

**Mandis, Merchants and Urban Society :
Hapur 1880-1920**

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the dissertation titled 'Mandis, Merchants and Urban Society: Hapur 1880-1920' submitted by Ms. Amita Satyal for the award of Master of Philosophy degree has not been previously submitted for the award of any degree of this for any other University. This is her own work.

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However the error of fact or interpretation is definitely mine.

Amita Satyal

AMITA SATYAL

A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C&I	Department of Commerce and Industry.
C&I,W	Department of Commerce and Industry, War.
DG	District Gazetteer, Meerut District, 1904.
DG(B)	District Gazetteer, Meerut Division B Volume, 1917.
GOI	Government of India
NAI	National Archives of India, New Delhi.
NWP	North Western Provinces and Oudh.
Prdgs.	Proceedings.
PWD,RC	Public Works Department, Railway Construction.
RHM	Report on the working of the Hapur Municipality.
RMA	Report on Municipal Administration and Finances of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.
Rs. a. p.	Rupees, anna and paise respectively.
RSC	Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.
SDHA	Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Accounts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Meerut District, 1876.
UP	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (called NWP before 1900-1)
UPBEE	Evidence, United Provinces Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1930-31.
UPBER	Report of the United Provinces Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30.
UPSA	Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow.
WMR	Report on the Marketing of Wheat in India, 1937.

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A. GLOSSARY OF SOME NON-ENGLISH WORDS

<i>abadi</i>	habitation
<i>anna</i>	one sixteenth of a rupee
<i>arhat</i>	the establishment of a commission agent
<i>arhatiya</i>	a wholesale commission agent generally possessing storage facilities and based in the town
<i>bahi-khata</i>	trader's account book
<i>chowki</i>	check post; <i>chowkidar</i> - incharge of a chowki
<i>chungi</i>	octroi barrier
<i>daroga</i>	the head of a police, customs or excise station
<i>dan</i>	charitable grant
<i>gaushala</i>	cowpen
<i>jhanki</i>	tableau
<i>kothi</i>	a big house
<i>khattis</i>	underground grain storage pits
<i>kutchra arhatiya</i>	the agent of an <i>arhatiya</i>
<i>karda</i>	a handful of grain etc. given in to make up for the dust; a deduction made by banias in purchasing grain
<i>kangal log</i>	migrating groups of paupers
<i>lahriwan</i>	a cartman
<i>mandi</i>	a wholesale market
<i>mohalla</i>	neighbourhood in a town
<i>pakka arhatiya</i>	another name for an <i>arhatiya</i>
<i>pargana</i>	a subdivision within a <i>tahsil</i>
<i>palledar</i>	a porter; <i>palledari</i> -porterage
<i>pansari</i>	a drug seller
<i>patta</i>	a lease of land
<i>tahsil</i>	a subdivision within a district, <i>tahsili</i> - headquarters of a <i>tahsil</i>
<i>taula</i>	a weighman; <i>taulai</i> - weighing fees in the market
<i>tehbazari</i>	market dues and rents

C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE MAKING OF A MANDI TOWN

CHAPTER II

CIVIC LIFE IN A MANDI TOWN

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INTRODUCTION

The formation of small towns has not received adequate scholarly attention. The phenomenon of the smaller towns claiming central place functions is also relatively unexplored. The process of urban transformation of such towns is likely to be qualitatively different from the pattern hitherto studied by historians in respect of metropolitan cities.

Hapur is a *mandi* town, small in size compared to the metropolitan cities. The rural-urban connection is stronger in such towns, particularly in market towns specialising in agricultural produce. Urban processes associated with colonialism also embody the process of colonial penetration and control. The study of small towns such as this fills up an important gap in urban history.

Towns can be studied as sites which develop as distinct urban entities. The study of an emergent, individual community and its character is important in that it constitutes 'the urban aspect of local history'¹. Such a study straddles on the one hand wider generalisations

1. H.J. Dyos, *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), p.7

regarding urban history and on the other particular historical specificities at the same time. An individual urban portraiture however has to be sketched on a canvas which forms the general socio-economic context.

Towns have many faces. In the following pages we have tried to analyse the economic, spatial, social and policy aspects of the growth of Hapur.

Hapur is a town in Western Uttar Pradesh which has a long history of urbanisation. By the late nineteenth century Hapur emerged as a major centre for the marketing of agricultural commodities, particularly wheat. This is a study of trade and traders in the town. There is a need to comprehend the various levels of trading and commercial activity in colonial India. A study of the lower rungs of exchange is also important to grasp the overall implications of these developments in relation to trade patterns and the manner in which they changed life in smaller urban centres such as Hapur.

In an attempt to understand the growth of small towns we have examined the experiences of a dominant community and the importance of the *mandi* in defining the character of the town. Towns, whether small or large are fields of social

power and the task remains of identifying 'whose town' finally it was.

The focus on society and politics thus constitutes a major part of this study. Kinship ties in the town provided "readymade forms of collective activity of a specialized sort".² This unlocks a key to the understanding of urban community structure. The formation of communal identities (used in the widest connotation) and the rise of religious activity was important in this context. The institutionalisation of religion particularly in the market place necessitates the study of the links between the two and the influence on the commercial and political life of the town.³

Alongside we attempt to examine the role of government policy and administrative effort in relation to the growth of Hapur as a *mandi*. Under new conditions local governments were

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2. Clifford Geertz, *Pedlars and Princes Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns* (Chicago, 1963). p.122.
 3. P. Bohannan and G. Dalton (eds.), *Markets in Africa* (North Western University Press, 1962), p.18 and C. Geertz, H. Geertz and L. Rosen, *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society Three essays in cultural analysis* (Cambridge, 1979), pp.150-164. These studies also examine the links between religion and the market places in Africa and Morocco.

entrusted with new public functions that brought conflicts with the 'natives' to the fore. Issues of power and finance were involved.⁴

The relationship between the colonial state and small towns like Hapur was very different from the relationship which obtained between imperialist power and international commerce and relatively new metropolitan-port cities such as Calcutta.⁵ Madras or Bombay. This limited the degree of modification desired by the colonial state in the functioning and structure of small towns.

The difference also lay in the tenacity of older cultures which has been studied by historians for Delhi, Lucknow and Ahmedabad. These were seats of old and well-established court and business cultures. In these colonial cities, over time the 'new city' grew to challenge the cultural domination of the old city.⁶ In small towns such

4. Anthony Suttcliffe and D. Fraser (eds.), *In Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), p.38.

5. Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta, 1978).

6. Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires Society, Government and Urban growth 1803-1931* (Delhi, 1981) and Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development* (London, 1976); Veena T. Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-1877*.

as Hapur 'native' control over the towns life continued to be strong despite attempted colonial intervention. In Hapur such as in Ahmedabad,⁷ older patterns of exchange continued to thrive alongside changes in commerce that took place in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

7. Kenneth L. Gillion, *Ahmedabad A study in Indian Urban History* (Berkley, 1968), p.2, pp.16-24.

CHAPTER ONE
THE MAKING OF A MANDI TOWN

What we need to explain are the origins and outcome of an historical process that can be conceived on two levels: the relatively abstract level of discerning in largely aggregative terms how and why urbanization came about in a series of different societies; [and] the more concrete but closely related level of making out where and to what effect this gathering of people into towns actually took place.

H.J. Dyos cited by
David Cannadine in David Cannadine and
David Reeder (eds), *Exploring the urban
past Essays in urban history* H.J. Dyos
(Cambridge, 1982), p.212.

This chapter introduces the historical setting in which Hapur was placed and outlines the factors that defined the town's "passage to urbanity". We argue that Hapur rose to prominence in the latter decades of the nineteenth century beginning with topographical and locational advantages over the neighbouring *mandis* in the Western United Provinces. The coming of the railway in 1900 and an improved network of inland routes brought Hapur to the fore of commercial and mercantile activity in this region. Official policy on this issue was fraught with inner tensions and conflicts which were resolved with the participation of various levels of

officialdom, representing a variety of interests. Local responses to the railway in the town were also multifarious. The traders in Hapur viewed these developments with apprehension because the upshot of such developments i.e. the proliferation of bonded warehouses and municipal markets implied unabated official control over their activities.

Secondly we argue that the factors outlined above coupled with demographic changes almost permanently influenced the morphology of the town and organisation of space within it. The post - 1900 period witnessed a sudden surge in the building of *mandis* leading to an extension of the municipal boundaries of the town..

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HISTORICAL SETTING

Hapur¹ is said to have been founded by Har Dat, a Dor Chieftain of Bulandshahr in about 983 A.D. The present name is a possible derivative of the founder's name probably called Harpur earlier or even after *hapar*, the colloquial reference to mango groves found in abundance around the town even to date².

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1. Hapur became the standard place-name and spelling in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Its anglicised versions appeared as Hopper, Haupper and Hapaur in official texts.
 2. *District Gazetteer*, Meerut district, Vol. IV, 1904, pp. 234-41 (Hereafter *DS*)

Later it became a part of the Meerut *dastur* and the Delhi *subah*³. By the eighteenth century it comprised a part of the *jagir* of General Perron of Scindia's army. He established here a system of grants for the old and disabled soldiers of his force. Contracts were farmed out for clearing jungles and wastelands around the town for the occupation of the invalid pensioners of the force and *jagirdars*⁴. The General set up permanent residence in the town for which a *kothi* was built at one of the entry points of the town, known as the Kothi Darwaza. Hapur town, a target of the Rohilla rebel Amir Khan along with the five hundred *Pindaris* in March 1805, was defended successfully by the *tahsildar* Ibrahim Ali.

In July 1857 the rebel forces led by Walidad Khan of Malagarh came very close to Hapur before they were crushed. The hostility among the Jats, Gujars, Tyagis and the Rajputs of the southern most *parganas* of the Meerut district surfaced during the revolt. Walidad Khan managed the support of Gujars of the Agauta *pargana* to push up northwards towards Hapur on the Meerut Road.

3. *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the Meerut division*, Vol. III, Pt. II, 1876, p.197 (Hereafter *PDRA*)

4. *DS*, pp. 234-35..

The rebels removed all telegraph posts and wires between Hapur and Bulandshahr by May 26⁵. Since the British were primarily defending Delhi and Meerut, Hapur served as a crucial point of defence. The rebels also knew that if the communication with Hapur was severed, the official line of defence would be considerably weakened. One hundred twenty European Carbineers and riflemen were despatched from Meerut with a couple of horse artillery guns which temporarily stalled Khan.⁶

The rebels of the Bareilly brigade under Bakht Khan began crossing the Ganga at Garhmukteswar on June 21 and the pontoon bridge there had to be broken to prevent their advance.⁷ Three Gujar villages near Hapur were sacked and burnt and fifteen inhabitants killed by the British troops stationed at Hapur. The rebels in retaliation burnt the Babugarh Stud property, a mile away from Hapur, and every government building they came across.

5. *Narrative of Events Regarding the Mutiny in 1857-58*, Vol. I, 1881, p.275 (Hereafter *NE*).

6. R.H.W. Dunlop, *Service and Adventure with the Khakee Resselah* (London, 1858), p.52.

7. *NE*, p.259.

The Jats around Hapur whose strategic weakness was the fact that they were scattered over a large territory without recognized chiefs.⁸ This almost invariably assisted the British despite the rise of the Jat leader, Shah Mal⁹. In this part of the Meerut district, the Jats formed isolated minority settlements and could find no other local ally other than the British.¹⁰ The Bhutona Jats of a village to the south of Hapur informed the Khakee Resallah at Hapur about the advance of Khan's troops and this resulted in the crushing of rebel forces of July 6.¹¹ The Bhutona Jats also killed one of Walidad Khan's 'Generals',¹² and took away of his guns.¹³ In yet another effort to disrupt official communications, the entire Grand Trunk Road from Hapur to Gulaothi was barricaded by felled trees and police *thanas* in Hapur were destroyed.¹⁴

Local intra-class rivalries also weakened rebel efforts. Some five hundred Gujars aided the *tahsildar* of Hapur when he

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8. *Khakee Reessalah*, p.58.
 9. Gautam Bhadra, 'Four Rebels of Eighteen Fifty Seven', in Ranajit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies IV* (Delhi, 1985).
 10. Eric Stokes, *The Peasant Armed* (Oxford, 1986), p.218.
 11. *NE*, p.268.
 12. *The Peasant Armed*, p.157.
 13. *NE*, p.279.
 14. *Ibid.*, p.268.

was attacked during the revenue collecting operations at the village Datiana, north-east of Hapur. The treasure was defended against Zabardast Khan¹⁵, Walidad's local ally in Hapur town. Some neighbouring Gujar villages assisted the British. His opponent Bhup Singh, a Hindu tyagi held rival claims to the ownership of Hapur and helped the British by using his influence to aid revenue collections of Tyagi villages.¹⁶

The British troops stationed at Hapur feared for the Bhutona Jats. This was the strongest column of three hundred men, half of them Europeans, which stood guard against rebel reinforcements by the Jhansi brigade.¹⁷ The rebels avenged the death of their 'General' by attacking the Bhutona Jats and recovered their guns.¹⁸ On 10 September the British troops, acting upon information received about the advancing Malagarh rebels, crushed them successfully and remained encamped at Hapur till September 20 when Delhi fell.

15. Zabardust Khan was a Muslim Tyagi who held a share in the *zamindari* title of the Hapur *Manza*.

16. *The Peasant Armed*, p.160.

17. *Ibid.*, p.173.

18. *NS*, p.279.

LOCATIONAL FACTORS

Hapur was a *Chawkey* as early as 1810 amongst others in the Meerut *Zillah*, operating under the large custom house at Meerut.¹⁹ The major commodities traded in the town were *gur*, sugar, grain and cotton.²⁰ The proceeds from the latter constituted the bulk of trader earnings alongside the salt from Sambhar which was also in great demand.²¹

Hapur's geographical advantages over the neighbouring towns was significant in its rise as a major *mandi*. Two important highways pass through the town : the Delhi Moradabad highway and the Meerut Bulandshahr road. Hapur was also the headquarter of the Hapur *tahsil*. It comprised four *parganas* Sarawa, Hapur, Garhmukteswar and Puth.

19. C. Trevelyan, *Report upon the inland customs and Town Duties of the Bengal Presidency*, 1834 (Reprinted Calcutta, 1976), p. 124.
20. *Report on the Municipal Administration and Finances of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, 1872, p.33 (Hereafter *RMA*) Private papers.
21. *Bahi-Khata* of Lala Ganpat Rai kept with Shri Madhusudan Dayal in Hapur. The *bahi khata* has accounts from 1864 to 1874.

Hapur lies in the Eastern Uplands which comprise the Ganga *khadir* and the Eastern watershed along the river Kali Nadi. This region of the doab is characterized by the presence of a series of unique sand dunes following the lines of natural drainage. The area has alterations of good and bad land. Tracts along the Jamuna are more fertile whereas those neighbouring the river Ganga are sandier with *kankar* in the topsoil. Due to these factors Hapur enjoyed a topographical superiority over other *mandis* in its vicinity.

The emergence of a market is based upon a successful warehousing functions and is possible due to a reasonable stability of seasons combined with the durability of the concerned commodities.²² Soil quality is another important factor in the rise of market towns. The dry and sandy soil in Hapur enabled the digging of *khattis* to store grain underground. It made storage safer for the merchants by cutting down losses due to the dampening of grain. In local parlance damp grain was called *bhaggar* or *talramoosal*. Cheap damp grain, for as low as rupees two per maund, was usually used as fodder.²³

22. Cyril S. Belshaw, *Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets* (New Delhi, 1969), p.55.

23. *United Provinces Banking Enquiry Report*, Vol. I, 1929-30 and *Evidence*, Vol. II, 1930-31, p.220 (Hereafter *UPBER* and *UPBEE* respectively).

Other *mandis* in richer agricultural tracts of recent origin with canals and railways experienced the problem of soil humidity. The percolation of water moistened the grain stored in *Khattis*. This resulted in higher losses, a quicker emptying of *Khattis* and a frequent shifting of stored grain. Storage and speculation was hence unprofitable in these towns.²⁴ Hapur had a low water table and the nearest canal from it was four miles away from it. Grain could thus be stored in *Khattis* for a longer period of time and in larger quantities.²⁵ *Kothis* were constructed elsewhere as alternatives to *Khattis* but this raised the costs. The table below displays cost differences between two major *mandis*.

Table 1.1
Costs of grain storage (1937)

Mandi	Period of storage	Quantity stored	Cost of storage		
	Months	Mounds	Rs.	a	p.
Hapur	8	250	6	10	4
Muzaffarnagar	8	250	14	14	0

SOURCE : *Wheat Marketing Report* (1937), pp.218-19.

24. Dasnah, a *mandi* in the Ghaziabad *tahsil* also declined on this account and lost out on trade in the long run, *PDHA*, PP. 51, 114.

25. *PDHA*, p. 189.

III

DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT

Hapur was declared a municipality in 1872. Before that it was administered under the Bengal Chaukidari Act 1856, Act XX of 1856.²⁶ Upto 1856 there was a *munsifi* at Hapur which was transferred to Meerut after 1857.²⁷ The post 1857 period witnessed British attempts at the reconstruction of Indian cities. This was especially true of centres of revolt. In this respect towns such as Hapur escaped immediate attention.

However, by the turn of the century imperial imperatives weredemanding a better communication system. Commercial and mercantile activity increased in India in the context of a changed commercial relationship between India and England. The agenda for urban development was drawn therefore with ideas demanding urban reforms.

The improvement of communications figured high on the agenda of the State. By the turn of the century Hapur had a well developed road network around it. It was connected to

26. *Gazetteer of India, Uttar Pradesh, Meerut District* (Lucknow, 1965). p. 246.

