CHAPTER III

AGRARIAN RELATIONS, REVENUE AND RENT

Agrarian Relations:

The property in land during the colonial period has attracted the attention of a number of scholars who have tried to examine the nature of proprietary rights in the pre-colonial period in order to study the nature of change in agrarian relationship in the colonial period. Inspite of divergent positions held by historians, there is an agreement on the point that there was no exclusive right to property vested in land throughout the pre-colonial period. In Mughal India, what appeared to be the right of property was actually a system containing a “network of transferable rights and obligations, with different claimants (the king or his assignee, the zamindar, and then the peasant) to differently defined shares in the produce from the same land.” The king claimed the share of produce in the form of the land revenue, which he collected through his agency while the zamindars and peasants shared the rest of produce on the basis of divergent claims and rights.

Awadh was a province of the Mughal Empire, and initially followed the Mughal system of “transferable rights and obligations” in the nawabi

\footnote{Agrarian System, pp.134-35.}
period. Over the period, it moved away from the Mughal model, giving way to different types of tenures. The changes in the mode of land revenue collection in this period considerably shaped the agrarian relations in Awadh as well.

Fortunately for us, as the settlement officers were required to inquire into the origin and growth of tenures at the time of annexation, we have their reports that throw important light on the history of tenures in Awadh. They referred to three broad categories; *taluqa* (hereditary or acquired), estates held by independent communities; and a very large variety of sub-proprietary tenures. The tenures held directly from the state were: *taluqdari, zamindari, pattidari and bhayachara*.

Besides, there were sub-proprietary tenures with regional variations throughout Awadh. One such important tenure which had an impact on other forms of tenures was the sub-settlement. In case of sub-settlement, an entire village was held in subordination by the government *malguzar*. This tenure was held in many ways: by the original owners of the village, or was held by persons to whom the original owners conveyed the right by sale, gift or mortgage, but since unwilling to sever all connections with the ancestral property, still retaining a superior right over it.\(^2\) Calculating the customary

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\(^3\) *Ibid*, Section IV, Para-209.
benefits of the sub-proprietors, the Financial Commissioners Circular VI of 1867 attributes a claim of 10% of the rental⁴, whereas the statistics of sub-settlement suits decided on trial in Fyzabad district suggested that the average share of the gross rental enjoyed by the sub-proprietors were 30% instead of 10%⁵. The following table 3.1⁶ based on the details of settlement returns shows the share (%) of villages held by taluqars under direct settlement, the sub-settled villages, and the Percentage of the Profits in taluqdari villages absorbed by sub-proprietors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Percentage of taluqdari village</th>
<th>Percentage of taluqdari villages sub-settled</th>
<th>Percentage of profits in taluqdari villages absorbed by sub-proprietors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sultanpur</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partabgarh</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rae Bareli</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucknow</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴ Ibid, Section IV Para-211.
⁵ Ibid, Section IV, para-221.
The terms *zamindars* and *taluqdars* appear identical and confusing so far as their position as a landed class in the pre-colonial period is concerned. The *zamindars* had been an important class and had also an important role in facilitating remission of land revenue to the state agencies, the *taluqdars* having the same role, was a newer term for big landholders (*zamindars*) who contracted with the state to not only pay for his own *zamindari*, but also for the *zamindari* of other lesser *zamindars*. Generally such arrangements were made by the state (through the *amils* initially but later by the *chakladars*) for the convenience of revenue collection through big *taluqdars* instead of from a number of smaller *zamindars*.

There is little information about the growth of the *taluqdari* tenures and the actual position of *taluqdars* in Awadh during the 18th century. Persian texts and documents have used the word *taluqa* often in a different connotation from that used in the first half of the 19th century. By the end of 18th century, the word *taluqdar* came in vogue.  

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There had been much discussion and debate in the British official circles, after the annexation, over the origin and nature of *taluqdari*. The authors of the Settlement Reports were guided by the settlement returns and the different theoretical positions held by the officials. Regarding what constituted a *taluqa* two extreme theories were put up. One was the patriarchal theory which took the position that *taluqdars* were *pater atque princes* [Father and Prince/Patriarchal and Political head] in his estates. A passage from ‘The Taluqdari Tenures in Upper India’ *Calcutta Review*, June 1866, quoted in the Settlement Report of Sultanpur, recorded that the ‘Talookas’ were of two categories, ‘pure’ and ‘impure’. The first category came into existence after the colonization of the region during early twelfth century by the ‘Rajpoots’, assuming all the proprietary privileges later by their descendent chiefs. And, in the later case the large proprietors have been formed at a more recent period through the influence of official position, or by favor of the ruling power⁹.

The opposite view is explained by Benett that the division of the class into true and false *talukdars* puts the matter in quite a wrong light. As a matter of fact, all were exactly the same in as far as they were *talukdars*, middlemen put in by or forced on the government superintendents of arbitrary collection of villages, who as the central power grew weaker. were

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being gradually and surely transformed into landed proprietors. What has been called a true talukdar differs from what has been called a false talukdar, only in the fact that while the former had been for centuries exercising an *imperium in imperio* [State within a state] on the spot, the latter was an outsider whose fortune, talents, or wealth had secured him the position. Both were alike in being talukdars, though they differed in every other particular\(^{10}\).

The former view implies that there was wrapped up in the word *taluqa* the ideas of original acquisition by conquest, chiefship of a clan, and possession of an estate for several centuries; the latter on the contrary held that none of these were essential for the tenure and the "*taluka proper*" had come into existence within the last hundred years.

As it appears from this discussion, a large number of taluqdar were of indigenous Rajput tribes who had colonized the land of Awadh in quite distant times, and had appropriated the superior rights in land, becoming *zamindars* in the region. A separate district, Biaswara, got carved out of the contiguous areas in the provinces of Awadh and ‘Ilahabad’, consisting of "the many mahals that are the home of the seditious *zamindars* of the clan

(qaum) of Bais." The Settlement Report of Fyzabad records that in Fyzabad district, the Rajbansis of Aldeman, the Bias of Birhar, the Bias of Mangalsi and the Chauhans of Jagdispur consolidated their hold and the entire area came exclusively under these Rajput families.

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11 Agrarian System, p.199. Insha-i-Roshan Kalam, University Farsi Akhbar, 160, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh, ff.6b-7a. Baiswara included Parts of the sarkar of Lakhnau, Awadh, Manikpur, and Korra. The Bais survive as an important zamindar class in the region. It is interesting to compare the list of mahals against which the A'in has entered the name of the Bias as zamindars, with that of the mahals of Baiswara given in Chronicles of Oonao, p.67. Both mahals are common to both lists, but there have been imported changes.

12 Millett:Fyzabad Report, section IV, para-186. These families acknowledged the guidance of distinct head and in course of time divided off into branches.

13 The talluqdar of Salempur (Pargaua Mohanlalganj, district Lucknow), Sheikhs of Amethia claimed that his ancestors received two farmans from Mughal emperors and thereby claimed a right to the whole pargana. One farman was issued by Jahangir (in 1617) in the name of Mohiuddin and the another by Farrukhsiyar (in 1715) in the name of Muhammad Asaf confirming them in the offices of chaudhary and zamindar of the pargana. The Janwars of Mau at the extreme south-west of the pargana relate that they received their villages from the above mentioned house, and the Nasim
During the Mughal period, new settlers colonized fresh lands or encroached upon the land of others. They acquired the position of zamindars and appropriated zamindari rights over large tracts of lands, also giving lands to pre-existing tribes of Janwars and Biases.\(^{13}\)

During the nawabi period, some of the taluqdars rose to considerable prominence, acquiring land and enlarging their holdings. Their rise has been attributed largely to their association with the nawabi house. For instance, Mirza Jafar Ali Khan, taluqdar of Behta (Lucknow District) was grandson of Nawab Munawwar-ud Daula, a minister at the court.\(^{14}\)

Some taluqdars were military adventurers who entered nawab's service by their sheer ability, acquired land and established themselves as taluqdars. An Afridi Pathan, came to Malihabad during the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud 'Daula. Initially serving in the nawab's regiment, he soon joined the pindaris. During the reign of Ghazi-ud Din Haider he acquired the lease

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Khan, *taluqdar* of Kasmandi Khurd Baises of karora in the centre ousted the original *zamindari* of Sheikhs. The ancestors of this house drove out Amethi a Rajputs from Amethi Dugar and had established themselves. Butts, *Report of Lucknow*, opcit, Appendix II, pp. XXX-XXXI.

