but not so precipitately as during and after World War Second. Thus one rupee could fetch 3 seers (Kutcha) of Ghee in 1900, during the war 1-1/2 seers and after also almost the same. Oil tells

5. Goardhandas Mehta "Saurashtra Itihas Dasan" (in Gujarati 1937) page 161.
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**TABLE NO. 6.**

Prices of different commodities in Saurashtra from 1900 to 1934 Years and Prices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1900 to 1904</th>
<th>1905 to 1911</th>
<th>1912 to 1919</th>
<th>1920 to 1924</th>
<th>1925 to 1929</th>
<th>1930 to 1934</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghee per md. Rs.</td>
<td>13 to 16</td>
<td>16 to 20</td>
<td>26 to 35</td>
<td>27 to 35</td>
<td>20 to 26</td>
<td>25 to 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil per md. Rs.</td>
<td>6 to 7</td>
<td>7 to 8</td>
<td>8/8 to 9/-</td>
<td>8 to 10</td>
<td>4 to 5/8</td>
<td>9 to 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur per md. Rs.</td>
<td>3 to 3/4</td>
<td>3/8 to 3/12</td>
<td>3/12 to 4</td>
<td>5 to 3/4</td>
<td>6 to 5</td>
<td>7 to 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet per 22 mds. Jowar</td>
<td>20 to 25</td>
<td>25 to 30</td>
<td>26 to 30</td>
<td>38 to 44</td>
<td>22 to 23</td>
<td>25 to 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajra Rs.</td>
<td>25 to 30</td>
<td>30 to 35</td>
<td>32 to 38</td>
<td>49 to 60</td>
<td>33 to 35</td>
<td>40 to 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat per 22 mds. Rs.</td>
<td>35 to 40</td>
<td>35 to 40</td>
<td>42 to 50</td>
<td>55 to 71</td>
<td>38 to 49</td>
<td>40 to 60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: One seer = 40 tolas

40 Seers = 1 Maund

1 Mound = 20 Bengali or Pucca seers each of 80 Tolas.

The same story from 6-1/2 seers per rupee in 1900 to 5 seers for one rupee was the increase. Bajra was very cheap in 1900. Rupee one could purchase almost a maund; in war time it could purchase about 28 asrs while in post war period it could purchase only about 18 asrs. But even
here the prices have not risen by hundred points. The prices after the great Depression generally fell and that is reflected in the low price level of 1932-34. But still prices did not go to the level of 1900-03 prices in the case of ghee, juar, bajra and wheat. In 1900 a man could purchase any one of the following quantities or apportion his spending so as to get the required quantities of all the commodities. 3 seers Ghee or 6-2/3 seers oil, 13 seers gur or 40 seers; juar or 32 seers bajri or 32 seers wheat; or he could get small quantities of all these necessaries by judicious use of his 16 annas.

The First World War was instrumental in raising prices of all the commodities consumed by the poor people but the rise was not very steep. The common man was still able to command a fairly large number of commodities. It is, therefore, clear that as the prices of commodities were very low during the major portion of the period from 1900 to 1939 the poor people were able to manage with comparatively lesser pay. They certainly could consume more ghee oil, wheat, bajri etc., than after 1939. It will be shown in our chapter on Standard of Living that not only that the standard had not appriciably risen but it has actually gone down though the money wages and income have gone on increasing, after 1939. This rise in wages and
income was accompanied by enormous and unprecedented rise in prices, the coming in of black market and the virtual disappearance of certain commodities from the market during the War.

People in Saurashtra generally ate cakes of millet flour with a little pickle or some vegetables. This Bajra cake was the stable food of the labouring classes. Those who were a little better off ate butter. Rice was not common and was eaten only by the rich. Those who could afford it, ate sweets of wheaten flour and pasty made of various and rich ingredients. Fruit was a rarity in Saurashtra. Only the rich could afford it. There was no idea of any 'balanced diet' consisting of vitamins, proteins and fats.

The people of Kathiawar were better clothed than the village people of the Deccan. Even now the Kathiawaris are better dressed. The men in general wore coarse un-bleached cotton drawers with a short coat of the same material. This has remained the same even now regarding the village people. The educated classes in towns are in a transitional stage adopting the Western dress only partly. The Indian Dhotee is common but the coat of the Westerner is worn for the upper part of the body. The percentage of people wearing complete western dress is
miscroscopically small. The women put on a robe of cotton dyed with colour or stamped with a pattern or a dyed petticoat of the same material. The bodice was of finer material. It was open at the back and merely covered the breasts. In the case of women of the lower classes, as those of men, very little change has taken place during the last fifty years.