27. *PDHA*, p. 200.

all major towns in the western United Provinces. Unmetalled roads and village tracks increased the accessibility of the town to those peasants who marketed their produce. The Banking Enquiry Commission reported that:

Besides the *pakka* roads, there are also many *kutchha* feeder roads and cart tracks which radiate from and spread a network around Hapur and brings it into closer communication with the villages in the interior of the district.²⁸

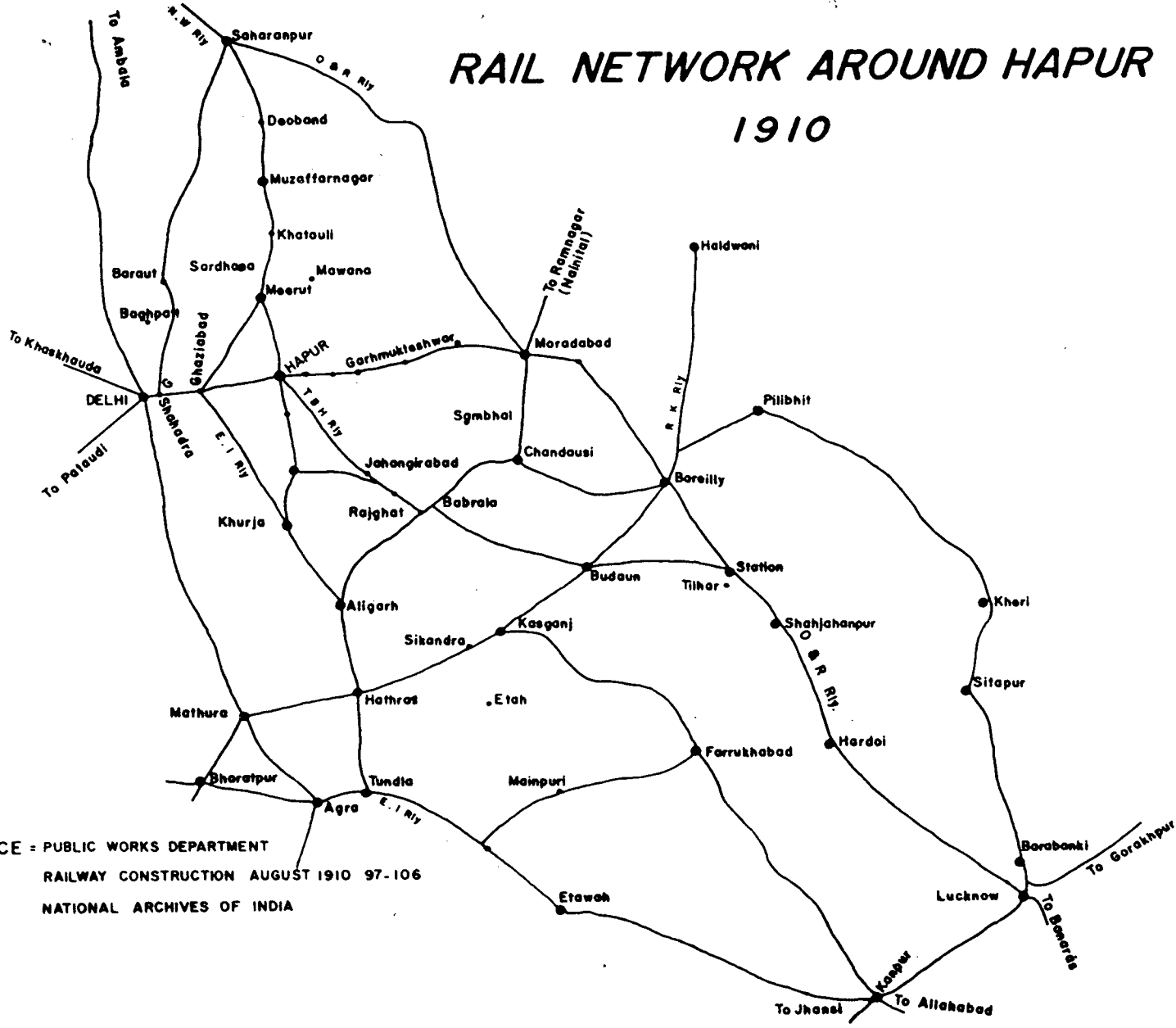
In the three decades after 1840 all major towns in western United Provinces were connected by metalled roads. In 1875 there were one hundred and ninetyfour miles of metalled roads, two hundred and twenty miles of unmetalled roads and about sixty miles of *kutchha* roads in the Meerut district. By the turn of the century, the mileage of metalled roads in the district rose to two hundred and sixteen.²⁹ Within the Hapur *tahsil* another fifteen miles of connecting roads were added by 1917 to the pre-1900 mileage.³⁰

28. *UPBES*, P. 219.

29. *Gazetteer of India*, p. 152.

30. *PDRA*, p. 219 and *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces : B Volume*, Meerut Division, Vol. I, 1917, p. 8 (Hereafter *DS(B)*).

RAIL NETWORK AROUND HAPUR 1910



SOURCE = PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT
RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION AUGUST 1910 97-106
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The introduction of the railway into the town had far-reaching consequences. In 1876 Hapur was twelve miles away from Begumabad, the nearest railway station. By 1900 Hapur was on the railway map. It was preferred as a railway station to other towns because of a large existing trade network that was prospectively profitable. It also offered the advantage of a shorter length to construct and linked important military stations in United Provinces with those in Punjab.

The debate over alternate routes was clinched in favour of the Meerut - Hapur rail connection,³¹ owing to Hapur's strategic location, as shown in the following table.

Table 1.2
Rationale of railway routing via Hapur

Proposed Connection	Distance saved via Hapur
Meerut to Hapur	35-1/2 miles
Muzaffarnagar to Howrah	17 miles
Meerut to Moradabad	35.09 miles
Meerut to Bareilly	35.09 miles
Meerut to Lucknow	37.33 miles

SOURCE: Public Works Department Railway Construction, A, July 1901, Number 126-136 and Public Works Department, Railway Construction, A. Jan 1905, Nos. 139-151 (NA) [Hereafter PWDRC]

31. The feeder branch between Meerut and Hapur was opened for the convenience of the passengers travelling to the Garhmukteswar fair and for those moving towards Lucknow from Meerut to join the famed Autumn Races PWD, RC. Prdgs. A, Jan 1905, Nos 139-150, NAI (Hereafter PWD RC).

The rail connection through Hapur passed through agricultural tracts and not through pasture lands which pruned costs because of low fencing expenditures. There were also fewer bridges to construct because of limited waterways on the route.

By 1910 the railway circuit was nearly complete with the construction of feeder links elsewhere (see Map 1). This process involved various levels of decision-making. The private railway companies pressurised the officials for contracts and the agencies at times carried enough weight to relegate the question of costs to a secondary place. Costs at other times were the obsession of the penny pinching bureaucracy.³² Inter-departmental clashes were frequent. Considerable debate occurred over bearing the cost of a railway bridge over the river Ganga at Garhmukteswar between the Railway and the Military Board.³³ Each held that the costs be borne by the department that would benefit more due to the bridge. Finally the plan earned approval. Matters of policy

32. *PWD RC*, A, July 1901, Nos. 126-136.

33. *PWD RC*, A, July 1900, Nos. 131-140.

could not be decided in the higher echelons alone; the lower levels of officialdom and the technical personnel in constant touch were both literally and metaphorically speaking 'at the bottom of it'.³⁴

IV

RESPONSE TO RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

The railway in Hapur in 1899-1900 was more than a mile from the town. Considerable discontent was noted amongst those whose land was acquired for the rail connection.³⁵ Neither was its success immediate. Passenger traffic did not increase initially in the Provinces because, "...the railway instead of being brought as close home as possible to the people has in effect required that the people should come to it".³⁶ Even for transporting goods the traders and peasant

34. It is not possible to reproduce the debates the references to which are in the following :

PWD RC, A, April 1895, Nos. 167-194.

PWD RC, A, Mar 1897, Nos. 301-35.

PWD RC, A, June 1899, Nos. 486-6.

PWD RC, A, July 1899, Nos. 241-7.

PWD RC, A, Aug. 1900 Nos. 131-140.

PWD RC, A, July 1901, Nos. 126-136.

PWD RC, A, March 1904, Nos. 141-8

35. Interview with Shri S. S. Mishra, Hapur.

36. *RMA*, 1872, p.26.

producers preferred *thelas* within a radius of fortyfive miles or so. It was profitable with regard to freight rates and also moved the goods earlier and in a better condition at the place of destination than by rail. The dependence on railways often led to delays for days together on account of shortage of wagons or diversion of routes.³⁷

Disappointment was in store because initially the traders in the town resented the bonded warehouse that was constructed next to the station. They were so used to operating in the *shahr* that there was a unanimous refusal on their part to use the warehouse because:

it was so much in the jungle that there was every possibility of money being looted in the course of transactiron or transit and the buying of produce or its inspectiorn was not possible if the *mandis* were so far from each other.³⁸

It was only in 1910 that a direct road, built upon the older *Kutch*a road, connected the town to the railway station.

37. T. Prasad, *Organisation of Wheat Trade in the North Western Region, United Provinces* (Allahabad, 1932), pp. 14-15.

38. Interview with Lala Kure Mal, Hapur.

Local responses however appeared to have been varied. Some welcomed the railway. Gulab Singh, the Daroga of Hapur, treated the brahmins, baniyas and many others in the town to a feast and distributed food to all rail passengers on their first trip thorough Hapur.³⁹ Expansion of the line in 1905 was checked by local dissensions,⁴⁰ led most probably by the local traders. Leading opinion in the town also disfavoured the construction of a railway *ganj* next to the station and a siding constructed at the cost of fifty thousand rupees during the first World War.⁴¹

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This process was fraught with uncertainty and confusion. C. Planck in his most graphic accounts narrates scenes of total chaos and disorder on the railway stations particularly at the ticket windows and at the time of boarding the train. The conditions of the coaches and the complete absence of basic facilities within them also made the passengers complain.⁴²

39. Ibid.

40. *D&B* p. 16.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Report of the Sanitary Commission of the United Provinces, 1872, pp.27-88 [Hereafter R^{PC}]*



Nonetheless the railway influenced the town's growth at various levels. It began to determine the nature and direction of Hapur's growth. There was a distinct northward shift in the area occupied by the town. Much of the extensions in the municipal area took place due to new *mandis* which grew in clusters along the Delhi-Moradabad highway and were closer to the railway than the older *mandis*.

The Municipal Board of Hapur favoured the railway because it swelled their tax receipts from the first decade of this century. The number of licences issued for *thelas* and other carts also rose considerably in Hapur.⁴³ This trend was widespread in the United Provinces where the number of carts rose from 520,000 in 1885 to 860,000 in 1914.⁴⁴

Trade developed apace and the net tax receipts from articles traded in Hapur doubled within a year of the introduction of the railway. The maximum increases were

43. *Ibid*, 1904-05, p.3.

44. I.D. Derbyshire, 'Economic Change and the Railways in North India, 1860-1914 in *Modern Asian Studies*, 21,3 (1987), p. 535. Rail was cheaper in cartage for longer distances. The cart fare for carting one maund per hundred miles was 4 as. and 2 ps. and only 3 as. for rail, *PDHA*, p. 113.

recorded in the import of articles of food and drink and piecegoods.⁴⁵ Conflicts between merchants and the municipal authorities surfaced often because in this process issues of power and management were involved. Officials wanted to make the railway more acceptable to the merchants. Acceptance of the railways meant that merchants would finally submit to the strictures imposed by the municipality. Obviously merchants attuned to tradition disliked goods stations, *chungis*, the bonded warehouse and the new municipal *mandis*.

V

PHASES IN HAPUR'S GROWTH : POPULATION AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

We can study the growth of Hapur as a *Mandi* town in three chronological phases : 1] 1880 - 1900, 2] 1900-1914, 3] 1914-1924.

The first phase of expansion was more an increase in the central densities when people and properties crowded in the older settled areas. Much of the initial urban growth was confined to the walled areas.

45. *Report on the Working of the Hapur Municipality for the year 1901-02* (Town Hall, Hapur), p.2 [Hereafter *RHM*]

The latter phases were characterized by an enlarged territorial scale and an extension of the built area as shown in the following table.

Table 1.3

Town area covered by the municipality (in sq. km)

1872	1909	1921
0.49	0.58	3.89

SOURCE: Census of India, North Western Provinces, 1872, pp. 208-209; Drainage scheme for Hapur Municipality, Municipal Block, File D/15, Box 216, 1902 Uttar Pradesh State Archives [hereafter UPSA] and Census of India, Uttar Pradesh, General Population Tables IIA, 1981, p. 223.

The town expanded by less than one half till the first decade of this century but surged ahead in the following decade registering a sixfold rate of growth.

The second phase was characterized by the introduction of the railway, the entry of agency houses in the town and the intensification of government control over trade and civic life through municipal 'reform'.

The final phase of expansion witnessed the far reaching impact of the Great War on the town's nerve centre - the *mandi* and the consolidation of governmental authority over its affairs. The building activity in the town increased greatly altering the spatial organisation of the town. (see Map 2).

The Meerut district recorded one of the highest rates of growth in population from 1872-1921. During these years, the overall population of United Provinces rose by seventeen per cent. Hapur registered a growth of forty per cent in this period. The town lay in a high population density area whose demographic increases preceded the period of our study. The absolute density of population of the Meerut district was one

hundred and thirty persons per square mile in 1808⁴⁶ and rose to five hundred and forty one in 1872.⁴⁷

Table 1.4
Population of the Hapur municipality
1865-1921

1865	14,294
1872	14,544
1881	13,212
1891	14,977
1901	17,796
1911	19,142
1921	20,388

SOURCE: SDHA, P.187 and *Census of India NWP and UP (1872-1921)*

46. C.A. Bayly, *Rulers Townsmen and Bazars North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*(Cambridge, 1983), p. 89.

47. Ira Klein, 'Population and Agriculture in Northern India, 1872-1921', *Modern Asian Studies*, 2 (1974), p.192.

Table 1.5
Variations in population (in per cent)
1853/65 - 1911/21

Years	Hapur municipality	Hapur tahsil	Meerut district	U.P.
1853-1865	-	- 0.03	-	-
1865-1872	-	+ 8.37	-	-
1872-1881	- 9.15	- 2.55	+ 2.9	+ 5.3
1881-1891	+13.36	+ 6.08	+ 6.0	+ 6.3
1891-1901	+18.82	+14.81	+10.7	+ 1.7
1901-1911	+ 7.56	+ 3.37	- 1.4	- 1.0
1911-1921	+ 6.51	- 2.20	- 0.3	- 3.1

SOURCE: Report on Municipal Administration and Finance, UP, Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, UP and Census of India, UP, 1872-1921.

The town suffered heavy mortality rates due to fever epidemics. The entry of plague accentuated this. Plague grew worse due to the *khattis*. The epidemics were particularly severe in the decade 1872-1882 when the population actually declined. In the epidemic of 1910-11 there was considerable emigration and nearly the whole town was evacuated.

The detailed census of 1872 affords some insight into the town's occupational structure. There were a variety of occupations catering to routine needs as well offering services that only a town could afford to maintain. A miniscule section of the town (0.7 per cent) earned its livelihood through *naukari* (service). Another 0.8 per cent was employed by the municipality. There was a regular service of a barrister, a few petition writers, *mukhtars* and a stamp seller. Quite naturally as the municipality grew and the number of schools as well as certain government establishments came up, the number of salary earners also rose.

The predominant section in Hapur comprised those involved in trade and allied activities. The number of *arhatiyas* numbered five hundred soon after the First War ended. The class that declined in power and position were the *lekhrāj zamindars*. Most of their lands were confiscated during 1857. The rest of the land holdings were eventually

transferred to the powerful mercantile class in the town and the Jats in the countryside.⁴⁸

48. The Jats followed *khudkasht* cultivation invariably in the *bhaiyaschara* tenure. Revenue per sharer was the community's discretion and this factor enabled the better-off sections of the Jats to share a less than proportionate revenue burden. This coupled with the overassessment of the year prior to the 1860^s led to default and the first choice of purchase was granted to coparcenary community members. This was an inherent tendency towards the concentration of agrarian property in the hands of a few richer Jat peasants who displayed great solidarity, at times extra-territorial.

The other factor was the increased control over ownership of land by the money lenders and the *baniyas* of the district. Already in 1826 the collector of the Meerut district reported that two-thirds of the property in *Pargana Puth, Hapur Tahsil* had passed out to moneylenders and mortgagers. The percentage of the land holdings with the various communities is shown here :

Table showing the percentage of total aea held at

	1901 Revenue settlement	1940 Revenue settlement
Jats	26.04	24.7
Baniyas	9.8	14.7
Tagas	13.6	11.8
Rajputs	9.4	7.5

Source : *Settlement Report*, Meerut District, 1940. For information on the subject see Asiya Siddiqi, *Agrarian Change in a North Indian State Uttar Pradesh 1819- 1833* (Oxford, 1973) pp. 39, 98-100, 130.

The urban hierarchy in this part of the province was constantly shuffled and soon urban centres began to specialise. Hapur rose from the status of a localised *mandi* and drew away trade and traders from large urban centres such as Meerut as we shall see. The relationship between the two urban centres - Hapur and Meerut also underwent a significant change. Hapur absorbed substantial grain imports from Meerut because Meerut did not possess adequate storage facilities. These were then reimported from Hapur in times of demand.⁴⁹ Thus a seat of administration depended on a central market much lower in the administrative hierarchy.⁵⁰

Of traders' profits we have little indication in the sources pertinent to the nineteenth century. In the famine years 1868-69 we have a record of high profits. Lala Ganpat Rai's *Khata* records substantial profits in these years when exports also rose. He earned as his profit sixtyfive rupees in a single transaction of wheat and fifty rupees by the sale

49. *Report of Wheat Marketing in India*, 1937, p. 232 [Hereafter *WMR*].