\(^{14}\) Ibid, Appendix II, p.XXXVIII.
of Malihabad and founded the estate of Tharri Fathnagar. After his death his estate got divided between his sons.\textsuperscript{15}

The officials of nawab, the collector, the nazim and their family members also grabbed the opportunity to acquire land in taluqdari. Kunwar Bhagwant Singh Kayath, taluqdar of Asni Gorakhpur, was previously a collector in the reign of Amjad Ali Khan and amassed an estate consisting of twelve villages.\textsuperscript{16} Similarly Mohammad Ali, taluqdar of Uchagaon (pargana Mohan) had long resided in the pargana but acquired the taluqdari quite late. His family members had served as nazim in Khairabad and as chakladar in Safipur Miyaganj and Mohan.\textsuperscript{17}

The weaknesses that crept in ijaradari system especially after the death of Saadat Khan (in 1814) provided opportunities for the bankers and merchants to invest in land and establish taluqdaris of their own. Chundanlal, a merchant-money lender and treasurer to the nazim started

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid, AppendixII, pp. XLIII-XLIV. Another adventurer from Qandhari Pathan of Khaspur Shah (Malihabad) Yusuf Khan came to Lucknow during the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula. His sons acquired twelve villages in jagir and remained close to the Nawabs. The family retained six villages after the annexation and they were all mafi. Ibid, Appendix II, pp. LXXVIII-LXXIX.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid, Appendix II, pp. LXXVIII–LXXIX.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, Appendix II, p. LVI.
acquiring villages. By 1825, his estate rose to yield 2 1/2 lacs.\(^\text{18}\) Another taluqdar, Baldeo Singh of Purseni’s ancestor was an agent of Chundanlal and had estates in Lucknow and Unnaoo. He held six villages in Lucknow and six in Oonao (in post-annexation Awadh).\(^\text{19}\)

During the early period of Nawabi rule, the taluqdars (originally zamindars) having long standing rights in land, expanded and enlarged their holdings at the cost of smaller zamindars and appropriated their superior rights in the taluqdari tenure and thereby took over their function of remitting land revenue to the state. Besides they also infringed on the rights of the zamindars (which was there from Mughal period onwards) to distribute land in the village among revenue-paying cultivators and to assign waste lands to the cultivators of their choice.\(^\text{20}\) To take an example from the reign of Asaf-ud Daula, in an area consisting of ninety villages (in the

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\(^\text{18}\) *The Chronicles of Oono*, p. 139. In 1810 when Fuzl Ali Khan was the *nazim* of Baiswara, Chundan Lal first appears as the owner of 3 villages in different parts of the district. From this he went on gradually increasing his possession till in 1825 AD When Raja Durshan Singh was Nazim, his estate had risen to 2 ½ lacs and it continued to fluctuate between this amount and a minimum of 1 ½ lacs (with only one considerable exception to be mentioned afterwards) till 1850 A.D.


\(^\text{20}\) *Agrarian system*, p. 178.
pargana of Hisampur), part of each village was in taluqa, and the rest in zamindari but the taluqdar took possession of a large tract of uncultivated land belonging to the zamindars, paid Rs.5000 for it in huzur tehsil and enjoyed its profits.²¹

We thereby find the number and size of taluqas increasing in the nawabi period, especially after the death of Saadat Ali Khan, owing either to the weakness of rule, ijaradari or British presence and interference.²² Awadh thus witnessed large-scale redistribution of land in this period owing largely to the aggrandizement by the taluqdar.

The state too, from quite an early period, granted zamindaris to persons in the areas considered strongholds of particular clans. During the Mughal period, local Muslims were granted big zamindaris in midst of Bias Rajput’s territories in Baiswara to break the caste monopoly of Bias in the region.²³ Bias continued to maintain their dominance in other parts of Awadh but in Lucknow, the Bias of Dewa were replaced by the Sheikhs (in 1850).²⁴ The caste-wise distribution of landed property also changed hands. The Chauhans of Bhauli replaced the Brahmins and managed a large area of

²¹ Tafzihul Ghafilin, opcit, p.32.
²² Jafri, opcit, pp. 77-79.
²³ Agrarian system, p. 222.
²⁴ Butts, Report of Lucknow, Appendix II, pp. LXXX-LXXXIII.
thirty-two villages. The Chauhans and Janwars (Rajputs) replaced Kurmis in Mohan and of Arakhs (linked to Pasis) in Malihabad. Later, Janwars lost their possession to Pathans and Sheikhs of Malihabad. The Janwars of Tappa Kathauli lost their area to Pathans of Malihabad. The pre-existing caste composition in the land possession pattern thus witnessed frequent change.

The following table from the Settlement Report of Fyzabad District, 1880, brings out the caste-wise distribution of land in that period and compares these with that of Akbar’s reign (based on information from Ain-i-Akbari). We hereby find in the Mughal period Rajputs as the most dominant land-owning class, followed by the Brahmins and Kayaths. But the distribution got considerably altered over a period of time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present pargana (post-annexation)</th>
<th>Proprietors of present day</th>
<th>Proprietors of Akbar’s period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Haveli Oudh</td>
<td>Brahmins (of Mahdona Rajkomars, Surajbans)</td>
<td>Brahmins, Kurmis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mangalsi</td>
<td>Brahmins (of Mahdona)</td>
<td>Sombansis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ibid, Appendix II, pp. LXXVII-LXXVIII.

Ibid, Appendix II, pp. LIII-LIV, LXV-LXVII.

Ibid, Appendix III, pp. LII-LIII.

Millett, Fyzabad Report, Section II, Para-343.
If we look at the district-wise land distribution pattern in Awadh; in the parganas Akbarpur and Birhar, only Saiyads were in possession of land. After annexation, the Rajputs in many areas retained their position and even replaced other castes like Brahmins, Kurmis, and Kayaths. The Saiyads, Sheikhs and other Muslim castes increased their possessions in the parganas of Akbarpur, Tanda, Surhurpur, Majhaura and Isauli. But the most

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Dominant Castes</th>
<th>Other Castes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Amsins</td>
<td>Brahmins (of Mahdona) Barwars</td>
<td>Bachgotis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pachchimarth</td>
<td>Brahmins (of Mahdona) Bachgotis, Gargbans</td>
<td>Bachhils and Gahlots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Khandansa</td>
<td>Bisens Chauhans</td>
<td>Bisens and Chauhans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Akbarpur</td>
<td>Saiyyads, Rajkomars, Palwars</td>
<td>Rajputs, Saiyyads, Brahmins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tanda</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>Kayath (and in Iltifatganj) different castes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Birhar</td>
<td>Palwars</td>
<td>Rahmat Ul Elahi, Brahmins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Surhurpur</td>
<td>Palwars, Rajkomars, Musalmans</td>
<td>Rajputs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Majhaura</td>
<td>Bachgotis, Raotars, Sheikhs</td>
<td>Brahmins, Bachgotis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Aldeman</td>
<td>Rajkomars</td>
<td>Bachgotis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sultanpur</td>
<td>Bachgotis, Rajkumars, Gargbans Brahmins (of Mahdona) Chauhans</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Isauli</td>
<td>Bhale Sultans, Musalmans</td>
<td>Bachgotis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
significant increase was that of Brahmins of Mahdona in the parganas of Fyzabad.

In the Sultanpur district, the Kshatriyas dominated the landed property. The other castes such as Brahmins and Kayaths among Hindus and Khanzadas, Bhale Sultans, Mewatis etc. among Muslims also held land but nowhere were close to the Kshatriyas in the district. Following is the breakup of landed property in Sultanpur (after the annexation)\(^\text{29}\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total No. of Village</th>
<th>–</th>
<th>1,913</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kshatriya</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmns</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayaths</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saiyads</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikhs</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathans</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moghals</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanzada</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^\text{29}\) Millett, *Report of Sultanpur*, Table IX (statement illustrative of property in land according to clans), pp. XLII-XLV.
In Partapgarh district, the Settlement Report records total 2661 villages under different proprietors on the basis of Book circular no. VII of 1866, while *Gazetteers of Oudh* (first published in 1877-78) gives the total number of villages as 2,214. The caste-wise distribution of propriety right is not forthcoming to us from the later reports, as had been for other districts, but we find the Rajputs were dominant here throughout, before and after annexation.

In Rai Bareli district, the Bias Rajputs controlling major proprietary retained these rights after annexation, the change being only slight in this district.

However, Bahraich witnessed substantial changes in proprietary rights. The Settlement Report records that while eleven *taluqdars* (having

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30 Forbes, *Report of Partabgarh*, Table V, pp. XVIII-XIX.

31 *Gazetteers of Oudh*, vol. III, p. 130 (Statement of Tenures & c.).


33 After the annexation almost 99 percent proprietary rights were in control of Tilokchandi Bias. *Ibid*, pp. 207-208.
828 villages) had ancestral rights in the region, seven new taluqs were created (over 138 villages) in a period of forty year (before annexation) and eighteen taluqdar acquired loyal grants (total of 794 villages) after the Mutiny. After the death of Nawab Saadat Khan (in 1814), as many as 1,295 khalisa villages came under different proprietors.

1) Pargana Bahraich: (621 villages) 255 villages consisted of jagir of a pathan, afterwards held by Rai Aman Singh (Rajput?). Around 34 villages held by Saiyads. The other villages were held by smaller grantees, hereditary muqaddams, kurmis, the agriculturist class and nominees of nazims.

2) Pargana Fakhrpur (209 villages): 108 villages held almost entirely by the Raiwasi coparcenaries communities. 28 villages were owned by the old qanungo family.

3) Pargana Hissampur (465 villages); Saiyads held no less than 247 villages, Sheikh qanungo family held 49 villages.

The above social distribution of proprietary rights in Bahraich that came up in this period remained so even after the annexation. Only the size of

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34 Edgar Gibson Clark and Henry Scot Boys, Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Bahraich District, Oudh 1865-72, chapter IV, para-11.

holding got somewhat altered due to the wrangling for the khalisa villages and lands of smaller proprietors.