The number of houses at the 1881 Census was 744,174 or a little over 3 persons per house. But this by itself does not give us the idea of the housing conditions, for houses differed quite considerably. The houses were of all sorts and sizes from the palace of the Chief to the mud hovel (which also went under the appellation of a house) of the Dhed, from the monastery with its imposing frontage and large area to the screen of thatch or leaves. Generally isolated houses were rare in Kathiawar and it was only when the railways were introduced that men could venture to build outside the protecting walls of a town or village. The houses were mostly built of stones. The houses of the better class people were solid and comfortable and were ornamented with rich wood carving.

Though it is difficult to define exactly a "house" the Census in 1901 accepted "a building under one roof" as the definition of the term "house". In 1901 the number of persons per house was 5.
The industrial and commercial development of a people is generally reflected in the urbanization of the population. If agriculture is the main occupation of the people the population predominates. Saurashtra people have taken a great interest in trade and commerce from very early times and they had commercial contact with Africa, Persia and Egypt. The industry in Kathiawar was hit hard due to the policy of the Government of India and the insecurity of investment due to the autocratic rule. It was also true that the handicrafts could not compete with the machine made goods of England and that the principle of joint stock was not followed in industry in Kathiawar. But strangely enough some of the factors which adversely affected industrial development, indirectly also encouraged their growth. The existence of so many independent and autonomous courts itself was one such cause which kept many industries going because they were helped by the Bapus. This does not at all mean that Saurashtra was industrially more advanced than the Bombay Presidency or that industry and trade were overwhelmingly important in the life of the people. It only means that comparatively trade was more important in Kathiawar and that industry (the native unorganized industry) was comparatively less hard hit than the Bombay Presidency. This is illustrated in the comparatively greater urban population in Kathiawar than in the Bombay Presidency.
The Census Report for 1901 for the Western India State's Agency (Kutch, Kathiawar and Banas Kantha Agency) does not give any separate figures of urban and rural population for Kathiawar and so it is not possible to give exact figures for Kathiawar proper at the beginning of the present century. It may also be contended that the Census figures are not absolutely reliable but whatever they are there will be the same degree of accuracy or inaccuracy for Bombay and Kathiawar. For the whole Agency, the Report tells us that 21% of the population was living in towns. This percentage would be very much higher for Kathiawar proper when it is taken into consideration that Cutch, Palanpur and Radhanpur are not—and were not—urbanized to the extent to which Kathiawar was urbanized. About twenty three to twentyfive percent of the population must have been urban when Bombay Presidency as a whole had only 20% as urban population. As pointed out earlier the "progressive ruralization" which Ranade dreaded so much had set in the Bombay Presidency and the machine-made goods had already started their ruthless competition driving out the old handicraftsman and compelling him to fall back upon land. Kathiawar was saved for a time and that is reflected in a higher urban population in Kathiawar at the beginning of the 20th century. The States also in their own way, for getting more revenue tried to encourage trade and industry. The existence of so many native States was
probably the most important cause of the greater urbanization in Kathiawar. It is very well brought out by the fact that there are many towns of small size and not a few cities of very big concentrations. Each State would naturally have a capital town provided with many amenities such as educational institutions, hospitals, markets etc. Tradesmen and artisans would be naturally attracted to such places. There would be also the Durbar of the Raja and the Raja's officials and above all the Palaces. These naturally would make a town coming under the definition of an urban area with urban characteristics. Hence the greater urbanization in Kathiawar was in no way due to increased industrialization or due to any mechanical revolution. The industry in Kathiawar was as backward as in the rest of India but the peculiar circumstance of the existence of the autonomous native courts was responsible for giving a higher urban population than in the Bombay Presidency. In 1901, 79% of the population was rural. For the Agency as a whole there were 4,741 places having a population below 500 and 1,441 places had a population between 500 and 2000. 22.3 Lakhs of persons lived in villages with populations ranging from 500 to 2000. Kathiawar also was a land of villages and not of cities. But it should be noted that the medium-sized towns is a peculiarity of Saurashtra.