50. G. William Skinner, 'Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China', *Journal of Asian Studies*, xxiv (1964) Skinner says this of Chinese markets.

of *matra* (peas) *khattis* in the early months of 1868. The value of wheat dealt with in the same year was a thousand rupees.⁵¹

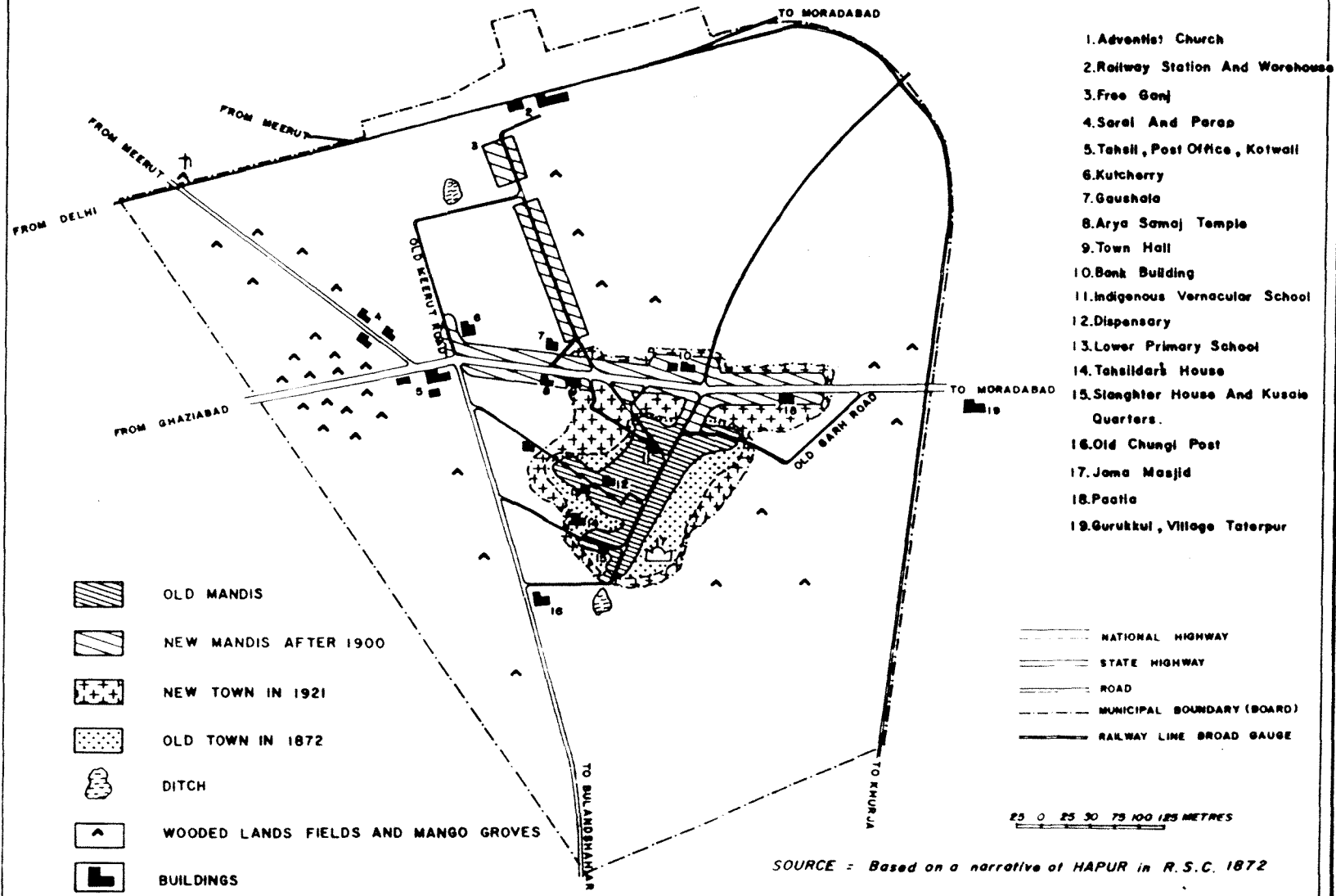
Of normal years we know little. It is only for the World War I period that evidence records a marked increase in incomes. Tax receipts on professions and trades rose from Rs.5819 in 1903-04 (the year of its introduction) to Rs.10,298 in 1915-16 - a rise of seventy seven per cent.⁵² The income tax figures for the Hapur *tahsil* for the years 1890-91 to 1901-02⁵³ show that the number of people earning below rupees two thousand per year declined whereas the number of assesses with incomes above two thousand rupees rose. This was due to a rise in the incomes of a few in the former group enabling them to enter the higher income bracket. There were very few entrants in the under two thousand group. Tax receipts for this group rose in greater proportion to the over two thousand group signifying a general rise in incomes. The tax receipts for the latter rose only to fall again but it was likely that incomes continued to rise till the end of the Great War. (see Appendix A)

51. Private papers, *bahi khata* of Lala Ganpat Rai.








52. *RHM* for the respective years.






53. *DS*, p. 1A.

MARKETING AREAS: GROWTH (1872-1921)



1. Adventist Church
2. Railway Station And Warehouse
3. Free Ganj
4. Serei And Porep
5. Tehsil, Post Office, Kotwall
6. Kutcherry
7. Gaushala
8. Arya Samaj Temple
9. Town Hall
10. Bank Building
11. Indigenous Vernacular School
12. Dispensary
13. Lower Primary School
14. Tehsildar's House
15. Slaughter House And Kusale Quarters.
16. Old Chungi Post
17. Jama Masjid
18. Paatia
19. Gurukul, Village Taterpur

-  OLD MANDIS
-  NEW MANDIS AFTER 1900
-  NEW TOWN IN 1921
-  OLD TOWN IN 1872
-  DITCH
-  WOODED LANDS FIELDS AND MANGO GROVES
-  BUILDINGS

-  NATIONAL HIGHWAY
-  STATE HIGHWAY
-  ROAD
-  MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY (BOARD)
-  RAILWAY LINE BROAD GAUGE

25 0 25 50 75 100 125 METRES

SOURCE = Based on a narrative of HAPUR in R. S. C. 1872

VI

SHAPES ON THE GROUND : SOME MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The older town, *Shahr* was confined to a small walled area earlier protected by a mudfort of which nothing remains today.⁵⁴ Entry to the town was made by five gates - the Meerut, Garh , Secundra , Delhi and the Kothie Gates. Their single largest function, besides security, was to concentrate traffic slowing it down at the *chowkichungi*.⁵⁵ The *mandi* was away from these gates. Only a *khirkee* remained open for all late entrants through the *Bazar Khirkee* named after it.⁵⁶

Around Hapur were many mango groves and fertile fields for growing onions, radishes, potatoes, fennel and brinjals.⁵⁷ The fields were usually interspersed with the *abadee* in the town.

54. Skinner, 'Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China' : He points out the intrinsic link between urbaneness and the wall which also defined urban territory and control.

55. H.J. Dyos (ed.) *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), p.161. Similar checkposts also existed in the English market towns.

56. Interview with R. Vaidya, Hapur. Dyos also points out similar spatial organisation of the market place as away from exit points and posterns in Colchester that remained open all night.

57. *RGC*, 1872, p. 33.

The older *mohallas* sprawled around the Jama Masjid and were separate for Hindus and Muslims.⁵⁸ The more influential groups or castes especially amongst the muslims, stayed close to the Jama Masjid. The lower castes of both the communities were dispersed outside the town.⁵⁹ Alleys in the town were interconnected⁶⁰ and there was no clear demarcation between *mandis* and the *mohallas*.

All new *mandis* and shops shifted away from the old town towards the main Delhi-Garhmukteswar road after 1900. The octroi receipts from building material imported into the town also rose during this period. Important buildings also tended to concentrate alongside this road. These included the *tahsili*, *katwali*, *kutcherry*, *gaushala* and the Arya Samaj. All branches of banks also opened here during the war and after it.

58. The *mohallas* in Hapur were named either after founders such as Nabi Qasim, Kotta Yusuf, or after the dominant castes inhabiting them such as Mohalla Qaziwara, Brahmeenan, Mewatian or Tyaga Sarai or even on the location, Mohalla Qila Kohna. The new ones were aptly called Nai Abadi.

59. *RPC* 1872, p. 35. Also D. Cannadine and D. Reeder (eds.) *Exploring the urban past Essays in urban history by H.J. Dyos* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 11 Workmen's quarter's in Manchester were also similarly placed.

60. The design of the *shahr* greatly facilitated the spread of the riot in April 1924. Mobs of young muslims blocked narrow streets, reappeared at cross-roads and retreated into the many alleys in the town on the occasion of the *Shkadashi* procession. Riots in United Provinces, Home Political, 249 I of 1924, NAI.

The new buildings were permanent fixtures and had lasting impact on the spatial organisation of the town. All new building activity in Hapur was concentrated around these buildings and in the area along the Delhi highway. These also introduced new architectural trends. The *tahsili* and the *katwali* were accommodated together in a large brick-work structure and enclosed a courtyard well shaded with trees. The buildings were ornamented with Gothic styled window panes. A few better-off merchants of the town built their *kothis* on the lines of the Board Chairman's bungalow much later.⁶¹

A book club was added to Hapur which by far had only one library - the Prem Pustakalaya founded by a trader Lala Mukut Lal in the 1890⁶². The Alexander Union Tennis Club was founded in 1927 and drew regular grants from the municipal board but neither of these new trends were strong enough to displace older cultures which continued to dominate. The new styles were incapable of setting local trends. The club was no match for the customary meeting points in the old town.

61. The new fashion was to build distinguishing features on the main facade such as two colourful peacocks in the house of a rich merchant subsequently referred to as the *mor wali kothi* (the bungalow with peacocks). It was the only private residence with a private tennis court other than the Board Chairman's bungalow.

62. Private papers of Mukut Lal with Shri Madhusudan Dayal, Hapur.

The continuing culture backed by a strong sense of community and belief in older values and traditions showed very little tendency to change. This was manifest in the nature of the commercial dealings of traders and their credit. There were thirty bankers in the Meerut district who continued to work on 'old lines' as compared to two only who opted to work on the 'modern lines' of banking,⁶³ reported the Banking Commission in 1929-30. Change took place in the sphere of education. Over the years a district preference for municipal schools offering an English medium of instruction developed. Even when classes in English in schools were abolished as a matter of policy in 1916, the demand for English was met through several private schools that came up in Hapur town.⁶⁴

63. *UPBER*, p. 265.

64. *DS(B)*, p. 13.

CONCLUSION

Hapur's growth into a *mandi* town was a process which drew strength from various sources. Its commercial past and the development of new lines of communication created a context favourable to such development; the process was reinforced by the town's internal dynamics which were remoulded in a changing socio-economic and political context. The various phases of Hapur's development fit into the generalisation that "it is the alternation of external and internal forces which provides the key to growth phases".⁶⁵

By the end of the period under study two nerve centres had developed; the *Phahr* and the newly occupied areas along the main Delhi road. The old town was not reduced to 'a thing of the past' and socially and culturally it continued to dominate the town's life. As commercial and mercantile activity increased the new *mandis* too gained in importance.

The post 1900 period witnessed what can be characterized as "market colonisation" of the town. This was reflected well in its spatial organisation. Hapur was primarily a merchant's

65. H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History*, p. 234.

town; it came to be identified quintessentially with trade and the traders, and the pulse of the town was felt at the *mandi* where fortunes rose and fell.

Smaller urban centres such as Hapur took a different path to urbanisation compared to larger centres and the colonial metropolitan cities created by British rule. Colonial intervention, somewhat limited in small towns like Hapur, could not destroy its social and cultural individuality. As a result 'native' control over the social, economic and civic environment of Hapur could be sustained. This later also defined the mode of resolution of conflicts between the municipal authorities and the merchants of Hapur.

CHAPTER TWO

CIVIC LIFE IN A MANDI TOWN

We shall begin this chapter with a description of the *mandi*, and then trace the links and the interface between the central activity of the town with the important aspects of civic life. The *mandi*, we argue, was the location of the clash between "professional buyers and sellers" and the focus of merchant efforts and concerns. As power became institutionalized within the arena of the local government, the municipal committee also became another means of gaining ascendancy for the increasingly powerful mercantile classes of the town. But it was revealed simultaneously that this was only a limited sphere to wield power. A clash of 'native' and imperial interests only proved the point that problems stood to be resolved outside it. How this was done is explored in the following chapter.

BUSINESS STRUCTURE & FUNCTIONS OF THE MANDI

The Structure of Hapur Mandi:

The conceptual demarcation between marketing and trade as understood in theory was well reflected in the structure of Hapur's *mandi*. The two activities were delineated so that the Purana bazar and the Purani mandi were different places. The main bazar ran across the town and the *mandi* was adjacent to it.

The Purani mandi was a small place with broken pathways and drained "right in the centre". Over time the much larger and wider Nayi mandi came up which had many good shops and was well shaded with trees for the bullocks to rest. Mahadeoganj also had good shops and a wide roadway lined on each side, a *kankar* -made surface and was drained at the sides with saucer- drains.¹ All these bazars were lined with shops and formed a compact business quarter.

1. RSC, 1872, p.33

The *mandis* added after 1900 were built by either prominent traders of the town or the municipality. Pakka Bagh, along the Delhi road was the first *mandi* built outside the *shahr*. In the wake of its prosperity other endeavored to construct more. Pt. Bhagwati Prasad, a trader built Bhagwati Ganj which flourished. Lala Bhola Nath made another which failed and donated it to the *gaushala* which badly needed a *pakka* construction. Over time collective effort went into the making of a *piao*, a temple and a *dharmasala* alongside the *gaushala*². The municipal market were highly unpopular especially when it became apparent that the thrust of the official effort lay in obtaining full knowledge of individual stocks and reduce hoarding and tax evasion by the traders.

The Indian shops in market Places were described by A.C. Newcombe as "...most of which in England would be called stalls and many of them were mere holes in the sides of the houses."³ But these 'holes' were in perfect coordination with the business here and the merchant mind. Since the business

2. Interview with Lala Kure Mal, Hapur.

3. A.C Newcombe, *Village, Town and Jungle life in India*, 1905 (Reprinted new Delhi, 1979), p.185.

hours were usually the early hours and the merchant found time to relax before supervising the counting and storage operations in the evening.

Architecturally, the shops changed overtime. The earlier shops were built as interconnected rooms built in a linear pattern. The front room was used to settle deals and the back rooms to store grain and cash.⁴ Nothing was exhibited at the shop; each one knew which shop sold what and which merchant to contact. A variation of this pattern was a shop built on a slightly-raised platform with a tiled front, *Khaprail* and a large verandah covered with tarpaulin supported on bamboos. The rooms at the back served as godowns.⁵

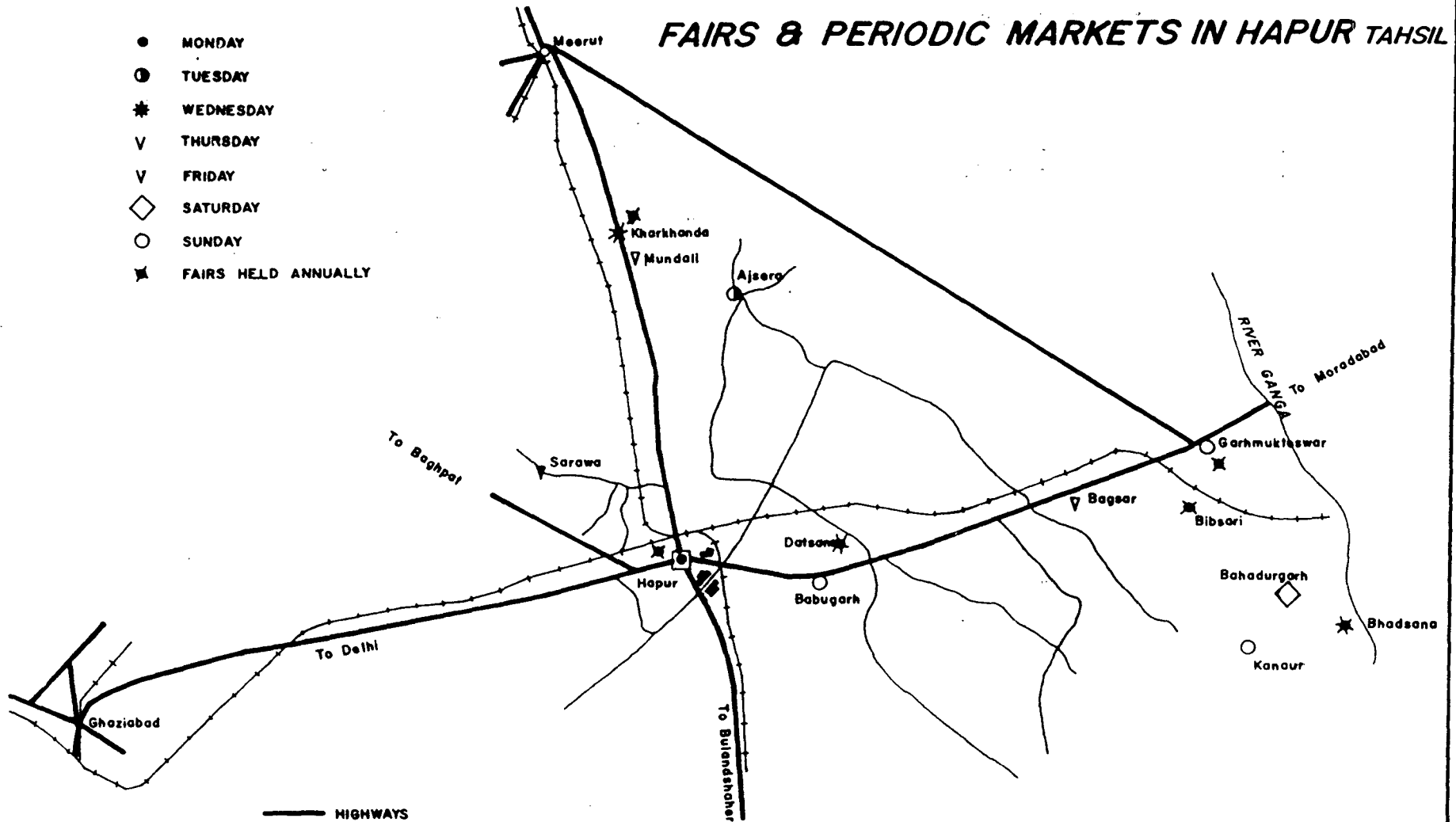
The shops built later by the municipality lacked the compactness that underlined the merchant's sense of security. The new shops at Collectorganj, near the railway station were cement structures. Not all shops were provided with storage

4. Interview with Lala Kure Mal.

5. Interview with R.S.Vaidya.

FAIRS & PERIODIC MARKETS IN HAPUR TAHSIL

- MONDAY
- ⊙ TUESDAY
- ✱ WEDNESDAY
- ∇ THURSDAY
- ∇ FRIDAY
- ◇ SATURDAY
- SUNDAY
- ✱ FAIRS HELD ANNUALLY



- HIGHWAYS
- +— RAILWAYS
- UNMETALLED ROADS AND TRACKS

SOURCES : MAP MEERUT DISTRICT 1906

FAIRS AND MARKETS DG MEERUT

space and in case of others, the godown was adjacent to the shop. This created problems of supervision. Raghubirganj was built as a square and shops faced each other. The houses at the four ends of the square were let out to traders.⁶ These styles were highly unpopular initially but at the same time also reflect the growing impersonality of market relations.⁷ The later *mandis* adopted these styles.