In Lucknow district which was also the seat of the government, the Muslim castes appear to have a relatively stronger presence. The long standing rights of Rajputs were wrested by the Saiyads and Khans in this area. In one instance, the land of Bias of Rajauli and Haraura were completely taken over by the Sheikhs of Dewa. With this re-distribution, the Rajputs' dominance in the area was quite moderated. The district was not primarily in taluqdari as only a small number of taluqdars (37 in number) held 375 mahals out of 1498 mahals. There was smaller zamindari in the region. Following was the share of different castes in the total 1,416 villages of Lucknow (after the annexation).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Number of Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saiyads, Sheikhs and Pathans</td>
<td>555 villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhatris</td>
<td>546 villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans</td>
<td>132 villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayaths</td>
<td>41 villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahirs and Kurmis</td>
<td>38 villages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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38 Ibid, Appendix II, p. XX I.
In the Gonda district also, the long standing rights were redistributed. The territorial distribution of landed property at the time of Burhan-ul Mulk, was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Square miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Janwar</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalhans</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bissen</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Mohammadan Government</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,219</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While after annexation, the major portion was in the hands of Kshatriyas and Brahmins; Pathans, Sheikhs, Saiyad and Kayaths also had their share.

Thus, we see considerable re-distribution of landed proprietorship in certain parts of Awadh, partly also owing to the state intervention. There was substantial redistribution of land in Lucknow, Fyzabad, Sultanpur.

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Bahraich and Gonda, though in Rai Bareli it remained almost unchanged with 99 percent retention of land. At the same time, the taluqdar, the major landed class in the region, kept expanding their possessions during the nawabi rule which was greatly at the state’s expense. Table 3.3 represents for villages held by taluqdar at the time of annexation of Awadh, in 1856\textsuperscript{41}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taluqdari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Lucknow</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Unnao</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rae Bareli</td>
<td>1,052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Faizabad</td>
<td>3,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sultanpur</td>
<td>2,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Partapgarh</td>
<td>3,032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gonda</td>
<td>3,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bahraich</td>
<td>3,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Mahmudi</td>
<td>1,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Hardoi</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Daryabad</td>
<td>1,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sitapur</td>
<td>2,692</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{41} Metcalf, p. 31.
One of the major ways in which extension took place was through the appropriation of *khalisa* villages by the *taluqdars*. In Bahraich, as we have seen, the *khalisa* villages numbered 1295 (in 1814), out of which 439 villages were taken by different houses of *taluqdars*, and by 1857, the number of such villages were 788. The revenue collection from *khalisa* in this district declined from Rs. 7,25,000 in 1807 to Rs.69,000 in 1850. Sleeman also records that the share of *khalisa* substantially declined. In the *pargana* of Kheree, out of the total 388 *khalisa* villages with a revenue of 1,10,992, only 66 *khalisa* villages with revenue of Rs.21,881 were left while the remaining 322 villages were absorbed by the three families of Janwar Rajputs.

The *taluqdars* also increased their economic base through the enlargement of their share in *nankar*. As we know, the *malikana* (income from proprietary claims) and *nankar* (received from revenue authorities) were the two claims enjoyed by *zamindars* from the Mughal period; *Malikana* being generally 10 percent and the *nankar* 5-10 percent of the land revenue, therefore not exceeding the usual 15-20 percent of the land.

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42 Settlement of the Bahraich, Section III, para 104-113.
45 Agrarian System, p. 182.
However by 1850s, the nankar claimed by the zamindars and the taluqdars increased to more than double. For instance, in the year 1839, a zamindar in Baiswara paid annual revenue of Rs. 3, 00, 000, while his nankar was Rs. 45, 000, thus 15 percent of the land revenue. In Kuteysura, the nankar amounted to 32 percent in 1850. In Salone, the nankar increased from 11 percent to 34 percent. The increase in nankar remained one of the major concerns in the British official circle as comes out from Sleeman’s report and the nawab’s government was continuously criticized on this accord. Sleeman writes:

".... The Oude Government has this season issued an order to all revenue collectors to refuse to recognize any increase to the nankar that has been made since the year 1814 or Fusilee 1222, when Saadut Allee died, as none has since that year received the sanction of Government, though the nankar has been more than double within that period in the manner above described by local authorities. The increase to nankar, and the alienation in rent free tenure of lands liable to assessment in 1814 by local authorities and influential persons at court, are supposed to amount in all Oude to forty lacs

47 Butter, pp. 53-4
48 Sleeman, vol I, p. 252.
49 Ibid, vol. II, p. 120.
of rupees a year. None of them have been formally recognised by the court, but a great part of them has been tacitly acquiesced in by the minister and Dewan for the time being. They cannot enforce the order for reverting to the nankar of 1814, and if they attempt to do so the whole country will be in disorder.\(^50\)

The British later, after Mutiny, tried in earnest to deal with their prerogatives. Though sanads were granted to the taluqdars, their share in the produce of land recognized, and their inferior rights were protected but at the same time there was also a limit put to the demands of the taluqdars. The whole range of inferior rights was classified into two principal categories:

1. Sub-ordinate proprietary right or sub-settlement and the Sir (land on which peasants are directly assessed and revenue collected from them without intermediaries),

2. Quasi-proprietary rights i.e jagir, milk, aima, mafi, sankalp, dar, bist, marwat, maintenance, occupancy, purwas, groves.\(^51\)

Thus, we see variety of tenures coming up, with lot of local variations, in a short span of about hundred and fifty years of nawab's rule in Awadh. The colonial rule, of course, also had an unsettling effect on

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agrarian relations. The instability in agrarian relations and land rights had profoundly disturbing consequences for the agrarian economy of Awadh.

Revenue:

With the appointment of Burhan-ul Mulk as governor of Awadh, revenue administration was thoroughly reformed. The records of the period bring out the poor state of affairs of the preceding period. The opposition faced by Burhan-ul-Mulk from the Sheikhzadas, local recalcitrant Rajas and zamindars had been one of the central themes for the historians of the contemporary period and the later historiography of Awadh. Muzaffer Alam has discussed the initial problems of Burhan-ul-Mulk and his resolves to tackle the local magnates and the influential nobles at Delhi who also had a say in the regional politics of Awadh. The steps taken by Burhan-ul-Mulk were further reinforced by Safdar Jung with greater intensity and insight, giving fresh life to the revenue paying capacity of the region and administrative strength to the regime.

The foremost step taken by Burhan-ul Mulk was to bring changes in the *jagir* administration. This was done primarily with the intention to isolate the nobles who were influential in central polity, and those who imposed checks on the governor. Burhan-ul-Mulk tried to isolate the
jagirdars from his amils, for which he brought the amils under his immediate control, providing for their payment out of the revenue collections of the jagirdar; an arrangement not liked by the big jagirdars. The new arrangement ensured the payment of the dues to the jagirdars but they were no longer required to send their amils and gunashtas to their jagirs. The amils and the amins were henceforth appointed by the governor to whom they were now accountable. The local officials, the chaudharies, the qanungos and the muqaddams were to approach the amils of the governor for matters relating to revenue or their own customary perquisites. In other words, the right to administer jagirs was taken over from the jagirdars by the governor. This would have ensured control over the revenue resources and brought stability and regularity to the provincial administration. This was still a convenient proposition for most of the lesser jagirdars, as they were hardly capable of managing their jagirs against the threat of turbulent zamindars. Moreover, for a number of them it had not been easy to keep a check on the irregularities committed by their amils. This arrangement, interestingly, has been termed by a later court historian as ijara. Although apparently similar, yet it clearly differed on a number of

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53 The author of the Imadus-Sa'adat term the arrangement of Burhan-ul-Mulk for the jagirs as ijara. Imad-us-S'aadat, opcit, p. 8; for further detail see M Alam, pp. 206-7.
counts from what we know as the *ijaradari* practice. Nevertheless, the device was able to secure a uniform pattern for the management of *jagirs* in the province.

Burhan-ul-Mulk tried to reduce the number of *jagirs* of the powerful *mansabdars*, especially those posted outside of Awadh. He did not fully succeed in bringing the *jagir* administration under his control. His successor, Safdar Jang, seems to have had more success in this direction. In 1745, when Awadh was gripped by a severe famine, Safdar Jang requested the Emperor to resume the *tankhwah jagirs* of the imperial *mansabdars* in Awadh. Some big nobles continued to hold *jagirs in the province*, but by 1748 only the Nawab and his family members and close associates had big *jagirs* in Awadh.

The arrangements of the first two nawabs considerably undermined the political maneuverings at the centre and henceforth paved the way for the succeeding nawabs to consolidate their authority in the region. The control over the revenue and the check over the allocation of *jagirs* were further tightened during the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula and Asaf-ud-Daula. Of the total land revenue, only a small part was allocated by Asaf’s regime in *jagirs*. Out of the total gross assessment only 15.7 percent was assigned in

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During the reign of Saadat khan, we come across only three important jagirs of Rs. 60,000 each, out of total jama of Rs.1, 52, 47, 100 (besides the jagir of Bahu Begam). The detailed figures of the later regimes though not available, we could still know about the distribution pattern through the post-annexation settlements. The first regular settlement of Lucknow district (Summary Settlement, 1858-59) records total assessed revenue at Rs.9,55,599-12-0, out of which Rs. 71,126 (i.e.7.6 percent) was assigned in jagirs. Such a low percentage of jagir assignment in Lucknow, the centre of ruling elite, clearly reflects the success of these measures.