Fairs and markets:

There was a choice between the *painth* and the *mandi* for all who needed the services of the market. The periodic markets involved *beoparis* and other itinerant sellers who served by the villages in the *tahsil*. *Beoparis* formed an important link between the peasants and the *arhatiyas* in the town. The bigger *painths* were also centres where deals were struck and the *kutchra arhatiyas* visited them regularly.

The scheduling of the *painths* enabled the sellers in these markets to tap the demand of various areas by concentrating it. For the peasant households it was a cheaper and quicker way to fulfill routine needs. Within the Hapur

6. Ibid.

7. H.J. Dyos (ed). *The study of Urban History*, p.158. There was a similar impersonal design of new buildings at Truro

tahsil there were twelve reported *painths* held on various week days, distributed in a simple manner to avoid conflict with the higher-level markets. Mondays were reserved for a *painth* in Hapur alone.⁸

Eight large fairs were held annually in the areas around Hapur. The biggest congregation was at *Kartik Puranamashi* in October. The most famous fair however was the ten-day *Ramlila* in Hapur.⁹ It drew crowds from far-off villages because of its pomp and show and the *jhankis* were the star attractions. The traders contributed heavily to the effort. In doing so they competed with the *zamindars* of Asaura, a village bordering the town. The fair-site, on the outskirts of Hapur, was situated on the *zamindari* land. A stream of local volunteers from the Mahavir Dal in Hapur supervised arrangements and ensured smooth running.¹⁰ The fair thus symbolized the

8. *DG*, Appendix on markets. Also Skinner, 'Marketing and social structure in China,' and P. Bohannan and G. Dalton (eds) *Markets in Africa* (North Western University Press, 196). The Chinese and African rural markets were also scheduled similarly and on a periodic basis.

9. *DG*, p.241 and *SDHA*, p.,117.

10. Interview with Lala Kure Mal. Skinner also discusses the validity of the contribution of local volunteers to the collective effort in the main annual fair in the Chinese market towns.

reinforcement of a town-centred structure even in the countryside and the unity of an urban community.¹¹

The fairs generally offered food, sweetmeats, toys, trinkets, beads, brass and iron vessels, articles of clothing, English ware and bamboos for sale.¹² However the demand for certain industrial goods rose and new items were added such as tea, cigarettes, matches, lanterns, buttons, pocket knives, looking glasses and Indian and imported cotton cloth.¹³ The *painth*, *mandi* or the fair thus represented the various levels of exchange and facilitated it over regular time intervals in a given geographical area.

Mandi Operation:

Since harvesting was a slow process, grain usually trickled into Hapur. About three quarters of the total wheat was brought into the *mandi* between April and mid-July.

11. Richard G. Fox, *From Zamindar to Ballot Box*, (Ithaca, 1969), pp. 118-9. Skinner, 'Marketing and Social Structure in China' op.cit p.38.
12. *Selections from records of the government North Western Provinces* Vol.II, 1869, p.3.
13. *Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1926 Appendix to the report on United Provinces.* p.400.

Marketing was a collective effort and comprised a major expenditure of the peasant debt as in the following table.

Table 2.1
Peasant expenditures on marketing
(Village Bhatiyana Tahsil Hapur)

Year	Percentage of debt for marketing total peasant debt
1916-17	13.1
1917-18	10.1
1919-20	30.5
1920-21	34.2
1921-22	71

Source: *United Province Banking Enquiry Committees Evidence*, Vol. II (1930-31). p 216 [hereafter *UPBEE*]

The peasants pooled money to hire a cart from the *lahriwan*. Information about the prices came from regular visits to the *painths* or the *bespari* or from those who had visited the *mandi*. The *Zamindars* were the only landholders directly in touch with the *arhatiyas* in the town.

On approaching the *mandi*, the peasants contacted the creditor- *arhatiya*. The *Kutchi arhatiyas* were always on the look out for new entrants. The carts bringing the grain consignments from the villages were met some miles away by

the agents whose business was to guide the incoming sellers to a particular *arhat* or indulge in a last-minute bargain. These agents had prior information from the *patwari* about the standing crops. They also kept in touch with the peasants at *panths* to gauge the sellers' moods and inform the *pakka arhatiyas* about expected supplies. This formed an important aspect of the latter's business and was the basis of his further commitments to supply a particular quantity of grain. Roadside conversations with the peasants also transmitted information, and was another way of maintaining good public relations and a reputation in the *mandi*.

On reaching the *mandi*, usually in the early hours, grain was unloaded in a specially paved space inside the *ganj*.¹⁴ Bargaining was inevitable and often lasted hours but was over before noon as the heat became unbearable for even the most parsimonious one's in the *mandi*. The finale to the exhausting sessions came in the many *halwai* shops in Hapur or with the

14. This was to the seller's advantage because grain unloaded in front of a particular *arhat* tied the peasant to the owner. The Purani *mandi* lacked such a space but as trade grew more competitive the other *mandis* within the *shahr* such as the Nayi *mandi* and Mohadeoganj were built on these principles. The markets in the Eastern United Province did not possess these spaces.

licensed 'native' spirit distiller who had no competitor in the entire *tahsil*.

A different set of functionaries stepped in at the next stage of the transaction. The *mandi taula* measured the grain after which the *palledar* carried it to the *arhatia*'s shop. In cases where the *kutchra arhatiya* was the seller the *pakka arhatiya* came to their shops and when four or five purchasers were gathered the produce was auctioned by the *kutchra arhatiya*. Rarely did he refuse a bargain. When the auction was over the *karda* charges were decided by the *kutchra arhatiya*. He generally favoured the *pakka arhatiya* by giving him a handsome allowance of grain because of a secret understanding that if he gave a good allowance the purchase money would be paid the very evening otherwise on the third day, as was the *mandi* custom. The purchaser was after all considered one of the brethren.¹⁵

The weights and measures used in the western United Provinces were not more than two maunds each. The weights, prior to their standardisation, were made of clay and baked

15. T. Prasad, *The Organisation of Wheat Trade*, p. 31.

by the village potter. The iron weights used later in these *mandis* were manufactured in the iron foundries of Agra and Kanpur.¹⁶

Traditional Mandi Levies :

Each *mandi* levied its own charges. The allusions to religiosity were present at both ends of the transaction. Hapur levied its own charges which included *dan*, wages, *palledari*, bag allowances, *karda* and the *gaushala*. The *palledari* and *gaushala* were paid invariably in cash.¹⁷

Table 2.2

Levies at the Hapur mandi

Nature of the charge	Amount		
	Rs	a.	p.
<i>Taulai</i>	1	4	0
<i>Dan</i>	0	10	0
Wages	0	2	6
Filling changes	0	0	6
Bag allowances	0	3	0
<i>Karda</i>	0	5	0
Charity	0	0	6
Brokerage	0	8	0

Source: *UPBER* (1929-30), P 161

16. *WMR*, pp. 341- 2.

17. *UPBEE*, P.221.

Brokerage included payment to the *kutchā arhatiya* who passed it on to the *pakka arhatiya* after deducting his commission. *Arhat* and *palledari* were borne both by the buyer and the seller. *Taulai* and charity to the *dharmada* and *gaushala* were paid by the seller only in the western districts.¹⁸ These charges were usually decided by the *arhatiya's* agent and hence varied with *mandis*.

The *gaushala* charge in Hapur was one *anna* per hundred rupees passed on to the *gaushala* by the *kutchā arhatiyas*.¹⁹ A ticket system was introduced by the *gaushala* in the 1920s and it was made mandatory for the *mandi* to use the *gaushala* tickets for paper transactions. These tickets were printed by the *gaushala* authorities and traders often purchased them in bulk.²⁰ All *dan* given in the name of the *gaushala* could be verified. If it had reached the proper destination, the stamp was pasted on it.²¹ In reciprocity the *gaushala* lent to these transactions a stamp of final authority and guarantee, irrefutable and incorruptible in local perception.

18 Interview with Madhusudan Dayal.

19. Interview with Lala Kure Mal.

20. Interview with V.B. Arya.

21. Interview with Lala Kure Mal.

These contributions were put to various uses. A portion of it went into the annual *Ramlila* celebration in Hapur. At other times it joined the common *mandi* pool out of which contributions were made. The *dharmada* charges went into it and could even be used for a daughter's marriage or constructing temples.²² In the *mandi* were *pattas* - the annual rentals of shops. These were donated to various temples in the name of Ram-Laxman.²³ The significance of these efforts is best understood in the context of broader socio-political changes in Northern India which is explored in the following chapter.

II

Power : Management of Civic Affairs :

Hapur became a municipality in 1872 and a committee in-charge was appointed to raise funds from octroi on articles of trade consumed within the town.²⁴ The income from municipal dues was to be utilized for the purpose of town 'improvement'

22. C. Planck reported as many as twenty five temples in the old town in 1872.

23. Interview with Lala Kure Mal.

24. RSC, 1872, pp. 33-4

Till about a decade municipal committees were nominally elected but were in fact nominated by the district officials.²⁵ By 1900 it comprised a chairman, one ex-officio, one nominated member and nine elected members. There were six Hindus and three Muslims.²⁶ The number of members remained unchanged till a special sub-committee was appointed. It consisted of a secretary as chairman, one Hindu member and another Muslim member. The main task was to deal annually with assessment and collection of the tax on grain dealers within the municipality.²⁷ In the course of another decade similar sub-committees were appointed to tend to the management of grain-pits, education and the public works in the town. The Board was reconstituted in 1916 and the municipality divided into two main wards- the Eastern and the Western ward which were sub-divided into muslim and

25. *Report of the Meerut District Board, 1882-1888, p.1*

26. *RHM, 1901-02, p.1. Reconstitution of Municipal Board, Hapur Municipal Block File 15/RB, Box 478, 1916 UPSA.*

27. *RHM, 1903- 04, p.2.*

non-muslim sections. Four seats were fixed for the muslims and six seats kept aside for the non-Muslims in Hapur.²⁸

Attendance and Composition:

The percentage of the attendance in the Board meetings continued to rise in the years 1901-1914. The high level was sustained throughout the war years and immediately after the war.

Table 2.3
Attendance at the Municipal Board Meeting 1901/2-1920/1

Year	Number of meetings	Average attendance of members (in percent)	
		Minimum	Maximum
1901-02	33	5	85
1902-03	33	8	21
1903-04	23	9	13
1904-05	18	8	61
1905-06	22	7	82
1906-07	22	7	59
1909-10	18	8	28
1910-11	20	8	65
1911-12	19	9	32
1912-13	18	7	61
1913-14	20	61	64
1914-15	17	60	
1915-16	20	54	
1916-17	10	62	
1917-18	17	60	
1918-19	18	65	
1919-20	15	64	
1920-21	15	56	

Source : Report on the Working of the Hapur Municipality, 1901-02 to 1920-21.

28. RHM, 1901-02 to 1920-21.

The number of meetings in a given year and their attendance depended on the issues discussed or the political climate.

The composition of the Board also changed over time. The committee in the 1880s that was practically nominated comprised the 'respectable' citizens of the town. Amongst the Hindu members, three were traders, four money lenders and one *arhatdar*. The local *Pyeds*, *Lekhraj zamnidars* and a *haqim* comprised the Muslim members.²⁹ In 1904-05, the Hindu representation came entirely from the traders and *asrhatdars*.³⁰

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CHANGING ETHOS OF MUNICIPAL POLITICS

Mounting rivalries both within and outside the community were manifest in the functioning of the municipal committees. Earlier, elections were rare unless "whipped up" by the *tahsildar*. The Hapur Board Chairman reported that

29. *Report of the Meerut District Board, 1882-88*

30. *RHM*, 1904-05, p.2.

The members in these municipalities would gladly leave everything to the *Girdawar* (Octroi Superintendent) contenting themselves with attendance at monthly meetings and passing resolutions.³¹

Over the years, the board acquired a changed meaning in the local politics. The official appraisals suggest the changed ethos :

A new element entered the functioning of the board, elections began to be characterized by *usual* quarrels and intrigue... it is a great pity that the elective system obtains in this place, the people are unfair for it... the affairs of Hapur are managed by the most quarrelsome board I have ever seen. It is divided into two or three parties who hate each other cordially, and *the elections give a great deal of trouble*. It is very difficult but for the *tahsildar* and the Secretary to keep aloof entirely from party quarrels... requiring monthly meetings to be presided by the Joint Magistrate.³²

(emphasis added)

31. *Report of the Meerut District Board, 1882-88, pp.1-2.*

32. *RHM 1902-03, pp. 1-7.* Also Dyos (ed) *The study of Urban history* pp. 315-336 for a discussion on the process of domination of social groups in local governments and "attrition" in the councils.

Contentions subsided only to be whipped in 1916. The proposal of a trader's representation was rejected in the Hapur board by the muslim members on the grounds that "it was a plea to increase the number of Hindu members".³³

The trader lobby was successful in 1902-03 when octroi on wheat was abolished. A characteristic "public spirit" was noticed henceforth which was not to be found in the other municipalities.³⁴ Both the members and aspirants took more active interest in the committee's functioning particularly those already involved in politicizing. On the occasion of elections in 1916 *much interest was taken in by both the wards of non-muslim inhabitants,*³⁵ and the traders in Hapur were involved in a number of private feuds.³⁶ Another victory for the traders came through in 1924 when the Hapur Chamber of Commerce was accepted as a nominating body on the board. The Chamber was recognized officially to be representing the commercial community of Hapur. Local muslims protested against this as well.³⁷

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33. Reconstitution of the Hapur Municipal Board Municipal Block, File 15/RB, Box 478, 1916. UPSA.
 34. *RMA*, 1903-04.
 35. *RHM*, 1916-17, p.2.
 36. *DS*, p.62.
 37. Local self government, Municipal Block, 15/RB, 1924, UPSA.

The idea of communal representation emanated from the colonial perceptions of the Indian society. Quite possibly the communalising of politics reinforced partisan approaches to solving the board's problems. We can say little on this but only surmise such possibilities when we see that the Hapur Board noted with great relief the difference it made to have a *tahsildar* Mufti Muqbul Hasan Khan "...who is very uniform and straightforward with all communities here".³⁸

In a different situation official presumptions brought the fissure to the fore. The actual site of the Garhmukteswar fair shifted in 1901, because the river changed its course. The management of the annual fair lay with the *tahsildar* of Hapur and the Hapur board. It was officially held that "a muslim *tahsildar* was apt to forget the real object of the gathering"³⁹ and would not therefore change the fair site and shift other arrangements. The task to supervise the fair was entrusted to a Hindu for that particular year. This move was supported by the local Hindu populace which also submitted representations to this effect.⁴⁰

38. *RHM*, 1914-15, p.3.

39. Report on the Garhmukteswar fair, 1901, Miscellaneous Block B, 69B, Box 2,3, UPSA.

40. *Ibid.*

Within the sphere of the *mandi* discord existed at different levels. The market areas were being increasingly regulated by the municipality. The plan of the new *mandis* was also decided by the municipal authorities. The construction of shops by the traders in 1912-13 was allowed in an earmarked space and was to be *by order* on the pattern of shops which the board had from their own funds constructed during the year.⁴¹ The traders were forced to submit to trading in the warehouse since the goods station built adjacent to the railway station was to have an exit only into a municipal *Freeganj*.⁴² The theme is dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter where we also note the trader response to the pressure from above.

The framework within which the boards were conceived and operated imposed several limitations in their working in favour of the trader's interests. There was great stress on defining loyalties within the arena of municipal politics. The Committee displayed this by celebrating the day of Coronation *Durbar* and declaring a bonus of half a month's

41. *RHM* 1912-13, p.2.

42. Acquisition of land in Hapur Municipality for *Freeganj* purposes, Municipal Block, File 196, Box 104, 1913, UPSA.

salary to low-paid municipal servants.⁴³ In a similar spirit the members celebrated the victory after the Great War and spent more than a thousand rupees in distributing blankets and food to the poor. A feast was given to all school boys and municipal buildings in the town were illuminated.⁴⁴

These gestures of loyalty and the limitations of municipal politics highlighted the manner in which the trading classes related to the colonial state. Interests of the state and the merchants departed beyond a point and the trader's experiences during the war highlighted this aspect. Export Trade was completely controlled and the mounting imperial needs for quick and cheap supplies were contraposed against the speculative profits of the merchants. (Chapter IV *infra*).

III

HOW TO POLICE A MARKET TOWN:

Prior to 1847 the police was used to protect certain vulnerable routes in some districts of the United Provinces.

43. *RHM*, 1911-12, p.2.

44. *RHM*, 1920-21.

By the government notification of 1848 *chawkidars* and *jamadars* were stationed at *murhellas* built every two miles. *Tahsilis* and *thanas* were directed to move up on the Trunk road as it did in Hapur's case as well. In 1850 the *tahsildars* of some towns including Hapur were appointed by the district magistrate with the powers of the Assistant Magistrate to settle the complaints of the travellers, and to protect and patrol their lives and property.⁴⁵ Hapur was a *chawki* for collecting tolls and the *chawkidar* supervised the task.

There was a change in the role of the police in India after 1861.⁴⁶ The tasks of the police in Hapur, comprising *chawkidars* and constables, were now oriented towards the management of the affairs of the *mandi*. Clerks were already employed at the *chawkichungi* by the municipality to give *rawanas*, realise the duty and maintain a record of tax and octroi collection.⁴⁷ In 1872, some subordinate octroi

45. *Selections from Records of the Government North Western Provinces*, Part XII, 1853, p.25.

46. Veena T. Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-1877* (Delhi, 1989), p.65.

47. *Police Establishment in Municipal Towns of North Western Provinces*, Municipal Block, File 730A, 1893, UPSA.

officials were employed from the sixty-six *chawkidars* in Hapur. It was done partly under local pressure since the 'native' members of the board resented the efforts to do away with the *chawkidars* to create the new posts.⁴⁸ This was also done to cope with the rising trade of the town.

The police in Hapur was incorporated into a different role in civil administration within the *mandi* precincts. When a few posts in the police were not being filled up the Chairman of the Hapur municipality complained that incomes from *tehbazari* were going down due to non-collection⁴⁹ and orders for the increase in municipal office would not come. The police, in their opinion, could conduct better supervisory duties and they reported commendably that on account of better supervision the income from rents of shops and houses, *tehbazari* and fines had increased.⁵⁰ The supervision of sanitary and conservancy arrangement was a part of their duty. They could even be used to build plague huts, lay down rat traps and destroy the rats as they did

48. *RPE*, 1872, p.34.

49. *RHM*, 1903-04, p.4.

50. *RHM*, 1902-03, p.4.

during the epidemic of 1905-06. The enforcement of municipal bye-laws also lay in their jurisdiction.⁵¹

IV

SANITATION AND THE SOCIAL RESPONSE

In most of Western United Province town, sanitation is not understood. It consists merely in keeping roads clear and in repair and in establishing a few latrines. Little efforts are made to keep them clean. The drains of private houses are often foul...the *mehbars* sweep straws. and leaves off pathways and leave foul puddles around wells.⁵²

51. *RHM*, 1905-06, p.3; We know little about the nature of crime or the crime rates in Hapur. Stray evidence is available to us for one police circle in the town (Thana Sikandra Gate) which indicates maximum convictions under property disputes, bailing on guarantee of habitual offenders and the participants in group clashes. There were a fairly large number of appeals to commute death sentences. These records are available at the *Kotwali* Hapur for the years 1890 to 1925 intermittently.

52. *RHC*, 1888, Appendix I.

The butt of official criticism was the town's drainage system. In a survey of Hapur in 1872, the Sanitary Commissioner of the United Provinces, Dr. C. Planck found the surface drainage of the town site still in its infancy. Certain roadways in the Nayi mandi were well-drained but "...it has not been done on any plan."⁵³ Drains from wells found their way to the centre of the streets; even the most frequented well did not drain properly - it was found to be the source of "a swampy stretch fully hundred yards long".⁵⁴ Impure water stagnated around the town in holes and excavations.

Planck also noticed "...a lamentable deficiency of even the most ordinary requirements of conservancy".⁵⁵ In all parts of the town especially in the Brahmeenah mohalla large cess pools were seen "making the air very unpleasant...and altogether it painfully apparent that conservancy proper has made very little commencement as yet in Hapur",⁵⁶ remarked the Commissioner.

53. *Ibid.*

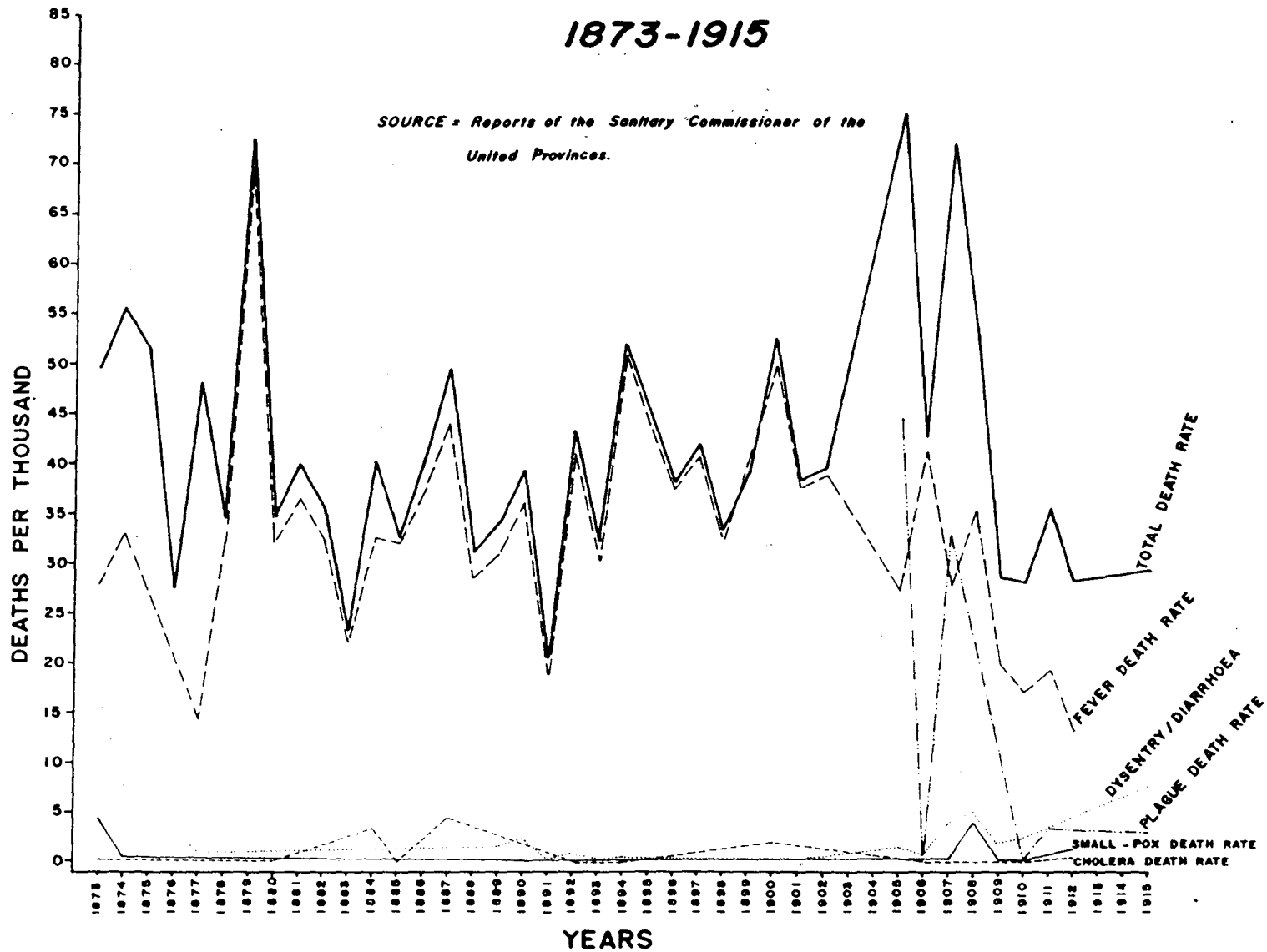
54. *RJG*, 1872, p.34.

55. *Ibid*

56. *Ibid*

MORTALITY RATES IN HAPUR MUNICIPALITY 1873-1915

SOURCE - Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner of the
United Provinces.



Wells in all parts of the town were labelled contaminated due to bad repair, cracked cylinders and *kutchas* *chaubachas* attached to them. Their floors were often below ground level which made the water foul. Several cases of typhoid poisoning⁵⁷ among the upper classes in the town were reported and it was held that their little-used private wells caused the disease.⁵⁸

The villages around the town fared no better. In two villages, *Opadhia* and *Kaniya*, west of Hapur about one half of the population was decimated due to fevers. Officers at the Babugarh Stud complained of unhealthiness and fevers due to the changed nature of the Kali Nadi *khadir* land and increased soil moisture.⁵⁹ The most frequent epidemics were fevers which were the single largest killers. Plague was unknown prior to 1900 but emerged recurrently in the first two decades of the twentieth century aggravated by underground grain pits. Hapur also lay on the pilgrim route to Garhmukteswar and the *sarais* and *paraos* were used by pilgrims as overnight halts. In times of widespread calamity hordes of wanderers, the '*Kangal Loq*' took refuge outside

57. It was held that typhoid occurred due to a 'poison' of animal origin.

58. *RPC*, 1879, p.14A.

59. *RPC*, 1874, p.14.

towns while on their journeys to pilgrim centres and lived on charity. The numbers of the *Kangal log* rose considerably in the three years 1877-79. These were also years of widespread rise in prices, epidemics and high rates of mortality.⁶⁰

As a measure of 'reform' drainage and conservancy in the town came first on the agenda of the municipality. Drainage was to improve in the direction of the natural waterway, the *Chaiya Nala* which ran south of the town.⁶¹ The first major survey was done in 1908 when a sanitary engineer was dispatched to Hapur to build an estimate of costs for the drainage project.

A revised estimate by another engineer followed a year later who scaled down the estimate by more than two lakhs. The number of out falls in deep open drains were reused to a base minimum. Instead all the sullage of the town was to be brought to a single outfall, *Chaiya Nallah*.

60. *RSC*, 1879, p.5 and appendix on mortality rates in the Hapur municipality.

61. *RSC* 1872, p. 36.

The revised estimate was granted an immediate sanction since it was "within their (municipal) means" and had an added incentive of providing a new road not contemplated in the earlier project.⁶² 'Improvement' and 'growth' were interrelated concepts in the official mentality. The revised project omitted a small portion of the town behind the *khirki* octroi barrier but the official shrugged off the problem by reckoning that "...Hapur will extend towards the railway and not in this direction, the sullage is lesser in the omitted area".⁶³

Conservancy improvements implied the repair of the existing latrine services, purchase of consequence carts and garbage bins. The board arranged to supply water to the *bhishties* for ordinary flushing. Water was supplied to one of the main drains by fullbacks from a big well and the other drains through a hand pump attached to the well. The spilt water of the wells was stored in reservoirs near wells with stop cocks to flush the smaller drains in a single discharge.⁶⁴ (See also Appendix B)

62. Note by the Sanitary Engineer, Municipal Block, File D/15, Box 216, 1909, UPSA.

63. Ibid

64. *RHM*, 1913-14, p.2.

Night soil disposal initially with the Board was later leased to a contractor. Most of it was sold to the superintendent of the Babugarh Stud Farm and the rest trenched and sold by auction.⁶⁵ Peasants cultivated potatoes around the town and needed it to manure their fields. At times they collectively outbid their much wealthier rivals, the brick kiln owners, to purchase it.

The idea of cleanliness that was partly the idea of keeping the air clean and creating an aesthetic visual impact had been worked upon in other cities and metropolitan centres. Little was done in smaller towns on these lines. However, to begin with pigs were prohibited in the *mehrar* quarters outside the town.⁶⁶ The "planlessness" of the earlier structures was sought to be done away with. In this regard Planck suggested that

the narrow strip of waste land about the town might be readily converted into a pleasant roadway, if not boulevard with much advantage to the purity of the air circulating in the town.⁶⁷

65. *RHM*, 1902-03, p. 4

66. *RPE*, 1872, p. 35.

67. *Ibid*, pp. 35-6.

The water hole on the north side, he added, could also be brought into shape as a tank and its borders planted with trees.⁶⁸

Despite these plans, the board expressed its inability to maintain work standards. Contractors with leases for cleaning drains and clearing refuse dumps or supplying lime for paving the roads turned to be "nominal characters". Work lay half done or *kankar* supplied delayed so that the roads were left unmetalled for long periods.⁶⁹ Finances also acted as constraints. The board muddled through money affairs.⁷⁰ Roads remained bad also because of a large number of incoming *thelas* and carts explained the committee.⁷¹

The Board grew apprehensive of introducing underground water pipes for fear of damaging the *khattis*⁷² Judgement could be clouded with prejudice about caste habits. Dr. Planck on a round of village *Bhutana*, south of Hapur noticed

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 36.

69. *RHM*, 1901-02, pp. 3-4.

70. *RHM*, 1902-03, p.6.

71. *RPG*, 1872, p.33.

72. *RHM*, 1914-15, p.2.

crowded habitation coupled with manure heaps inside homes. The village *jhil* flooded during monsoon. It was classified as a high mortality village and reasoned out to be so because of the fact that the *chamar* quarters existed in the midst of the *abadi*. Normally these were away from main settlements.⁷³

'Native' Response to Sanitation Issues:

The 'native' efforts behind municipal committees in Meerut and Hapur came under official commendation.⁷⁴ In these two places officials and influential independent 'native' gentlemen vied with each other in carrying out the wishes of the magistrate in enforcing laws about vaccination and small pox. These 'native' officials and gentlemen submitted their own children to the operation first in order to persuade friends and relations.⁷⁵

But apprehension prevailed at popular levels. The peasants had to be pushed into accepting vaccination. The

73. *RSE*, 1875, p.33.

74. *RSE*, 1879, p.13A.

75. *RSE*, 1878, p.4A.

inoculation against plague met with tougher resistance and the municipality was left with no choice but to evacuate the town⁷⁶ during the epidemic of 1917-18. There was a near unanimous decision to boycott the piped water supply and no question of using it arose if the water supply scheme were combined with arrangements necessary for flushing the drains.⁷⁷

There was an alternate sense of priority that differed from the official perception. Upon the sanitary engineer's visit to the site with regards the drainage project many town residents opined that instead of so much money being expended on a drainage system it would be better if it were diverted into the establishment of a high school.⁷⁸

Coercion could not breed trust, and mistrust was expressed openly. Some wells were disinfected with potassium permanganate in the summer months of 1899; the people as a rule were much opposed to this and emptied out the wells at

76. *RHM*, 1917-18, p.3.

77. Note by the Sanitary Engineer, Municipal Block, File D/15, Box 216, 1909, UPSA.

78. *Ibid.*

once. The dismayed official noted that "...this action was supported by some from whom more enlightened views might have been expected."⁷⁹

The locals reacted favourably in another situation. They presented a memorandum to the municipality in 1899 pointing out sanitary defects and the remedial measures to be adopted for the mess created by *kutchas* public toilets and the ill construction and maintenance of the slaughter house.⁸⁰

The old city was considered amenable to reform only to a degree. The drainage of the extended areas and new streets and roads bordering the new *mandis* were better maintained. The shortfalls in the funds were covered up by the trader's contributions particularly when there was a perpetual shortage of funds. The difference was so clear that Mukut Lal wrote

the people except for the new *mandis* especially the Pakka Bagh. With the grace of the municipality, the roads in this area are cleaned and paved but have not bothered about other areas⁸¹ in the town, so nothing could be done.

79. *RC*, 1899, p.37B.

80. *Ibid.*

81. Private papers, Lala Mukut Lal

Municipal expenditures rose from Rs.12,510 in 1890-91 to Rs.65,378 in 1911-12 and almost doubled in a year, the latter increase was due to the drainage project.⁸² Amongst the major heads the maximum proportions were spent on public works and safety. These included new drainage, paving of streets, cleaning out the public wells, planting of trees on 'important' thoroughfares in the town, circular roadway in the town's precincts, new latrines and schemes for flushing from tube-wells.

Yet these efforts made little breach into the living standards of the towns population. A limited scientific knowledge, colonial biases about 'native' ways of life, shortages of funds and myopic plans made the impact of these efforts limited in both scope and effect. "Every year some... black spot was tackled but never to an overall plan."⁸³

82. *RMA*, 1890-91 to 1911-12

83. J.B. Harrison, 'Allahabad : A Sanitary History' in K. Ballhatchet and J. Harisson (eds.) *The City in South Asia* (Great Britain 1980), p. 186.

V

CONCLUSION

A town like Hapur provided facilities to promote exchange at various levels. The institutional and physical infrastructure of Hapur performed varied functions for buyers and sellers. The *mandi* reorganized itself spatially and architecturally over the period. It acquired a new meaning in the economy and society of Hapur particularly after the turn of the century. It became a medium of an expression of the collective effort of the powerful mercantile classes of the town. At the same time local politics at Hapur also reflected the manner in which the traders of Hapur identified with larger social and political movements. An important offshoot of this process was the rise of the *Gaushala* within the *mandi* precincts. It fulfilled a socio-cultural desire for a common religiosity and over the period amassed the power to regulate *mandi* transactions.

Developments within the municipal committee were closely guided by the internal dynamism in Hapur's society and economy and external political developments. The regulation of the *mandi* affairs was its prime concern and here it was aided by the police forces in the town. The picture here

offers a contrast to the 'security' of European officialdom, so evident in Lucknow or New Delhi.⁸⁴ An idea of 'reform' guided municipal efforts towards town 'improvement' but practice was limited in scope and effect.