The nawabs also tried to deal with the zamindars of the region. The zamindars were concealing the real production and were withholding a large share of the produce. An interesting story of Saadat Khan is reported in C A Elliot's The Chronicles of Oonao a District in Oudh. He resolved to repair this by a personal tour through the country and enquired into the state of things. He is said to have gone to Morawan where he summoned all the

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56 Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, P.67. The author mention the holder of these jagirs namely Taffazul Hussain Khan Kashmiri, Afrin Ali Khan Khwaja of Baiswara and Nawab Madar-ud-Daula possessing a jagir of Rs. 60,000 each along with the list of the jama of all the chaklas.
57 Butt, Settlelement Report Of Lucknow, 1873, Part-I, para-45, 81-83.
*qanungos* of Baiswara and asked them to produce the *dual* (rent-roll) of their respective *parganas*. They said ‘what *dual* will you have?’ and being asked the meaning of their question, they explained that there were two *duals* which a *qanungo* could give, the ‘coward’s *duals*’ and the ‘man’s *dual*’, in ‘cowards dual’, against every landowner’s name was written only the sums which had been fixed on the last assessment, but in the ‘man’s *dual*’ everyone’s rent was indicated on the basis of what it should have been taking into account the improvement that had taken place in land. Saadat Khan called for the ‘man’s *dual*’ and on that basis, doubled the assessment of Baiswara. Then, having summoned the representative of all the *zamindars*, he placed before them on one side a heap of *pan* leaves, on the other a heap of bullets, and bade them, if their masters accepted the terms to take up *pan*; if not the bullets. One after one they came forward and everyone took up the *pan* leaves.58 Thus through threat and intimidation *zamindars* were subdued and sometimes also through persuasion and reconciliation. The military superiority of the governors was crucial in subjugating the *zamindars*.

The arrangement was also of some benefit to the *zamindars*. Mardan singh, the *zamindar* of Dondia Khera and a prominent leader of the erstwhile rebel Bias, received high favour from Burhan-ul-Mulk. Mardan

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Singh not only received the right to collect revenue for the state in Baiswara but had the same jurisdiction of the former Mughal faujdar. Later his son, Achal Singh also enjoyed the same position under Safdar Jung, while Udat Singh, another son of Mardan Singh, who developed a hostile attitude towards Mughals, was crushed by the forces of the Bias zamindars themselves. The Mehrors who enjoyed hereditary protection of the Bias improved their position in the pargana of Harha and Prva. They acquired two tappas in Harha and eighteen villages in Purwa.

Privileges were extended to the zamindars in proportion to their power and the benefits expected from their support. Chait Rai a zamindar of Baiswara was asked to pay only half the sum that had been fixed on his zamindari when he demonstrated his strength by offering a sham fight against Burhan-ul-Mulk. The Bisen zamindar of Gonda is reported to have been won over by Burhan-ul-Mulk on the condition that his territory would be independent of the jurisdiction of the nazim of Gorakhpur and Bahraich and subject only to the payment of a tribute to the governor.

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60 Ibid., p. 75.
61 Ibid., p. 62.
62 Ibid., p.73.
The previous policy of wooing powerful zamindars and seeking their support to strengthen and broaden the social base for the Mughal governorship was extended by Burhan-ul-Mulk and his successor, Safdar Jung, to even smaller zamindars, and some of them were given mansabs\textsuperscript{64}. However, ordinarily no zamindar was allowed to accumulate so much power that he could think of bringing changes in the character of his holding. It was not possible for the intermediary zamindars to become an autonomous raja, even with additional privileges which they had now. For instance, when zamindar of Harha was murdered by his son, Kesari, in the wake of a dispute over the zamindari,\textsuperscript{65} Kesari was punished by depriving him of his share in the zamindari by the nawab\textsuperscript{66}.

Burhan-ul-Mulk also tried to limit the strength of big rebellious zamindars. This was done in Rajput strongholds by providing opportunities for the extension of power and influence of apparently non-Rajput elements over land. A number of cases of the purchase of zamindaris by chaudhuris

\textsuperscript{64} W C Benett, W C Benett, \textit{A Report on the Family History of the Chief Clans of the Roy Bareilly District}, Lucknow, 1870, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{65} Kesari being the eldest son insisted on primogeniture.in an open violation of existing rule, in order to succeed to the father's zamindari, while the father wanted a division of his zamindari between his eight sons.

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Chronicles of Oonao}, p. 65.
and qanungos, especially in sarkar Khairabad and parts of Lucknow where the Rajputs still posed a serious threat probably bear this out.

The policy of creating and encouraging the non-Rajputs zamindaris did not pay many dividends, as the Rajputs as such were very powerful in Awadh. It was thus the policy of extending favors and privileges to the powerful zamindars that proved to be of greater help and enabled Burhan-ul-Mulk to build his base in Awadh.

Another new arrangement was of the re-establishment of the old powerful zamindars with certain new privileges termed as ta’ahhud, under which the zamindar had to pay a fixed amount for the contracted territory. Sometimes, a provincial official also contracted a ta’ahhud. In the case of the zamindars the arrangement was virtually an ijara contract which in some cases also involved some administrative and military responsibilities. In this we can presumably trace the origins of the formation of some of the ta’alluqa of the Eighteenth century (the origin, nature, expansion and magnitude of ta’aluqdari is discussed in foregoing pages).

The firm policies enabled Burhan-ul-Mulk and his successor Safdar Jung to augment the actual collection of land revenue. When Burhan-ul-Mulk was appointed governor of Awadh the income from the land revenue

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67 M Alam, pp. 215-16.
was Rs.70, 00, 000, after one year of his governorship it increased to Rs.1, 07, 00,000, which further increased to Rs.2, 00, 00, 000\(^69\).

During the reign of Safdar Jung, the *jama* of Awadh was Rs. 1. 15. 000, but with the inclusion of the region of Doab, Benaras, Ghazipur, Farrukhabad, it increased to Rs. 2, 70, 00, 000\(^70\). The annual revenues of Shuja-ud-Daula in 1766, after the treaty of Allahabad, was around Rs. 2, 00, 00, 000\(^71\). The treaty of Allahabad in Aug. 1765, deprived the nawab of the territory of Allahabad and Kora Jahanabad, the *jama* of which was Rs. 24, 00, 000 and Rs. 48, 00, 000 respectively. The following treaty of Benaras.


\(^{70}\) Ibid, vol., I, p. 77; Author did not mention the names of territory acquired by the predecessor of Shuja except that of 'Doab, Farrukhabad, etc.', however the actual territories, in all probability were, parts of Allahabad (including Kora Jahanabad, Benaras, Ghzipur, Azamgarh, Balia, and eastern portion of Mizapur leaving southern half of Allahabad, which comprised the whole of Bundelkhand except the *sarkar* of Kalpi, and the state of Sachindi in Agra. Cf. *Two Nawabs*, p. 248.

1773, restored the two provinces to Awadh, the breakup of the total revenue was as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Revenue (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>24,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kora Jahanabad</td>
<td>48,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awadh</td>
<td>1,50,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benaras</td>
<td>50,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazipur</td>
<td>15,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,87,00,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A L Srivastava brings out the revenue figures at the time of the death of Shuja-ud-Daula, in 1775, as £ 3,600,000 sterling, i.e., Rs. 3,60,00,000, calculating the value of £s at the rate of Rs. 10 each. This appears to be an exaggerated estimation while the estimate of Rs. 2, 70, 00, 000 suggested by Kamal-ud-Din Haider (a late contemporary writer) seems to be more reasonable.

In 1775, when Asaf-ud-Daula became the nawab he had to bear the loss of Benaras, Jaunpur, and Ghazipur, amounting to assessed revenue of Rs. 22, 00, 000. The total assessed revenue in 1880 was Rs. 2, 78, 70,121.

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Mirza Abu Talib the author of *Tafzihu'l Ghafilin*, who had a close association with the revenue administration of Asaf-ud-Daula records the *jama* figures of the years 1782 (1188 Fasli) and 1792 (1199 Fasli), and made a comparison. The total *jama* of 1782 was Rs. 2, 85, 98, 300 which decreased in 1792 to Rs. 2, 00, 98, 263 (for detail see Appendix D). There was a fall of 29.72 percent in the total *jama* 76. The fall of revenue, as we know, had actually started with the intermittent interference by the British and for meting their demands.

Thus it appears that total *jama* of Awadh increased continuously from the Mughal period onwards. From 1595-96 to 1709, there was an increase of 59.26 percent in the total *jama* of Awadh77. The *jama* of Awadh increased to 85 percent from 1595 to 175578. In the second half of the eighteenth century, with the territorial limits of Awadh increasing considerably, one would naturally expect *jama* figures to increase but at the same time we find a substantial increase also in the revenue assessment in Awadh. The following Table 3.1 illustrates the trend of revenue in Awadh. [Certain adjustments have been made in *jama* figures (by adding constant variable) to minimize the error of territorial transfers and restorations].


77 *The Agrarian System*, p. 375.