84. The argument for a changed role of the colonial urban police in cities such as Lucknow or Delhi is discussed in Veena T. Oldenburg, *The making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-1877* (Delhi 1989), pp. 64-75 and Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires Society, Government and Urban Growth 1803-1931* (Delhi 1981) pp. 80-3.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MANDI AS A PROTO-POLITICAL ENTITY

As a sequel to the previous chapter, here we will discuss the origins and migration of the trading communities of Hapur. The effort will be to locate ties amongst the traders many of whom worked with the male members of their families in Hapur's *mandis*. We also explore the process of their consolidation in Hapur as a strong community. It is argued that the process whereby trade and traders established themselves in Hapur was accompanied by a significant social development. There were attempts by the traders to reformulate their identities with a distinct Hindu tilt. This at times assumed militant proportions. The chapter ends with a section on the traders response to the growing power of the municipality and their methods to counter it. The merchants perception of their struggle against the government was also defined by their political consciousness. Lines were more clearly drawn within the *mandi* which the traders could handle with greater skill.

|

EARLY BEGINNINGS:

The wheat traders and *archatiyas* in Hapur and other Western United Province *mandis* established links with other *mandis* much before the period of our study. *Arhatiyas* in Kanpur dealing in lakhs of rupees worth of trade admitted in 1820 that their dealings within the district had been restricted over the last five years because of greater imports of grain of good quality into the Kanpur markets from the upcountry *Zillahs*. They also claimed the tendency of seasonal price fluctuations to have lessened and that there were fewer apprehensions with regards the fidelity of these merchants.¹ Fidelity was a prerequisite to maintain trade links. When traders in Hapur lost heavily due to speculation in 1910, they refused to fulfill contracts. As a result numerous civil suits were filed and the town was largely boycotted by traders of other *mandis*.²

1. Asiya Siddiqi, *Agrarian Change in a Northern Indian State Uttar Pradesh 1819-1833* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 165-6.

2. *RHM*, 1909-10, p.1.

Prior to Hapur's specialisation in wheat many other commodities were traded as mentioned earlier. Since the town lay on an important inland route trade was substantial enough to draw immigrants from areas around it. Petty traders, shopkeepers and small-time merchants took up Hapur as their permanent home. It even attracted merchants from larger towns such as Meerut because of the following advantages small towns had over larger urban centres. Despite being granted a municipal status official intrusion was slow and slight compared to large cities. Octroi rates were also lower which increased profit margins. *Arhatiyas* from Meerut migrated to the nearby *mandis* because of what they considered unjust municipal laws and preference of one *mandi* area over another.

... the *mandees* of Sardhana, Hapur, Khatauli, Muradnagar and Pilkhawa... are now in quite a flourishing condition and their trade is daily on the increase. *Beoparis*... have begun to leave Meerut altogether.³

This is what the *arhatiyas* in Meerut wrote in 1888 in their representation to the district magistrate.

3. Storage of grain in Meerut Sudder Bazar, Municipal Block, File 108, Box 2, 1888, UPSA.

KINSHIP TIES AND IMMIGRATION OF TRADERS:

The sense of community once carried was never quite dead in the towns and surfaced in different contexts. Kinship patterns or elaborate community structures in the town mediated "the sense of belonging and separation that permeated its various social layers.⁴ We have with us two instructive case histories, on elementary kinship ties and organisation, modes of apprenticeship and pattern of trade in Hapur.

Lala Ganpat Rai⁵ (1840-1911) Mukut Lal's father came to Hapur in 1858 from village Asaura, a mile away, at the age of nineteen. The family was of shopkeepers. In Hapur, he became a *munshi* to the famous *arhatiya* Chajju Mal and distinguished himself in the vocation. Such was his reputation that his word in the *mandi* was undisputed and the *panchayat* quorum

4. D Cannadine and D. Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past Essays in Urban History by H.J. Dyos* (Cambridge, 1982) p.9.
5. This case history is drawn from the private papers of Lala Mukut Lal, Hapur.

incomplete in his absence.⁶ Soon he began to train many others as *munshis* under him and subsequently set up his own grain *arhat*. He had also worked as a *munshi* with Musaddi Lal Bidraban and picked up trade nuances from Lala Ramanand who was a big cotton merchant in Hapur.

Ganpat Rai soon began to earn more by speculation in wheat, corn and cotton.⁷ When the first *arhat* began to run well, he called his brothers and many other family members from the village. These migrations occurred between 1897 and 1902.⁸ Business took off in the 1890's when the two *arhats* established as Ganpat Rai Durgadass and Sagarmal Shyam Lal progressed. The latter was managed by Ganpat Rai's brothers.

6. *Panchayats* were customary instruments of social control and were very strong among the *Vaishyas* Richard G. Fox, 'Resiliency and change in the Indian Caste System : The Umar of U.P.', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 26, XXVI (1967).

7. Account books of Ganpat Rai, 1864-74.

8. Village ties were not severed completely. Fields and houses were retained and the latter formed a regular source of rental income, Personal diary, Lala Mukut Lal.

As business expanded another shop was bought in the Pakka Bagh area. It is important to note here that the traders kept a foot in each of the two mandis, in the *shahr* and the newly founded Pakka Bagh. Business in the former was never given up despite the fact that the new *mandis* held great promise owing to their strategic location. In the Pakka Bagh he specialised in grain and by 1903 the two firms had begun to export grain to the ports of Bombay and Calcutta. They soon ranked among the top firms of the town.

Another merchant Jagga Mal⁹ (? - 1934) migrated from village Satli in Siyana pargana, *Zillah* Bulandshahr. He too hailed from a family of shopkeepers. His brother, already a trader in Hapur, set up a *pansari* shop for Jagga Mal and gave him a starting capital of twenty five rupees. Customarily in a number of cases the working capital of the *arhatiyas* in the towns were augmented by deposits mainly from relatives and close friends.¹⁰ Money was also lent to each other at special rates.¹¹

9. This history is drawn from the interviews with Lala Kure Mal.

10. *WMR*, p. 255.

11. *UPBER*, p. 266.

In 1890 Jagga Mal earned some money in a *Makka ka Patta* and bought another shop in the Bari Mandi. He set up a grain ~~shop~~ here jointly with Tota Ram who served in his shop.¹² By 1921 he had earned enough in grain speculation to own six shops in the mandi besides one at the Paatia.¹³ So decisive were his moves in speculative price movements that he became a legend in the *mandi*, proverbially referred to as *Aj ke bhar ta hum janen, kal ke jane Tota Jagga* (we know only today's prices, it is Tota and Jagga who know about tomorrow's). *Patta* had become a parallel activity in the *mandi* almost equal to grain trade in importance. All speculators congregated in the Paatia *mandi* to strike deals. Both profits and losses were heavy and Jagga Mal became nearly insolvent in 1920. Ganpat Rai too lost all his property and shops in speculation in the Bombay *Patta bazar* in 1905-06.¹⁴

12. Despite the fact that Tota Ram was only a servant, his relationship with Jagga Mal was based on a common *huqah-pani* which was the earlier custom (now no longer practiced remarked Lala Kure Mal). Partnerships were preferred in business by the bania families. Also Richard G. Fox, 'Family, Caste and Commerce in a North Indian Market Town', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol 15, No.3, 1967, p.311.

13. The Paatia was a specially built *mandi* reserved only for speculators and their dealings. No grain was transacted here.

14. Private papers, Lala Mukut Lal.

Many more traders came to the town during the Great War, and left soon after it ended. Almost all the traders were banias and a few were marwaris. There was only one muslim firm in Bazar Bazaza called Baksh Illahi Khuda Baksh established in 1890.¹⁵ These were Punjabi muslims originally based in Delhi. In Hapur they did not venture into the areas of bania monopoly and catered to a different set of tasks. The shop was stocked with latest English novels, stationary, books, pins and crockery. They were even suppliers of servants. All the stuff was bought in Delhi¹⁶ and sold at lower prices in Hapur because the establishment costs in the latter were lesser. Some others in the family started a business in leather shoes which were sent to Delhi. A few *zamindars* in the family shifted their investments into the purchasing and letting out of carts in times of buoyant trade.

15. Interview with Abdul Wahab.

16. Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban development culture, social power and environment* (London, 1976), p. 228. Delhi was a wholesale centre for European goods and China etc. These were imported into Delhi and then distributed throughout Northern India.

Kinship and clan ties were retained and formed the basis of business. *Arhats* were invariably under partnerships usually within the single family. The ties were not maintained in business alone. Family affairs, occasions and friendships also sustained them. Ganpat Rai wrote that he received contributions of rupees two and even more from each of his kith all over the western United Provinces on his grandmother's death in 1862. The same occurred when a son was born to him. Besides this he retained close friendships in not only the nearby towns but was very close to some big merchants in Delhi.

III

VYAPAR AND DHARMA

The traders of the town over time consolidated themselves in trade and in local municipal government. There was on the other hand a simultaneous effort to redefine identities in social, cultural and political terms. What was the traders' perception of their role, given the socio-political context they were placed in, and what was their impact on the changing urban hierarchy?

The most widespread and apparent trend was their religiosity that was translated as support to institutions furthering religious causes or bodies advocating a scheme for reform and code of ethics in the community. Lala Mukut Lal wrote that his initial involvement was with the Arya Samaj but the Sanatan Dharma appealed to him later because there was much to be read in the Dharma texts on how society should be changed.¹⁷

The Arya Samaj was founded in Hapur in 1889 and eminent traders, *mahajans* and school teachers were behind the effort.¹⁸ Linked to the Samaj's ideology was the idea of cow-protection. *Gaushalas* and *Gaurakshini Pabhas* proliferated in the United Provinces after 1890. A *gaushala* was established in Hapur in 1905 and was one of the twelve *Gaushalas* that had grown in the Meerut district by 1917.¹⁹

We saw in the last chapter that contributions to the *Gaushala* were a part of the *mandi* charges in Hapur. *Khattis* were also donated to the *Gaushala* by merchants and it had an

17. Private papers of Lala Mukut Lal.

18. Interview with V.B. Arya.

19. *DS(B)*, p. 12.

annual rental income from some *khattis*.²⁰ These being the prime property in Pakka Bagh were let out to local traders . . . The Chamber of Commerce of Hapur took up the rebuilding of the *gaushala* in 1924 after it had fallen into neglect during the war and its aftermath.²¹ Local traders were once again the backbone of this move.²² This was a general trend in United Provinces :

The main supporters of the movement were the great Hindu trading and banking classes who are 'bigoted' Hindus and several prominent Hindu *Rajas* have given it their adhesion and support.²³

Another unit of the Sanatan Dharma was established in the Meerut district which reportedly "paid lecturers who have been deputed to preach the old orthodox Hindu religion and militate against the influence of other religions".²⁴

Missionary societies were the initial targets of their attack. The Church Missionary Society opened a branch in

21. *Report of The Chamber of Commerce, Hapur, Six monthly report 1943*, Office of The Chamber of Commerce, Hapur.

22. *Niyamavali Shri Panchayati Gowshala*, Hapur, 1981 Appendix B. (Printed pamphlet).

23. Oldham's report cited in Gyanendra Pandey, 'Rallying round the cow', *Sectarian Strife in the Bhojpuri Region, C. 1888-1917*, in Ranjit Guha (ed.) *Subaltern Studies II* (Oxford, 1983) p. 96.

24. *DS(B)*, p. 12.

Hapur in 1863 but had to discontinue work. The mission was restarted in 1897 with a couple of other branches in the town. The American Methodists had also sent their agents to Hapur and six other places in the Hapur *tahsil*.²⁵ The attacks of the new militant organisation came soon. It is very significant that the land on which the present day Arya Samaj is built in Pakka Bagh originally belonged to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. The Mission was forced to sell it to the Samaj since the question of constructing the Church or its office in the heart of Pakka Bagh *mandi* did not simply arise.²⁶

Mukut Lal also opened a press which brought out a Hindi daily *Vyapar*. *Vyapar* was noteworthy for information on trade and the market prices of not only the provincial *mandis* but also the Indian ports. Quotations of the markets in London, Liverpool and Australia were also published daily. The paper published extracts from foreign journals and the editor was in regular correspondence with 'Corn Trade News', Liverpool and the Martins Commercial News Service, London etc. Reports on conditions of trade in Hapur and the other *mandis* were the

25. *DS*, p. 80.

26. Interview with V.B. Arya.

regular features. The editor wrote articles on government policies, grain marketing and prices besides informing its readers on the latest development abroad in agricultural technology, methods devised to improve land productivity and mechanised storage and warehouse systems.

Mukut Lal also provided the local thrust behind the founding of the local Congress branch in 1924. The checks on printed material were not so strict in smaller towns; *Vyapar* carried a resume of the latest political developments in the country. To make the coverage less obvious, the front pages often carried only commercial bulletins and trade news, but the inside pages carried full texts of some of Mahatama Gandhi's speeches and followed his activities.²⁷

Active participation in politics was rare among businessmen. The town had remained virtually passive to the Rowlatt Satyagraha in 1919 when traders in Delhi and other Northern Indian cities participated actively. But finances and funds were the forms of their assistance. The merchants in Hapur found means of supporting the Congress : they gave

27. Interview with Madhusudan Dayal.

away *khattis* to the Congress²⁸ and funds for it were raised also by earning profits and rentals.²⁹

IV

TRADERS AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

The municipal government had powers to control the traders and the *mandi*. Plans were made to build a goods station, a bonded warehouse and a Freeganj between 1912-15. The major areas of conflict and tension between the municipality and traders were the old and new municipal *ganjes*, the bonded warehouse and the functioning of the board itself that revealed its inherent limitations in furthering the merchant's interests. To a large degree their experiences in the war that shaepened the conflicts also highlighted the need for a representative body outside the municipal arena totally within 'native' hands. The Chamber of Commerce, Hapur was formed in 1923 as a result.

28. Interview with Lala Kure Mal.

29. S. Bhattacharya, 'Cotton Mills and Spinning Wheels Swadeshi and the Indian Capitalist Class, 1920-22 In *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol XI, No. 47, Nov 20, 1976, p. 1830. Merchants in other towns also contributed to the Congress funds but rarely participated actively in the movement.

One of the salient conflicts between traders and the municipal authorities was the octroi issue in 1901. When the prices soared in 1900-01 the merchants in Hapur utilized the opportunity to express their long standing demand for the removal of octroi on wheat. They found it prohibitively high and detrimental to trade. When the municipal government refused to relent, the large stocks present in the *khattis* were sealed and consequently supplies elsewhere suffered. The government finally gave in.³⁰

The trading community sought to avoid intrusion by municipal authorities by various means while the municipal board tried to enforce its authority on traders' activities. A major issue was the competition between the municipal and private *ganjes* in the years 1909-1923. The municipal board of Hapur viewed with extreme suspicion the two flourishing *ganjes* of Lala Pershadi Lal and Raghbir Saran. These were

just outside the municipal limits in which the number of convenient retail shops were growing where dutiable articles could be purchased free of duty and where they could be easily smuggled into the town and imported in quantities so small as to evade payment of any duty.³¹

30. *RMA*, 1901-02.

31. *RMH*, 1904-05, p. 1

These two new *mandis* were reportedly "run against each other" and in a year three more had grown just outside the municipal limits. The board suffered heavy losses which could not be afforded.³² Since the direct road from the railway station to the town was under construction and expected to be ready soon, the board in 1909 decided to purchase land for the Free ganj.³³ The taxation subcommittee had recommended the construction of a *ganj* at municipal expense close to the railway goods shed.³⁴ The other *ganjes* were declared unsuitable, badly-placed and rack-rented.³⁵ A municipal godown and outhouse were being constructed in 1910 in the compound of the new Town Hall.³⁶ Land was acquired and permission was obtained for constructing a platform and a siding. The proposed Free ganj was to be adjacent to the railway station with one main gate and several godowns. The principle was as mentioned earlier that the goods station was to have an exit only in the municipal Free ganj.

32. *Ibid.*, p.4

33. *RMH*, 1909-10, p.1

34. *Ibid.*, p.2

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

Sites for shops were let out to traders on long term leases in 1912. Rumours began to circulate among the shopkeepers of the *ganj* that after the term of lease of thirty three years the owners would be evicted from the shops. The Board hastily passed a resolution proclaiming the permanency of the lease upon which the traders continued with the task of constructing the shops.³⁷

The Free *ganj* started business in 1915, working for about two months during the year till 1920.³⁸ The board reported in 1917 that although the Free *ganj* was used by the traders, municipal pits were rented and private khattis also filled up, "...but the actual business in the *ganj* which cannot be called of stable nature was for season months only".³⁹ Even during these months the traders only stayed in the *ganj* for business hours but the money transactions for daily business were made every evening at their shops in the town. The fear of being looted "in the jungle" was preponderant. After the season was over they left the

37. *RMH*, 1912-13, p.2

38. *RMH*, 1914-15, p.2

39. *RMH*, 1916-17, p.2. This *ganj* in the *mandi* parlance was referred to as the Kutchi *mandi* thus being ascribed a temporary character in the merchant mind, whose preference for their shops in the *shahr* and Pakka Bagh was more than clear.

so-called temporary market and retired to their shops in the town and other older *mandis* for goods. The grain stored in the pits had all been exported but officials complained that

*despite every possible effort made no khatti was used and no business was carried on in the Free ganj*⁴⁰

(emphasis added)

By 1920 the board accepted complete defeat and the situation became increasingly hopeless on account of heavy losses incurred by grain dealers in the previous years.⁴¹ The remedy sought was to either decrease rents or transfer land portions to traders who could use the *ganj* for residential purposes.⁴² By 1923 the shops in the *ganj* came to be used as a government hostel and another part for the purposes of a town school.⁴³

Thus a passive boycott by the local traders succeeded. The *ganj* being too much "into the jungle" was never favoured

40. *Ibid.*

41. *RMH*, 1921-23,

42. *RMH*, 1922-23, p. 7

43. *RMH*, 1919-20, p. 5

and business was "set" in the older shops. There was little incentive to maintain another establishment in the Free ganj especially when it went against the traditional notions of secrecy. The proposals to construct a bonded warehouse in Hapur in view of its rising trade could not find much support in the local populace. If all imports were bonded, the fears were that the actual state of the market would be generally known. The municipal governments in the North Western Provinces passed orders for the construction of one such warehouse in each municipality.⁴⁴ The resentment in the towns was so clear that it was in the end held optional to use these albeit on a lesser charge than those prevailing in the older *mandis*.⁴⁵

V

CONCLUSION : KINSHIP, COMMUNITY AND URBAN GOVERNMENT

We have seen that traders who migrated to Hapur in various phases of its growth had close kinship ties that helped the community to consolidate itself both socially and

44. Municipal administration in NWP and Punjab, Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce, Prdgs. no.8, June 1873, NAI.