78 M Alam, p. 103.
Table: 3.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Jama in Rs. (with adjustment)</th>
<th>% (taking the jama of 1737 as 100)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Burhan-ul-Mulk (1737)</td>
<td>2,24,00,000&lt;sup&gt;79&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Safdar Jung (At the end of his rule)</td>
<td>2,70,00,000</td>
<td>120.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shuja-ud-Daula (after the treaty of 1765)</td>
<td>2,72,00,000&lt;sup&gt;80&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>121.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Shuja-ud-Daula (after the restoration of ceded territory)</td>
<td>2,87,00,000</td>
<td>128.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Asaf-ud-Daula (1775)</td>
<td>2,92,00,000&lt;sup&gt;81&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>130.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Asaf-ud-Daula (1780)</td>
<td>3,00,70,121</td>
<td>134.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Asaf-ud-Daula (1782)</td>
<td>3,07,98,300</td>
<td>137.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Asaf-ud-Daula (1792)</td>
<td>2,22,98,263</td>
<td>99.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Saadat Khan (before the partition of his territory)</td>
<td>2,70,95,800&lt;sup&gt;82&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>120.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>79</sup> The jama was Rs. 2,00,00,000 in which Rs. 24,00,000 (the jama of Allahabad acquired by Safdar Jang) is added.

<sup>80</sup> Rs. 24,00,000 for Kora Jahanabad and Rs. 48,00,000 for Allahabad is added.

<sup>81</sup> Rs. 22,00,000 for Benaras Jaunpur and Ghazipur is added to all the succeeding periods.

<sup>82</sup> In 1801 the whole territory was partitioned in two halves. The jama of the territories retained by the Saadat Khan was Rs. 1,35,47,900. This is being multiplied by two.
The above table illustrates that the *jama* figures continued to rise throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. The highest increase was during the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula. Though it decreased in between 1782 to 1792, but thereafter the increase was by almost 21 percent at the time of the cession of half of the territory to the British, in 1801.

In 1801, the total assessment of the portion of Awadh retained by Saadat Khan was Rs. 1, 35, 47, 900 but the actual collection was not more than Rs. 1, 15, 00, 000\(^3\). Saadat Khan has been praised by the contemporary British officials and contemporary historians for his administrative acumen. He resorted to extensive revenue farming and strictly controlled the spillage of revenue. Soon his *jama* increased to Rs. 1, 50, 00, 000\(^4\). Najmul Ghani has given us the detailed break-up of the increased *jama*, total being Rs. 1, 52, 61,100 (for detail see Appendix E)\(^5\).

The *jama* figures during the reign of successive nawabs are not available in detail, though the figures at the time of annexation are available according to the list handed over by Raja Balkrishan to the Chief Commissioner. According to this list the total collection of *jama* before


\(^4\) Lal Ji, *Mirat-ul-Auza*, f.7a; 1206 H. A copy of which is available at Maulana Azad Liberary, AMU, Aligarh.

annexation was Rs. 1,02,26,265 (for detail see Appendix G)\(^6\). In another table, the author of *Tarikh-i- Awadh* compares the *jama* of the nawabi period with the assessment of the British Government. He suggests that the total assessment before the annexation was Rs. 1,27,58,824 (see Appendix F)\(^7\), which was less than the British official records of the *jama*, Rs. 1,38,03,731\(^8\). The assessment figures soon after the annexation, in the years 1856-57 reduced to Rs. 1,04,89,755 which got further reduced to Rs. 1,04,20,990 by 1858-59 (the Summary Settlement)\(^9\). All the figures of the *jama* from the period 1801 to 1858 are given in the following table 3.2.

**Table: 3.2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Assessment in Rs.</th>
<th>% taking the Assessment of 1801 as 100.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>1,34,47,900</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856 (Before annexation)</td>
<td>1,38,03,731</td>
<td>102.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^6\) Kama-ud-Din Haider, vol. II, pp. 144-149.


The above table illustrates that the assessment slightly increased in the period 1801 to 1856, and declined after the annexation, but later increased substantially after the regular settlements.

Though the jama figures of the succeeding nawabs are not available, the figures of the annual income deposited in royal treasury, available to us, are given in the following Table 3.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Nawab</th>
<th>Income in Rs.</th>
<th>Increase in Rs.</th>
<th>Decrease in Rs.</th>
<th>% (taking the income of first year of Saadak Khan's Nawabi as 100)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Saadat Khan (first fear of his nawabi)</td>
<td>1,15,00,000(^{90})</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Saadat Khan (later years of his rule)</td>
<td>1,52,47,100(^{91})</td>
<td>37,47,100</td>
<td></td>
<td>132.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ghazi-ud-Din Haider</td>
<td>1,42,50,000(^{92})</td>
<td></td>
<td>9,97,100</td>
<td>123.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{91}\) Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, p. 66-67.

\(^{92}\) Kamal-ud-Din Haider, vol. I, p. 266.
There was, therefore, a continuous increase in the revenues of the Awadh state under the nawabi regimes. It is, however, not clear if the increase in revenues could be attributed to expansion in agricultural production. It might just be related to a greater efficiency – amounting to ruthlessness – on the part of the state in realizing the agrarian surplus. As long as our evidence on this is scarce, the growth in revenue cannot be related to the expansion of agrarian economy.

Rent:

In the Mughal period, as we know, the state demand was fixed according to the measurement of land. Besides cultivators had to part with some share of the produce in the form of cesses, the perquisites of the

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93 *Mirat-ul-Auza*, f7a.

94 Ibid.

95 Kamal-ud-Din Haider, vol. I, p. 387; Najmul Ghani suggests a figure of Rs. 1,10,00,000; Najmul Ghani, vol. V, p. 40.

96 Najmul Ghani, vol. V, p. 198. Author further mentions that according to the figure of Hat Prashad income was of Rs. 1,29,41,818.
agency through which state collected the land revenue. The elaborate system of the land revenue collection based on measurement of land continued to a large extent in the region of Awadh even after the political confusion that gripped the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb. The weakening of Mughal central control in Awadh however had also led to the rise of *ijara* system, i.e. farming out of the revenue\(^7\), the ill-effects of which have been argued by the historians, but the system also played a major role in sustaining the ‘succession states’ during the eighteenth century.

In the nawabi regime, the *ijara* system emerged as the most viable system for the collection of land revenue, though *amani* and *huzur thasil* were other systems through which revenues were collected. In any of these system the amount of the land revenue to be collected were not specifically earmarked, it was decided according to the prevailing conditions such as the condition of crops, extent of cultivation, and ability of the *amil* or *ijaradar* to extract the revenue etc. At times, the right to collect revenue even changed hands at the time of collection, with the other person committing for a higher payment, which of course further burdened the peasantry.\(^8\) The share of produce claimed from the cultivators thereby crossed the one-third

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\(^7\) *Agrarian System*, pp. 274-76, 320-322.

\(^8\) *Mirat-ul-Ausaha*, f8-f11; also see *The Chronicles of Oonao*, pp. 129-30, 137-39; Butter, pp. 100-102.
Mughal share. The author of *Mirat-ul-Auza* gives a detailed account of the rapacious behaviors of the *ijaradars* and *talluqdar*s in collusion with the *amins* and this remained an oft repeated theme of the contemporary accounts. The land revenue claimed from the cultivators till the reign of Saadat Khan and Ghazi-ud-Din Haider varied from 38 percent to 44 percent of the produce, that remained more or less same under the *amani* system and *ijara* system. But the extraction from *ijaradari* later crossed 62 and even 75 percent. Butter also records low rent for the reign of Saadat Khan, which he remarks got doubled in his times (1839). The rent of good land was Re. 1 to Rs. 1.5 which increased to Rs. 2, Rs. 3, or Rs. 4. Initially it was still possible for Saadat Khan and Ghazi-ud-Din Haider, who resorted to *ijara* on a very large scale, to enforce the maximum limits to be extracted from cultivators. Later the control over *ijaradars* weakened considerably and the system became more exploitative and rapacious.

Still it is interesting to note that the rent varied considerably and did not always increase in the manner suggested by Butter. In Baiswara, Rambakhsh Singh, *zamindar* of Daundia Khera, the rent collected ranged from eight annas to two rupees, three and four rupees per bigha whereas in

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100 Ibid, f20-23.

101 Butter, p. 54.
the *zamindari* of raja of Tiloi the rent continued to be as low as that in Saadat Khan's time, i.e. two rupees per bigha of old arable land and one rupee for newly reclaimed land°². Further, the rent in Kaharpur (in 1850) for the best cultivated lands of wheat was Rs. 2 per bigha°³ that clearly was not much higher than that of the previous regime.

There had been at the same time a constant pressure from the British Government on the nawab to switch over from *ijaradari* to *amani* system due to the anomalies that crept into the *ijara* by frequent land transfers and the appropriation of the increased revenue by the landlords. However on discovering that *amani* system too had its problems, namely that the *amils* were not accountable for the discrepancy in assessment, and had enough scope for manipulation and amassing personal wealth, the British Government soon gave up their insistence on *amani* and preferred the *ijaradari* instead°⁴.

The incidence of rent was not uniform, as we know, and at the same time preferential rent was also enjoyed by the different castes. In Lucknow, *chattries* paid the least rent whereas the *kachhis* or *Muraus* were seen paying the highest rent as 'their cultivation was of highest order and their

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°² Ibid, pp. 53-4, 110.


industry and labour unceasing'. Following is the list of average rent paid by different castes in the Lucknow district, recorded by the Settlement Reports\textsuperscript{105}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Rent per acre</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Chattries</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kurmis</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Brahmins</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ahirs</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Lodhis</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pasis</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Chamars</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kachies or Muraus</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The graduated scale of rent was imposed on the newly cultivated lands. In this case, the rent started with low assessment and then was gradually raised by fixed yearly increments till it reached to one half of the produce. This was termed as *hissai* (the shares). It may begin with one-tenth, called *dasami* afterwards it advanced by regular steps to one-eighth, one-fifth, one-fourth, and one-half, *athaiya, pachnaiya, chauthaiya*. 'batai' respectively. But if the land was of better quality, the rent generally started with one-fourth and if paid in cash it started with one anna per *bigha*, and in the following year raised to two annas, and then in the following years with the annual increments of two *annas* it finally attained the full rate when the agreement was executed\textsuperscript{106}.


\textsuperscript{106} Ibid, Part-III, Para-23.
Besides the regular rents the cultivators had to give a number of customary cesses\textsuperscript{107}. The zamindars exacted in addition to his dues various cesses which were termed as sawai, and gaon kharch. These were arhaiya, seri, menrahi and mendhi. The arhaiya, two and half sers kachha which was equal to one ser pakka per maund for the village expenses and to recompense the zamindars for his trouble and expenses incurred on chaukidar, patwari, and providing protection. It amounted sometimes to as much as a panseri, five sers kachha or two sers pakka. The seri (one ser per maund) was levied, half for the upkeep of patwari and half for the shahna, who looked after the crops on zamindars' behalf. The menrhi and mendhi amounted to one ser pakka for the weighing man (bhurji), but zamindar took half of it. These cesses were levied from all types of cultivators except from Brahmin and Thakurs\textsuperscript{108}. Besides these cesses, the cultivators had to contribute anjalis, which was payment made for the maintenance of purohit, fakir, bhat, mali, etc.. In some instances mallah, gosain, Ganga Putr, also received maintenance from the cultivators. The amount paid was double handful of grain taken out of the heap of each cultivator\textsuperscript{109}.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid, Para-24 to 26.


\textsuperscript{109} Ibid, Part III, Para-25.
Chapter IV

The Urban Economy

Besides a rich agrarian base, crucial for the formation of its autonomous power, Awadh had a number of centers of manufactures and trade which supplied resources to the state. The trading operations and its prospects in the region largely depended on the patronage of political elite, and the unhindered flow of cash controlled by the business community, *mahajans* and *sahukars* in urban centers and *baniyas* in the rural areas.

In Awadh, during early eighteenth century we come across a number of urban centers. Lucknow, the capital city from the period of Asaf-ud-Daula, was a city of repute accommodating a large aristocracy, military personnel, traders, merchants, *sahukars*, jewelers, a wide variety of artisans and craftsmen. Faizabad too an administrative city, catered to the needs of the court. Although, the importance of Faizabad declined to some extent with the transfer of capital to Lucknow, it still remained a flourishing urban centre during the period. The other important urban centers of Awadh, such as Khairabad and Daryabad, were famous for their textiles. There were neighbouring cities, Azamgarh, Bhadohi and Mirzapur, that prospered through the Awadh trade. Even later, with the growth in Bengal-bound exports from these regions, post 1764 (battle of
Buxar), Benaras and Mirzapur continued to control the large share of trade from Awadh\(^1\). A shift in the flow of merchandise towards Bengal is noticeable, with the British merchants rushing towards the region of Awadh after the victory of East India Company\(^2\).

Besides these large towns a large number of qasba also sprang in the region. The growth of the *qasba* was an important indicator of the nexus between revenue demand in cash and the pattern of settlements. During the Mughal period, there were around 3,200 *qasbas*\(^3\). Under Akbar, the payment of the land revenue in cash greatly stimulated the growth of the *qasbas*, at least in the core provinces of the empire\(^4\). It provided opportunities to traders, money-lenders, *sarrafs*, petty landholders, *jagirdars’* agents, revenue free grantees, etc. *Qasbas* thereby served as important links integrating rural markets with larger city markets. The settlements also received impetus from the men of prominence and

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\(^1\) M Alam, pp. 247-51.

\(^2\) Ibid, p. 254.


\(^4\) Ibid.
important *jagirdars*. These encouraged emigrants to settle in the region, fellow-countrymen and agriculturists, artisans, craftsmen etc\(^5\).

The religious and cultural centre also developed in the form of larger settlements rivaling some of the big cities of the eighteenth century. Such settlements were endowed with the religious grants, and also attracted traders and merchants of all types. During the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula, Salon developed with a large population consequent to the grant made to a *fakir* named Miya Pir Atta. Besides this Ayodhya, Dalamau, Surajpur (Daundia Khera), Kolhuagar (Harha), were the other important religious centres\(^6\).

**Manufactures and Exports:**

The internal trade in Awadh was in grain, cotton, cloth etc. The principle manufactures comprised salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, arms, cotton cloths, dye-stuffs, blankets, sugar, paper, glass, soap, oil, paint, and indigo (of inferior quality).

Awadh, rich in natural resources and natural streams, had the advantage of surplus grain production. European travelers, in the first half of the eighteenth century, had noted the agricultural prosperity of the

\(^5\) Ibid, pp. 437-47

\(^6\) Butter, pp.88-92; Sleeman, I, pp. 233-34.
region that gave fillip to the growth of trade and commerce in the region. Much of the trade however had been intra-regional. The volumes of trade carried through the banjaras were considerable and Azamgarh, Bhadohi and Mirzapur were important markets. In 1769, the Bengal government requested Nawab to supply grains as there was scarcity of grain in Bengal and its surroundings. Still the sources do not directly testify to a large scale export of grains from the region.

The Awadh was celebrated for its cotton manufacture. Lucknow was famous for the manufacture of gold lace work (zari), brocades (kamdani), embroidered slippers and caps (ghetta and kafsh and topi), and its clay modelers, who worked with a fine sort of clay called chur, which was procurable in Ganeshpur, Uttur Dauna, and Sara-i-Shekh villages near Chinhat, and in Chinhat itself. The finer quality of cotton was produced

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7 M Alam, p. 254.
8 M Alam, pp. 247-51.
10 In 1839 Butter informs that grain was never exported from Awadh, but in 1850 Sleeman records the flow of grain from northern and eastern districts of Awadh towards Kanpur. He further records the movement of large number of boats supplying timber, rice and other commodities to Kanpur. Butter, p. 87; Sleeman, vol. I, p. 279; and vol. II, p. 45.
in Tanda, Mau and Jais. In Tanda, a proper bleaching industry developed with the help of British settlers in the region, who, with the introduction of British patterns of table cloth, towel etc. appropriated huge profits. However, dying was carried on, at all the large towns, but the best dyers who were recognized for the permanence and brilliancy of its dyes belonged to Shahzadpur. The dying industry also flourished as products of cotton industry had demand in the market. Tanda produced muslin of a fine quality which was in great demand but in the nineteenth century its demand declined in the face of the competition from British cotton industry. Even after its decline, during the nawabi period, the manufacture of Tanda supplied to Nepal, amounted to the value of Rs. 1.5 lakhs, which further declined to half of it after the annexation. In Rai Bareli and Jais also fine quality of cotton was manufactured. Both these places were famous for manufacture of adhoti. The Jais was famous for its various sorts of cloth. A peculiar kind of muslin, tanzeb was the most famous one. In this the weavers had a curious art of in-weaving any design suggested to them which could be verses from Koran, Hindi sloks or local folk lore.

The next important item of export was salt and saltpetre. Saltpetre is used for making gunpowder and therefore the state had direct interest in its

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12 Butter, p. 80; Millett, Fyzabad Report 1880, Para-513.
13 Butter, p. 80; Millett, Report Of Sultanpur, Para-80.
trade. It was produced in Baiswara, Salon, Partabgarh, and Banandha. The production of saltpetre was farmed out and after purchasing it from the local luniyas, it was sent to Lucknow where it was used to manufacture gunpowder. During the Nawabi period, in Rai Bareli district, the turnover of the salt and saltpetre was substantial. The total output of salt was of 3,61,361 maunds of the value of the value of Rs. 2,62,423, while the output of saltpetre was of 1,18,762 maunds of the value of Rs. 2,25,381. In the Partabgarh district the area of salt production was 4,408 bigha which produced salt of the value of Rs. 72,000 per annum during Nawabi rule.

Imports:

The imports were matchlocks, lead, swords, shields, horn bows, reeds for writing purposes, paper, soaps, iron, copper and brass vessels, tin, horses, elephants, Lahori salt, medicinal substances, spices, silks, Muksoodabad rice, kimkhwabs, shawls, etc.

The best matchlocks were imported from Lahore, and the best one with gold work on barrels were sold at Rs. 200 a pair, plain barrel cost Rs.

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14 Butter, p. 76.