45. *Ibid.*

commercially. The rural places of origin and the large joint families were the bases of kinship bonds. Overlying on these bonds were the ties of the community identity forged anew in the urban context. Thus the idea of a community in the urban milieu underwent a qualitative change. It was the unity of an urban trading community largely that made more sense in the new situation.

The issue at hand is of the formation of identities which is intrinsic to the argument forwarded above. Since identity formation was a process that never reached a stasis, we find that there were mutations of the communal identities.⁴⁶ The conflict ridden situation of the years 1900-1924 brought to the fore the unity of an urban trading community structure against the municipal government on one hand. On the other hand, the attempts to strengthen the *gaushala* were results in an adherence to common religious beliefs. Partnerships in business were always entered within a family or class. At other times such as the Ram lila fair, funds were collected in the name of '*Hapur wala Chanda*'

46. We are using the word communal here in its broadest connotation - that which may signify a community of a caste, family, religion et al.

(Hapur's fund) with the traders in the forefront.⁴⁷ The prestige of the town was at stake and the compactness of a small town promoted such unity.

Simultaneously the class which was gaining power was also articulating it in terms of its own religiosity and political perceptions. The merchants tried to strengthen religious institutions in the town and importantly within the realm of the *mandi*. The *gaushala* is a case in point. *The mandi therefore in the mercantile mind was not merely a space for commercial transactions but part of a 'way of life'.*

The process of the surfacing of identities was complex because there was a coexistence of identities at all times. The merchants on one hand identified with the municipal committee and dominated its proceedings. At the same time issues of religion were also tackled both at the level of personal belief and collective effort to assert a religious identity. In the sphere of politics as we have seen a limited effort existed to identify with the broad currents. When and how the identities surfaced depended on the socio-political context in which the small-town trading community of Hapur was placed.

47. Interview with Lala Kure Mal.

Each class derives modes of protest and an expression of an identity from the socio-economic context in which it exists. Conflicts with the state led to protest but the choice of its mode reflected the historical nature of this class. Their protest involved the contesting of external control and the reassertion of older patterns of exchange in the older marketing areas. Thus the mercantile class of Hapur tried to ward off official intrusion.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GREAT WAR - A WATERSHED IN THE GROWTH OF GRAIN TRADE

In the previous chapter we saw how the merchants of Hapur took initiative in decision making in the town and consolidated their position particularly between the years 1900 and 1920 during which the business of the town grew. This chapter analyses aspects of the changing scenario of the Hapur *mandi*. It is argued that due to the Great War changes were felt at three levels in the town.

Firstly, trade lost the compactness that was associated with it in the few decades before 1914. Both the scale and the volume of trade rose; the *mandi* was filled with migrant traders who came to Hapur to make money as long as the war lasted. At the same time speculation rose greatly and wildly and by the time the War ended, Hapur was in a state of utter chaos and uncertainty amidst heavy losses.

Secondly, the manipulative practices of the 'native' traders were circumscribed by the wheat schemes devised by the Government of India to bring wheat trade under its control. The regulations were partial at the outset but by the time the war ended the governmental control was almost complete.

Thirdly, the entry of the agency houses based in metropolitan cities into the smaller *mandis* of Western United Provinces opened a new era of expansion of the trade in smaller market centres. But in the context of widespread State supervision and control during the War, such houses became levers through which the State began to manipulate the *mandis* to serve two primary aims - to obtain quick supplies of grain and to lower the price.

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NATURE OF INDIA'S EXPORT GRAIN TRADE:

The wheat from Kanpur, Meerut and the Delhi districts was sent initially to Calcutta for export. Karachi too rose to prime importance during the War years. India's wheat trade had already received a boost with the opening of Suez Canal in 1869. This enabled wheat to arrive in London and Liverpool in forty two to forty eight days from Calcutta, thirty five to thirty eight days from Bombay and about forty to forty five days from Karachi.¹

Indian wheat entered highly competitive markets in England where America and Australia sent better and larger

1. Government of India, Revenue and Agriculture: Agriculture and Horticulture Prdgs. No. 41-82, Jan. 1880, NAI.

consignments of wheat every season. The Indian merchants also incurred higher costs due to higher freight charges and preferential duties. In January 1873 the export duty on wheat was removed on the representation of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.² The Bombay Chamber also argued against the claims of London and Liverpool merchants which stated that Indian wheat was the most adulterated grain that entered their markets. The Indian merchants argued at the given levels of profits it was not profitable enough to incur large expenditures on cleansing and sorting. Margins were further reduced when competition for exporting grains sharpened in the Indian market.

Factors such as local harvests, prices in the internal and upcountry markets as well as demand and supply in Europe influenced India's export trade in food grains. Price margins between wheat and other grains also influenced the quantities of grain exported—wider the margin, greater the wheat exports and vice versa.³

While such was the dynamics of wheat trade in normal times, the War created a special situation : the

2. Ibid.

3. *WMR*, p.46

changing exigencies of the Great War applied greater pressure on the Indian wheat supplies. The government purchases within the United Provinces which had supplied one fifth of the total wheat export requirements from 1915-1918 were guided by the extent of purchases made in other provinces and governmental control over the *mandis* in the provinces.

A few ramifications of the nature of India's grain trade need to be pointed out. Firstly, the demand for Indian Wheat was both *special and limited*. The special value of India's exports of wheat lay in the fact that they came principally in the period when other countries had diminished their exports to the United Kingdom. The demand was at the same time limited because the Indian wheat only filled the gaps in supplies to England during May and July. The supplies in the autumn and winter months came from the United States, Canadian, Argentine and Australian harvests.⁴ Even during the War the private export quota to the United Kingdom depended upon the state of the British and American supplies. If supplies were good, and that could be determined in September, the British market was relatively independent of Indian wheat. In case of shortages more shipments were sent from India to fulfill ends in the United Kingdom.⁵

4. Smeaton's note on Indian wheat Trade, 1889 and Wheat, Department of Revenue, File 645, Box 256, 1916. UpSA.

5. Collection of telegrams on the wheat scheme, Department of commerce and Industry War, File 14/18, Part B. August 1915, NAI. [Hereafter C&I, W...]

Secondly, conditions within the Indian markets were also crucial in determining the volume of overseas grain trade. Much of the grain supply from the United provinces were shifted to the part of Karachi during the War where earlier only the Punjab Wheat had entered. The *mandis* in United Provinces had begun to acquire substantial stocks from the country side. Wheat was largely 'pitted' i.e., stored in this province in permanent pits, and hence stocks could be held for greater periods of time in anticipation of better returns.

By August each year when the first rush of sales was over dealers and cultivators began to hoard. This continued till October⁶. Neither were constant assured even if higher prices prevailed. In Kanpur when the prices fell in the months of March and April due to excess supply, the *arhatiyas* of Hapur withheld their stocks in the *khattis* to wait for the harvest dip to get over. They released their stocks only when prices in Kanpur began to move up⁷.

6. October was usually the month when the character of the late monsoon rain was established and this had a crucial bearing on the grain prices and stocks in the following year.

7. *WMR*, p. 102

As prices rose, so did speculation about them. The *Khatti* speculation known as *badni ka satta*⁸ in local parlance took the form of contracts for future delivery and calculations and profits based on price fluctuations.⁹

II

ENTRY OF PRIVATE AGENCY HOUSES AND GOVERNMENT AS A BUYER:

A major thrust to Hapur's growth was provided with the entry of private export houses i.e., agency houses or managing agencies based in the metropolitan cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi etc. Their entry into the *mandis* of Hapur, Chandausi etc. were a part of official moves to do away with intermediaries at larger centers. This factor alone highlights the growth of the smaller market centres which rose to prominence during the second decade of the present century.

The purchase of wheat increased if the agent firm had established agencies in different parts of the

8. UPBER, p.62. and T.Prasad, 'The organisation of graintrade', pp.37-8. Often no grain was traded but *khattis* were sold at prices promised four months in advance and the difference in the quoted and current prices were the speculator's profit. The transactors could deal at one time in one month's futures only.

9. T.Prasad, 'The organisation of grain trade', pp 37-8. In the Hapur *mandi* every *badni ka satta* involved twenty five tons of grain or its multiples.

province.¹⁰ Many a time they took the bigger traders of the *mandi* into confidence for estimating the total quantity of grain in the *khattis*. It was important to gain this knowledge since the stocked wheat would not be brought out before September unless prices rose unusually. The agent firms could assess the trade conditions advance information given by traders in their confidence and strike deals by extending credit and securing supplies.

The wheat stocks in the Hapur *mandi* were substantial during 1910-11 owing to a fine crop and extensive purchases and imports into the town.¹¹ The grain did not leave the traders *khattis* since it was being stocked in anticipation of a crop failure in the coming season.¹² The subsequent season however witnessed a large export of grain from the town because of substantial purchases from outside. The first agency house had established its firm in Hapur's *mandi*.

It was in 1912 then that Messrs Ralli Brothers came to the Hapur *mandi* and purchased and exported grain in very

10. Wheat, Department of Revenue File 645, Box 256, 1916, UPSA

11. *RHM*, 1910-11. p. 1

12. *Ibid*.

large quantities to Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta.¹³ Messers Louis Dreyfus and Co. and Messers Sanday Patrick and Co. followed suit and within another year, three firms had gained a footing in Hapur. The latter branched out into the import of large quantities of cotton seeds into Hapur for export.¹⁴ Sanday Patrick were only wheat dealers. The two new entrants discontinued business in the town during 1914.¹⁵ Ralli Brothers which became one of the chief dealers in Hapur took to exporting grain especially barley and gram,¹⁶ the exports of which were cut down drastically by almost a half as soon as the War began.

Within the first year of the War, purchases became almost impossible in Calcutta and Bombay owing to difficulties regarding freight. Out of necessity therefore the British had to depend almost entirely on Karachi.¹⁷ Another

13. *RHM*, 1911-12, p.2

14. *RHM*, 1912-13, p.1

15. *Ibid.*

16. *RHM*, 1913-14, p.1

17. Karachi was the maritime terminus of the whole system of railways that served Sindh, British Baluchistan, Punjab and North West frontier of India. Wheat from Punjab entered Karachi after 1895 and by 1913 it was handling over a million tons of wheat in a year. One hundred and four British and Indian business firms were established in Karachi. Anirudh Deshpande, 'Sailors and the Crowd: Popular Protest in Karachi, 1946,' *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XXVI No.1 Jan-Mar. 1989; R.K. Haward, 'An Urban Minority: The Goan Christian Community in Karachi in K. Ballhatchet and J. Harrison (eds.) *The city in south Asia*. (Great Britain, 1980) pp. 301-3..

factor enhanced the official dependence on Karachi in 1914. The agency houses were unable to procure enough grain in the ports of Bombay and Calcutta because they arrived late in the season. Wheat crops in the hinterland covered by the ports ripened earlier than Punjab and the United Provinces.¹⁸ Karachi therefore became the main port of export during the entire period of the War.

Messers Ralli Brothers and Messers Louis Dreyfus and Co. brought grains in large quantities from the eastern districts of Rampur, Dhaneta and Bareilly into Hapur in 1914-15.¹⁹ Maize, *juar* and *bajra* were also taken to Hapur in large quantities. Wheat was almost totally exported and became so scarce that its price in the *bazar* shot up to five and half *seers* for a rupee.²⁰ The situation grew worse due to crop failure in 1914-15. In Chandausi the Moradabad district, Ms. E.D. Sassoon and Co. wound up their business in seven months when it was seen that government business was on a smaller scale than anticipated.²¹ The establishments of Ms. Sanday Patrick and Co. at Karachi were handed over to the Wheat Commission to be used entirely for government purposes.²²

18. Collection of telegrams, C&I, W, File 14/18, B Aug 1915, NAI.

19. *RHM*, 1914-15, p. 1

20. *Ibid.*

21. Settlement of the establishment charges of certain agent firms employed in connection with the wheat scheme wheat, C&I, Prdgs. B, Nos. 1-10, April 1917, NAI.

22. *Ibid.*

Between October 1915 to April 1916, wheat operations continued in Karachi alone. Under a new arrangement in August 1915, the firms in business were allotted a total given share of two thousand five hundred tons which had to be purchased at the stated government price. The maximum share of the allotment remained with the Ralli Brothers who were also the only firm engaged in private trade after it was disallowed.²³ (see Section III infra)

The municipal authorities spent Rs.13,249 in 1914-15 to dig new *khattis* and repair the existing ones in Hapur.²⁴ The *khattis* in Hapur were restocked in 1915-16 and the imports of grains rose substantially. Barley and gram were imported five times more than the previous year.²⁵ The export of peas was also taken up by the Ralli Brothers and another firm. The year saw heavy exports of barley and gram which rose by over eight times the previous year figure.²⁶ Government licences for fixed private exports of grain were granted in mid-1916 but in October the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies placed large orders with the regular export firms.²⁷

23. Supplementary Report on the operation of the wheat scheme for Oct 1915- April 1916, Wheat C&I, Prdgs. A, Nos. 1-5, May 1917, NAI.

24. *RHM*, 1914-15, p.1

25. *RHM*, 1915-16, p.1

26. *Ibid.*, p.2

27. Report on the operations conducted by the Wheat Commissioner for the period from July 1917 to Jan 1919. C&I, Confidential (wheat). Filed and Indexed, No.1, Jan 1920, NAI)

This created competition between various firms and since orders were placed rather late in the season, a sudden surge in demand raised the local prices.²⁸ A series of such price fluctuations in 1916 set rolling the market of futures in the *mandis* of Hapur and Ghaziabad on an unprecedented scale.²⁹

In addition to the high inflows during 1916-17 a greater portion of the previous seasons stock of barley and gram was also exported.³⁰ In early 1917 the War Office placed orders with the Army Department in India for the supply of considerable quantities of these two grains to Egypt.³¹ Campaigning in Mesopotamia also increased this demand.

Traders in Hapur refused to free their stocks. Furthermore the prices offered by the Ralli Brothers, who were buying on the government account were lower than the local prices.³² The agencies reported to the government that

28. Ibid.

29. T. Prasad, *The organisation of wheat Trade*, p.4

30. *RHM* , 1916-17, p.2

31. Operations conducted by the wheat commissioner, C&I, confidential (wheat) Filed and Indexed, No. 1, Jan 1920, NAI.

32. Wheat, Revenue Department File 645, Box 256, 1916, USPA, p.7.

considerable quantities would be obtainable on the opening of *khattis* in September. It was generally believed in the official circles that wheat got into "stronger hands" in the United Provinces where merchants were able to hold stocks in anticipation of the full price.³³ The pits however could only be opened if the government was prepared to pay the price the merchant desired.

Since stocks in the United Provinces were considerable and much larger than in Punjab, the government conceded that the firms wait uptill the monsoon. The pressure soon came from the flour mills in other provinces who were prepared to pay the price demanded. This seemed to be the only choice feasible to the government to procure the desired quantity of grain. Alternately, there was a greater chance of the stocks being withheld in anticipation of sales in the following season.³⁴

Towards the end of 1917 the Home Government received an urgent appeal from the War Office and once again attention shifted to the United Provinces and its *mandis* because the stocks in Punjab were exhausted. Considering this private bookings of wheat and wheat flour were prohibited by

33. Ibid., p 22, p.26

34. Ibid., p. 37

the railway authorities.³⁵ It was decided that since trade in the United Provinces was somewhat "peculiar", it ought to be entrusted to a firm which had established agencies in different parts of the provinces.³⁶ Bulk purchases were to be made in the western districts since prices ruled the lowest in the Meerut and Saharanpur districts and the highest in Benaras and Mirzapur.³⁷

By the end of 1917, Hapur had two thousand *khattis* situated in almost all houses and shops. The chairman of the Hapur Municipal Board remarked that:

Grain pits formerly existed only in the houses of residence and shops in the hearts of the town; but within recent years there has been a tendency to shift them outside and several *pucca* compounds enclosing grain pits can now be seen on the sides of the Railway and other outer roads.³⁸

The number of pits rose by another thousand by the end of the War.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., p. 25

38. *UPBEE*, p. 219; *RHM*, 1919-20, p. 5

During the War wheat was the single largest commodity traded and comprised nearly half of the total average exports for the years 1915-18. Grain, *bhoosa*, potatoes and wheat accounted for almost ninety percent of the total exports from Hapur during the years 1915-18. (see table below) Hapur was specialising in wheat since the turn of the century; the War reinforced this trend.

Table 4 1
Statement showing yearly average load of import and export and Hapur Railway good shed. 1915-18.