150 to Rs. 100, and lighter one as low as Rs. 50. The Lahore matchlock was in great demand due to its quality, efficiency and range (800 paces).¹⁶

The best swords were imported from Gujarat, Jodhpur, Sirohi and Lahore. The best quality swords were received from Lahore ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500 of two varieties popularly known as ispat, which was straightened after bending, and fauladi, which was not. The swords from Gujarat with straight blade cost Rs. 50 to 60, while swords from Jodhpur and Sirohi, slightly curved, cost Rs. 25 to 30.¹⁷

Shields were brought from Silhet. The best were made of hide of rhinoceros, one hide gave four shields, and their cost of production was Rs. 25. Shields of inferior quality was made of Buffalo hide and cost Rs. 4 only. The sipahies posted in that region used to bring them and sell them off at double the cost.¹⁸

Horn bows were brought from Khajwa, and Mainpuri, in the Doab, and Tilhar twelve miles from Shahjahanpur. They were of two forms, kamtha, or simply curved bow, and the Kaman, made with a compound

¹⁶ Butter, p. 93.
¹⁷ Ibid, p. 94.
¹⁸ Ibid.
curvature, the horns pointing the same way as the arrow. These bows cost from 8 annas to 1 and 1 ½ rupee, according to the size\textsuperscript{19}.

The reeds, called \textit{kilak}, for writing were brought from Calcutta. Paper was imported from Kalpi. Iron was imported from Sagar and Nepal. The price of unwrought iron in short thick masses, pointed at the ends was 16 \textit{sers} per rupee, and 3 \textit{sers} per rupee of iron well-wrought into hoes, ploughshares, etc. Copper and brass were imported from the lower ranges of the Himalayas in Nepal and Kumaon, and were sold in the form of vessels at Rs. 2 per \textit{ser}, never being imported in an unwrought state. Tin perhaps was also brought from the same region, and was used for tinning the copper and brass vessels and for women's bangles and anklets\textsuperscript{20}.

Horses were brought from Punjab, Kabul, and Bokhara, at prices varying from 150 to 500, and 2,000 rupees. Ponies (\textit{tanghans}) were brought from the sub-Himalayan hills, and were priced from 25 to 500 rupees. Though the superior quality of horses was brought from outside but local native horses from \textit{terhi nadi}, in Bahraich were also internally supplied which cost Rs. 40 to 50. Elephants were brought from Nepal, Tipra, and Chitgaon\textsuperscript{21}.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, pp. 94-95.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
Marts:

Besides the daily sales organized in every town, and large village, there were established periodical fairs, called *Mela, Hat, bazaar, and Gunj*, at which cloths of different kinds, corals, pearls, looking glasses, toys, sweetmeats, brass and copper vessels, swords, matchlocks, bullocks, drugs, unwrought iron and copper were sold.

The *bazar* was a collection of shops that opened every day and normally every town with a population of 2,000 families had 50 shops. The *ganj*, normally a walled enclosure, was reserved for merchandise within the limits of large towns or cities. A number of *ganjs* totalling forty-two were established between 1750 and 1819. The *bazaars* and *ganjs* witnessed high level of economic activities and at the same time played an important role in facilitating the access of the agricultural produce to the towns and cities, thereby transforming the agrarian wealth into commercial or military resources. During the rule of first two nawabs, *gunjs* developed in consequence of the growth of centralized power and were established on the roadside for purely commercial appropriation of agrarian resources. During the reign of Asaf-ud-daula the demand of British tribute led to the process of 'decentralization of the *ganjs*, and the nawab deliberately

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22 Butter, p. 93.
allowed his local revenue farmers to engross more of the total revenue in order to fight off British pressure of enhanced tribute.

After the division of the nawabi province in 1801, the central control tightened again. Saadat Khan recovered the commercial importance of the ganjs. He placed the administration of ganjs under a special kotwali under the direct supervision of the nawab. The kotwal was invested with the exclusive powers and overrode the jurisdiction of city kotwal in matters of the administration of ganjs. Saadat Khan, also brought other commercial establishments under his direct and personal supervision. During his rule a large number of ganjs, totaling 52, and other bazaars became famous. The income from these commercial establishments increased to four to five lakhs while they had not yielded more than two lakhs during the previous regimes. The control of the succeeding nawabs, however, was not uniform but these commercial establishments connected the nodal points to the local trading operations and sustained the semi self-sufficient economy of the Awadh.

The religious gatherings and assemblage, holy fairs, tirthas, and melas, during the particular period, besides their religious and cultural

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23 C A Bayly, Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars, North India Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 98-9

relevance also created markets for certain specialized commodities and the avenues for the trading operations were appropriated by the mercantile classes from different regions. The large assemblages of people, sometimes 3,00,000 in number, also required the supply of huge amounts of clothings and supply of food materials. In some of these assemblages the amount transacted crossed Rs. 1,00,000 and Rs. 1,50,000. The state also took up these fairs with concern and administrative arrangements were made for the protection of life and property. In Surajpur tirtha the faujdar of Dalamau used to station a kotwal with two or three tomans (each 100 strong) with a six pounder, to protect the traffic. The tirtha of Dalamau and Surajpur attracted visitors from distant lands like Nepal, Gorakhpur and Bundelkhand. In Surajpur tirtha the most sought after commodity was pearl which was supplied by the Gosains and its demand attracted purchasers even from Lucknow, some of them being merchants.\(^{25}\)

These holy fairs must have played an important role in economic activities of the region. It appears that the customary levies and taxes imposed by the local elites, would have provided with a supply of cash in the region. The merchants, money lenders, money changers, cloth merchants and grain merchants all were provided with an opportunity of profit making. The demand for local manufactures must have supported

\(^{25}\) Butter, pp.88-92.
and sustained the local artisans and craftsmen, as a large number of them had settled in Dalamau.26

Urban Classes

The role of caste in artisanal production during the Mughal period could be noted from the existence of thirty-six shudra (paunis) castes of Jaunpur mentioned in the autobiographical Ardhakathanaka27. The phrase 'thirty-six paunis' had become a cliché during the Banarsidas’s (author of the Arthakathnaka) age. The expression occurs in the works of many poets of the period. The actual number of professional classes which could be characterized as paunis was perhaps not so fixed. Though, a big city like Jaunpur must have contained people belonging to most of the professions Banarsi names, if not more.28 Abdur Rahim Khan-Khana too refers to a

26 Ibid, p. 89.


The word pauni which Banarsidas used for shudra, is derived from Hindi word pavana, 'something received as due'. Paunis were specific communities who providd certain services or followed certain crafts and customarily received a fixed share of agricultural produce in exchange of goods supplied or services rendered over the year, Ibid, pp. 134-136.

more extensive list of thirty-six in his *Nagar-sobha*\(^{29}\). Pelsaert also referred to a hundred crafts which covered artisans and service occupations whose clientele evidently included the middle classes\(^{30}\). The lists cover a wide and varied range of occupations – weaver, tailor, barber, metalworker, carpenter, mason, glassblower, stone-cutter, oil-presser, sweetmeat-seller, palanquin-bearer, painter, carpet-maker, paper manufacturer, thatcher, lace-worker, fireworks-maker, sword-sharpener, seller of torches and leaves used as platters etc.. The organization of artisanal and crafts production still continued to be based on the basis of caste hierarchies subjected to the religious ideology and state control.

Traditional trading operations, in the pre-colonial India involved a complex relationship traversing from primary producer to the appropriation of its proceeds by the state. The production involved the traditional caste network and its distribution and had direct links with the social groups who were organizing themselves on the basis of caste system itself.


The cotton production involved numerous castes like *julahas*, *katwas*, *dhuniyas*, washer man, etc. However at Tanda the *julahas* were Muslim and *katwas* Hindus. Both the Hindus and Muslims were seen as weavers in Awadh eg. *Julaha* (Muslims), *Koris* (Hindus). The Luniyas were the caste who manufactured salt and saltpetre. Thus, the specialization of production rotated within the confines of caste and resembled, more or less, the one prevalent during Mughal India. The artisans and craftsman of the villages constituted the *praja*, the village servants, *lohar, barhai, kumhar, kahar, dhobi, dirzi, hajam, bari, chamar, mehtar, manihar* (lac bangle maker), *mali*, and *tamboli*.31

The weavers, it appears, organized themselves in corporate guilds. In the village of Dundwah in the *pargana* Surhurpur, Yar Muhammad a weaver and broker, constructed an edifice popularly known as “*Imambara Panchaiti Jolaha*”, or “Subscription Church of the Weavers” sometime in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Rs. 4000 was raised for the construction by the fraternity. The organization would have played an instrumental role in bargaining communities’ interests and against encroachments on their interests.32

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The opportunities for trade and commerce, in the eighteenth century, led to the growth of trading marts and urban centers. The flourishing state of trade and commerce consolidated the position of traders, merchants and *mahajans*, as we know from our sources. We also find the rise of big business houses in the region. In Benaras, there was a growth of large number of business families. Two important *mahajans* of the time were Gopaldas and Gowaldas who were capable of transacting huge capital as large as Rs. 5,00,000 just to save their life.\(^\text{33}\)

The prosperity of merchants was on account of trade in different commodities. We come across the reference of the commercial Bainses from Bainswara, having banking establishments and cloth depots at

\(^{33}\) Gowaldas was very rich but, since he had financed Mir Rustam Ali Khan whom Mansa Ram, the founder of the Benaras Raj, had replaced as the chief *mustajir* of the region, he lost his position under Balwant Singh to Gopaldas. Subsequently, he allegedly involved himself in a plot to assassinate the Raja, was captured, and released only when he agreed to pay the Raja a sum of Rs. 5,00,000. Initially, Balwant Singh demanded Rs. 10,00,000 and it was on Gopaldas’s intercession that the amount was reduced to Rs. 5,00,000, which Gowaldas paid within a week’s time. M Alam, ‘Aspects of Agrarian Uprising in North India in the Early Eighteenth Century’, ed. Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Themes in Indian History: The Mughal State 1526-1750*, Delhi, 1998, p. 465.
Calcutta, Kamilha (Tipara), Dhaka, Chatgaon, Malda, Dinajpur, Maksudabad and other places which in the western part of India extended upto Jaipur. Their items of trade included elephants from Tipara, shawls from Kashmir, and other commodities sold in those regions. In Medinigunj in southern Awadh, also, resided some of the wealthiest and most enterprising merchants. They too carried their trade with the aid of their gomashtas, with salaries varying 25 to 40 rupees, stationed at Calcutta, Mirzapur, and other intermediate cities. Although the water-trade declined in later days, in its heydays they also employed charhandars at 4 rupees a month who were employed on the boats in the Ganges. These merchants prospered through the trade in different commodities and acquired considerable wealth.

Lucknow emerged not only as a political centre during the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula, but it also became a centre for brisk trade. In this context, the observation of an European traveler is relevant to quote: "...The vast sums expended by Asaf-ud-Daula brought to Lucknow merchants of large property from all parts of India, and the trade between Cashmere and Bengal in considerable degree took the same direction. The town rapidly increased in extent and prosperity; and even now, when trade receives less

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34 Butter, p. 88.
encouragement under Saadat Ali, it did not visibly decline". During the reign of Saadat Khan the merchants and bankers migrated from the interior to the big business centers like Lucknow, Farrukhabad, Kanpur and Benaras. After 1801, as most of the important trading centres like Farrukhabad, Mirzapur, Benaras, Kanpur went to the British East India Company, they had greater prospects for business there in this period.

Their prosperity and transaction networks increasingly enabled the mercantile class to venture into a number of areas. Mahajans and sahukars were seen remitting revenues executing bonds of security against the payment of revenues, and also advancing loans to British East India Company and their officials. Transactions of big amounts by these bankers could have been possible on account of available cash reserves and an effective network that smoothened transaction of credits in out-station


37 In a letter written to the Governor General, Khush-Hal Chand, a banker, asked for the fifteen lakh rupees that the Company owed to him and also requested to issue orders to officers for clearing his dues. He also intimated the Governor General through this letter that he had issued the bill of exchange for the sum of Rs. 2, 00, 000 for the Madras as requested by the Governor General. Khush-Hal Chand to Governor General, CPC, vol. VI, p. 317-18.
markets. The mahajans employed their agents at Calcutta to honor the bills of exchange and the system appears quite effective\textsuperscript{38}. They provided capital and bond of security to bail out the nawab from his pecuniary financial liabilities towards the British\textsuperscript{39}. The interests of these mercantile classes, in return, were reluctantly contested by the nawabs in the face of British monopolistic trading operations which ensued after the 1765 (see next chapter for detail).

The British Intervention:

From 1788 onwards there was a great increase of British trade in Awadh. P J Marshal has shown that a survey of the customs records at Benaras for the year 1785-86 indicates that goods from Bengal bound for 'the western provinces' were valued at Rs. 17, 92, 326. In 1795-96 Rs. 31, 70, 000 worth of goods passed through the custom post at Manjhi on the frontier of Bihar for Lucknow alone, with a further two lakhs consigned to other destinations in Awadh. While Bengal's exports to Awadh doubled in

\textsuperscript{38} Raja Chait Singh to T Graham, \textit{CPC}, vol. V, p. 95.

\textsuperscript{39} Lala Bachhraj Faqir Chand executed a bond of security on behalf of the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula to pay the outstanding amount for the year 1782-83 and the subsidy of the troops for the year 1783-84, total amounting to a sum of Rs. 1, 03, 84, 420. Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula to Wombell, \textit{CPC}, vol. VI, p. 328.
ten years, the growth of Awadh's export to Bengal was even more spectacular. In 1771 it was assumed that the returns on the sale in Awadh of Bengali and British goods would largely be made in specie. In 1785-86 goods going from 'the western provinces' to Bengal were valued at Rs. 9, 27, 412. Ten years later Bengal's imports recorded at Manjhi were worth Rs. 1, 12, 93, 453. Allowing for very large quantities of raw cotton and indigo originating from Maratha territory, and for goods from Benaras, it still seems reasonable to assume that some fifty lakhs of the total were Awadh goods; Awadh piece-goods alone worth thirty lakhs were exported from Calcutta that year.40

The British trade captured almost half of Awadh with the 1801 treaty as important nodal points of the trading networks were within the British controlled region. Most of the important trading centres like Farrukhabad, Mirzapur, Benaras and Kanpur came under the control of the British East India Company.

European commercial practices were ruinous to local trade networks, and not only were, the Nawabs under pressure from the

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mercantile interests of Awadh, but their own state monopolies were also undermined\footnote{A farman issued by Mughal Emperor Shah Alam (in 1768), is worth quoting here. It is interesting to note that though stripped off authority, he still tried to assert his interest. “As the good of mankind and the welfare of countries has always been the chief study of great kings, former emperors, out of their bounty, benevolence and love of their subjects, were graciously pleased to grant the privilege of trade to several European nations, that they might bring here their own commodities and benefiting the people of this country, benefit themselves in return by exporting the manufactures of this country, and thus promote the mutual advantage of the peoples. At present his fortunate and propitious Majesty has been informed that the Europeans nations bring in a small quantity of bullion into the country and export a great quantity of coin out of it. Since these practices are the occasion of great distress to his Majesty’s subjects, and disadvantageous to the empire, paying regard therefore to the prosperity of the country and welfare of its inhabitants, His Majesty has issued his Royal farman to all European nations that whatever quantity of bullion and merchandise they bring here, they should take its equivalent in the commodity of this country in return, and not carry with them home more than the value of the bullion. They are also ordered to desist from exporting money without an order from the Nizamat. In case they act contrary there to, they shall be caused to pay the sarkar a penalty of double the quantity they export and forfeit the liberty of trade which former kings as}
The impact of all this on the artisanal classes was immense. The actual figures on the population of weavers in the province are not available, but an estimate of the last decade of eighteenth century gives the population of weavers and their dependents in Awadh as 2,50,000\(^{42}\). In the face of the decline of cotton industries during nineteenth century the large mass of this population naturally fell on the agrarian economy. A settlement officer observed that all the centers of cotton manufacturers declined resulting in the decline of the population to the magnitude of more than half, in some cases even higher. In the \textit{pargana} Surhurpur the number of the houses of weavers was 600, which declined to half\(^{43}\). In Lucknow district the \textit{koris}, a weaver caste of significance, were found reaping crops at harvest times\(^{44}\).

Although coarse cotton was still produced to cater to the demand of common people, the manufacture of the traditionally acclaimed fabrics and well as the present were graciously pleased to grant them. It is like wise necessary that they should give in a list of the goods they export and import to the \textit{Makhsh-Bandar} that it may pass His Majesty’s august cognizance. Let therefore all the world, as it regards His Majesty’s high displeasure, pay due obedience to this command". \textit{CPC}, vol. II, p. 327.

\(^{42}\) Bayly, p.144.


their demand in the outside market declined in the face of the competition and onslaught of British trade in the region. The demand of the local aristocracy for quality cotton fabric was not to an extent to compensate and save the industry from ruination. The decline was crucial for the thinning of the population of towns like Tanda, Mau, Jais. Benaras, though earlier the commercial hub of Awadh, also suffered the same phenomenon of decline.

The impact of British policies became full-fledged after annexation. The pattern of export and import got thoroughly altered. By the time when regular settlements were complete, the total value of exports increased four times in comparison to imports. Awadh became one of the important suppliers of the grain. Partabgarh 'the granary of the adjacent districts of the north western provinces' supplied 20,000 maunds of wheat and barely besides a considerable amount of other grains in the year 1870. Other than grain a large quantity of oil-seeds, sugar, tobacco and timber were exported to Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur and Mirzapur.

The items of imports into Awadh, in this period, were mainly British cloth, salt, cotton etc.\(^45\). Thus, cotton, salt and saltpetre, important items of exports from the Awadh throughout the eighteenth century and

\(^{45}\) Ibid, Para 51-53.
early nineteenth century, now started to be imported into Awadh. The producers were transformed into consumers within a period of a century.

A heavy duty was imposed on the production of salt. The duty was so high that if the cost of salt was Rs. 5 per maund, its duty was Rs. 3.46

The total production of salt declined from the value of Rs. 68,022, in 1859, to the value of Rs. 61,496, in 1856.47 Salt being the source of subsistence for the luniyas, its decline greatly affected them.

The changing patterns of trade and commerce after the annexation also required a fresh layout of roads leading to the decline of some of the important and flourishing trading centres and ganjs of the nawabi period. Tilism reports that new roadways were constructed after annexation, such as the road from Kanpur to Lucknow, another from Lucknow to Behranghat via Faizabad, and the third from Khairabad to Shahjahanpur finally reaching Benaras.48 We know from Gazetteers of the late nineteenth century that when the new roads were coming up, the towns and the marts situated along the old routes could not catch up, as their roads had gone into disuse.

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46 Forbes, Report Of Pratabgarh, Para-77 to 78.

47 Ibid., Para-77 to 78.