Articles	Average imports of three years in mounds	Average exports of three years in mounds
Wheat	87,300	392,600
Grain	207,300	269,800
Rice	39,700	2,850
Seeds	3,960	52,680
Fuel	630	-
Timber	3,900	900
Tobacco	600	100
Lime, Kankar and Limestone	10,200	150
<i>Bhoosa</i>	14,600	34,000
Iron	3,900	-
Potatoes	6,200	89,600
Flour	500	-
Bamboos	7,300	50
Indian goods	200	-
Kapas (cotton)	-	500
Metal	-	13,200
Ghee	-	300

Source: Replacement of octroi by a terminal tax in Hapur municipality, Municipal Block File DT/15 Box 236 Nov. 1918, USPSA, p.81 (See also Appendix C)

A lull entered the Hapur *mandi* at the beginning of 1918. The purchases by the Ralli Brothers were slow owing to the difference in government and local prices.³⁹ Flows into the town also suffered because of restrictions in booking and the stooing of the supply of wagons by the railway.⁴⁰ Business had picked up at the end of 1917 when fresh orders for rice, peas and lentils were placed by the wheat Commissioner.⁴¹ Consequently rice imports from the eastern districts into Hapur doubled.⁴²

Buying operations on behalf of the Royal commission ended in October 1918. The agency houses in Hapur resumed business in 1921-22 by importing *juar* and maize from the eastern districts, besides rice, barley and grain.⁴³ However business shrank gradually because the food grain prices had begun to collapse without hope of recovery. The tax on grain pits became increasing burdens because exports were not

39. Wheat, Department of Revenue file 645, Box 256, 1916, UPSA, p. 27; *RHM*, 1917-18, p. 1

40. *RHM*, 1917-18, p. 1

41. Operations conducted by the Wheat Commissioner C&I, Confidential (wheat), Filed and Indexed, No.1 Jan 1920, NAI

42. *RHM*, 1918-19, p. 1

43. *RHM*, 1921-22, p. 2.

matching the stored stocks of grain. As a concession to this fact from 1926 only *khattis* filled with wheat were liable to be taxed whereas those pits filled with other grains were exempted.⁴⁴

III

REVIEW OF THE WHEAT SCHEME

1914-1918

The Government of India placed an embargo on the private exports of wheat from India in 1914. The ambiguity in defining "private" in the official communique issued led to rumours in the *mandis* of the Province that arrangements had been made privately with certain private agencies for the export of large quantities of wheat to the United Kingdom. The Upper India Chamber of Commerce demanded a clarification on behalf of all traders of the province.⁴⁵

It soon became clear that licenses were to be issued for all fixed private exports Karachi was the main port and firms in business here were allotted an initial ten thousand tons

44. *RHM* 1926-27, p. 2

45. Report of The Upper India Chamber of Commerce, 1914, Industries. File 259, Box 34, 1914, UPSA.

of grain purchase. These were reduced to two thousand five hundred tons in the middle of 1916.⁴⁶

The system adopted in May 1916 of allowing private export of wheat within fixed allotments under licenses was continued throughout the main season of 1916. The policy initially adopted for fixing from time to time the maximum export price failed to elicit the needed supplies. Finally in January 1917 it was decided that the wheat commission should resume strict control over the selection of firms, quantities to be purchased and price limits in order to secure the grain supplies.⁴⁷

From February 1917 wheat purchases were brought under the control of the Wheat Commissioner of India. A month later the agency houses no longer acted as direct agents but were engaged as merchants buying and selling wheat to the Royal Commission.⁴⁸

46. Supplementary Report, Wheat ,C&I, Prdgs A, Nos,1-5, May 1917, NAI.

47. Operations conducted by the Wheat Commissioner, C&I, Confidential (wheat), Filed and Indexed, No.1, Jan 1920, NAI

48. Ibid.

Private exports were totally prohibited with the exception of those specially permitted by the wheat commissioner. Official controls were tightened further in December 1917 with the directions to conserve wheat stocks for the Commission's requirements. Private exports were rationed even further.⁴⁹

The scheme outlined above included measures such as licensing and rationing. It also called for a greater accountability of the agency houses to the government. Price fixing was sought but had to be altered overtime. This depended on the availability of stocks and the requirements of Allied troops.

There were other far-reaching measures also devised by the government. It was found necessary in 1915-16 to increase the quantity of wheat available for export. One method was to increase the area under cultivation of wheat as quickly as possible. It found immediate support at all official levels. The modalities were hotly debated and it was decided that the Irrigation Department would announce that all available water during the winter of 1916 would be reserved for wheat.⁵⁰

49. Ibid.

50. Wheat, Revenue Department, File 645, Box 256, 1916, UPSA

At the same time collectors were directed to advertise as widely possible the fact that there would soon be a large demand for food grains especially wheat.⁵¹ They were also directed to encourage the *zamindars* in the matter of increasing wheat cultivation, "both as a patriotic and as a business proposition".⁵²

It was suggested that water be supplied preferentially to wheat growing areas in 1917-18. Water rates for wheat were to be lowered and increased for other crops. On reexamination serious lacuna were discovered. If it was the monsoon that decided the average under wheat, then tampering by the government would lead to the scarcity of other food grains and raise their prices. These grains were also required by the troops. Furthermore a reduction in water rates meant loss in revenue without any certainty of increasing amount of wheat available for export⁵³ and the scheme was given up.

It was also found necessary to provide unobstructed movement to the railways carrying grain consignments to the different parts. The heaviest demands were made on the North Western Railway and by the middle of March 1917 the daily

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

arrivals of wheat and grain at Karachi averaged two thousand two hundred tons. Early in April the Railway Board made special arrangements for the supply of wagons and guaranteed to maintain a steady flow of the requisite seven thousand five hundred tons a day.⁵⁴

With the appointment of controller of Traffic in June 1917 it became possible to coordinate demands on the various railways system. The chief difficulty lay in obtaining regular and sufficient supplies of purchases made by Karachi firms in the province through the narrow gauge.⁵⁵

It was therefore necessary to provide for diversions along the broad gauge routes when the narrow gauge lines were congested. All wheat and grain purchased under the wheat Commissioners orders was to be booked by the shortest narrow gauge route. The diversions along the broad gauge would be done as required, in which case the excess freight for the diverted route was refunded to the agent firms by the Royal Commission.⁵⁶

54. Operations conducted by the Wheat Commissioner, C&I, Confidential (wheat), Filed and Indexed, No. 1 1920, NAI.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

Finally the problem of arranging finances for wheat and grain purchases remained. The agent firms at karachi began to experience difficulties in obtaining exchange towards the end of February 1917. The problem became more acute in a months time due to the accelerated pace of transportation of grain by the railways. In the middle of April the India office and the Exchange banks in london agreed to authorise six principal banks to buy sterling bill and telegraphic banks to buy sterling bills and telegraphic transfers against wheat and grain bought on government account from four agent firms at Karachi. The amount was £ 400,000 per week and constituted a bulk of the weekly exchange requirements of the wheat programme of the Royal Commission and the grain programme of the War Office which amounted to £ 700,000.⁵⁷

It became necessary to keep the Ralli Brothers and Ms. Dreyfus and Company in a position to work to "full capacity" in order to avoid short falls. Their share exceeded fifty percent of the grain and wheat business. In May 1917 the Government of India decided to provide special gold council to these two firms at the rate of £ 225,000 weekly. This amount was payable on currency transfers at up country treasuries. The issue of special gold councils involved the provision of sovereigns to the agent firms for purchases of

57. Ibid.

wheat of grain. The gold was provided at certain appointed centres in Punjab and the United Provinces. At these places arrangements in accordance with the firms requirements were made.⁵⁸

Currency notes were also issued for financing purchases but the traders were reluctant to accept discounted money in a period of wartime inflation. Finally in mid- June 1918 gold *mohurs* were issued and half the payment was made in gold and half in currency notes, till the end of August. Grain operations improved due to the issuing of gold. Firstly, gold acted as an inducement due to which traders released their stocks. Secondly, because of the rising premium which wheat carried, the wheat commission obtained grain by giving out gold at less than its usual market price.⁵⁹

IV

IMPLICATIRON AND AFTERMATH OF THE WAR:

The entry of the agency houses into Hapur was important for its growth as a major *mandi* town. The agent firms began to move towards the smaller *mandis* even before

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

the War because of incentives in a greater profitability in trade sans middlemen. Later they would work as government agents on a Commission basis. The smaller *mandis* in the United Provinces were more firmly established as trading and commercial centre by the first decade of this century. Hapur developed wider trade links and was better placed in the rail network on the commencement of the War. Another factor which favoured the entry of the firms were lower purchase prices in smaller towns as compared to larger metropolitan centres. The agency houses could also purchase in bulk without encroaching upon retailer's profits because almost all the incoming grain supplies in Hapur were meant for export.

The agent firms gained a firmer footing in the town during 1914-1920 and new ones started business. This was a part of official moves to do away with intermediaries at larger centres such as Karachi in 1915 and reintroduced in 1918. The merchants in Karachi opposed this in 1918 and filed a petition against government orders which directed firms to buy directly from traders in the United Provinces. The merchants of Karachi withheld their stocks because the local Karachi market was highly speculative. The disadvantage faced by agent firms buying on government account was that movements of prices at Karachi influenced the upcountry markets. An upward trend of grain prices in Karachi pulled up the prices in up-country as well. It was decided by the

commissioner in October 1917 that merchants of Karachi be kept out of grain trade. This pushed the agency firms into establishing better contacts in the United Provinces.⁶⁰

War exigencies drove the government into obtaining the maximum quantity of grain at the quoted prices. A factor favouring the agent firms based in smaller centres demand a preferential treatment from the railways for the exporting firms. This facility was to be completely denied to all local merchants.⁶¹

The War also brought about a more competitive and risky style of business dealings. The style of business also changed during the war. Partly the change occurred because of the faster pace of business aided by modern means of communication. Lakhs of rupees were lost in speculation annually in Hapur and a number of rich families were ruined and became insolvent.⁶² "Conservatives " in Hapur blamed the telephone for "ruining" the business of the place!⁶³

60. Representation regarding certain Indian merchants at Karachi that the wheat commissioner should be asked to purchase the wheat from them at Karachi and not restrict the buying to up-country markets only, C&I, wheat Filed and Indexed, no. 59. Feb. 1918. NAI

61. Ibid.

62. UPBEE, p. 221

63. Ibid., p. 219

Speculation ruined many and benefited a few-this always happened but the scale of stakes involved was immeasurably greater now. The feeling of loss and uncertainty prevailed in Hapur after the War and was exacerbated because of a post-war slump. This created the base for the traders in Hapur to organise their activity under a representative body. The merchants, under the leadership of seven 'native' firms which had emerged stronger after the War,⁶⁴ established the Chamber of commerce in Hapur in 1923.⁶⁵

There were limitations however to the extent of speculation. Many speculators who had invested money in wheat were anxious men. The Wheat Commissioner remarked in bi-weekly reports in February

Many stockholders who have invested their funds in wheat are becoming anxious to see their money released. I have received several letters from native firms at Karachi, Jullunder, Meerut and elsewhere where making enquires about the price at which government is willing to buy.⁶⁶

64. Memorandum and Articles of Association of The Chamber of Commerce, Hapur, 1923. (Meerut, 1961), p.6.

65. 142 firms out of 240 *arhti* firms in Hapur were members of the Chambers of Commerce, Hapur by 1931, T. Prasad, *organisation of Grain trade*, p.37.

66. Wheat Commissioner's weekly report 1 Jan.-26 April 1916 in connection with the wheat export scheme, C&I, W (confidential), File 145, No. 10-12, May 1916, NAI.

The First World War thus induced many changes in Hapur. It opened the market for the agency houses which began to operate as private merchants and later as agents of the government. The style of business also changed and speculation rose to unprecedented levels. During the War the merchants of Hapur revealed the strength of private business vis-a-vis the Government. However the wheat procurement programmes devised by the Government met with success despite the recalcitrance shown by merchants at various levels.

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CONCLUSION

The rise of Hapur as a *mandi* during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was predicated upon factors peculiar to small urban centres during the colonial past of India. Several factors assisted this process. To begin with geography favoured it. Then the network of railways around Hapur facilitated the flow of commodities, mainly wheat. International trade which concentrated its demand on wheat in northern India and a British policy which served colonial interests were also crucial factors underlining Hapur's growth as a market town.

The process of development in Hapur however was complex and involved several historical agencies. Partly the change was felt in the way civic life was altered to suit the idea of 'reform' that guided municipal authorities.

The period after 1900 witnessed what might be called as "market colonisation". The *mandi* acquired a new meaning in the economy and society of Hapur and represented the collective strength of the traders. Concurrently, the *gaushala* founded in 1905 gained a firm footing within the *mandi* and in fact became a part of *mandi* transactions in the 1920s.

Municipal politics mirrored at one level the internal dynamism of the town. Unenthusiastic in the beginning, the trader's took to dominate the municipal committee of Hapur and elections in the form acquired a new meaning after the turn of the century. At the same time the conflict-ridden situation of years 1900-1920 revealed that municipal politics was limited in scope and effect. The only alternative that lay with the merchants of Hapur was to try to confront and circumvent colonial local authority in the affairs of the *mandi*.

Community identity also surfaced during these years. The ties based on kinship underwent a qualitative change in the urban milieu. Their merchants in Hapur, over time identified with the notion of an urban community which manifested itself in the social, political and cultural life of Hapur.

Finally, an important factor which propelled the growth of Hapur's trade was the Great War. During the War as demand for wheat increased manifold, trade expanded and towns such as Karachi and Hapur benefitted from this process economically. The War brought into the *mandi*, the big agency firms who began to compete with the merchants to grab a larger share of the wheat trade. The agency houses were in

turn backed by a government bent upon exercising control over a commodity which was essential for the Allied war effort.

In the ultimate analysis the government grain procurement scheme was successful and temporarily disturbed the rhythm of Hapur's trade. However the ground realities were never out of control of the local merchants. Compared to them the colonial government appears generally as an external force trying to control the life process in and out of the *mandi*. In trying to do so, its success was never absolute.

The town, was certainly dominated by merchants and mercantile activity in the entire period under study. The social groups in ascendancy took away many powers from the *Sayyeds* and *zamindars* -- traditionally - based Muslim aristocrats. Much of the lands and property belonging to the latter passed on to the traders. Thus the town Hapur approximated in course of the period under study to being the typical traders' town or *mandi* as indeed it was identified in popular perception in this century.

APPENDIX A

INCOME TAX FIGURES
FOR HAPUR TAHSIL - 1890/91 - 1901/02*

	UNDER Rs. 2000		OVER Rs. 2000	
	Assesses (Number)	Tax (Rs.)	Assesses (Number)	Tax (Rs.)
1890-91	509	7,645	39	3,329
1891-92	533	7,974	37	3,213
1892-93	511	7,663	39	3,264
1893-94	524	7,824	40	3,301
1894-95	519	7,170	40	3,357
1895-96	482	7,857	42	3,457
1896-97	462	7,471	49	3,840
1897-98	443	7,326	54	4,176
1898-99	452	7,717	61	4,483
1899-1900	484	8,387	51	3,741
1900-1901	492	8,764	52	3,880
1901-1902	468	8,457	54	3,939

* Source : *DG. Appendices.*

APPENDIX B
 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE HAPUR MUNICIPALITY
 1890/91 - 1912/13*

YEAR	INCOME OCTROI (Rs.)	TOTAL (Rs.)	EXPENDITURE TOTAL (Rs.)
1890-91	8,693	11,550	12,510
1891-92	10,395	15,206	15,340
1892-93	11,383	14,884	10,752
1893-94	10,394	14,942	13,144
1894-95	9,020	16,275	16,810
1895-96	12,593	18,529	22,673
1896-97	11,644	18,468	17,588
1897-98	10,935	18,286	18,095
1898-99	17,449	24,399	17,512
1899-1900	10,562	16,157	19,171
1900-1901	13,222	21,112	22,626
1901-1902	26,986	33,666	17,551
1902-1903	13,653	21,859	21,995
1903-1904	16,827	24,732	30,798
1904-1905	18,206	34,007	25,033
1905-1906	18,580	32,148	25,660
1906-1907	27,340	43,168	31,669
1907-1908	30,564	45,935	35,532
1908-1909	26,435	40,453	49,726
1909-1910	27,827	41,046	40,968
1910-1911	36,708	51,496	50,771
1911-1912	32,061	1,49,589	65,378
1912-1913	33,080	51,899	1,35,461

* Source: *DG(B)* , 1917.

APPENDIX C

OCTROI ON ARTICLES OF FOOD AND DRINK, TOTAL OCTROI, NET IMPORTS OF GRAINS, NET AMOUNT OF TAX COLLECTED AND TAX ON TRADES AND PROFESSIONS, HAPUR MUNICIPALITY 1882/83 - 1915/16.*

YEAR	OCTROI ON ARTICLES OF FOOD AND (Rs.)	TOTAL OCTROI (Rs.)	NET IMPORTS OF GRAINS (Rs.)	NET AMOUNT OF TAX COLLECTED (Rs.)	TAX ON TRADES & PROF- SSION (Rs.)
1882-1883	7,273	11,645	82,068	3,614	-
1883-1884	8,481	13,102	1,14,605	4,757	-
1884-1885	5,229	8,903	89,653	5,229	-
1885-1886	4,395	9,087	78,653	5,229	-
1886-1887	5,904	10,692	1,10,241	4,527	-
1887-1888	6,185	10,812	1,14,550	4,811	-
1888-1889	6,262	10,870	1,15,809	4,966	-
1889-1890	6,610	11,378	1,21,762	5,192	-
1890-1891	-	8,693	-	-	-
1891-1892	6,549	10,395	1,25,440	5,426	-
1892-1893	-	11,383	-	-	-
1893-1894	-	10,394	-	-	-
1894-1895	-	9,020	-	-	-
1895-1896	-	12,593	-	-	-
1896-1897	7,084	11,644	1,20,764	5,282	-
1897-1898	6,343	10,935	90,882	4,452	-
1898-1899	10,875	17,449	2,23,785	9,282	-
1899-1900	4,871	10,562	82,996	3,200	-
1900-1901	-	13,222	-	-	-
1901-1902	17,967	26,986	3,65,625	15,747	-
1902-1903	-	13,653	-	-	-
1903-1904	4,985	16,827	73,170	2,666	5,819
1904-1905	6,808	18,206	1,13,880	4,426	5,158
1905-1906	8,606	18,580	1,93,136	6,569	4,823
1906-1907	15,913	27,340	1,69,094	9,211	5,358
1907-1908	18,522	30,564	2,25,334	14,097	2,378
1908-1909	15,100	26,435	2,47,027	9,561	1,592
1909-1910	19,904	33,055	3,99,702	13,702	6,318
1910-1911	11,296	24,702	3,10,124	6,516	7,225
1911-1912	16,395	33,080	3,56,240	9,042	7,967
1912-1913	1,566	31,255	2,48,412	8,657	7,401
1914-1915	-	-	-	-	-
1915-1916	18,495	29,989	2,66,335	11,102	10,298

* Source: RMP, 1882/1883-1915/1916.

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